

A  
POLITICAL SURVEY  
OF  
*B R I T A I N*,  
BEING  
A SERIES OF REFLECTIONS

ON THE  
SITUATION, LANDS, INHABITANTS, REVENUES,  
COLONIES, AND COMMERCE OF THIS ISLAND:

INTENDED TO SHEW

That we have not as yet approached near the Summit of Improvement, but that it will afford Employment to many Generations before they push to their utmost Extent the natural Advantages of GREAT BRITAIN.

BY JOHN CAMPBELL, L. L. D.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :

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M DCC LXXIV.







THE  
POLITICAL SURVEY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

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BOOK II.

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CHAPTER I.

The Extent of Territory in Great Britain and Ireland.

*THE general Facts laid down in the former Book more distinctly considered in this. A competent Notion of the Extent of this Country, the first Point to be established. No Objection to this, that as Islands their Bounds are unalterably fixed by Nature. Deductions of this Kind no new Doctrine in the political Science. A geometrical Description of the World published by Gerard Malines at the Beginning of the last Century. Computation of the Extent of England, by Dr. Edmund Hall's. The Surveys of Britain and Ireland from Mr. Templeman's System. These, though*

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*they may not be precisely true, are competent Measures for our Purpose. This Assertion more largely explained, and the Truth of it proved. Instances in Support of these general Computations. Reflections tending to establish their Certainty and Utility.*

**T**HE general Excellence, the many natural Advantages, and the peculiar Privileges and Prerogatives, which through the Bounty of Providence are the Portion of BRITAIN, have been in some Degree proved, as well as pointed out in the former Book<sup>a</sup>. In order to shew the numerous Additions that may be still made to the Security, Grandeur, and Prosperity of this already powerful Empire, we mean in this to be more distinct and explicit, by entering into a succinct Detail of those Powers or rather Faculties of this Country, at all Times and unalienably in her Possession, and which for this Purpose have been and hereafter may be gradually exerted<sup>b</sup>. This we are the more inclined to do, that at the same Time they illustrate and confirm the Scope and Importance of this Doctrine, they may serve also as so many Proofs to support those already suggested, and thereby to establish its Veracity, in such a Manner as to render it incontestibly manifest, that our asserting it not did arise out of what might be esteemed, even in a moral Sense, an excusable, or, considered in a national View, as a laudable Partiality<sup>c</sup>; but that it actually flowed from serious Enquiry, and many Observations, which it is hoped will lead the attentive Reader to a clear Conviction, at least in regard to most of the Points that we have advanced, as there is nothing in which we have been more careful, than that all our Arguments should at the Time they were advanced be united with a sufficient Weight of Evidence<sup>d</sup>.

WE will begin with endeavouring to ascertain to a competent Degree, in respect at least to political Speculations, the Extent of the several Parts, and of the Whole of BRITAIN, in Conjunction with IRELAND, which, for many Reasons, it is of the greatest Importance should be clearly and distinctly understood<sup>e</sup>. For without this we can form no rational or solid

<sup>a</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, Book I. chap. iv. and which is indeed prosecuted through the whole Book, and the Evidence arising from thence summed up in the last Chapter.

<sup>b</sup> By the gradual Exertion of some of these Faculties this Empire was evidently acquired, and by a farther Exertion of them it must be supported.

<sup>c</sup> To this some foreign Writers have opposed a Spirit of Prejudice, and a Desire of depreciating the Circumstances of Britain.

<sup>d</sup> The strongest Reasons by plausible Objections may be rendered doubtful; but when supported by Facts are not to be opposed, or at least not to be refuted.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 33. seems to have a clear Idea of this Principle, though he is a little unlucky in his Application. The Title of his Chapter is, "A summary Description of the Earth from the Dimensions of its Parts." In this he makes Europe more than one third of the habitable World; as large and half as large again as Asia; and more than twice as big as Africa.

Judgment of our Condition either at Home or Abroad; for we cannot otherwise discern what may be still wanting to compleat our national Consistence, or how this is to be brought about, by firmly combining these natural Parts into one political Whole, and thereby uniting our two great Islands, together with all the lesser Isles dependant upon them, into what may be looked upon as one Country, or, to speak with greater Propriety, as one Commonwealth<sup>f</sup>. When, however, this is once effectually accomplished, we shall be able to gain a distinct Idea of our internal Strength or Power in regard to our Neighbours, and of course be thereby freed from the Danger of falling into what might be indeed fatal, an overweening Presumption of our own Abilities, or of sinking at any Time, which would be no less fatal, under ill-founded Apprehensions of our Weakness. For in reference to the State of Nations, as well as to the Estates of private Men, the only Means of discovering what with Reason we may hope, or what in Prudence we ought to decline, is to gain as perfect a Knowledge as is possible of our Condition<sup>h</sup>.

But there is yet another, and it may be still a more important Reason, for our paying the strictest Attention to this Inquiry. GREAT BRITAIN is now become the Seat and Center of a very extensive Empire, considered in which Point of View, so many and such different Circumstances arise, as demand, in order to come at this, the utmost Circumspection and the greatest Penetration<sup>i</sup>. It is indeed true, that the Extent of any Country being once thoroughly known, the Thing is for ever fixed, more especially in regard to Islands; the Bounds of which being assigned by Providence, cannot either by Force or Industry be extended<sup>k</sup>. Reason however shews, and Experience very fully proves, that in virtue of Situation, Commerce, and Policy, the People inhabiting a Country of a very moderate Capacity may improve it, and their own Condition therein, to a Degree of Security, Wealth, and Force much superior in all these Circumstances to those seated in Countries of far more extended Bounds; and we have spent our Time and Pains very ill, if we have not shewn, past all Doubt,

<sup>f</sup> It is an old and wise, but at the same Time a very weighty and true Saying, That a triple Alliance (or rather a strict Union) between England, Scotland, and Ireland, is the only League necessary to make his Britannick Majesty the most potent Monarch in Europe: which is a Doctrine we have espoused, and which it is the principal End and Design of this Work to vindicate and maintain.

<sup>g</sup> Mistakes in these Points have in our Times been fatal to more Nations in Europe than one, and this is the only Means to prevent them.

<sup>h</sup> See Lord Bacon's judicious Discourse on the true Greatness of Britain, addressed to King James, in the 4to Edition of his Works, vol. ii. p. 246.

<sup>i</sup> An Empire which as Industry and Vigour could only raise, so Virtue and Wisdom only can sustain, by a right Application of the Means that are or may be in our Power for this Purpose.

<sup>k</sup> As the Inhabitants of an Island are in some measure confined, so they are also secure by Situation, *melius tranquillus in Undis*.

that in every one of these respects Islands are of all Countries the most improveable<sup>1</sup>. Yet still unalterable and impassable as these our natural Limits are, the attaining a precise Notion of the Sizes respectively and collectively of all our Islands, remains for the Reasons that have been before given, and for many more of equal Consequence which might be easily assigned, a Matter of the greatest Weight and Importance, and which ought therefore to be carefully laid down as the only proper Basis of all political Reasoning<sup>m</sup>.

As this Position was simple, natural, and indeed at all Times obvious to any judicious Observer, so whatever some modern Authors may be pleased to say, it was very early introduced by such as meant to enquire methodically into the relative Proportions of Territory in the Possession of the several Powers of Europe<sup>n</sup>. If they had fewer Lights, worse Maps, and less authentic Informations in general than are within our Reach, it no Way affects the End and Design of their Deductions, though it may in some Degree the Truth of their Computations. Yet even in Reference to these, we shall upon Examination find they were not near so erroneous as we might imagine, and therefore the small Difference between their Calculations and ours seems to give an Air of unexpected Credit to both; more especially when it is considered, that with the Help of some few, and these likewise very reasonable Qualifications, these Differences, even trivial as they are, might be wholly taken away<sup>o</sup>.

It is now about a Century and a Half since Gerard Malines published, though for a Mercantile Purpose, such an Analysis of the habitable World<sup>p</sup>; and that it might be the better understood by its being unembarrassed with different Measures, he reduced the Whole to Acres. Assigning to England *Twenty-nine millions Five hundred Sixty-eight thousand*; to Scotland *Fourteen millions Four hundred Thirty-two thousand*; to Ireland *Eighteen millions*; making the Whole of the British Dominions, *Sixty-two millions of Acres*<sup>r</sup>. In consequence of this, he makes the Proportion between the

<sup>1</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. chap. iii. p. 27.

<sup>m</sup> It is self evident, that we must first know what Nature has made a Country before we can know what Art and Industry may make of it.

<sup>n</sup> Strabo, at the Entrance of his great and learned Work, commends the Utility of the Science he taught to Princes and Politicians, Geog. lib. i. p. 11.

<sup>o</sup> For Instance, the Bounds of France are much extended by Conquest; those of Spain diminished by the Loss of Burgundy, the Low Countries, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Lex Mercatoria, P. i. chap. vi. p. 49. where he calls it a Geometrical Description of the World, more especially of Europe.

<sup>r</sup> It is more than probable that the visible Defect in regard to the Size of Scotland arose from his neglecting the Islands entirely.

<sup>s</sup> These Computations, so far as they regard England, were adopted by Dr. Edward Chamberlaine, in his English Notitia, or present State of England.

British Dominions and those of the Crown of France as six to eight nearly, and in reference to those of Spain as six to somewhat less than seven; and by the Observations joined to this Table, he very clearly points out the various Uses to which, as he conceived, it might be applied <sup>s</sup>.

THE very judicious and accurate Dr. Edmund Halley, to comply with the earnest Desire of his industrious and inquisitive Friend Mr. Houghton <sup>t</sup>, made a most elaborate Calculation in respect to the Contents of England and Wales, which he found to contain in the Grots; that is, taking the Whole from a single Map, *Thirty-eight millions Six hundred and Sixty thousand Acres* <sup>u</sup>; and upon a strict Computation of the several Counties, each separately examined, he fixed the total to be *Thirty-nine millions, Nine hundred Thirty-eight thousand Five hundred Acres*; and from the small Difference between these two Numbers, he very rationally concluded that neither of them could be very wide from the Truth <sup>w</sup>. He farther affirms, that in his Judgment, this Country, that is England, might be esteemed the *Three thousandth* Part of the whole Globe of the Earth, and the *Fifteenth hundredth* Part of the inhabited World <sup>x</sup>.

To make this Matter perfectly clear and intelligible, and at the same Time to obviate what might otherwise appear contradictory Assertions in different Parts of this Work, it is necessary to observe, that it was in order to bring the Superficies of all Counties under one Denomination, that they might be more readily compared with each other, Malines found it requisite to reduce them into Acres. Dr. Halley has likewise given the Measure of England, and of each of the Countries therein under the same Denomination. But both regulate themselves by the geographical Mile as laid down in the Maps they used, which for the Purpose they had in view was very proper; and considered in that Light, was, as we shall presently shew, sufficiently exact. But superficial, and indeed all other Measures, differ not only in different Countries, but even in the same Country, though the Name be preserved. Thus an Arpent is not of the same Dimensions in all the Provinces of France, and in like Manner the Acre is not the same

<sup>s</sup> Thus he shews Bohemia to be but one fourth of England; the Low Countries or Seventeen Provinces one third; and the Monarchy of Britain to be larger than all Italy.

<sup>t</sup> Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, vol. i. p. 69. where the Reader may find Dr. Halley's own Account of his Calculation.

<sup>u</sup> This Sheet Map was Adams's, which Dr. Halley esteemed the best, and the six Sheet Map (whence he took the Counties) was Saxton's.

<sup>w</sup> This proves the Accuracy of both Maps, and that the Counties are well laid down in Adams's, which has been always in very great Esteem.

<sup>x</sup> As Dr. Halley has not given us the Grounds of these Calculations, all that could be done was to set them down in his own Words.

in all Parts of England; and in Scotland and Ireland they compute by Acres of their own. In consequence of these Differences it became absolutely necessary, that for the Sake of giving a Rule for the regulating private Property, the Law should interpose, as in this Country it hath, and defined what shall be esteemed a Statute Mile, and the Number of Acres which are to be comprized in a Mile Square  $\gamma$ . But these are not the Miles or Acres by which Malines or Halley compute. Dr. Nehemiah Grew indeed took the Pains of making a very accurate Calculation in this Way, and has geometrically demonstated that South Britain contains *Seventy-two thousand* Statute Miles, and consequently *Forty-six* millions and *Eighty thousand* Statute Acres  $z$ . This it must be allowed is Matter of great and material Information, to which Attention is to be shewn when ver we speak of Agriculture, or the Produce of particular Places. But notwithstanding this, it does by no Means destroy the Credit, or lessen in any Degree the Utility of the other Computations, as they have respect to Miles common to all Nations, or at least commonly used in the Maps made of all Countries. It is therefore by their Means that we attain a common Measure, by which the Extents of different Countries are ascertained in such a Manner as enables us to compare them with each other; and it is for this Reason that having the same Purpose in View, subsequent Authors have thought it best to follow the same Method, that they might reason in the same Way, and not fatigue themselves or their Readers with a Multitude of Calculations, which after all could not have led to more Precision.

UPON these Principles, long considered, and thoroughly digested, the very ingenious and indefatigable Mr. Thomas Templeman of Bury, composed with great Industry and Care a regular and compleat System, for which the Publick is much obliged to him, and in his Caution and Accuracy we may in general very safely confide  $a$ . He tells us that England contains *Forty-nine* thousand *Four hundred* and *Fifty* Square Miles, or *Thirty-one* millions *Six hundred Forty-eight* thousand Acres; Scotland, *Twenty-seven* thousand *Seven hundred Ninety-four* Square Miles, or *Seventeen* millions *Seven hundred Eighty-eight* thousand *One hundred* and *Sixty* Acres; Ireland, *Twenty-seven* thousand *Four hundred Fifty-seven* Square Miles, or *Seventeen* millions *Five*

$\gamma$  The Statute Mile consists of 5,280 Feet, the square Mile contains of course 27,878,400 square Feet. The Statute Acre comprehends 43,560 square Feet, and consequently there are 640 square Acres in a Mile square. If we may trust Mr. Chambers, who is generally very accurate, an Arpent at Paris contains 55,206 English square Feet, which is almost an English Acre and a Quarter.

$z$  The Reader may find this, in many Respects curious Piece, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, No. cccxxx. p. 266. Abridgment, vol. iv. p. 449. Baddam's Abridgment, vol. v. p. 393.

*hundred Seventy-two thousand Four hundred and Eighty Acres* <sup>b</sup>. The Whole of the British Dominions therefore may in round Numbers be stated at *One hundred and Five thousand Miles*, or *Sixty-seven millions and Two hundred thousand of Square Acres* <sup>c</sup>. They may therefore, proceeding still upon his Computations, be esteemed the *Two hundred and Ninety-second* Part of the habitable World <sup>d</sup>, about the *Twenty-seventh* of Europe <sup>e</sup>, *One fourth* less in Size than France <sup>f</sup>, equal unto full *Two-thirds* of the Spanish Dominions <sup>g</sup>, containing more than half the Quantity of Land in Germany <sup>h</sup>, near a *Third* larger than Italy <sup>i</sup>, and to be full *Ten Times* the Bigness of all the Territories belonging to the States General of the United Provinces <sup>k</sup>.

IT has been, as indeed it ought to be confessed, that these Proportions, or rather these several Dimensions, may not be precisely exact, the obtaining which would be in Truth impossible, and of very little or no Use considered in a political Light, even if it was possible<sup>l</sup>. We know how much Pains, and how much Expence have been employed for settling the exact Measure of a Degree; and yet we also know, that upon this Point, though so frequently and so maturely considered, there are still some Doubts remaining<sup>m</sup>. We know too, that the very best Maps of all the Countries in Europe are plainly incertain, because they differ, though not very widely, from each other<sup>n</sup>; and if we examine the old and new Maps of our respective

tive

<sup>a</sup> The Title of this Work is, *A New Survey of the Globe*, being a long Folio, composed of thirty five Copper-plates, engraved by J. Cole.

<sup>b</sup> See Plate 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>c</sup> Computing Six hundred and forty Acres in a square Mile. But for the Sake of those who expect more Exactness, we will remark, that the Whole of the British Dominions, as he states them, make One hundred and Four thousand Seven hundred and One Square Miles, or Sixty-seven Millions Eight thousand Six hundred and Forty Acres. To make up the round Number, we must include not only Man, Wight, &c. but Minorca also.

<sup>d</sup> He computes the habitable World at 30,666,806 square Miles, and if we multiply 105,000 by 292 it will produce 30,660,000.

<sup>e</sup> Europe is stated at 2,749,349 square Miles, of which the British Dominions make somewhat more than a twenty-seventh Part.

<sup>f</sup> France, with Alsace, Lorrain, and Flanders, he puts at 138,837 square Miles, so that they are not more than a fourth larger than the British Territories.

<sup>g</sup> The Spanish Monarchy, with the Isles of Majorca and Yvica, he fixes at 150,243 square Miles.

<sup>h</sup> Germany he sets at 181,631 square Miles, so that the British Dominions make about five ninths.

<sup>i</sup> He allows to Italy 75,576 square Miles.

<sup>k</sup> The Netherland's, i. e. the xvii Provinces, he makes 22,508 square Miles, and allows 9540 to the Dutch Republick.

<sup>l</sup> If the inquisitive and judicious Reader should however wish to be more minute, the foregoing Notes will put it fully in his Power.

<sup>m</sup> *Ouvres de M. Maupertuis*, p. 180. 342.

<sup>n</sup> As for Instance, according to the Map of the Academy, France contains 28,386 square Leagues. According to that of the *Sieur de Lisle*, 25,839. The *Sieur Nolin* makes it 28,054.

tive Counties, we shall find the same Thing. With all these allowed, and hitherto irremediable Incertainties in the Materials, it is, as we have said, impossible, or at least next to impossible, to be exact in combining them <sup>o</sup>. Yet if after all this was practicable, it would be but of very little if of any Service, because the Ends proposed, though in themselves very weighty and of great Consequence, require no such Precision, and it would therefore be unreasonable to expect it; which Assertion, as to many Readers it may appear somewhat strange, it is fit for the Illustration of the Subject, and their entire Satisfaction it should be proved <sup>p</sup>.

IT is in small Things only in which minute Differences are either discerned or considered. A Drachm would be an Object in the Weight of a Pound or two of Silk; but we should not hesitate in affirming, or at least allowing two large Bales of that Commodity to be equal, though there might be a few Ounces Difference between them, more especially if the Bales were not weighed in the same Scales. There is in like Manner a wide Distinction in private and political Estimates; in regard to those we are minutely correct, because we have respect to Property; in reference to these we are less scrupulous, as we look chiefly to the Proportion <sup>q</sup>. If we say, that one Country is twice or thrice as large as another, it matters very little, though there should be an Excess or a Defect of some Miles or even of some Scores of Miles. The Reason of this is, that the Assertion, though in itself not strictly true, yet by no Means conveys a false Idea; and even when we come to be informed of this slight Difference, the Notion we had before conceived, instead of being refused, is confirmed by it; and in all political Reflections of this Kind, the larger the Objects are, the less these inconsiderable Differences whatever they be will affect them <sup>r</sup>.

WHAT serves very much to fortify and confirm these Observations, is, the near Approach of the abovementioned Calculations one to another, though made, as we have already shewn, by different Persons at different

The Sieur de Fer, 31,278. The Sieur Sanfon, 31,657. It may be, that taking the Mean, which is 28,642, it may come pretty near the Truth, allowing for their Manner of Measuring.

<sup>\*</sup> It may seem an Objection to this that all our Descriptions of England exactly agree in the Size of the Counties. But after Dr. Chamberlayne's Eighteenth Edition of the present State of England, had adopted Dr. Halley's Computation published by Mr. Houghton, it has been universally copied by them all.

<sup>p</sup> By giving Proportions to a greater Nicety, the Perspicuity would suffer, the Impression would be lighter, and of Course the less likely to be retained.

<sup>q</sup> As Mr. Templeman's Computations are all from one Map, the Proportions between Counties must be competently exact.

<sup>r</sup> For this Reason we apply different Measures to different Purposes; in microscopic Observations, Lines or Tenth Parts of an Inch; in Architecture, of Cubits or Yards; in travelling by Land we distinguish Distances by Miles; but at Sea we make Use of Leagues; and in Astronomical Speculations, of Semi-diameters of the Earth.



Times, and in very different Methods<sup>s</sup>. We may besides take Notice of the Concurrence of foreign Authors, in regard to the Proportions before laid down between this and other Countries; and we might particularly note the Correspondence on this Head of a celebrated and much esteemed Geographer<sup>t</sup>. But there is a Circumstance that surpasses all Authorities whatever, which arises from the Manner in which the best and most accurate Maps of Europe are laid down, inasmuch as they owe all the Conformity that we find between them to their Authors adhering upon their own Principles to these Proportions, from whence a sufficient Accuracy may be inferred, grounded on the Truth and Certainty of modern Geography, which has been so assiduously cultivated, and so wonderfully improved in this last Century<sup>u</sup>.

IN regard to the manifold Utility of these Speculations, some Observations may be requisite, with which we shall therefore conclude this Chapter. Let it then in the first Place be remarked, that they give us by these relative Proportions a clearer, more distinct, and much more stable Idea of Countries than we can any otherwise attain<sup>w</sup>. Next, that they open by this very Means a new, more certain, and much more perspicuous Method of Reasoning on these instructive and important Subjects. They in the third Place afford a plainer, stronger, and by far more conclusive Notion, than by any other Method we could reach, of the high Importance of uniting in the firmest, closest, and most effectual Manner all the Parts of the British Territories, as being at once the only natural and certain Means of establishing the Grandeur, procuring the Safety, and fixing the Permanency of the British Empire<sup>x</sup>. They enable us likewise to compute our own, and all the

<sup>s</sup> Thus Malines makes the British Dominions Sixty-two millions of Acres; Templeman, Sixty-seven millions; the first, by omitting the Islands, makes Scotland much less than Ireland; and if we replace these as we ought, from the declared Design of the Computation, there would be then very little Difference between the two Sums.

<sup>t</sup> Dr. Busching, who uses Miles of his own of fifteen to a Degree, fixes the British Dominions at 6000 of these Square Miles; France at 10,000; Spain at 8500; Germany at 11,236; and the Territories of the States General of the United Provinces at 625; making altogether considerably less than one half of the Extent of the Russian Empire in Europe, to which he gives 57,600 Miles.

<sup>u</sup> The Latitudes and Longitudes carefully determined, with the Bearings and Distances accurately ascertained, of all the remarkable Capes and Head-lands, fix the Sea-line or Delineation of the Coast of any Country; in the same Manner, the Situation of Mountains, Rivers, Woods, Cities, Fortresses are found within Land; consequently, if the Surfaces of the Countries thus expressed agree in these Extents, they are sufficient for our Purpose.

<sup>w</sup> It is plain that our Idea of the Riches, Power, and Splendour of Holland compared with France, is rendered more precise, by knowing that the Territory of the former is but a Sixteenth of the later.

<sup>x</sup> This has been touched before, but can scarce be repeated too often, more especially when considered in this Light it plainly appears that Britain, when thoroughly united and properly improved,

the Parts and Districts of our own with foreign Countries, and the Parts or Provinces of which they are composed *y*; and of the Usefulness of this, we trust the Reader will recollect many Instances that have been given in the former Volume. Lastly, they serve to impress all these necessary and instructive Points of Science in the most forcible Manner, and so to rivet them in the Mind, as that they may be at all Times applied, and be scarce ever effaced or forgotten<sup>z</sup>. These are Circumstances, which the more they are meditated and considered, the more their Weight and Significance will appear; and from a frequent Exercise of such Speculations, we shall gain a deeper Insight into the true State of Countries than without it we can acquire by any other Kind of Information. This therefore made it requisite to open this Book of the POLITICAL SURVEY with a competent Account of the real Extent of the British Islands, their relative Proportions in respect to each other, and also to the principal Countries in Europe.

proved, towards which it has and will be shewn to have all and more than all the natural Advantages of Holland, may be rendered ten Times as opulent and potent as that great Republick, heretofore a formidable Rival, and now our natural Ally.

*y* To give an Instance from Yorkshire, it is more than half the Size of Normandy, little less than what is called the Isle of France, near twice as large as the Dutchy of Lorrain, equal to the Kingdom of Navarre, thrice as big as that of Algarve, equal to the Dominions of the Elector Palatine, and much of the same Size as the Dutchies of Mecklenburgh and Courland.

<sup>z</sup> The Truth of this will be soon evinced by Experience, as this will be attended by numerous, and those too valuable Acquisitions.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Productions of Great Britain. The Contents of the Soil.

*THE true Character of a Country can be only estimated from its Productions. But these, as they may be improved by Industry, so they may be lessened by Indolence, or through Ignorance be totally neglected. This, however, does not hinder the Blessings of Nature from being the solid Principles of national Grandeur. Our Affluence the Effects of our native Commodities improved by Industry, and diffused by Commerce. Our Fossils an inexhaustible Fund of national Wealth. Fullers Earth is a peculiar and perpetual Treasure. Tobacco Pipe Clay of great Utility in many Respects. The great Variety of Clays highly advantageous*

*advantageous in Point of Manufactures as well as Agriculture. The wonderful Progress made in Earthen and in Stone Ware. A succinct History of the several Attempts towards making Porcelain. It is exceeding probable that we may in Process of Time carry this to Perfection. Value and great Abundance of our Ocbres, Allum, Copperas, &c. The manifest Advantages that arise from these to the Public. These national Advantages set in a still stronger Point of Light. Stones for all Uses, together with Plenty of Lime and Slate. We have also Variety of fine Marbles, Alabaster and Granite. The Manner in and the Extent to which all these have proved beneficial to the Nation. The Consequences that would attend the Loss or the Want of them considered. Salt of all Sorts in immense Quantities made as well as consumed in the British Dominions. National Advantages arising from thence, and that may be derived from this Plenty. The Materials from which Glass is manufactured plentifully produced in all Parts of the British Territories. The numerous Benefits that result to the Nation from thence. Coal of different Kinds found through all Parts of the British Territories. The Quantities of Coals consumed in London at different Periods. A general View of the national Advantages arising from this Commodity. This Subject more largely explained and farther pursued. An Account of Antimony, its Value and Uses. The same in regard to that curious Mineral Bisimuth. Lapis Calaminaris or Calamine, its Nature, Value, and Properties. Cobalt, a Mineral of very great Value, of which a Mine has been discovered in Cornwall. The Nature and Uses of Black Lead, so peculiar to this Country as to be stiled by Foreigners, when made into Pencils, Crayons d'Angleterre. The History of Tin, that ancient and primitive Staple of this Country. An Account of its Value, and the numerous Uses to which it is applied. Iron in all the different Parts of the British Dominions. Notwithstanding this, much Iron is imported. Copper in great Abundance in Britain and in Ireland. The Nature, Uses, and Value of this Metal. Improvements that may be still made in respect to British Copper. Lead Mines, numerous and great Variety in the Appearance of Lead Ores. These Ores of several Natures, and of different Values. Of Ceruse, Massicot, and Minium prepared from Lead. Mercury or Quick-silver, though not hitherto, may probably be hereafter found in Britain. Though much Silver, yet strictly speaking, no Silver Mines here. Gold found in considerable Quantities in Britain and Ireland. Our Minerals may probably become of much more Value than at present. Many Improvements may be made, and future Advantages drawn, from the proper Management of our Metals. New Discoveries may be made in respect to them, and new and better Methods introduced in the Working of our Mines. Some farther Remarks on this Subject. The Conclusion of the Chapter.*

**T**HE real Value, the intrinsic Merit, the comparative Excellency of any Country can never be thoroughly known but by attentively considering its Productions<sup>a</sup>. Thus Sweden is distinguished for its Iron, Copper, and naval Stores; Norway for the Abundance of its Timber; Poland for Wheat and other Sorts of Grain; France for Wine, Brandy, Salt, Linnen, Brocades; Spain and Italy for Fruit, Oil, and Silk<sup>b</sup>. By this wise Distribution Providence has benevolently given a Proportion of good Things unto every particular Region, and by the Intervention of Commerce, which this Distribution has rendered absolutely requisite, bestows them upon all<sup>c</sup>. Amongst these natural Benefits, some are looked upon as richer in Quality, as Wine, Oil, and Silk; but at the same Time it must be allowed that Timber and Iron are of greater Utility, and that Corn is an indispensable Necessary of Life, so that Things being considered in this Light the Balance is again restored. For though Articles of Luxury and Splendor may at some Seasons bring a very high Price, yet such Commodities as are of real Benefit or general Utility, and those with the Want of which Men cannot dispense, are always sure of finding a Market, and of being vended for what they are worth<sup>d</sup>.

ALL natural Commodities are capable of being augmented, multiplied, and improved by human Industry, and the Use or Neglect of this makes a wide Difference in Countries that Nature had made equal. As from the Use or Neglect of this likewise, the same Country may in several Periods differ very widely from itself. Thus China, the most flourishing Country we know, owes at least one half of its Significance to the Skill and Labour employed in its Cultivation<sup>e</sup>. Egypt from the Loss of Industry in its Inhabitants is at this Day in some Degree a Desert, that is, in Comparison to what it once was<sup>f</sup>. Poland, distinguished by Fertility as well as considerable for its Extent, does not yield one fifth of what, under a better

<sup>a</sup> L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xx. ch. 4. Hoffman de Republica, lib. iii. cap. 4. Beaufobre Introduction a la Etude de la Politique des Finances et du Commerce, vol. i. § ix. et suiv.

<sup>b</sup> Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 59, 60, 61. Robert's Merchants Map of Commerce, p. 250. 249. 254. 165. 153. 181. Dictionnaire Universelle de Commerce, tom. i. P. ii. p. 452. 463. 481.

<sup>c</sup> Plat. de Legibus et de Repub. lib. ii. Cic. de Officiis lib. i. cap. 42. Pintarch. in Solone, Saavedra Faxardo, Idea de un Principe Politico, Empresa lxviii. Elemens du Commerce, tom. i. P. i. ch. 1.

<sup>d</sup> This is clear from what happens to Spain and Portugal, from whence their Silver and Gold are continually exported to purchase Things of greater Utility.

<sup>e</sup> Martini Martini, China illustrata in Præfat. P. Navarette, Tratados Historicos, Politicos, &c. de la Monarchia de China, lib. i. c. 14. Gemelli Carreri, Giro del Mundo, lib. iii. c. 5. P. le Comte Memoires de la Chine, vol. i. let. iv. p. 132. Du Halde, Description de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 75—84.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 177. Epist. Adriani ad Servian. Col. ap Vopisci Saturninum. Bishop Pococke's Description of the East, B. iv. ch. 3.

Government, it might be made to produce. Attention, Sagacity, and Diligence will, as we have often observed before, in a great measure supply the Defects of Nature. Genoa is not only a very small, but also in point of Soil the worst Country in Italy; yet at the same Time is for its Size the richest, and makes the best Figure<sup>b</sup>. This is still more evident in Switzerland, and most of all in Holland, where, though hardly any Thing grows, almost every Thing is to be found<sup>i</sup>. These are Instances, it must be confessed, which have already been represented to the Reader's View, and considered nearly in this very Light; but at the same Time these are Instances, which, for their Importance, we cannot too frequently recollect, or from their Utility contemplate with too much Attention<sup>k</sup>. These are however Examples that may naturally lead us into a very wide Field of political Disquisitions; and it imports us, in such a Labyrinth of Speculations, that we may not bewilder ourselves, to make Use of a proper Method, the only Clue by which we can be safely conducted<sup>l</sup>.

HOWEVER capable the Art, Attention, and Diligence of Man may be, either to improve or to supply the Blessings of Nature, this no way lessens, but upon a just Comparison heightens their Value, as wherever they are found, and found in Perfection, they are found also without Toil. It is evident, that a Merchant or a Manufacturer would find inexpressible or inexhaustible Resources<sup>m</sup> in carrying on his Business, who besides his Capital in Trade, inherited a good Estate that he could not either mortgage or sell; it is no less apparent, that a Nation possessing many valuable Commodities from the free Gift of Nature, or, to speak with greater Propriety, from the Bounty of divine Providence, has innumerable Advantages over any other Nation, whatever her Policy may be, that is deficient in those unacquired and unalienable Funds. In respect to the first, she has a settled Property, which being duly and assiduously improved, gives her a constant Support that cannot be taken from her; while the latter collects the Materials of her Industry and Trade, which are the Sources of all her Wealth.

<sup>a</sup> Connor's History of Poland, vol. ii. letter 7. Oeuvres du Philosophe bienfaisant (King Stanislaus) vol. iii. p. 2—15. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. P. ii. p. 442. 463.

<sup>b</sup> Reflexions sur les Finances et sur le Commerce, tom. ii. p. 397. L'Homme Désintéressé, p. 123. Observations sur le Commerce et sur les Arts, tom. i. p. 17—30.

<sup>i</sup> L'Etat de Suisse, chap. viii. Dictionnaire universelle de Commerce, tom. i. P. ii. col. 1025—1037. Gronden 'en Maximen van de Republieck van Holland, 1 deel. chap. iii. Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, chap. iii. Sir William Temple's Observations on the Netherlands, chap. vi. Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, chap. i. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, vol. i. p. 441—445.

<sup>k</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain. vol. i. p. 10—15.

<sup>l</sup> These Instances were produced before to shew how great Things Industry might do, even without Advantages bestowed by Nature. This and the succeeding Chapters will prove how easily Industry may do much greater Things, when supported and assisted by Nature. It is hoped this will procure the Reader's Pardon for recalling these Facts to his Remembrance.

Strength, and Splendour from other Nations; and it is easy to discern how wide, in point of Certainty as well as Stability, the Difference is between a Staple and a Magazine<sup>m</sup>. Again, the former is nationally an absolute Gainer of the whole Produce of her Commodities and Manufactures from them, when employed in Commerce; whereas the Profit only, after deducting the prime Cost, is all that can result to the latter<sup>n</sup>. Besides, this owes her Subsistence in a great Degree to the Indolence or Ignorance of her Neighbours, and of Course must suffer from their applying their Thoughts and Endeavours to Improvements; which, on the contrary, turn to the Advantage of the other, as they are rendered able from their thriving to take greater Quantities of her Productions<sup>o</sup>.

In the former Book we treated in general of the distinguished Advantages of Great Britain, as well in respect to her native Productions, as to the Benefits she receives from her happy Situation, and other peculiar Prerogatives. It is our present Business to shew that we have, more especially of late Years, availed ourselves of all these, and that too in a very high Degree. This has not only turned extremely to the Emolument of Individuals, but also to that of the Public<sup>p</sup>. This clearly proves, that the present affluent Condition of the Nation, in Comparison of past Times, does by no means proceed as some of our envious Neighbours would have it understood, from an artificial Credit, a vast Paper Circulation, and refined Strokes of political Management; but from the most solid and permanent Funds of national Improvements, from the Increase of internal Industry,

<sup>m</sup> In the 28th of Edward III. when we exported barely our own Staples, it appears by a Roll in the Exchequer, that the Balance that Year in our Favour amounted to upwards of £. 250,000 which is equal to £. 625,000 of our present Money. This shews, that even when Arts and Commerce were in their Infancy, our natural Riches were very great.

<sup>n</sup> Sir William Temple in his Observations on the Netherlands, p. 219. judiciously remarks, that Plenty of Corn in most Parts of Europe for several Years together was a great Blow to the Dutch Commerce, not only as they thereby lost their usual Markets for that Commodity; but as it lessened the Sale of Spices in the Northern Countries, which reduced their usual Balance in respect to the East Indies.

<sup>o</sup> Thus, since not only we, but the French, the Swedes, and the Norwegians, have struck into the Herring Fishery, that of the Dutch hath greatly failed; but since the Portuguese have discovered Gold Mines in Brazil, our Exports to Lisbon have much increased. But perhaps this will be most effectually explained by observing, that the Dutch take immense Quantities of Commodities and Manufactures from us, which to the Nation is clear Gain, and when resold by them, what they paid us being deducted, the Remainder is their Profit. This Point cannot be too maturely weighed and considered. The Balance being against the Dutch, we are certainly Gainers; and as they do not purchase to consume, but to sell again, they are also Gainers, though not in the same Degree.

<sup>p</sup> It is on all Hands allowed that there may be a Commerce carried on lucrative to private Men, and yet highly detrimental to the Nation; indeed Smuggling is such a Commerce, and the more gainful to private Persons the more ruinous to the Nation. But where Commerce is greatly diffused, as is the Case at present in Britain, it is impossible that Individuals should thrive and the Nation grow poor without its becoming notoriously evident.

and

and the Augmentation thereby of our foreign Exports <sup>q</sup>. These interesting Assertions shall, from the Evidence of incontrovertible Facts, be made as clearly appear as Points of such Importance deserve. By this Means the attentive Reader will be freed from every Doubt on this Head, and the Honour of the Nation be completely vindicated from the mean and malignant Insinuation thrown out by some assuming Writers in other Countries <sup>r</sup>.

It has been already observed, that there are no Countries in Europe abound more in Fossils, those concealed but not the least valuable of national Possessions, or in the most useful, and of course esteemed Kinds of Fossils, than the British Dominions <sup>s</sup>. This Assertion would have been at all Times true, but in former Ages would have appeared of far less Significance than at present. For within the Compa's of these two last Centuries, we have not only gradually brought to View, but also turned these hidden Sources of Wealth to prodigious Advantage, in consequence of our applying the Lights of Science to the Direction of Labour and Industry <sup>t</sup>. This will very clearly be seen from a few Specimens, as this Work will by no means admit of an exact Enumeration.

FULLER'S Earth is a Gift, or with greater Propriety may be filed a rich as well as a real Treasure bestowed upon us by Nature <sup>u</sup>, which is found in very great Abundance, of different Colours, and of various Kinds, in different

<sup>q</sup> A wide extended Territory, and the expensive Wars we have been drawn into for the Defence of our Neighbours, for the Support of our national Rights, and the Preservation of our commercial Interests obliged us to contract Debts; as the strict Justice observed to those who lent us Money, gave and will ever give us unlimited Credit. These Debts produced our Taxes, and the great Increase of our Trade created and sustains our Paper Circulation. Our Taxes, Debts, and Paper Currency (whatever Strangers may think of them) are Incidents natural to People in our Situation, and so many pregnant Proofs of the Stability of national Prosperity.

<sup>r</sup> *L'Homme Désintéressé*. Bruxelles, 1760, 12mo. *Les Interets des Nations de l'Europe développés, relativement au Commerce*, 2 tom. 4to. Leide, 1766. A general View of England, respecting its Policy, Commerce, Taxes, &c. (said to be translated from the French) London, 1766, 8vo. with many more that might be cited, tending to excite an Opinion, that however formidable our Power may be at present, it is nevertheless on the Decline.

<sup>s</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 55, 56. where the Authorities in Support of this are produced.

<sup>t</sup> The Spirit of scientific Inquiry, which has been of inestimable Value to this Country, was first excited, and has been continually promoted by our Royal Society. As I am from Experience fully convinced of this myself, so the frequent Occasions I have had and shall have to cite that invaluable Register of the Improvement of natural Knowledge, their Transactions, will be sufficient to convince every candid Reader of the Reality of the Assertion.

<sup>u</sup> Fuller's Worthies, Bedf. p. 113. Surry, p. 76. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, N<sup>o</sup>. 379. p. 419. Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire, p. 121. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 49. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, vol. i. p. 27.

Parts of the Kingdom<sup>w</sup>. It is therefore justly considered as a singular Proof of the Excellence of our Productions, in Comparison of those in the Possession of our Neighbours<sup>x</sup>; for which Reason, and because of its great Service in the Woollen Manufacture, several severe but very necessary Laws<sup>y</sup> have been made to prevent its Exportation, which it is hoped prove effectual.

TOBACCO Pipe Clay, which is also of several Colours, and of very different Qualities, is found in many Places<sup>z</sup>, and if carefully sought for might be found in many more. This likewise is of wonderful Utility, not barely in making those Pipes from which it takes its Name, though that has been a lasting and is still a growing Manufacture<sup>a</sup>, but for its serving many other valuable Purposes. It supplies an admirable Varnish for the finer Sorts of our Earthen Ware, is the principal Material from which the Pots for Glass Houses are made, which resist the fiercest Fires for many Weeks, is mixed with coarser Clays for various Manufactures<sup>b</sup>, and is perhaps, after all, not yet applied to one half of the Uses of which it is capable; and therefore with very great Reason the Exportation of this valuable Commodity is likewise prohibited under the severest Penalties<sup>c</sup>.

A VERY able, inquisitive, and accurate Naturalist has distinguished two-and-twenty Sorts of Clay<sup>d</sup> that fell under his own Observation in Britain, most of which are applicable, exclusive of their Uses in Agriculture, to many valuable Purposes. TILES, of which there are many different Sorts, were, as the Law<sup>e</sup> made for regulating the Time of digging the Earth; and the Manner of making them, manifestly shews, a very ancient Manufacture in this Country. Yet the finer Kinds were even to the Beginning of the present Century imported hither from foreign Parts<sup>f</sup>. There are also more than twenty

<sup>w</sup> In the Counties of Bedford, Kent, Stafford, Surry, and Sussex. As also in the Island of Anglesea.

<sup>x</sup> Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 5.

<sup>y</sup> Stat. 14 Car. II. cap. xviii. § 2. 7. 8. Wil. III. cap. xxviii. § 9, 10, 11. 9. 10. Wil. III. cap. xl. § 2. 6. Geor. I. cap. xxi. § 32.

<sup>z</sup> In the Counties of Cornwall, Dorset, Northampton, Stafford, and in the Isle of Wight. See Houghton's Collections, vol. i. p. 204. Morton's Natural History of Northamptonshire, p. 70. Plor's Staffordshire, p. 121. Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 4, 5. ii. p. 5, 63. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 17, 18, 19.

<sup>a</sup> The ingenious and indefatigable Mr. Houghton informs us, that six Persons can make sixty Grofs of Pipes in a Week. Of these we annually export between fifty and sixty thousand Grofs.

<sup>b</sup> Morton's Natural History of Northamptonshire, p. 71.

<sup>c</sup> Included in the Statutes already cited in respect to Fullers Earth.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Martin Lister, in the Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 164. p. 255.

<sup>e</sup> Stat. 17 Edw. IV. cap. iv. 12 Geor. I. cap. xxv.

<sup>f</sup> Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, vol. ii. p. 27.



different Sorts of BRICKS, which though in use from Time immemorial<sup>s</sup>, were imported hither from Denmark, Germany, and Holland within the Space of a Century in very large Quantities<sup>h</sup>, though now made in most Parts, and might be made in every Part of this Country. The Use of them through the great Increase of Buildings is become so immense of late Years, that there seems, comparatively speaking, to be as much Earth above as below the Surface<sup>i</sup>. Their Sizes, and the Manner of making them, have been regulated not only by one but by many Statutes<sup>k</sup>. There was formerly a Duty on Exportation, but they may be now exported free; and in consequence of this, prodigious Quantities are annually sent abroad, more especially to the West Indies<sup>l</sup>.

THE Art of making EARTHEN WARE, seems to have been introduced, or at least revived in the last Age<sup>m</sup>. Before that Time we brought it from other Countries, and that too in considerable Quantities<sup>n</sup>. We have it now of various Colours, Red, Yellow, and Brown in many, and might have it in most Counties<sup>o</sup>. Besides the coarser, we have likewise many finer Sorts of this, and several of STONE WARE, which of late is made to so great Perfection, and is in itself so light, so neat, so strong, serving likewise for such a vast Variety of Purposes, that it is already grown, and is daily growing into the highest Credit, and of course is also daily improving<sup>p</sup>. We may therefore very reasonably expect, that in Process of Time all these Arts and Manufactures may be carried to a much greater Height, it may be to a Degree beyond our present Conception, and consequently increase alike in their Consumption, and in their Value; at least this has been the Case in most

<sup>s</sup> As to the Bricks made by the Romans who were our Masters in this Art, see Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 149, p. 238. N<sup>o</sup>. 171, p. 1017. N<sup>o</sup>. 222, p. 319. Neve's Builder's Dictionary, Dictionarium Rusticum, both under the Word BRICK. Plot's Oxfordshire, p. 256. Morton's Northamptonshire, p. 68, 69, 70.

<sup>h</sup> Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 26.

<sup>i</sup> Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 383. where he asserts, that any Earth free from Stones will make Brick.

<sup>k</sup> The Tilers and Bricklayers were incorporated as a Company, A. D. 1568. to whom the Execution of these Statutes was committed by 12 Geo. I. cap. xxv. and again taken from them by 2. Geo. ii. cap. xv. It is indeed of Consequence, that these Laws should be frequently reviewed, proper Regulations made, and due care taken to have them effectually carried into Execution.

<sup>l</sup> In all hot Climates the Burning of Brick is a grievous Labour; and besides, those who should perform it are better employed. We export about 3,000,000 annually.

<sup>m</sup> Plot's History of Oxfordshire, p. 255.

<sup>n</sup> Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 27.

<sup>o</sup> It is not the Scarcity of Potters Earth that hinders such Manufactures from being set up in any County, or keeps them where they are; but a Concurrence of other Circumstances, such as Cheapness of Labour, of Subsistence, of Fuel, &c. When with these Assitances they are once thoroughly established, Experience, the Dexterity of the Workmen, and their being able to undersell new Beginners, fixes them to certain Spots.

<sup>p</sup> Agreeable to what has been said in the former Note, the Stone Ware, now of such Importance, has been confined to the Villages of Burdlem, Hanley Green, and Stoke, in Staffordshire.

other Manufactures, to which we have applied ourselves with Vigour, and hath been hitherto the Case of this within the Memory of many who are now living †.

We may with the more Probability hope this, from the Success that has attended our Endeavours to make PORCELAIN, or what is called CHINA WARE †. The Bow China is very much superior in every Respect to the Earthen Ware that was in use before that Attempt was made †. Besides being built on a true Principle, it hath in its Progress been very considerably improved †. The Worcester Manufacture hath a fine Texture, Strength, and Beauty, is already free from some of those Defects that were thought insuperable, and is growing better and better every Year †. Chelsea China equals that of Dresden, or any other foreign Porcelain in respect to the Elegance of its Form, the Beauty of its Paintings, and the Splendour of its Colours, falling very little short in respect to its Substance even of the Oriental, which was its Model †. If we reflect on the short Space of Time in which these several Attempts have been made, and how far they have already advanced, notwithstanding the capital Obstacle in their Way, by which I mean the moderate Price of the true China, and the Necessity imposed thereby of selling cheap in order to force a Market †. If at the same Time we remember that these Difficulties were encountered in the very Infancy of these several Manufactures; which, however, were carried on without any of those public Encouragements which were given to like Establishments in other Countries †; we need not surely despair of seeing a successful Issue to this important, and now promising Undertaking †.

† In the Space of about Sixty Years (as I have been well informed) the Produce of this Ware hath risen from 5000 to 100,000 lb. per Annum. These are entered by the thousand Pieces for Exportation, which is annually about Forty thousand of these.

† This was first attempted at the latter End of the last Century in England, by Mr. Dwight. Since then not only here, but in Saxony, France, and in Italy.

† All Manufactures are imperfect in their Beginnings, and it is then an Act of true Patriotism to encourage and assist them.

† The component Parts of oriental Porcelain, are (1) A vitrescent stony Substance, reduced to an impalpable Powder, Petunse. (2) An unvitriable ungluious Clay, reduced to an impalpable Powder also, Kaolin. These are thoroughly mixed, the latter in as small Proportion as possible, and then moulded and baked. (3) A Varnish composed of the finest Particles of a soapy Earth, dissolved in Water to the Consistence of a Cream, in which, when dry, the Pieces are dipped before baked.

† See the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxii. p. 318, vol. xxxiii p. 191.

† The high Price of this Ware was the sole Objection to it, and yet the Sale even at these Prices afforded little Profit.

† A Circumstance that will stand in the Way of every Undertaking of this Sort, and is what hath kept down the Delf Ware in Holland.

† The Dresden Manufacture was at the Expence of the Sovereign, so is the Royal Manufacture at Séve in France, now said to be superior to that of Dresden.

† Skill improved by Experience, and supported by a steady Perseverance, will gradually overcome the greatest Difficulties.

THESE

THESE Notions will probably appear less sanguine, and more strongly founded in reason, if we take into our serious Consideration, that this Country of ours produces, and that too in the greatest Plenty, all the Materials, even to the most scarce and valuable, of which this curious and elegant Composition is made; that we are likewise in Possession of the Materials of those beautiful and vivid Colours that give it so much Elegance and Lustre<sup>a</sup>; and that the incomparable snowy Varnish, which is the most essential Article in the whole Manufacture, is also known to us, and the Means of making it in our Hands<sup>b</sup>. With all these Advantages, where is the Extravagance in supposing, that with the Penetration and Sagacity, the Steadiness and Perseverance for which this Nation is deservedly distinguished, we may come, and that too in no long Space of Time, to surpass all our Rivals, and reach the ultimate Perfection in making Porcelain before any other Nation in Europe? more especially if we reflect, that this Manufacture never hath, or in all Probability will be attempted, but by Men of true Science and liberal Sentiments, who will prosecute with Skill and Diligence the Object of which they are in pursuit, and thereby owe their Discovery, whenever it shall happen, to a wise and well directed Inquiry<sup>c</sup>, and not to Chance.

WE have also in many Places, and in great Abundance, most of those EARTHS which are in use with Painters, and these of different Colours, different Qualities, and different Values<sup>d</sup>, such as yellow and red OCREAS, Terre Verte, Lambert's Blue, and some fine red Earth, no Way inferior to what is brought from the East Indies, though we are very seldom let into the Secret that this is a British Commodity<sup>e</sup>. We abound likewise with those Materials which are absolutely necessary to the Dyers. ALUM is a

<sup>a</sup> In respect to the Materials, what has been already done, particularly in the Chelsea China, evinces all this to be true, and that Success would ensue if the Expence could be reduced.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Woodward in his History of Fossils, tom. i. p. 6. mentions the Soap Rock at the Lizard Point, and the Steatites in other Places, as most likely to make China. It seems to be in Truth the Houch, which is a great Ingredient in the modern China. Used alone by the Chinese, it makes a fine and beautiful, but at the same time a tender and brittle Ware. But it answers admirably as a Varnish, and would do so with us.

<sup>c</sup> It can be only by a scientific Attention that Porcelain can be brought to absolute Perfection. But this once done, and the Art rendered complete, by adjusting the Proportions of the several Materials, directing the grinding, mixing, and compounding them, prescribing the Method of moulding, drying, and painting them, settling the Form, Size, and Construction of the Ovens, and assigning the Degrees of Heat requisite in all the Operations, it would become a Manufacture, and might then like other Manufactures be trusted in ordinary Hands.

<sup>d</sup> In Buckinghamshire, Cumberland, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Somersetshire, Staffordshire, Sussex, and Yorkshire.

<sup>e</sup> Plot's Natural History of Oxfordshire, p. 56. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 149. Robinson's Natural History of Westmorland and Cumberland, p. 43. Woodward, vol. i. p. 7, 8, 9. Hill, p. 51—66.

mineral Salt, which is found here in a dark grey or blueish coloured Stone<sup>f</sup>. It was first discovered, or at least first wrought to any Degree of Perfection, by Sir Thomas Chaloner, who was Tutor to Henry Prince of Wales, as hath been hinted in the former Book<sup>g</sup>. Some Time elapsed after the Discovery before they fell into the right Method of managing it, but since that hath been attained, it has been made in great Quantities, and with very considerable Profit<sup>h</sup>. After the Restoration there was so large a Demand for Alum, that the Duty still subsisting, of one Shilling on every hundred Weight, was laid on the Exportation<sup>i</sup>. It is indeed a Commodity of which there is a constant and very large Consumption; for besides being absolutely necessary in Dyeing<sup>k</sup>, of which some have stiled it the Soul, as serving to unite the Substance and the Colour, to which last it also adds Solidity, Vivacity, and Permanency; it is highly useful to Paper-makers, Goldsmiths, and Book-binders, and also in several other Manufactures, as well as in Physic. The Preparation of Alum employs a great Number of Hands in very different Kinds of Labour<sup>l</sup>. The Stone, or Alum Rock as it is called, from which it is made, is found very plentifully in Yorkshire and Lancashire; and if the Quantities made there did not amply supply the Market, there would be no Difficulty in finding Alum Rocks elsewhere<sup>m</sup>. To this rich and valuable Salt we may likewise add COPPERAS and VITRIOL, made in great Plenty, and in the highest Perfection, from the Pyrites, commonly called *Gold Stones*, found in great Abundance, and also in very great Perfection, on the Coasts of the Isle of Sheppoy, and elsewhere<sup>n</sup>. Both Copperas and Vitriol are not

<sup>f</sup> In Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Wales. Harison's Description of Britain, Book. iii. chap. 16. Fuller's British Worthies, Lancashire, p. 106. Yorkshire, p. 186, 187. Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 337, p. 275. Woodward, vol. i. 170. Hill, p. 391, 392, 393.

<sup>g</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol i. p. 75.

<sup>h</sup> The Value of our Alum hath been for some Years past about Sixteen Pounds a Ton, and we annually export between Two and Three thousand Tons.

<sup>i</sup> Stat. 12. Car. II. cap. iv. In order to understand the Utility and of Consequence the Value of Alum, consult Sir W. Petty's History of Dyeing, in Bishop Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 284—306. A Treatise equally conducive to the Design of that excellent Work, and worthy of its ingenious Author, a Man of amazing Abilities, and whose Abilities were not more extensive than his Knowledge.

<sup>k</sup> It is thought by the best Judges, that the Powers of Alum in this Respect are by no means thoroughly known; and that by the Help of this Salt, as fine and lasting Colours may be obtained from some of our common Vegetables, as those that sell at a high Price as coming from the Indies. Some Experiments it is said have been made on the Marigold, which seemed to promise Success, in supplying a bright and permanent Yellow, at a moderate Price.

<sup>l</sup> Ray's Collection of English Words not generally used, p. 144, where there is an exact Account of the making of Alum.

<sup>m</sup> In the Isle of Chio in the Archipelago, there are Mines of natural Alum, which Salt is reproduced, and this may be the Case in respect to ours: See the Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 110. p. 221.

<sup>n</sup> Worm. Mus. Sect. II. cap. xiii. p. 89. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii, p. 138—145. Woodward, vol. i. p. 172—177. Hill, p. 615. 621. Newman's Works, p. 174, 175.

only used in very large Quantities by the Dyers, and by the Hatters, and other Manufacturers at Home; but there are likewise very considerable Quantities of both exported.

It may very possibly be said, that separately taken, none of these can be regarded in the Light of great national Staples, or that their Exportation, even collectively, produces Profits which amount to vast Sums. But on the other Hand, it is to be observed, that as we derive them from the Benevolence of Nature, and that in this Respect they are our inherent Property, they are for this Reason very well worthy Notice. They are likewise an incontestible Proof of what from an Increase of Knowledge and Attention may be done with Things long overlooked and neglected. They are, as now used, Sources of innumerable and inexpressible Advantages to Individuals, some of whom in the Management of them acquire ample Fortunes, while many Thousands draw from them a comfortable Subsistence for themselves and their Families, which however they cannot do without benefiting others, who are employed in raising that Subsistence they labour to purchase. By this Means many Villages and even Towns have been established, Estates improved, and a Consumption of various Commodities and Manufactures promoted. The Result of these no Doubt may be very justly considered as public Emoluments.

BUT is this all? No, certainly. The Public is in many other Respects a considerable, and, which is more to be regarded, a constant Gainer. She saves, and let us maturely weigh to how much this may Amount, whatever these Commodities would have cost, if brought, as many of them formerly were, from other Countries. She has the entire Profit, be that what it will, of whatever is exported. She is benefited by the Navigation,

° At the latter End of the last Century we imported annually about Five hundred Tuns of Vitriol, and we now export upwards of Two thousand Tons.

¶ It is no easy Matter to procure the Materials on which such a Calculation might be founded. If they could be had with any Degree of Exactness, I am persuaded the Objection would be effectually removed, and the Value of these Articles be acknowledged to exceed our Expectations. Until this can be gained we have the Satisfaction of being sure, that though the Amount of these Benefits may be unknown, they are not unfelt by the Nation.

¶ Who among our Forefathers would have considered a few Clay-pits as an Estate; thought of picking Wealth out of a bare Rock; or supposed it possible to raise a Fortune by boiling rotten Wood and rusty Stones cast on Shore by the Sea? yet this is now the Case, and which highly enhances the Value, it is by the Encouragement of Industry these Advantages are obtained.

¶ Whatever multiplies Mouths and employs Hands must encourage and extend Agriculture, for Men of all Conditions draw their Food from the Field.

¶ In order to see this in its true Light, we must consider that many of the Commodities are consumed in our most valuable Manufactures; and that if these were not our own Produce, it is more than probable we never had succeeded in these Manufactures; to this we may add, that if we were deprived of these Materials, and forced to import them from foreign Countries, it may be doubted whether we could keep them.

and in many other Instances; frequently by the Returns for these Goods in raw Commodities, which after being manufactured here are again exported. There were several important Reasons for stating fully, and explaining clearly these Points, so as to make them thoroughly understood. First, because it does Honour or rather Justice to the Excellence of our Country, and since Skill and Labour were exerted, and their Effects properly considered, to the Ingenuity, Industry, and indefatigable Perseverance of our Countrymen. It was in the next Place expedient, because even since the Revolution these Benefits were so little regarded, and the Produce of them so little considered, as not to be admitted either in Whole or in Part into the Computation of our national Income<sup>u</sup>. Thirdly, because it most clearly shews, how in various Cases this Country has been, and of course still may be improved; and in this Respect admirably illustrates, as well as plainly demonstrates, what we have so frequently inculcated, that Industry, and Industry solely, constitutes the Riches of a Nation, and that Gold, Silver, and other arbitrary Signs of what Industry hath acquired, is only the Wealth of Individuals or private Men<sup>w</sup>.

We have in this Country an amazing Quantity, and no less surprizing Variety of Stones fit for almost all Uses. For scouring and polishing of Metals<sup>x</sup>, for grinding and giving an Edge to all Sorts of Instruments, Mill Stones of every Kind<sup>z</sup>, Fire Stone from Ryegate, ~~Worsham~~, Bath, and other Places, excellent for the Construction of Hearths, Ovens, and other

<sup>t</sup> Whoever reads Carew's Survey of Cornwall, King's Vale Royal of England, and Harison's Description of Britain, will see the Truth, and feel the Propriety of this Observation. The native Resources of this Country were then the same as at present, but the Condition of the Inhabitants very different. This Difference arises from Skill and Labour (excited by a milder and more settled Government) calling these Resources to our Aid, and thereby raising us to what we are at present.

<sup>u</sup> At that Period many of these were become Things of some Consequence, but not enough to be looked upon as national Advantages, so that it was from this Time they gradually grew into Importance, and from thence we may discern, that those still in their Infancy will in a reasonable Space become as considerable. An Idea which excites a Pleasure superior to the Possession of Wealth in the Bosom of every true Lover of his Country.

<sup>w</sup> This is a Proposition that cannot be controverted, if it be but understood. Money, or whatever has the Effects of Money, can operate only as a common Measure. In this Sense Money is said to answer all Things. As the Measure, there must be some Thing or Substance to which it may be applied, and thereby make known its Value. Industry produces Substance; Idleness produces nothing; therefore Money measures the Fruits of Industry; and where these are not, Money is useless. Whatever multiplies Substance increases what Money is to measure, or, in other Words, augments the Number of those Things of which Money declares the Value; but as Worth belongs to Substance, and as this flows from Industry, here is the Source of national Wealth which Individuals measure by Money, that is, the Means of obtaining them.

<sup>x</sup> These are Tripelas, and found in the Counties of Derby, Devon, Middlesex, Northampton, Salop, Somerset, Stafford, Sussex, and Wilts.

<sup>z</sup> In Cumberland, Derbyshire, Northumberland, and other Places.

These are principally found in Anglesa, Derbyshire, Flintshire, and Lancashire.

Works of a like Nature<sup>a</sup>. Stones for paving and making of Floors; we have also many that serve for building, such as Free Stone, Rag Stone, Ketton Stone<sup>b</sup>, improperly called Kettering Stone, for there is really no Stone at all at this last mentioned Place; and several very durable and beautiful Sorts from the inexhaustible Quarries of Purbeck and Portland<sup>c</sup>. We abound also in a Variety of Materials for the best LIME, which besides its great Use in building, is serviceable in tanning and other Manufactures<sup>d</sup>. Add to these, the Plenty we have of substantial and elegant SLATES, which serve for many Purposes as well as for covering Houses, in which the best Sorts will last not only for Years but for Ages<sup>e</sup>.

It is no Diminution of this national Wealth, no Impeachment of the Doctrine which we mean to deduce from it; that some other Countries have finer, more beautiful, more solid, and of course more valuable Stones than we, since Commerce puts even these also into our Possession<sup>f</sup>; But if our Prepossessions should abate, as from an Increase of Science they gradually must, we should speedily be convinced, that in regard to these Necessity has no great Share in their Importation. What we are pleased to call by the Name of Derbyshire Stone, would in Italy be esteemed Marble, and if brought from thence hither, would be held a very fine Marble; and as such fetch a very high Price<sup>g</sup>. Besides this, we have also different coloured Marbles, some finely veined, others spotted, and these not in small Quantities, or in remote Corners, but in every Part of the British Territories<sup>h</sup>. We have likewise very fine Alabaster, and it may be both Porphyry

<sup>a</sup> Plot's Oxfordshire, p. 77, 78. Staffordshire, p. 152. Morton's Northamptonshire, p. 115, 116.

<sup>b</sup> Free Stone is so called from its being cut and worked in any Direction; Sand Stone, from its Appearance; Rag Stone seems to be a Sort of Marble; Ketton Stone, which is justly esteemed one of the finest Free Stones we have, is from Ketton of Heath Quarries in Rutland, a few Miles South East from Stamford; though Dr. Hook in his Micrography, and Dr. Woodward, place it in Northamptonshire.

<sup>c</sup> Stones for Paving and other Uses, as well as Building, are brought in prodigious Quantities from these Quarries, and have furnished the Materials for most of the great Edifices in London.

<sup>d</sup> We have Lime of all Sorts, and fit for all Uses, in all Parts of the British Dominions, which to whoever attentively considers it will appear an invaluable Advantage.

<sup>e</sup> These are found in Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, Somersetshire, and also in North Britain and Ireland. The blue Slate has many Properties to recommend it as a Covering; it is beautiful, light, resists the Weather, and is easily repaired. Horsham Stone is used for the same Purpose, but is not so light.

<sup>f</sup> These being generally obtained in Exchange for our own Manufactures, and brought to us in our own Vessels, lessens the national Expence.

<sup>g</sup> It is certain that this has the essential Qualities of Marble, is very hard, and bears an high Polish. See Hill's History of Fossils, p. 469.

<sup>h</sup> In Anglesea, of a dark Brown near Black; in Cornwall, Grey; in Cumberland, dark Green; in Devon, finely veined with Red and White; in Derbyshire, of an Ash Colour; in Kent, a Kind of Ophites, dark Brown with green Spots, Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 155, p. 463. In Somersetshire,



phyry and Granite, little if at all inferior to the Oriental<sup>i</sup>. It is of no great Consequence, that Curiosities made of these are not acknowledged to be British Commodities when produced for Sale, but are extolled as foreign Rarities. This, I say, is of no great Consequence, because such Impositions cannot long last, and whenever discovered are sure to bring the Commodity into full Credit<sup>k</sup>. In Truth, the leading us to such Enquiries has been in many Instances the Means of bringing us acquainted with our own Riches, which is the best Apology, or rather is the true political Reason for indulging, though under high Duties, the Importation of these foreign Luxuries, as by this Expedient a temporary Expence produces a certain, solid, and permanent national Advantage<sup>l</sup>.

IN regard to these, Slates excepted, there is but little exported, and yet infinite Benefit results from them to the Nation. Multitudes are employed in digging, burning, hewing, and other Labours in the Places from whence these Materials are brought<sup>m</sup>. The Land and Water Carriage of these bulky Commodities is very expensive, that is, in other Words, contributes to the Subsistence of many more industrious Persons. The coasting Navigation is in that Respect yet more considerable<sup>n</sup>. When brought to the Place where they are used, they fall into the Hands of a new and numerous Set of Artists, who exert their Skill in the Construction of those Works, public or private, for which they are intended. But as all Buildings, and more especially those of Stone, are very lasting and valuable, so when finished, they constitute real Wealth, and add so much to the public Stock<sup>o</sup>.

setshire, of a light Brown; in Sussex, a grey Ground with a Cast of Green; in Wales, a fine Black. See Woodward's History of Fossils, tom. i. p. 20, 21. tom. ii. p. 6. 66. In many Parts also of North Britain and Ireland.

<sup>i</sup> Harison's Description of Britain, B. iii. chap. xv. Plot's Staffordshire, p. 173, 174. Woodward's History of Fossils, tom. ii. p. 6. Hill, p. 493. In Staffordshire Plenty; in Cornwall as fine as the Oriental.

<sup>k</sup> Borlace's History of Cornwall, p. 97—101, called Moor Stone, but is truly Granite. Porphyry, which is only a closer grained Granite, is found (though hitherto in small Pieces only) in Cornwall, and in the Northern Counties.

<sup>l</sup> By a judicious raising the Duty on Importation, without having Recourse to a Prohibition, our own Commodities may, when their Natures, Quantities, and Qualities are once ascertained, be easily introduced.

<sup>m</sup> Such as are thus employed become a robust, active, and vigorous Race of Men, are retained with their Posterity in their own Countries, into which from Labour they draw a considerable and constant Supply of Money; and as this circulates in procuring Necessaries of every Kind, it thereby encourages Agriculture, Manufactures, and Inland Trade.

<sup>n</sup> These Coasting Vessels furnish a continual Supply of able Seamen for our Merchantmen and Ships of War.

<sup>o</sup> This is not only agreeable to common Sense, but is supported by the Computations of all the political Arithmeticians.



THERE is indeed (as has been before observed) another Method by which we may be led to form a just Idea of the Emoluments arising from these subterraneous Riches; which is, by considering what would be the Consequences of our wanting such Resources. We must then import them as some of them we formerly did from abroad, which would support the Industry of other Countries and impoverish this. We must lose several of our Manufactures; and after all have but a very small Proportion of Houses, and none of the most valuable of those we actually have at present. All this will appear in the strongest Light, not a gratuitous Supposition, but a just Representation of Facts, if we reflect on the State Things were in about three Centuries ago. For though undoubtedly our Ancestors were well acquainted with our Quarries, and wrought admirably well in Stone, yet they confined themselves to Cathedrals, Colleges, Churches, Castles, Bridges, Royal Palaces, and a few Noblemens Manor-houses. As for all the Rest they were built of Timber; so that our Villages, and even our Towns, were in point of Beauty, Neatness, and Splendour, as much below as they are at present superior to those in most other Countries.

WE will now proceed to Things of more immediate, or at least of more apparent Benefit. SALTS of almost all Sorts are made in Britain, and of some Sort or other in almost every Part of Britain. If we remember that this is a daily, as well as an indispensable Necessary of Life, we must look upon it as a very great, and whenever we reflect on the frequent and manifold Uses thereof, even in domestic Oeconomy, it must appear to be a very extensive Blessing. But if we farther enlarge our View, and advert to the great Utility of Salt in the preserving such Provisions as are to be long laid up in Magazines, to be exported into distant Countries, or to be spent on board Ships, the Bounds seem to be exceedingly enlarged, or rather all Bounds are removed, and its Uses may be stiled infinite almost

<sup>r</sup> Our Choice would be then restrained to the Alternative of one of these Wants, of Money if we purchased the Materials from abroad, or of commodious Dwellings by avoiding that Expence. By an Application of Skill and Labour; that is, the Abilities of Body and Mind to the Improvement of the Gifts of Providence, we avoid both. It would be well if in other Cases we had Recourse to the same Measure.

<sup>1</sup> Harison's Description of Britain, 1557. folio. Stowe's Survey of London, 1603, 4to. King's Vale Royal of England.

<sup>2</sup> With the Author's cited in the last Note, the Reader may consult the Description of small Towns and Villages in Leland's Itinerary, Fines Morrison's Travels. As also Camdeni Britan. p. 673.

<sup>3</sup> According to a Computation which I have seen, and which appeared to be very moderate, this Consumption in South Britain was rated at upwards of Seventy thousand Pounds a Year, estimating Salt at no more than eight Pence a Bushell, and confined to our own Salt. There is no reason to doubt our domestic Consumption is since increased.

without a Figure <sup>t</sup>. From this immense and continual Consumption of Salt, we may form some Idea of the Number of Families maintained by the making, transporting, and vending of this valuable Article. It may be said, and indeed it has been more than once admitted, that this hath been for Ages one of the known Commodities of this Country, though by the way it is not quite a Century since Rock Salt was discovered <sup>u</sup>. But the great Benefit arises from the Consumption, which within this last Century has increased amazingly, and is still increasing, as manifestly appears by the public Revenue arising from it <sup>w</sup>.

It may be also said, and said with Truth, that other Nations have Plenty of Salt as well as we, nay better Salt than we; and, which is still more, that, with all our boasted Abundance, we purchase, and are obliged to purchase much of this Commodity from our Neighbours <sup>x</sup>. Upon this some Remarks may be made which will set this Matter in a clearer Light. In the first Place, this being chiefly used in the Curing of Fish, it never can or ever could be looked upon as a dead Loss to the Nation, but as a Diminution of her Profits in Trade. In the next Place, this very Circumstance only is a demonstrative Proof of the prodigious Benefit we receive from the Plenty of it bestowed upon us by Nature, as it manifestly shews what a prodigious Saving this enables us to make, since the Expence would have been insupportable if we had purchased the Whole, or even the greatest Part of what is necessary for our extensive Consumption <sup>y</sup>. In the last Place, we must take Notice, that whatever this might be formerly it is now an unnecessary Tribute; for we have not barely the Means, and all the Conveni-

<sup>t</sup> We learn from the accurate Dr. Haies, that in curing Beef for Sea Service (Pickle included) there is used half a Bushell and half a Gallon of White, and one Gallon and a Quarter of Bay Salt, that is forty Pounds and somewhat more, to a hundred Weight of Flesh; from whence we may form some Conception of the prodigious Quantity of this Commodity annually expended.

<sup>u</sup> In 1670, in the Lands of William Madbury, Esq; of Madbury in Cheshire, there have been since many more Works wrought by other Proprietors, who have most of them joined in a Company for that Purpose. This Rock Salt is sent to Liverpool and many other Places, where by boiling it in Sea Water they Produce a fine white Salt, which they can sometimes afford at twenty Shillings a Ton, exclusive of the Duty, and export it to the Plantations.

<sup>w</sup> According to the best Accounts I have been able to procure, the Gross Duty on Salt made in South Britain amounts annually to Seven hundred thousand Pounds.

<sup>x</sup> About sixty Years ago this Importation amounted to One hundred thousand Bushells. Dr. Brownrig tells us, p. 191. that Bay Salt sells at London for four Shillings and four Pence a Bushell exclusive of Excise; which shews at how high a Rate we purchase, and how vast an Expence we must be at, if we were less happy in this Respect than we are; and it also shews how very much it imports us to remove so heavy a Burthen.

<sup>y</sup> We may from the Circumstances mentioned in the former Note acquire a tolerable Conception of this Matter, taking in the Difference of Price between foreign Salt and ours. It is undoubtedly a wise Policy to grant a Drawback on foreign Salt employed in the Fishery. But would it be a less wise Policy to propose a Reward for making Salt here, as fit for curing Fish, as foreign Salt, and at a moderate Price?

encies for making Bay, and all other Kinds of Salt equal for all Purposes to any that we can purchase from abroad, but it is also known that we are able to make them cheaper <sup>z</sup>.

GLASS is a Composition of the Salts of Plants, and of Sand, Pebbles, or Stone reduced to Powder. As it is thus composed of vegetable and terrene Substances, it may be considered under either Head; and as all the Materials of which this valuable Commodity is made are found throughout the British Dominions, it is of no great Consequence under which Head it is considered. Glass, that is, the ordinary or coarser Kinds of it, were made in England more than Two hundred Years ago <sup>b</sup>: But the finer Kinds, particularly Flint and Plate Glass, not more than half that Time <sup>c</sup>. We have since made many and great Improvements; so that our Glass is in general superior to that in molt, and hardly, if at all, inferior to what is made in any Country <sup>d</sup>: If we remember the Constituent Parts of this useful and admirable Substance, viz. Ashes and Sand, and reflect again on the Value to which by the Skill and Industry of Men they are raised: If we contemplate the numerous Families to whom in a Variety of Ways it gives a plentiful Subsistence, and to some large Fortunes <sup>e</sup>: If we call to Mind how far as a Manufacture it has extended, that it is still extending, and may yet extend through all the British Isles: If we consider, that, though exported without any Duty, it yields upon Home Consumption a very large Revenue to the Crown <sup>f</sup>; we may, taking all this together, form a competent Notion of the Advantages we draw from this Manufacture, of

<sup>z</sup> Dr. Brownrig's Art of making Salt, p. 211—216. where this is made as evident as a Thing of this Nature can be made till verified from Facts.

<sup>b</sup> Charnock's Breviary of Philosophy, chap. i. Stowe's Annals, p. 1040. Harison's Description of Britain, book iii. chap. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Plot's Oxfordshire, p. 258. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 43. Plate Glass at the Expence of the Duke of Bucks, and Flint Glass by Mr. Ravencroft.

<sup>d</sup> As soon as the true Principles of making Glass were known through the Labours of Neri, Mariet, and Kunckell, it became evident, that no Country in the World abounded more with all the Materials requisite to this Manufacture, viz. white Sand, Flint, Pebles, Quartz, Marble Dust, Kelp, Fern-ashes (Barrillia might be had) and Manganese. We need not wonder therefore at our Success, and we have as little Reason to fear we shall decline.

<sup>e</sup> It requires a great Fortune to embark in making Plate Glass; a Furnace is six Years in building, and costs Three thousand Five hundred Pounds before any Business can be done. The Bursting of a Pot of Glass in the Fire is the Loss of Two hundred and Fifty Pounds. The Profits must needs be large to answer such Hazard and Expence; and both Profits and Expence are clear Gain to the Nation, which is a Circumstance of great Weight in regard to the Importance of this Manufacture.

<sup>f</sup> Stat. 19. Geor. II. cap. 12. § 1—30. a Duty was imposed of nine Shillings and four Pence on every hundred Weight of Materials employed in making Crown, Flint, and Plate Glass, and two Shillings and four Pence on the Materials for Green Glass; which Duty of Excise produced in 1762 Seventy-one thousand Seven hundred Forty-nine Pounds, and is a growing Duty.

which we send very large Quantities into other Countries, and even into some of those from which we formerly received it *s.*

IN regard to this as well as the former Article, we shall comprehend the Matter still more clearly, if we suffer ourselves to speculate on the prodigious Sums that must have gone out of this Country, in order to have furnished ourselves with the neat, curious, and elegant Vessels that are made of this Substance, if Providence had not furnished us so abundantly with the Materials, and the Means of making it in the utmost Plenty, and in the highest Beauty and Perfection *h.* This is said in regard to the present State of this Manufacture here and through all the Rest of Europe *i.* But it is far from being improbable, and much less is it impossible, that it may receive farther Improvements, not simply in Fashion, in cutting, and other Ornaments, for such it receives already every Day, but in respect to its Texture, Solidity, and other essential Qualities, of which it is still capable, as many and ingenious and judicious Authors have remarked *k.* A Thing not at all unlikely, considering the numerous Advantages we have, joined to our Experience and Success, the enterprising Spirit of the present Age, and the immense Profits that would accrue, if Ways and Means can be found to improve, and thereby perhaps to enlarge the Consumption of Glass as much in the next as it has been in the current Century *l.*

COALS, though not an exclusive, yet may with great Propriety be stiled a peculiar Blessing to Britain, from their great Plenty, their acknowledged Excellence, and from their being found in such Places as are conveniently disposed for Exportation. It is certain, that they are not, as some have

*£* In the Year 1764 we exported to different Parts of Europe, Africa, and the East Indies, 33,203 cwt. and 411 Chests of Glass. We the same Year exported to our Plantations, 41,515 cwt. and 392 Chests. In all 74,718 cwt. and 803 Chests of Glass.

*h* The great and continual Consumption of this brittle Ware, which is now a Source of Profit, would have been then a Drain. It was a Sense of this that induced James I. and Charles I. as we see in Rymer, tom. xix p. 663. to prohibit the Importation of foreign Glass. It was also to encourage Sir Robert Mansell, to whom the first of these Monarchs had granted an exclusive Patent for making Glass, in Consideration of his having introduced Pit Coal instead of Wood.

*i* In France, for the Encouragement of the Manufacture of Plate Glass, and the easier to furnish the Sums requisite to support so expensive an Undertaking, it was by Lewis XIV. confined to the Noblesse or Gentry; so that while other Trades are supposed to derogate from, this of Glass is considered as a Mark of Gentility. By this, and by laying heavy Duties on foreign Glass, this Manufacture has been brought to bear in that Kingdom.

*k* Shaw's Lectures on Chemistry, p. 426. where he has shewn a Method of making a new Glass, much harder than any now in Use.

*l* Most of the Improvements already made were in consequence of the Enlargement of Science; and it may be surely from thence inferred, that there is nothing absurd in supposing that as Natural History, Chemistry, and Mechanism are better understood, new Improvements may be made, more especially if we reflect that this Manufacture was esteemed perfect even before these late Improvements were introduced.

imagined, the Lapis Obsidianus of Pliny <sup>m</sup>, or the Gagates, Jet, or as some affect to call it Black Amber <sup>n</sup>; though, by the way, of this we have finer and in greater Abundance than in any other Country in the World. At Wirtembergh, where Jet is likewise found in considerable Quantities, they make many pretty Toys of it, which turn to no inconsiderable Amount <sup>o</sup>. It is however highly probable, that our Cannel Coal is the Lapis Ampe-litis <sup>p</sup>, or Vine Stone: It is common in several Counties <sup>q</sup>, and if less com-mon would probably turn to better Account; for it is smooth, solid, of a beautiful shining Black, is turned into Snuff-boxes, Salt-sellers, small Plates, and other Utensils; but the far greatest Part is burnt, and is in all Respects an excellent Fuel <sup>r</sup>. Besides this, there are in general three Kinds of Coal, first, what passes commonly under the Name of Scots Coal, though improp-erly as being found in many Places <sup>s</sup>: It is smooth, splits easily, burns briskly, with a white Flame, and consumes entirely into white Ashes. The second is usually stiled Welch Coal, which is more lasting, burns with little Smoak, and turns to Cinders <sup>t</sup>. The third is a strong heavy Coal; which makes an excellent Fire, and is the common Newcastle or Sea-coal, of which there is also great Variety, as there are above forty different Sorts brought to London <sup>u</sup>. This useful Commodity is found not only in the

<sup>m</sup> Natural. Histor. lib. xxxvi. cap. 26. Great Disputes have been about this Substance, of which Augustus placed the Statues of four Elephants in the Temple of Concord.

<sup>n</sup> Some have taken Jet for the Lapis Obsidianus, but the Lightness and Texture shew plainly it is not either Stone or Coal. It is found frequently on the Sea Coasts, and in the Cliffs of the Rocks about Whitby, as also on the Coasts of Norfolk. It is constantly bought up and sent to London, and is here no Doubt wrought into Toys of some Kind or other.

<sup>o</sup> Selecta Physico Oeconomica, vol. i. p. 442. They make Bracelets, Necklaces, Pendants, &c. which we formerly imported from Holland.

<sup>p</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 16. It is called the Vine Stone from its supposed Property of destroying Worms which infest Vines, and is still used either in Substance or in Ashes in the Palatinate as the fittest Manure for Vineyards. It does not appear that the Ashes of Cannel Coal, for it produces no Cinders, were ever used for this Purpose in Britain. The Trial is however easy and ought certainly to be made.

<sup>q</sup> The learned Dr. Daries in his Dictionary says, it receives its Name from Canwyll, which in the old British Language signifies a Candle, the Want of which the bright Flame of this Coal supplies. It is chiefly found in Cheshire, Cumberland, Lancashire (esteemed the finest) and in Staffordshire. It is said by Camden, Britan. p. 670. to be found in the Bishoprick of Durham.

<sup>r</sup> Camdeni Britan. p. 600. Plot's Staffordshire, p. 125, 126. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 151. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 117. Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 165. ii. p. 17. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 416. Mineralogie de Valmout-Bomare, tom. ii. p. 251, 252.

<sup>s</sup> Particularly about Lemmington in Warwickshire, and not as some say in Hampshire; in such Abundance as to be known in that Part of the Country by the Name of Lemmington Coal.

<sup>t</sup> This Property of burning without Smoak renders them fit for making Malt, even without charring or making them into Coaks.

<sup>u</sup> These Denominations are taken from the Collieries, and the Reader may see a List of them in Hunter's Complete View of the Coal Trade, p. 186.

East, but on the West Coast of England and Wales, and there are also very considerable Mines of it in Scotland and in Ireland <sup>w</sup>.

COALS, though employed in several Manufactures for some hundred Years, were not brought into common Use till the Reign of Charles the First, and were then sold here for about seventeen Shillings a Chaldron <sup>x</sup>. In some Years after the Restoration there were about Two hundred thousand Chaldron burned in this Metropolis <sup>y</sup>. In 1670 about Two hundred and Seventy thousand Chaldron <sup>z</sup>; at the Revolution upwards of Three hundred thousand Chaldron <sup>a</sup>; at present between Five and Six hundred thousand Chaldron, or perhaps full Six hundred thousand are annually consumed here <sup>b</sup>. There is besides an immense Consumption in different Parts of Great Britain and Ireland <sup>c</sup>. In foreign Countries our Coals are also not only known and esteemed, but purchased likewise and consumed, and this to a very large Amount <sup>d</sup>. Neither is this in any Danger of being even lessened by the several Duties that have been laid upon them <sup>e</sup>; for this foreign Consumption being founded in Necessity with regard to Manufactures, and in Oeconomy where they are used for Convenience, Wood and Turf being dearer than Coals with the Duty, we need therefore be in no Fear of the Markets declining <sup>f</sup>. There is just as little Room to be alarmed from the Apprehension of their being exhausted, as the present Works are capable of supplying us for a long Series of Years, and there are many other Mines ready to be opened when

<sup>w</sup> In Anglesea, Carmarthenshire, Cheshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Durham, Flintshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Northumberland, Pembrokehire, Shropshire, Somersetshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire.

<sup>x</sup> England's Grievance in relation to the Coal Trade, by Ralph Gardiner, London 1655, 4to. P. 53.

<sup>y</sup> As may be collected from the Writings of Mr. Evelyn, Sir P. Pet, Dr. Chamberlayne, and many others.

<sup>z</sup> Dr. Chamberlayne's Present State of England, 1671, p. 192.

<sup>a</sup> Taking an Average of the Years 1687, 1688, 1689. from the Custom-house Entries, the Importation was 323,097 Chalders.

<sup>b</sup> Hunter's Complete View of the Coal Trade, p. 184. where he States it in 1755 at 535,342 Chalders. But in 1766 it was 614,242 Chalders.

<sup>c</sup> In North Britain they supply their own Consumption, and also export. In Ireland though they have Coals, yet they take annually to the Value of £. 30,000 from England, and £. 12,000 from Scotland.

As far as I am able to collect, the Duty on Coals exported on board British Ships, including the new Duty of four Shillings, in 1757, amounts to ten Shillings every Chaldron.

<sup>e</sup> The present Duty, as high as it may seem, is so little more than what is paid in London that this Assertion cannot appear improbable.

<sup>f</sup> Some French Patriots are very angry that their Smiths, Farriers, &c. will not use their own Coal (Houille); and in Holland they might have it from Liege, Roer, and other Places: But notwithstanding the Dutch Duty is much lower on these than ours, yet in their Manufactures of Glass, Metals, in their Forges, Light-Houses, and where a strong Fire is requisite, they use Houille d'Angleterre. This shows the Superiority of our Coal incontestibly.

any of these shall fail <sup>g</sup>. Besides, there are known to be Coals in many Parts of the three Kingdoms which hitherto they have had no Encouragement to work. We have had several Occasions of speaking on this Subject before, and have insisted pretty largely on the local Benefits derived from thence <sup>h</sup>; which however ought not to preclude us from giving a succinct and summary View of the numerous national Advantages resulting from this valuable Commodity.

THEY are in many Respects, and in a very high Degree, useful to the landed Interest, not only by raising exceedingly the real Value, and of course the Purchase of those Lands in which Coals are found, and those through which it is necessary to pass from the Works to the Places where they are embarked <sup>i</sup>, but from the general Improvements they have occasioned; so that very few Counties are now better cultivated than Northumberland, and the same Effects they have had in a greater or less Degree in other Places <sup>k</sup>. Thousands of laborious People are maintained in and about the Mines, thousands more in conveying them to the Ports and on board the Ships; to say nothing of those that draw their Subsistence from the Carriage of them by Land. There are also great Numbers that live in a superior Station, as Stewards, Directors, Factors, Agents, Book-keepers, &c. To these we may add the extraordinary Encouragement given to ingenious Artists who have invented, and the numerous Workmen continually employed about those several curious and costly Machines, which for a Variety of Purposes are in continual Use, and of course in continual Wear <sup>l</sup>. We may join to these the Multitudes that obtain their Living from the many Manufactures in which they are employed, and which could not be carried on but by the Help and Cheapness of Coals. These taken together shew how very serviceable they have been in that important Article of Population <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> In respect to this (though the Fact is so generally admitted as to need no Proof) I have carefully inquired from the properest Judges, who all confirmed it.

<sup>h</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 156. 163. 165. 308, 309.

<sup>i</sup> These are stiled emphatically WAY-LEAVES, and are let at as high Rents as any landed Property in Britain.

<sup>k</sup> In the same Manner they have contributed not a little to the Benefit of Leicestershire, Gloucestershire, and Shropshire; more still to Staffordshire, &c.

<sup>l</sup> All these are retained and comfortably supported in their native Country, have increased as this Commodity grew into Demand, and have the Prospect of a permanent Establishment derived from it. Circumstances to which giddy, vain, and dissipated People, whatever their Rank, very seldom advert; but which Persons of a sedate Turn will attentively consider and contemplate with Pleasure.

<sup>m</sup> Numbers of stout robust Men subsisting themselves, and breeding up their Families by their own Industry and Labour, are the natural Strength and the greatest Honour to a Nation.

WE have more than once celebrated their singular Utility in reference to the increasing our Seamen, and augmenting our Navigation; as to which we may very safely and truly affirm, that the Number of Men, and Tonnage of the Vessels employed in this Trade alone, is at this Time considerably more than the Nation could boast of employing in every Kind of Trade Two hundred Years ago<sup>n</sup>. The Produce of Coals exported, which amounts to a very considerable Sum, besides being profitable to the Owners, Merchants, and Mariners, is so much clear Gain to the Nation; and is in fact the very same Thing, or somewhat better, than if by some mysterious Art they could be converted upon the Spot where they are raised into the Silver for which they sell<sup>o</sup>. The Duties levied on those consumed at Home, produce an annual public Revenue, not much inferior to the Produce of a Land Tax of one Shilling in the Pound<sup>p</sup>. But in regard to this, as in the former Cases, the surest as well as the shortest Way of framing a true Notion of the Worth of what in this Respect we possess<sup>q</sup>, is to weigh seriously what the Consequences would be in all those Respects which we have mentioned, if we were without this Blessing, and were compelled either to fetch Coals from other Countries, or to supply the Defect as well as we could by Timber and Turf<sup>r</sup>.

WE will next take Notice of some few, and those the most remarkable of our Minerals, intending to conclude these Researches into the subterranean Riches of Britain with a succinct Detail of those to which hitherto that Title has been chiefly given, viz. Metals.

<sup>n</sup> As this may seem an extraordinary Assertion it ought to be explained. Sir William Monson in his Naval Tracts, p. 279, gives us, from a Survey taken A. D. 1582, a State of the Ships and Seafaring People in England, according to which the Number of Vessels was 1232, their Burthen 72,450 Tons, and the Number of Mariners 14,295. When the last Duty was granted for the Benefit of the Port of Whitby [1750] it was admitted that there were then shipped annually from the Port of Newcastle and its Members 500,000 Newcastle Chalders, equal to 1,250,000 Tons. Allowing the Vessels employed to be 200 Tons, and to make one with another four Voyages, then there will be 1313 Ships, their Burthen 262,600 Tons, and 13,130 Men and Boys in this eastern Navigation only.

<sup>o</sup> A great Part of the Silver thus obtained might and probably would be spent on the idle and the profligate of both Sexes, who are so many Incumbrances and dead Weights on Society, instead of furnishing Subsistence to Labourers, Keelmen, Sailors, and Traders, all industrious pains-taking People, who in their several Occupations are so many profitable Servants to the Publick.

<sup>p</sup> In this we would be understood to include all the Duties imposed on Coals to whatever Purpose appropriated or where-ever received, as these Duties are destined to and expended for the Service of the Publick, and in that Light may be justly considered as Revenue. A Circumstance of very great Weight when we consider the national Advantages arising from this Commodity.

<sup>q</sup> We are apt to undervalue what we have, and to overrate what we wish; it is reasonable therefore to make these Suppositions in order to give us just Ideas of both.

<sup>r</sup> If the Reader desires to pursue these Speculations farther, he may consult Houghton's Collections, vol. iv. p. 259.



ANTIMONY is a mineral Substance frequently found in other Mines, and there are also Mines of Antimony in Cornwall from which any Quantities of it may be procured <sup>s</sup>. It is very easily separated from its Ore, and is then stiled Crude Antimony, as being free from all the heterogeneous Matter which adhered to it in the Mine, and which give several, and those very different Appearances to its Ore. Crude Antimony is composed of sulphureous and reguline Substances. The former differs in nothing from Sulphur or Brimstone, the latter has a bright shining metallic Appearance, is fusible, indeed, runs the thinnest of any Substance of this Kind, but is never malleable <sup>t</sup>. It is highly useful in many Respects. It is the Basis of a great Variety of efficacious Medicines. The Chemists use it to facilitate the Fusion of other Metals, in which Respects it would be still more useful if it did not render them brittle <sup>u</sup>. The Refiners employ it to reduce Gold to its utmost Purity. It is used by the Opticians in grinding their Glasses; it is of Service to the Pewterers in giving Hardness to their Metal. The Bell Founders employ it for the same Purpose, and to render their Composition more sonorous. The Letter Founders find it ~~of~~ a great Utility in making their Types <sup>w</sup>. It is also in great Demand with the Dyers, and it was in their Favour that the Duty of twenty Shillings on every hundred Weight imported was repealed <sup>x</sup>.

BISMUTH, is a Mineral of a sparkling white Appearance, very ponderous, hard, and sonorous, but which is incapable of receiving any Degree of Malleability <sup>y</sup>. It is found in several Parts, and in considerable Quantities in most of the Mine Counties in England, where it is commonly stiled by the Workmen TIN-GLASS. It is separated from its Ore by a very gentle Heat; and the Earth left behind, when reduced into the Form of a Regulus being melted with the Powder of calcined Flints, becomes that beau-

<sup>s</sup> Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 184. vol. ii. p. 20. Borlace's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 129. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 622.

<sup>t</sup> Reigeri Introductio ad Notitiam Rerum Naturalium & Arte Factarum, vol. ii. p. 639. Dictionnaire de Chymie, vol. ii. p. 119. Mineralogie, tom. ii. p. 69. 72. 78. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. chap. ix.

<sup>u</sup> Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 128—140. Lazarus Erckerns's Assays translated by Sir John Pettus, B. iv. chap. xvii. Beaufobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, des Finances, & du Commerce, vol. i. p. 123. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 69.

<sup>w</sup> Philosophical Transactions, No 138, p. 953. Beerhaave's Chemistry, vol. i. p. 132. Dictionnaire Universelle d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 149. Macquer's Elements of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 87. 155. 310. ii. 1. 23.

<sup>x</sup> This Duty was imposed 3 and 4 Annæ, cap. iv. and was repealed by 8 Geo. I. cap. xv. § 10. very wisely, as tending to heighten the Price of our Manufactures.

<sup>y</sup> Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 106. Lazarus Erckerns's Assays, iv. 10. Borlace's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 129. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 624. Dissertations Chymiques de M. Pott, tom. iii. diff. vi. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. x.

tiful and valuable blue Glass which is called **SMALT** <sup>a</sup>. It has many singular and surprizing Qualities that are known, and very probably possesses many more that are not yet discovered. It is of Use in making other metalline Substances flow with ease; but then, like Antimony, it renders them brittle. It hardens and adds a Silver Lustre to Tin. It facilitates in a very remarkable Manner the Amalgamation of all Metals with Mercury <sup>a</sup>. As to the Uses to which it has been hitherto applied, the making of Smalt excepted, they are not very numerous, or of any great Importance. The Magistery of Bismuth is a famous, though not by any means an innocent Cosmetic; it is celebrated also for making a secret and invisible Ink, which is rendered legible by holding it to the Fire, and becomes indiscernable <sup>a</sup> as soon as it grows Cold <sup>b</sup>. The Pewterers and the Letter Founders make <sup>a</sup> use of it. There is however very little Reason to doubt, that in so inquisitive an Age as this, a Mineral with such uncommon Qualities will be studiously and critically examined, and when, in consequence of this, all its Properties are thoroughly known, will be applied to more beneficial Purposes <sup>c</sup>.

**CALAMINE**, *Lapis Calaminaris*, or *Cadmia Fossilis*, is found plentifully in Britain <sup>d</sup>. It is indeed true, that other Countries have it also in perhaps as great Abundance; but our Calamine is richer, and of a superior Quality to any that comes from Abroad, as from Experiments the best Judges allow <sup>e</sup>. It is a spongy cavernous Body, of a greenish-grey Colour as it comes from the Mine, and sometimes contains in it a little Lead. It is first baked or torrifed, then ground small, and frequently washed before it is fit for Use. It makes when cemented with Copper (for the Calamine never melts) the finest Brass; and the Proof of the Richness of the Calamine arises from the Quantity that is taken up by the Copper <sup>f</sup>. Though we have always had this

<sup>a</sup> It should seem that if this Mineral could be procured in Plenty, it might this way under proper Management yield great Profit.

<sup>a</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 396. p. 193. Boerhaave's Chemistry, vol. i. p. 132. Macquer's Elements of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 92. 156. ii. p. 50—56.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Hellot has given a very full and curious Account of this singular Ink, which may be seen in the Book last cited; but it was originally discovered by a Lady in Germany.

<sup>c</sup> Dictionnaire de Chymie tom. i. p. 214. Mineralogie, tom. ii. p. 48—54. Beausobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, tom. i. p. 123.

<sup>d</sup> Particularly in Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Somersetshire, as also in Wales.

<sup>e</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 198. p. 672. L. Erckern's Assays, iii. 28. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 55. Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 184, 185. vol. ii. p. 19, 20, 82. 106. Neuman's Works, p. 123. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 626.

<sup>f</sup> The largest Quantity of Calaminaris taken up by Copper is about one third. Brass may be made with Zink; and no doubt it is the Zink sublimed from the Calamine that enters the Copper; but still Experience shews, Calamine gives a better Colour, and the Brass is more ductile than when made with Zink. A greater Quantity of our Calamine is taken up by Copper, and it contains more Zink, than any other, sometimes one half.

Commodity,

Commodity, yet we have not made Brass long before the Commencement of the present Century g. It is also used for other Purposes, particularly in Medicine, as a great Desiccative, more especially in the Inflammation and other Diseases of the Eyes h. But the Credit, if not the Value of Calamine, is very much raised since an ingenious Countryman of ours discovered that was the true Mine of Zink i. This Mineral was indeed known before to our Miners by the Name of SPELTER; but they knew not that Spelter was Zink, or that it could be extracted from Lapis Calaminaris k, much less had they any Conception, that this Spelter, which they despised as an Incumbrance, was in reality the same Thing as that boasted Metal from China, so highly esteemed under the sounding Appellation of Tutenag l. These however are indubitable Facts, which certainly do Honour to the Enquiries of the present Age, and such as will turn highly to the Advantages of Ages that are to come. But even at present they fall within our Plan, as they are apparent Evidences of the natural and inherent Riches of this Country m.

COBALT, is a dense, ponderous, bright, striated, shining Mineral, much resembling some of the Ores of Antimony n. It is from this Mineral that White Arsenic is produced, as from a Mixture of this with Sulphur proceed Yellow and Red Arsenics. But the great Value of Cobalt does not arise from being the Matrix of these Poisons, though even these have their Uses and their Price o. It is from this Mineral that the finest Blues for enamelling,

g Harison's Description of Britain, ch. xviii. Maline's Lex Mercatoria, p. 59, 60. Roberts's Merchant's Map of Commerce, p. 293.

h Dictionnaire Universelle d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 395. Dissertations Chymiques de M. Pot, tom. iii. diff. vii. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. xi.

i The late ingenious Dr. Isaac Lawson, who died before he had made any Advantage of his Discovery.

k Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 482, p. 670, where there is an Account of a Cylinder of a Fire Engine made of Spelter, which what it was, the Writer professes he did not know. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 129. Yet in Blount's Glossographia, London 1681, 8vo. p. 604. we find, "Spelter a Kind of Metal not known to the Antients, which the Germans call Zink". He probably took it from Sir John Pettus.

l This is the simplest and best Manner of Writing this Word. The principal Mine is in the Province of Hon quang in the very Center of China.

m If we compare the Sentiments of those who recommended many Improvements a Century or two ago, and the Progress made in them at this Day, what is said in the Text will appear highly probable. Tutenag was brought in Ballast by our East India Ships, and came to a good Market here. There was long a Préjudice abroad in Favour of the Indian Zink; but by Degrees the most eminent Metallurgists have declared in Favour of ours.

n Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 148—153. Macquer's Elements, vol. i. p. 158. ii. p. 70. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 625. Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 396. p. 192. L. Erckerns's Assays.

o Arsenic is used in making some Sorts of Glass, in glazing, and by the Enamellers, which accounts for the Quantities that are consumed.

painting, colouring China, and many other Purposes, not to mention washing and starching, which, however, are very considerable Articles, are drawn p. It was from hence that the worthy Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Commerce, considering the large Sums which went annually out of these Kingdoms for such necessary Commodities in daily and constant Use, were prompted to offer, as they very prudently did, a Premium for the discovering a COBALT MINE in South Britain, which was claimed some Years ago by a Gentleman in Cornwall, who upon due Proof received it q. This Mine however might be as well called a Mine of Bismuth, there being as great Quantities of one Mineral found therein as of the other, and which is so far from being a Disparagement, that it is an Advantage, both Minerals yielding a blue Colour r. Cobalt, being first freed from the Arsenic s, contains, is then so treated in Furnaces properly contrived for the Purpose, a, that being melted with a Quantity of powdered Flints, and then sprinkled with Water, it forms a hard stony Substance called ZAFFRE or AZURE STONE s. The same Mineral being mixed with Pot-ash and Sand in proper Quantities makes SMALT t; this being beaten small becomes Powder Blue; and that sifted very fine, and divided according to the different Height of its Colours, the deepest and finest of these is what is stiled Enamel Blue u. The Richness of the Cobalt is determined by the Quantity of the other Ingredients it absorbs, which is at least equal and never exceeds four Times its Quantity w.

p Dictionnaire de Chymie, tom. i. p. 269. Mineralogie, tom. ii. p. 36. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 323.

q The Premium, which was thirty Guineas promised in 1754, and claimed in December the same Year, came to Francis Beauchamp, Esq; in whose Lands at Gwenap it was discovered. We have little Reason to doubt, that on a careful Inspection other Cobalt Mines might be discovered in the same County, and in other Parts of Britain.

r Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 152, 153. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 625. Borlace's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 130, 131.

s It may be doubted whether this Substance be melted or only mixed with the Powder of calcined Flints and Water. It comes in Barrels, and takes the Shape of them, being very hard and firm, and thence called Azure Stone. Formerly this Name was given to Lapis Lazuli, and the blue Colour prepared from thence Ultramarine, but now it is confined to this Substance; and much of the Colour prepared from it being made in Holland, it is sometimes stiled Dutch Ultramarine.

t As this is the capital Article, and may be made equally well from Bismuth and Cobalt, it would be a national Advantage to establish, which is certainly practicable, the Manufacture of it in Cornwall. The Importance of this will more clearly appear in a subsequent Note, in which we shall mention the great Advantages arising from the Mine of Cobalt (the only one wrought) in Saxony.

u It is the great Excellence of this Colour, that it does not suffer by Fire, which occasions a great Consumption in painting earthen Ware and Porcelain.

w Boerhaave's Chemistry, vol. i. p. 116. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 151, 152, 153. Macquer's Elements of Chemistry, vol. ii. p. 74, 75, 76.

BLACK Lead is what some have supposed with very little Reason to be the Molybdena or Galena of Pliny<sup>x</sup>; others stile it Plumbago. Our judicious Camden in whose Days it was a new Thing, would not venture to give it a Latin Name, but calls it a metallic Earth, or hard shining stony Substance; which whether it was the Pnigitis or Melanteria of Dioscorides, or an Ochre burned to Blackness in the Earth, and so unknown to the Ancients, he left others to enquire<sup>y</sup>. Dr. Merret, from the Use to which it was first applied, named it Nigrica Fabrilis<sup>z</sup>. The learned Boyle is of Opinion that it has not any Thing metallic in its Nature<sup>a</sup>; relying upon which, we have ventured to give it a Place here. It is indeed a very singular Substance, but being very common, and consequently very well known, it would be needless to describe it. It is found, but in very trivial Quantities, in several Mines here, and it may be also in other Countries<sup>b</sup>. But the sole Mine in which it is found by itself is on Barrowdale, about six Miles from Kewick, in the County of Cumberland<sup>c</sup>. It is there called Wadd, and those who are best acquainted with it, stile it a black, pinguid, shining Earth, which they suppose to be impregnated<sup>d</sup> with Lead and Antimony<sup>d</sup>.

WHEN it was first discovered the People used it to mark their Sheep<sup>e</sup>. It was afterwards introduced into Medicine, and taken in Powder for the Cure of the Cholic and the Gravel; but it has been since applied to many other Purposes. It serves to scour, to clean, and to give a Lustre to wrought Iron, and to defend it from Rust; it is applied in the varnishing Crucibles, and other earthen Vessels that are to be exposed to the fiercest Fire, which end it answers effectually<sup>f</sup>. But after all, the great Consumption of it is

<sup>x</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii. cap. 6. xxxiv. cap. 18. It is impossible on reading the Description of Molybdena to conceive it has any Affinity to our Black Lead, though foreign Authors call by that Name a Substance found in Prussia, which serves for making Pencils, and comes from thence to be confounded with ours, which it in no other Circumstance resembles.

<sup>y</sup> Britan. p. 631. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 170, Sir John Pettus in his Essays on metallic Words, under Lead.

<sup>z</sup> Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 218.

<sup>a</sup> Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 27. He says it is a Mineral sui generis, approaching to a Talc.

<sup>b</sup> Berlese's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 130. Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 459. Dissertations Chymiques de M. Pott. tom. iv. diff. i.

<sup>c</sup> Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 185. 198.

<sup>d</sup> Robinsón's Natural History of Westmoreland and Cumberland, p. 74, 75. he says it is a Munday Metal. This is a Term extremely vague, used by the Miners in several Counties to express a Variety of Mineral Substances, indeed any Substance they cannot explain the Nature of. Mr. Robinsón says also, that by a violent Heat a Regulus may be extracted from it resembling Silver in Colour and Brightness, but not malleable.

<sup>e</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 240, p. 183. where Dr. Plott observes it was called Nigra fabrilis, in Opposition to Rubrica fabrilis, or Ruddle.

<sup>f</sup> If these Circumstances are maturely weighed, it may perhaps seem not improbable, that together with Talc there may be a Mixture of Zink.

in two Articles, in Dyeing, to fix Blues so as that they may never change their Colour; and in Pencils  $\S$ ; and the being confined to this Country is so well known and so universally allowed, that they are from thence stiled abroad *Crayons d'Angleterre* <sup>h</sup>. It arises from hence, that the Nature of this Substance is little known to Foreigners, the most learned of whom speak of it very confusedly, and with much Incertainty <sup>i</sup>. These farther Particulars we may venture to affirm concerning it, without any Danger of misleading our Readers; That the Mine before mentioned is private Property, is opened but once in Seven Years, and the Quantity known to be equal to the Consumption in that Space sold at once; and as it is used without any Preparation, it is more valuable than the Ore of any Metal found in this Island. But there is nothing improbable, and much less impossible, in supposing that other, and it may be many other Uses will be discovered in Medicine, Painting, Dyeing, Varnishing or Pottery, which would certainly contribute to raise the Value of a Mineral peculiar to this Country, and with the Nature of which, though so long in our Possession, we are still so imperfectly acquainted.

IT is very natural in speaking of our Metals to give the Preference to TIN, which certainly made it first known, and as some very learned Men think, gave its Appellation to this Island <sup>n</sup>. Mines of Tin first rendered the Scilly Isles, then Devonshire and Cornwall, famous; to which last County they are now, as we have elsewhere shewn, chiefly confined <sup>o</sup>. Tin, though in itself the lightest, in its Ore is the heaviest of Metals. It is very seldom if ever found pure, and the Appearances of its Ore are very different <sup>p</sup>. The finest and richest are stiled TIN-GRAINS, or CORNS OF TIN, being Crystals of a black Colour of different Sizes <sup>q</sup>. It is also found in a heavy black Stone, sometimes in a more porous yellow coloured Stone, and is

<sup>g</sup> Robinson's Natural History of Westmoreland and Cumberland, p. 75, 76. Sir John Pettus under Lead, in his Essays on metallic Words.

<sup>h</sup> There are a Variety of Names for what Foreigners take to be black Lead, such as Molybdene, Potelet, Mine de Plomb noire, ou Savonneuse, Plomb de Mer, Plombagine, Plomb de Mine, Ceruse-noire, Talc-blende, Fausse Galene, Mica des Peintres, or Crayon de Plomb. But whether these Names belong to any one Substance, and whether that is our Black Lead, is not at all clear. On the contrary, it is more probable that these Appellations belong to different Substances, none of which are the same with our Mineral.

<sup>i</sup> Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 458, 459. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 401. Miscellanea Berolinensia, tom. vi. p. 29.

<sup>n</sup> Bochart. Canaan. lib. i. cap. xxxix. derives Britain from Barat Anac, i. e. Ager Stanni, a Land of Tin.

<sup>o</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 343, 344.

<sup>p</sup> Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 199. ii. p. 30, 107. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 628, 629. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 160.

<sup>q</sup> Though generally Black, they are not always so, but sometimes white, ash-coloured, or red, resembling Glass, and very rich in Metal.

commonly

commonly intermixed with Spar, Arsenic, Lead, and other Bodies<sup>r</sup>. As a Metal it is white, shining, melts with a gentle Heat; ductile, so as to spread under the Hammer into Leaf, which Iron and Copper will not do; but yet cannot be drawn into Wire as those Metals may<sup>s</sup>. It is not sonorous in itself, and yet makes other Metals so, when mixed with them<sup>t</sup>. In point of Gravity, it is as Seven to One in respect to Water, and as Seven to Nineteen in regard to Gold<sup>u</sup>. Tin Mines are generally found on the Sides of Hills, though Veins sometimes pass through Vallies or Brooks between two Hills, and are followed to the opposite Hill<sup>w</sup>. They work with infinite Difficulty through hard Rocks, to the Depth of from three to seventy Fathoms; and it is no less troublesome than dangerous, where the Earth is loose and apt to crumble<sup>x</sup>. Great Quantities of Timber are consumed in these subterraneous Works, which are freed from Water by the Help of Fire Engines, and other Contrivances. The Veins are of uncertain Thickness from three Inches to three Feet<sup>y</sup>. Tin Grains, or Corns of Tin, yield Five Parts in Eight of Metal; whereas Tin Stones yield only from One in thirty, to One in Sixty, and to One in a Hundred and twenty, for even these are wrought to some small Profit<sup>z</sup>. The Ore when collected is broke, washed, stamped by Mills, and otherwise treated to fit it for the Melting-House, which is called Dressing; except the Tin Grains, which need no such Preparation. After melting it is called BLACK TIN; but before it can be exposed to Sale it is carried to one of the five coinage Towns, where after Examination of a Piece that is broke from a Corner of the Block, the

<sup>r</sup> Tin is also found in the Moor-stone or Granite, in the Elvan, a blue Stone very hard, in loose Stones spread in Floors, in Mud, and in Sand washed in by the Sea.

<sup>s</sup> Lazarus Erckerus's Assays, iv. 10—16. Boerhaave's Chemistry, vol. i. p. 98. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 65. 90. Macquer's Elements of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 69. 153. 370. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. vi.

<sup>t</sup> Dr. Shaw, in his curious and useful Notes on Boerhaave, hath some very just and instructive Remarks on this singular Circumstance.

<sup>u</sup> This is the true Characteristic of Metals, by which they are distinguished from other Substances, and one from another.

<sup>w</sup> Because Mines are most common in mountainous Countries, the Veins being more readily discovered, and the Works easier carried on, this connects the Idea of Mines with Mountains, so that we can scarce separate them. But in Nature they have no such Connection; in America many rich Mines are in low Ground, and in our own, the Mines in Swale Dale in Yorkshire, those near Newland in Gloucestershire, and in Brassington Moor in Derbyshire, are in Plains.

<sup>x</sup> Hence they are Sources of much Labour and Expence, maintaining thereby Numbers of People comfortably by the Fruit of their own Industry.

<sup>y</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 69, p. 2096. N<sup>o</sup>. 138, p. 949. Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 199. vol. ii. p. 30. 85. 107.

<sup>z</sup> The Principle which excites that indefatigable Industry visible in this Country is the Profits being divided. The Lord of the Soil has commonly a clear Sixth. But in Mines wrought with Difficulty and Hazard, is often content with a Ninth, a Twelfth, or a Fifteenth, the Rest being divided amongst the Adventurers, and this it is that by keeping Hope alive, lessens the Sense of Labour, and supports the Spirit of Mining. A Circumstance that deserves the deepest Attention.

Arms of the Dutchy of Cornwall are impressed with a Hammer, and then it is called WHITE TIN<sup>a</sup>. The Duty on Coinage, which is four Shillings on the Hundred-weight, belongs to the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall, and produces a Revenue of upwards of Ten thousand Pounds per Annum.

THE Uses of Tin are many; it is sometimes given in Medicine; Preparations from thence are employed as Cosmetics; it is used in varnishing Earthen Ware; in Conjunction with Mercury it makes the Foliage spread on the Back of Looking-glasses; amalgamated with Quicksilver, Sulphur, and Sal ammoniac, it produces the Mosaic Gold<sup>c</sup>; the Calx polishes Glass, Steel, &c. the compound Calx is what we call Putty<sup>d</sup>; it is also used in Solder<sup>e</sup>; Another Manner in which it is used in this and in other Countries, is what is called Tinning, or as the French stile it Etamage, by which Copper Vessels are rendered neater in Appearance, and safer in Use. When applied on thin Plates of Iron, which we did not practise here till the Beginning of the present Century, it becomes fit for many Uses, and furnishes a Variety of neat and wholesome Utensils; it enters into the Composition of Bell-metal, of Printers Types, and to it we owe the Elegance, Hardness, and Beauty of our Pewter, of which at Home and Abroad there is so great Consumption<sup>f</sup>. Before we dismiss this Subject, we must observe, that the deep ruby Colour extracted from Gold used by Painters in Enamel, is made by precipitating the Solution of that Metal in Aqua Regia, with Calx of Tin, and in this Respect it is highly useful in striking all Scarlet Dyes<sup>g</sup>. This Metal has been at all Times one of our Staple Commodities, and very profitable. At present there are good Grounds to believe the Mines in Cornwall produce of this Metal to the Amount of Two hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, which is about four Times as much as they did at the Beginning of the last Century<sup>h</sup>. Tin is found in Saxony and

<sup>a</sup> For these Coinage Towns, see Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 345.

<sup>b</sup> These Blocks weigh Three hundred and Twenty Pounds, the Stamp authenticates the Purity, and implies a Permission to vend the Tin as being so.

<sup>c</sup> This Aurum Mosaicum or Musivum, is a Pigment used in writing or embellishing Letters in a very beautiful Gold Colour; it is also used in staining Glass and in marbling Paper.

<sup>d</sup> This is not the Glaziers or Painters Putty, but a Powder of calcined Tin, used in giving the last Polish to fine Works in Steel, &c. We had better write it Puty; the French call it Potée.

<sup>e</sup> It is of Consequence to enumerate the principal Uses of Metals, that an Idea may be better formed of their Value from the various Channels of Consumption.

<sup>f</sup> We send annually to different Parts of Europe, Africa, and the East Indies about 8000 Cwt. and about the same Quantity to our Plantations.

<sup>g</sup> Tin imparts this Quality to Pewter, and for this Reason Vats of this Metal are used in general by the Scarlet Dyers. See Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 183.

<sup>h</sup> See the ingenious and worthy Dr. Eorlase's natural History of Cornwall, p. 183. See also Maline's Lex Mercatoria, p. 59.



in Sweden and Bohemia, but in small Quantities<sup>l</sup>, and much inferior in Quality to ours, as Foreigners who are the most proper and impartial Judges unanimously allow<sup>k</sup>. In consequence of this there is a constant and considerable Exportation both of wrought and unwrought Tin<sup>l</sup>. On the latter there is a Duty of three Shillings on every Hundred-weight; but the former is, as it ought to be, exported free<sup>m</sup>. It is more than probable, that by proper Attention, and a few necessary Regulations, the Exportation of this Metal might be rendered more beneficial to the Nation<sup>n</sup>.

IRON, the most useful, and through the wise Distribution of Providence, the most common of all Metals, is plentifully found in all Parts of the British Dominions<sup>o</sup>. The Romans wrought, and it is probable were the first who wrought our Mines, as appears from their Medals found in the Heaps of Slags and Cinders, which are the only Monuments remaining of their Industry in this Particular<sup>p</sup>. The Ore hath many different Appearances. Some is stiled *Brush Ore*, as being composed of Threads growing on a red Kind of Earth, or hanging from the Tops of Caves or old Works. Some in Stones of a reddish, blueish, or grey Colours, sometimes in a Sort of

<sup>l</sup> There were Tin Mines in Spain: Those in Saxony were discovered in the thirteenth Century by an Englishman who fled from Cornwall, who taught the Saxons how to work their Mines and dress their Metal. It is found in Siam and in the Peninsula of Malacca in the East Indies, and in Japan. There are Tin Mines also in Spanish America, as Alonzo Barba informs us, but Being in the Vicinity of richer Metals are seldom wrought.

<sup>k</sup> The Tanners in Cornwall have great Advantages, such as the Number of their Mines, the great Quantities of Metal in their Ores, the Facility (in Comparison of others) with which it is wrought; and, which ought to be the greatest of all, the Superiority of their Metal authenticated by the Coinage Mark. But this avails us little, since, as Dr. Neuman observes, p. 89. there is not a Tin-founder in Holland who has not English Stamps, by the Help of which he passes his Composition, be it what it may, and come it from where it will, for Cornish Block Tin. There cannot be a clearer or more convincing Proof than this of the Excellency of our English Tin, or a better Ground for hoping we shall continue in Possession of this Staple.

<sup>l</sup> The Substances that enter into the Composition of wrought Tin or Pewter are, Martial Regulus of Antimony, Zink, Bismuth, Copper, Iron, Princes-metal; of two or three of these (for every Pewterer has his particular Method of compounding) they put two or three Pounds to an Hundred-weight of Tin, and by this Means make an hard, sonorous, silver-like Metal. When foreign Writers mention English Tin they often mean Pewter, as appears by their Descriptions.

<sup>m</sup> Stat. 8 & 9. William III. cap. xxxiv. § 1. and wrought Tin was declared free by 8 Geo. I. cap. xv.

<sup>n</sup> Borlase's History of Cornwall, p. 183.

<sup>o</sup> Iron is found in Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Durham, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Lancashire, Monmouthshire, Shropshire, Somersetshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, Yorkshire, and in many Parts of North Britain, Ireland, and in North America.

<sup>p</sup> See O. Walker's Greek and Roman History, illustrated by Coins and Medals, in the Dedication to William Charleton, Esq; Richardson's Account of Antiquities in Yorkshire, preserved by Hearne in Leland's Itinerary, tom. i. p. 141. Remarks of the Rev. Mr. Francis Brokesby, in his Travels through different Parts of England, in Leland's Itinerary, tom. vi. p. 95.

stiff unctuous Clay, and sometimes in a black Sand <sup>q</sup>. When free from its Ore, the Metal is close, hard, fusible, ductile into Wire, sonorous, and elastic <sup>r</sup>. In respect to Weight, it is in regard to Water as Seventy-eight to Ten, but to Gold as Seventy-eight to One hundred Ninety-six. The Mines are from Twelve to Fifty, and very rarely are more than Sixty Feet deep. The Veins or Loads, like those of Tin, are of very different Dimensions, and their Contents of very different Natures, which rather than their Size determine their Value. It is however found by Experience, that mixing together Ores of very different Qualities hath very good Effects <sup>s</sup>. It is wrought so as to render it fit for Use, with much Trouble and at no small Expence.

SOME Ore is roasted before it can be smelted. This last Operation is performed in a large open Furnace, the Fuel and Ore being mixed, and the Fire kept to the greatest Height by two Pair of large Bellows, moved by a Wheel driven by Water <sup>t</sup>. When the Metal is melted, it is let out of the Receivers into a Bed of Sand, which hath one large and several small Divisions, in which it lies and cools. The Iron in the large Division is called a Sow, and in the smaller Pigs <sup>u</sup>. When the Furnace is once charged they keep it continually supplied with Ore and Fuel, and as Occasion requires let out the Metal for several Months. In the Forest of Dean, the richest Ore produces an hard brittle Iron, but by mixing Slag and Cinders therewith, it becomes the toughest and best we have <sup>w</sup>. Pig Iron, though Metal, and fit for some Uses, is not malleable <sup>x</sup>. In order to give the Me-

<sup>q</sup> Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire, p. 159. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 215. Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 223—234. vol. ii. p. 36—38. 86. 108. Hill's History of Fossils, p. 629. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 195. Besides those mentioned in the Text there are other Iron Ores, such as Hematites or Bloodstone, the Magnet or Loadstone, Smiris or Emery, and Magnesia or Manganese, all of them found in Britain.

<sup>r</sup> Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 197. Boerhaave's Chemistry, vol. i. p. 93. Neuman's Works, p. 68—85. Macquer's Elements, vol. i. p. 63. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. v.

<sup>s</sup> In this Case they seem to act as Fluxes to each other; and it is said that different Sorts of Ore, none of which separately could have been wrought to much Profit, have answered well when mixed. See a very curious and remarkable Instance of this in Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. p. 301.

<sup>t</sup> It is from this and other Improvements that our Mines yield much more than formerly. In the old Times they scarce made in their Foot-blasts or Bloomeries One Hundred-weight in a Day, and left as much or more Metal in their Slaggs; whereas they now make two or three Tons of Iron in the same Space, and leave a mere Cinder behind. It is said that about a Century ago there were Eight hundred Forges in England.

<sup>u</sup> This is what the French call Fer en gueuse, and also Fer de Fonte. Sows and Pigs are of different Sizes, those which run first are smallest.

<sup>w</sup> This some have thought proceeded from the Attraction of the finer Parts of the Metal remaining in the Slagg by the new Iron, and combining therewith.

<sup>x</sup> Such as Pots, Kettles, Bullets, Bombs, Chimney Backs, and other coarse Works; but this Iron is still full of vitreous Impurities, which are expelled by repeated Operations.

tal that necessary Quality, it is carried to the Forges, and there heated and hammered in every Direction, till the heterogeneous Matter being expelled, it is thoroughly incorporated, united, and as the Workmen call it welded together <sup>y</sup>. After this it is divided at the slitting Mills, and then it is stiled BAR IRON <sup>z</sup>. The Uses of this most valuable Metal are by far too many to admit, and too well known to require an Explanation here <sup>a</sup>.

STEEL is made from Iron by Cementation, and employed in all the finer Manufactures, in some of which by the Skill and Industry of the Artificers it is raised to a very high Value <sup>b</sup>. There is no Room to doubt, that in every one of the three Kingdoms there may be enough Iron found to supply all the British Dominions, and yet we import very large Quantities from the North, from Spain, and from America <sup>c</sup>. The Reason of this is, because the Inhabitants of those Countries can make it cheaper. For Iron being smelted in an open Fire, and hitherto in general with Charcoal only, the Oil of which is supposed to be useful in making the Metal tough; whereas Pit Coal, as is commonly thought, makes it hard and brittle, we cannot, except in some Places, afford that Expence <sup>d</sup>. It is therefore earnestly to be wished, that as it has been often proposed and promised, the Use of Pit Coal could be generally introduced, so as to answer in all Respects as well as Charcoal, which would be of very great Service, and be very much to the Advantage of the Nation <sup>e</sup>. But before we conclude this Article it is very necessary to observe, that the Importation of foreign Iron turns highly to our

<sup>y</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 137, p. 931. N<sup>o</sup>. 199. p. 695. N<sup>o</sup>. 403. p. 480. There are two Forges commonly under one Roof. The first is called the Finery (Affinerie) where it is heated and hammered alternately till rendered pure. The second is stiled the Chafrey (Chauferie) where it is also heated and hammered into large Bars.

<sup>z</sup> In this State it is complete as a Commodity, and fit for Sale to the Manufacturers in Iron, who know how to distinguish the Sorts that are fittest for their respective Purposes.

<sup>a</sup> It furnishes in Agriculture and in Arts all the Instruments for a vast Variety of Purposes; and if Utility was respected in Titles, had never been stiled a *base Metal*.

<sup>b</sup> In which the Time, Labour, and Skill of the Workmen are to be paid for, and of Course encrease the Price of the Metal. As in Buckles, Scissars, fine Instruments of all Kinds, Springs of different Sorts, particularly Watch Springs.

<sup>c</sup> In Countries where this Metal abounds, and can be made cheap, it is exported as a Commodity. Russia exports annually 300,000 Pounds, or 6000 Tons. Sweden, 300,000 Schipponds, or 48,000 Tons. Norway to the Amount of 400,000 Rix Dollars. A great deal, and especially Steel, comes from Transylvania, Hungary, and different Parts of Germany, and some from Holland, which is brought from Germany, and only wrought there into another Form.

<sup>d</sup> The Iron Works in Mendip Hills had long since destroyed the Oaks in that Forest. But in some Places Woods are preserved for the Supply of the Iron Works.

<sup>e</sup> In Lancashire Time out of Mind they have used Turf with Charcoal, and prefer it to Charcoal alone. They tried Pit Coal but without Success. Yet in 1746, Mr. Ford (in Colebroke Dale in Shropshire) the same Person who made a Cylinder of Spelfer, made Iron brittle or tough as he pleased with Pit Coal, both Ore and Fuel being found in the same Dale. At this Time, as I have been well informed, Iron is wrought with Pit Coal at the Carron Works in North Britain.

Advantage, for we import it in our own Bottoms, much of it from our own Colonies, and, except from these, under a Duty<sup>f</sup>; and when manufactured here, in which a vast Number of Hands in different Parts of the Island are continually employed; it furnishes an immense Exportation, and no small Part of this to the very Countries where the Iron was produced<sup>g</sup>.

COPPER is plentifully found in all the British Territories<sup>h</sup>. Yet though known long before, our Mines have not been wrought above Two hundred Years, and not to any great Purpose till within the present Century<sup>i</sup>. This Metal is sometimes found pure, or very nearly so, and that in so large Pieces as to make it necessary to break them in the Mine before they can be conveniently raised<sup>k</sup>. But in general, like other Metals, involved in stony Crusts of all Colours<sup>l</sup>, and even many of these are beautifully blended together, whence the Ore receives the Name of the Peacock's Tail<sup>m</sup>. This stony Ore is so intimately mixed with, and adheres so closely to the Metal, that it is extremely difficult to separate them, which is one principal Cause of the Dearness of Copper. This Metal is of a bright orange-Red, close, hard, malleable, ductile into Wire, sonorous, and elastic; and is not only wrought on by all Solvents, but even by Water, which makes it very apt to rust<sup>n</sup>. In point of Gravity, it is as Nine to One in respect to Water, and in regard to Gold as Nine to Nineteen<sup>o</sup>. The

<sup>f</sup> These Duties are very judiciously regulated, for the Support of Commerce, and the promoting our own Manufacture.

<sup>g</sup> To Sweden, Spain, and America, through the superior Dexterity of our Mechanics, and several Means employed in promoting Expedition.

<sup>h</sup> In great Plenty in Cardiganshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Lancashire, Isle of Man, Northumberland, Shropshire, Somersetshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Wales, Warwickshire, Westmorland, in North Britain, in Ireland, and in America.

<sup>i</sup> This was occasioned chiefly by those Errors and Uncertainties in our Laws in regard to Mines, which are now happily removed.

<sup>k</sup> Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 203.

<sup>l</sup> Plot's Staffordshire, p. 165. Woodward's Fossils, vol. i. p. 193—198. vol. ii. p. 24—27. 83. 106. Boerhaave's Chemistry, vol. i. p. 91, 92. Macquer's Elements, vol. i. p. 59. Hill's Fossils, p. 632. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. iv.

<sup>m</sup> L. Erckern's Assays, the whole Third Book. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 67. He also asserts that Lapis Lazuli ought to be considered as a Copper Ore.

<sup>n</sup> Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. P. ii. col. 1230, 1231. Dissertations Chymiques de M. Pott, tom. iii. p. 297—586. Juncker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. iv. Dictionnaire de Chymie, tom. i. p. 333. Mineralogie de Bomare, tom. i. p. 175—205. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 411. Beaufovre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, tom. i. p. 127.

<sup>o</sup> What we are told of Copper from Japon being heavier than any European Copper is not true; Swedish Copper, according as it is refined, is sometimes heavier and sometimes a little lighter, in this Proportion, 8,834, 8,799, 8,734; the middle Number representing the Japon Copper, and the first and third Swedish, and Water esteemed 1,000. At Amsterdam Swedish fetches the same Price as Japon, that is about 70 Florins for 100 lb. An Halfpenny of the Coin of Charles II. weighed 9000, our Copper being when pure as heavy as any.

Mines are wrought to a great Depth, sometimes to more than a hundred Fathom, often through a very hard Rock, and consequently with much Labour and at a vast Expence <sup>p</sup>. The Veins or Loads are much wider, thicker, and richer than those of either Tin or Iron; so that on the first opening of a Mine in Cornwall, it threw up, that is the Miners Term, as much Copper in a Fortnight as sold for Five thousand Seven hundred Pounds, and in the next three Weeks and two Days as much more as came to Nine thousand Six hundred Pounds <sup>q</sup>. But this was a very extraordinary Case, and what is not often to be expected <sup>r</sup>.

THE separating the Metal from the Ore is a very arduous and intricate Operation; for first it is broken to Pieces in the Mine, then raised, ranged according to its Sizes, washed, picked, stamped, and sorted <sup>s</sup>. When brought to the Melting-house, it is first roasted, next stamped again, and then melted, when it is stiled RED COPPER <sup>t</sup>, and having still heterogeneous Substances mixed with it, melted over again perhaps more than once, and then it is stiled BLACK COPPER <sup>u</sup>; if it is suspected to hold Silver, as it frequently does, it is returned to the Furnace, where a Proportion of Lead is added, and then it is exposed only to such a Degree of Heat as is sufficient to melt the Lead, which attracts and carries away the Silver, leaving the Block of Copper honey-combed <sup>w</sup>. This is afterwards melted, and becomes at last what is called ROSE COPPER, that is, perfectly fine and pure <sup>x</sup>. The Uses of this Metal, like those of Iron, are too numerous to be insisted on here; it may be sufficient to observe, that its Malleability, Flexibility, Ductility, and Elasticity, render it fit almost for every Thing to

<sup>p</sup> This is to be understood of our Mines, for in foreign Countries there are some much deeper, as having been longer wrought.

<sup>q</sup> Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 206. This Mine is in Huel Virgin, in the Parish of Gwenap, and the Fact happened in July and August 1757.

<sup>r</sup> It might contribute to the rendering these Mines more valuable, if, as in Germany, we were assiduous in extracting the richer Metals from the Copper, which though it might be formerly very prudently declined, from the Fear of its being seized as a Mine-royal, yet now when there are no such Apprehensions, private and publick Interest unite in recommending such Encouragements.

<sup>s</sup> Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 203, 204, 205. Yet our Ores are by no Means so refractory as in some other Countries.

<sup>t</sup> In this Fusion a proper Flux is used to dispose the Metal to separate from the earthy, stony, sulphureous, and arsenical Particles with which it is intermixed.

<sup>u</sup> The Copper in this State continues still mixed, but mixed with metallic Particles, chiefly Lead and Iron, from which it must be also purified.

<sup>w</sup> In Germany Copper is frequently mixed with Silver, which they are very dextrous in discovering, from the Appearance of the Ore, as also in the Block.

<sup>x</sup> In some of the richest Mines in Hungary their Copper requires fourteen Meltings to render it fine.

which Metal can be applied  $\gamma$ . Besides we are to remember, that from Copper Brass is made, and from thence all the numberless Articles that are manufactured for public and private Use, from our heavy Artillery down to the Furniture of our Kitchens, and which Occasions no small Consumption drawn into Wire for Pins  $z$ .

VERDIGRISE might be also made in this as well as in other Countries, and it is really amazing that we have hitherto neglected so obvious and at the same Time so valuable an Improvement  $a$ . Yet the not making any Use of Waters highly impregnated with Metal from the Copper Mines, after the immense Profit that has been made by throwing old Iron into them in Ireland  $b$ , is still more amazing, especially as very fine blue Vitriol hath been obtained from those Waters in Cornwall, and is a Thing not attempted any where else  $c$ . In reference to the Value of our Copper Mines we can only form Conjectures, and these may very easily deceive us. We are told that the Copper Ore raised in Cornwall produces Two hundred thousand Pounds per Annum  $d$ ; and some have guessed, with what Accuracy I cannot pretend to say; that the Cornish Mines do not yield more than a fifth of what is produced in Britain. It is also very certain, that there are many Veins of Copper well known, that are not wrought on account of the great Expences attending such Undertakings, more especially at the be-

$\gamma$  The Ancients surpassed us in giving a Temper and an Edge to Copper. M. de Caylus, having communicated his Sentiments on this Subject to Mr. Geoffroy the younger, that ingenious Chemist undertook and accomplished the Discovery or Revival of this lost Art. We are told this by the Count de Caylus himself, to whom the World is indebted for so many learned Works.

$z$  These little Implements are made of Brass Wire blanched. The Manufacture is curious, and gives Bread to Multitudes, since from the Wire to the Pin there are twenty-five Hands employed.

$a$  It is said some Trials have been made with so great Success, as that Verdigrise made here was equal to any imported.

$b$  Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 118. where the Facts are related from indisputable Authority, and are indeed of publick Notoriety.

$c$  Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 207. where he informs us that this was discovered by Mr. Rouby at Plymouth, and in consequence of this a Vitriol Manufacture set up at Redruth in Cornwall. It is from hence this ingenious Gentleman, to whom his native County stands so much indebted, takes Occasion to recommend the Method of procuring Copper by dissolving Iron in vitriolick Waters.

$d$  Id. *ibid.* p. 207. where he says it has produced to Cornwall 160,000 Pounds annually for ten Years past. But whoever reads and considers the Method in which the Ore is sold according to his Account, will not think the Copper of Cornwall overvalued at £. 200,000, more especially if he reflects on the Price of fine Copper at Amsterdam. Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 345. There is a Mistake as to Coals paying Duty; for the Copper as well as Tin Works enjoy the Benefit of a Drawback in virtue of the Statutes, 9 Ann. cap. 6. § 54. and 14 Geo. II. cap. 41. § 3. We export annually to different Parts of the World and our own Colonies about 21,000 Cwt. of this Metal annually.

ginning <sup>e</sup>. In Process of Time, however, it is more than probable they will be opened as more Markets shall be found for their Produce.

LEAD is a Metal for which this Island was always famous. Our Mines were very probably wrought by the Britons, but certainly by the Romans; and one of their most learned Writers hath assured us, that the Produce was so great as to render it necessary to fix the Quantity that should be raised <sup>f</sup>. The Saxons followed their Example, and indeed our Lead Mines were in all Ages amongst the acknowledged Sources of our national Wealth, and so they still remain. This Metal is very abundant in South Britain <sup>g</sup>, North Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent Isles. The Ore appears in many different Forms, and from thence receives several Names <sup>h</sup>. Sometimes from its Colour, it is stiled Grey, Blue, or White Ore; sometimes from its Texture, it is called springy, steel grained, and cross grained Ore; and sometimes from its Position, flat, plated, or bellied Ore. But the most common, is the diced, cubic, or tessellated Ore <sup>i</sup>. In some Places it has been found so free from Spar, or other heterogeneous Matter, as to be almost pure, and this is called Naked Ore, and is very rich <sup>k</sup>. Lead when refined is the softest of all Metals, smooth, ductile, and little if at all sonorous or elastic. It is in reference to Water as Eleven to One, and in respect to Gold as Eleven to Nineteen <sup>l</sup>. Mines of Lead are commonly on the Declivity of Hills, and those in this Country are wrought from Ten to Seventy Fathom deep, cut with much Labour and with no small Charge. The Veins are very irregular, sometimes a few Inches only, and sometimes several Feet in Extent <sup>m</sup>. The Ore is also sometimes forced out of the Lead, and found loose in pretty considerable Quantities, and at some Distance.

<sup>e</sup> It would contribute much to this if some Means could be found to lessen the Number of Fusions, or in other Respects to shorten the Process of refining Copper.

<sup>f</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 17. where he says it was obtained with much Difficulty and Labour in France and Spain, but with great Facility in Britain.

<sup>g</sup> Cardiganshire, Cheshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Durham, Flintshire, Gloucestershire, Lancashire, Isle of Man, Monmouthshire, Montgomeryshire, Northumberland, Shropshire, Somersetshire, Staffordshire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire.

<sup>h</sup> All Ores are subject to many accidental Alterations in the Earth, to which these different Appearances are to be referred; but the Metal when refined is precisely the same.

<sup>i</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 28. p. 535. N<sup>o</sup>. 39. p. 767. N<sup>o</sup>. 407. p. 22. L. Erckerns's Atlays, Book iv. the first Nine Chapters. Plot's Staffordshire, p. 166. 188, 189. Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 30. 34, 35. 644. Woodward's Fossils, vol. i. p. 210—220. vol. ii. p. 27—30. 83—85. 107, 108. Hill's Fossils, p. 635, 636.

<sup>k</sup> When small, this very pure Ore is usually stiled *Lead Grains*; when from the Size of small Nuts to that of a Man's Fist *Naked Ore*, and in the North *Boofe Work*.

<sup>l</sup> Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. iv. p. 394. Dissertations Chymiques de M. Por, tom. i. p. 381. tom. ii. p. 155—157. tom. iii. p. 126 286. 300. 304. 455. Jucker Elemens de Chymie, tom. iii. P. iii. ch. vii.

<sup>m</sup> Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 111, 112.



THE Operation of separating the Metal from the Ore is likewise attended with Trouble and Expence, though with less in both than Tin, Iron, or Copper<sup>n</sup>. In the first Place it is broke and beat to Pieces, next washed in a running Stream, then passed through Iron Sieves, and lastly carried to the Furnace<sup>o</sup>. This is placed on a Hearth of Clay or Iron Stone, on which a Fire is made with Charcoal, and maintained with small Wood. The Ore is thrown on this Fire, and as the Metal melts it runs down into a Receptacle prepared for it; thence, while liquid, it is lifted out in an Iron Ladle red-hot, and being cast into a Bed of Sand it becomes, when cold, what they call a PIG OF LEAD<sup>p</sup>. There is a wide Difference in the Nature and Value of Ores, for some yield but thirty-five and others eighty Pound of Metal from One hundred of Ore<sup>q</sup>. But if they yield less than thirty-five they are not thought worth the Working, that is, unless the Ore is also known to hold Silver. In fact, all our Lead, or at least almost all, holds Silver more or less; but the Term of holding Silver implies, that it holds a sufficient Quantity to defray the Expence of extracting it with Profit; some Lead yields thirty Ounces of Silver in a Ton, some eighteen, and some only four Ounces<sup>r</sup>. The Ores richest in Lead hold none at all; that is, none that is worth extracting<sup>s</sup>.

THE Uses to which this Metal is applied, either manufactured by itself, or in Composition with other Metals, would require and deserve a particular Treatise, which would be in many Respects curious, entertaining, and instructive<sup>t</sup>. All that we shall say farther here is, that from Lead

<sup>n</sup> Harison's Description of Britain, B. iii. ch. xviii. Fuller's Worthies in Derbyshire, p. 229, 230. Somersetsshire, p. 17.

<sup>o</sup> This is the general Method; and though the Metal is easily obtained, yet Plenty making it cheap, none but rich Ores are smelted at present.

<sup>p</sup> Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 199—211. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 209. Brandshagen's Trial of Ores and Minerals.

<sup>q</sup> Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 34, 35. Grew's Museum of the Royal Society, p. 329. Heton's Account of Mines, p. 155, 156.

<sup>r</sup> Junckeri Conspectus Chemia, p. 777. Brauns Amœnetates Subterraneæ, Glossariæ, 1726, 4to. p. 51. Woodward's Fossils, vol. ii. p. 29, 30. where he informs us, that a Lead Mine at Guarneck, in St. Allen's Parish, near Truro in Cornwall, produced One hundred and forty Ounces of Silver in a Ton, and was reputed the richest in England.

<sup>s</sup> Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. 207. Ray's Northern Words, p. 129. where there is an Account of the Manner of refining Lead, and extracting the Silver from it. This was done at that Time with white Coal and black, that is Charcoal and Twigs dried but not burnt. In 1692, a Company was incorporated for smelting and refining Lead with Pit Coal, which they have continued to do with great Success.

<sup>t</sup> Until such a Work appears the curious Reader may consult Boerhaave's Chemistry, vol. i. p. 84—87. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 54—61. Macquer's Elements, vol. i. p. 7. 123; 153. 379. vol. ii. p. 322. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 224—239. Mineralogie de Bonmare, tom. ii. p. 95—115. Dictionnaire de Chymie, tom. ii. p. 263—271. Beaufobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, tom. i. p. 129.



some other Substances are produced, which from the large Consumption of them may be regarded as Things of great Value. CERUSE, or WHITE LEAD, which is made by exposing thin Plates of this Metal to the Fumes of Vinegar, which is the Basis of several Kinds of Paint, serves for many other Purposes, and is also of some Use in Surgery, though not in Medicine<sup>u</sup>. There is likewise a very beautiful Colour made from the Calx of Lead, which passes commonly under the Name of YELLOW OCHRE<sup>w</sup>. Add to these MINIUM or RED LEAD, which is obtained by giving and continuing a certain high Degree of Heat to the Calx of Lead in a reverberatory Furnace<sup>x</sup>. It is in great Use as a fine red Pigment, enters into the Composition of desiccative Plaisters; and is a capital Article in the Commerce of the Venetians in the Levant<sup>y</sup>. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to form any probable Guess, at the Value of the Lead raised from our Mines<sup>z</sup>. But to balance this, we are very certain of the following Particulars, that within this last Century we have wrought many more of these Mines than formerly, that we still continue to work many of the old Mines to greater Profit than in past Times, that our Knowledge in all Things regarding Metals is very highly improved, that most of the Impediments which retarded such Works are removed, by rendering the Property in them certain and secure, and that our Lead is the very best in the World, which is not to be understood, as if there was any real Difference in Lead, when rendered thoroughly pure and fine, but that this is done with greater Ease, and that our Metal yields more in Proportion than in other Countries<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 138. p. 935. where there is an exact Account of the Manner in which they prepare it from our Lead at Venice. The coarser Sort is what we commonly call White Lead, too frequently adulterated with Chalk and Whiting, and only the finest is stiled Ceruse. It is employed by Painters of all Kinds, as in Truth there is no white Paint but this.

<sup>w</sup> This is also stiled Masticot or Massicot, and is used to give a Body to Yellow, as Ceruse does to white Paints; only the last is most in Use for the Reason above-mentioned.

<sup>x</sup> We commonly call this Red Lead, and the finest is often, though falsely called Vermillion; the various Uses to which it is applied render the Consumption considerable.

<sup>y</sup> The Venetians make all these much better than any other Nation. They distinguish three Sorts of Minium, or as they call it Minio; the fine, which is made by raising the Fire to a proper Height, from Ceruse; the middle Sort, from the waste Cakes left in making Ceruse; the coarse or worst Sort, from Litharge; the Fire is usually kept up three Days and Nights; but it is the Smoke passing over the Metal that produces the Colour.

<sup>z</sup> About a Century ago we raised in the whole about 8000 Ton. We now send near twice that Quantity to Holland, France, Italy, and other Parts of Europe, 3000 to the East Indies, near 1000 to the West Indies and America, besides supplying an extended and still growing Consumption of this Metal at Home.

<sup>a</sup> Prodigious Quantities of British Lead Ore are exported to Holland, and there smelted, the Silver extracted, and Ceruse, Massicot, Minium, Litharge, &c. made from it, and sent all over Europe. There is a Duty of Five per Cent on Lead Ore exported, but from what has been, and what will be said, a Doubt may arise whether it may not be for the Interest of the Public to direct its being smelted before it is sent abroad.

It seems equally strange; that our old Writers should positively assert, that there was Plenty of Quicksilver and Cinnabar in England<sup>b</sup>, and that the most judicious and inquisitive of our modern Naturalists should be as positive that there is neither<sup>c</sup>; and indeed there is no reason to doubt the Truth of what they say. It is not however impossible or even improbable, that though none is found or believed to be in this Island, yet if diligently sought they might be met with<sup>d</sup>, at least in Quantities sufficient for our own Consumption<sup>e</sup>; for though Cinnabar is the principal Ore of Mercury, and must have been long since distinguished if we had it, yet Mercury is also found in Stones of a black or saffron Colour, and also in Clays or soft Earth, out of which the Mercury is obtained with very little Trouble<sup>f</sup>. It is therefore judiciously recommended by the Cornish Antiquary to his Countrymen, to examine carefully the Contents of their Mines with the View, that amongst so many mineral and metallic Substances as daily occur in them, under different Appearances, this, if it be there, may be detected<sup>g</sup>. But after all, the most likely Method of finding it, is to offer a considerable Reward to the first Discoverer. Experience having shewn, that in all Enquiries of this Nature Interest affords the strongest Light.

THERE are few Things that could be made clearer, if we depended only on Authority, than that there have been many rich Silver Mines in England; since we have not only credible Histories<sup>h</sup>, but authentic Records also which attest the Fact<sup>i</sup>. Yet if we admit these, we must take this Term in a general Sense, for Mines affording Silver, and not in the usual restrained Signification of Mines producing Silver Ore<sup>k</sup>. This Ambiguity was

<sup>b</sup> Harison's Description of Britain, B. iii. ch. xvi.

<sup>c</sup> Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 216. Sir John Pettus's Essays on metallic Words, under Metals and Quicksilver. Woodward's History of Fossils, p. 6. Hill's Fossils, p. 627. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 213.

<sup>d</sup> It is a common Observation in the Mining Countries in Europe and in America, that there are few Copper Mines without Mercury more or less.

<sup>e</sup> If we consider how much is annually consumed in Physic, Surgery, Arts, Trades, &c. the discovering it will appear no despicable Acquisition.

<sup>f</sup> Boerhaave's Chemistry, vol. i. p. 80—83. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 91—106. Hill's Fossils, p. 627.

<sup>g</sup> Natural History of Cornwall, p. 213. In Friuli they put the Earth into a Bottle with a long narrow Neck, which they stop with Moss, they turn it then downwards, putting the Neck into that of a larger Bottle of the same make, which is set in the Ground. They next make a Fire round the upper Bottle, by the Heat of which the Mercury being released, and put in Motion, falls through the Moss into the Bottle below.

<sup>h</sup> Camdeni Britan. p. 151. 553. Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 183. Fuller's Worthies, Devonshire, p. 245. Pettus's Fodinae Regales, p. 33. Webster's History of Metals, p. 20, 21.

<sup>i</sup> Fuller's Worthies, Devonshire, p. 245. where extracts from the Records are produced in respect to Comb-martin, which was a Lead Mine after all.

<sup>k</sup> Something may be said in Favour of the old Acceptation, if, as some skilful Persons (on their own Knowledge) have asserted, several of our Lead Mines are really richer in Silver than most Silver

was introduced by the State of our Constitution in former Times; for then all Mines holding either Gold or Silver, which might be extracted to Profit, were allowed to be MINES ROYAL, and past in a common, or rather in a legal Acceptation for Gold or Silver Mines<sup>l</sup>. It was in consequence of this, and of the Methods taken to support the Prerogative of the Crown, that our Mines were in those Times so indifferently known, and so little wrought, as, by the removing of these Impediments, they have been within less than a Century so much improved; so that at this Time we have actually more Silver extracted from our Lead than ever, though we hear nothing more of Silver Mines<sup>m</sup>. It is however indisputably true, that some Pieces of pure Silver are now-and-then found in our Copper, Lead, and Tin Mines. But notwithstanding this, and the superior Skill of our Artists in assaying, we have not hitherto discovered any such Thing as Silver Ore, which is what properly constitutes a Silver Mine<sup>n</sup>. But this by no means prove, there are none in the Island, or ought to discourage a Search for them.

It is pretty much the same with regard to Gold Mines. We have Reports, and those too with some, though no great Foundation, that such were formerly, and even within our Memory discovered. For Instance, about fourscore Years ago such a Mine was supposed to be found in Bedfordshire, at a Place called Pullock's Hill, within two Miles of Wrest; and another at Little Tawnton in Gloucestershire, both of which were immediately, as Royal Mines, seized for the Crown, and let upon separate Leases; in consequence of which they were wrought for a little Time, and then quitted, their Produce under the Management of the Lessees (though we know not the

Silver Mines. Malines, p. 182. speaks of large Quantities of Ore brought from Scotland, some of which himself sent abroad to a skilful Person, who extracted forty-two Ounces of Silver from an Hundred-weight, which is seventy Pounds from a Ton.

<sup>l</sup> In pursuance of this Principle, and by a legal Proceeding, Queen Elizabeth dispossessed the Earl of Northumberland of his rich Copper Mines at Kewick, and thereby raised a Distidence, which impeded the working of Mines, except in Cornwall and Derbyshire, for more than a Century. Towards the Close of the last, on an Attempt to dispossess Sir Carberry Price of his Lead Mine, notwithstanding the Statute 1 W. and M. cap. 30. § 4. a new Law was made 5 W. and M. cap. vi. § 2, to which all future Improvements have been owing.

<sup>m</sup> It may possibly deserve to be considered whether the Proviso at the Close of this Act, which reserves to the Crown the Pre-emption of all Copper Ore at sixteen Pounds a Ton, of Tin and Iron at forty Shillings, and of Lead at nine Pounds, which never has been beneficial thereto, should not be repealed, as it may have a Tendency to prevent the extracting Gold or Silver from these Metals, which by discovering the Value must render the Property precarious.

<sup>n</sup> The wise Lord Verulam exceedingly regretted the Exportation of Lead and of Lead Ore to foreign Parts, or even ~~by~~ being consumed at Home, without extracting the Silver, and with too much Reason. In his Time the annual Produce of our Lead Mines was Eight thousand Tons, which at the moderate Computation of twenty Ounces in a Ton, would, in the Space of a Century, even supposing we had raised no more than we then did, have supplied us with four Millions of our own Specie.

Cause) turning to no Profit<sup>o</sup>. We have in another Place cited an Author, indefatigable in his Researches, well skilled in Ores and Metals, and from these Circumstances of established Credit, who affirms, and that too of his own Knowledge, that there is more Gold and Silver found in England than is commonly imagined<sup>p</sup>. It is indeed certain, that the Finness in Cornwall pick up considerable Quantities of Gold in very small Grains in their Works, and have done so for above a Century, perhaps for many Centuries past, and that some larger Pieces have been found in the Crusts of their Tin Ore, and also in their Brooks<sup>q</sup>. Still greater Quantities were found in Crawford Moor in Clydsdale<sup>r</sup>, and some Gold Dust in a River in Dournesse in Caithness<sup>s</sup>, and in some of the Islands dependant on North Britain<sup>t</sup>. In Ireland, if there be any Credit due to their most ancient Histories, some of their Streams were very rich in this Metal<sup>u</sup>, and modern Accounts likewise mention small Quantities of Gold Dust that have been found there<sup>w</sup>.

THESE, taken together, are but a very small Specimen of British Fossils, since our learned Naturalists have not only distinguished but described some thousands<sup>x</sup>. We are not writing a Natural but a Political History, and therefore a succinct Account of such of these as were immediately and considerably useful, or might probably become so, were all that entered

<sup>o</sup> Sir John Pettus in his Dictionary of Metallic Words under Metals. Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 181, mentions Gold Spar found at Brickell Hill, near Spillsby in Lincolnshire. Our Records have a Mandamus to the Sheriff or Coroner of Essex in the Reign of Henry IV. May 11. Ann. Regn. 2. Rot. 34. in relation to a concealed Mine of Gold in that County.

<sup>p</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 56, where the Words of Dr. Woodward are produced.

<sup>q</sup> Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 186, 187. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 7. Sir John Pettus, as above cited. Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 30. 196. Curiosities of England, p. 24. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, chap. xix.

<sup>r</sup> Lest. Descript. Scotiæ, p. 12. Camdeni Britan. p. 695. Malines Lex Mercatoria, p. 181, where he says, he saw eighteen Ounces of this Gold in Grains, brought from thence by Sir Bevis Bulmer. This Gold was twenty-two Carats fine, and the Method of collecting it is fully described by Sir Robert Sibbald in his Prodrromus Naturalis Historiæ Scotiæ, lib. i. cap. xiii. See also Boyle's Works, vol. 5. p. 30.

<sup>s</sup> Oir-Nefs, corruptly Dournesse, i. e. Gold Cape. The best Account of the Gold in this Country is in the Appendix to Nicholson's Scottish Historical Library.

<sup>t</sup> Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 339. The Islands he mentions are North Uist and Harries.

<sup>u</sup> Keating's General History of Ireland, p. 127. 294. 433. Wals's Prospect of the State of Ireland, p. 443—447. Mac Curtin's Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland, p. 53. 56. 173. 182. 193. 276. 297. All citing their ancient Histories in their own Language, and insisting particularly on the Poll-tax laid on the Irish by the Danes of an Ounce of Gold. For the Nonpayment of which a Man was deprived of his Nose, and therefore the Irish called this Airgiold Sron, or Nose Rent.

<sup>w</sup> Boate's Ireland's Natural History, chap. xvi. § 2. in a Rivelet called Miola in Nether Tirone. Stringer's Mineral Kingdom display'd, p. 9.

<sup>x</sup> See Dr. Woodward's Preface to his Attempt towards a History of English Fossils, and also Dr. Hill's Preface, and his curious and instructive Table of Fossils.

into our Plan. It may however be very proper to remark, and what we have said of Bismuth, Cobalt, and Zink, will at once both justify and explain it, that Multitudes of our Spars, Pyrites, and Marcasites, &c. may hereafter in a Variety of Instances come to be great Sources of national Profit, and in this View they are even now to be regarded as so many latent Treasures, which the Skill, the Industry, and the inquisitive Nature of Man will be daily calling out to Use<sup>y</sup>. We must likewise remember that the Spirit of Discovery prevails, and that very strongly, in many other Parts of Europe, and that from the amazing Plenty of all Kinds of Fossils through the three Kingdoms, whatever shall be produced from thence will ultimately become beneficial to us. All imaginable Means were used in Saxony to conceal the Manner of making Zaffer and Smalt; and the carrying Cobalt out of that Electorate was upon Principles of Policy prohibited under Pain of Death<sup>z</sup>. But none of these Precautions could hinder the finding a Mine of Cobalt in Cornwall; and it is much to be regretted that some public spirited Persons have not prosecuted that Discovery with Effect<sup>a</sup>. There is no Doubt that several private People have lucrative Secrets, as well in working mineral Substances that are not commonly wrought, as in making considerable Profit by the peculiar Management of mineral Ores that are in every Body's Hands<sup>b</sup>. But if these Secrets were publicly known, they would, as new Sources of Industry, become a public Benefit, and those to whom they belong at present would have a Right to a Reward from the Public for disclosing them<sup>c</sup>.

IN respect to Metals, it hath been shewn how long a Time it was before we came to make those Uses of them for which they were at all Times fit; and the many and great Advantages that have since been de-

<sup>y</sup> The judicious and indefatigable Boerhaave was actually working on different Specimens of our Mundics, sent him by our Cornish Antiquary, when Death put an End to all his Inquiries and Discoveries.

<sup>z</sup> The Produce of these Mines are of greater Value than those of Silver in the same Electorate, though restricted to the raising annually only Six thousand Quintals.

<sup>a</sup> This certainly deserves Notice, if we consider what we annually import, what we might export, and that in sending it to China it would save sending Silver. For though formerly the Chinese prepared the blue Colour used in Painting their Porcelain, from Materials found in their own Empire, yet for many Years past they have been supplied from Europe.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Borlase tells us (p. 130) that a Ton of Manganese, which was had in Cornwall for eighteen Pence, was shipped for Liverpool, carried forty Miles from thence to Bosham, and sold there for 5l. 8s. 6d. This, which is one of the Poorest of our Iron Ores, must have been employed to some very singular Purpose, or some valuable Substance extracted from it, to raise it to more than seventy Times its original Price.

<sup>c</sup> The Instance in the former Note is one only out of many, to shew the Advantages that would arise from making these concealed Processes public.

rived from thence<sup>d</sup>. But though these are apparently very considerable, there want not good Grounds to believe that they may be still very much extended. It is not impossible that there may be some Relics yet remaining of the old Restraints; and from thence it may arise, that some Mines still continue unwrought, to the Prejudice of those in whose Lands they lie, and to the much greater Detriment of the Public<sup>e</sup>. These Bars, of whatever Kind they be, ought certainly to be removed, and all possible Liberty given for the improving to the utmost these Gifts of Nature for the Benefit of Society<sup>f</sup>. The two excellent Laws passed soon after the Revolution seem to breathe this Spirit, and the Consequences that have attended them cannot but be allowed strongly to recommend it<sup>g</sup>. Indeed the Tin Mines in Cornwall, the Mines of all Sorts in the Peak of Derby, and those in Mendip Hills in Somersetshire, which were all carried on when little of this Kind was done in other Places, owed this Distinction to their Immunities, and the Success with which they were carried on to the equitable Provision, that a proportionable Share of the Profits should fall to those by whose Labour they were procured<sup>h</sup>. It is not altogether improbable, that if Mines of Gold and Silver were put on a Level with other Mines, we should, if we have any such, speedily hear of them again<sup>i</sup>, at least there would be no Reason left why they should be concealed. We know of none of either at present, and we know of no Method so like to bring them to Light as this<sup>k</sup>. If it should be objected that this Concession might give too much Wealth to Individuals, let us consider the Numbers that must be employed in working such Mines, and of course derive a Maintenance from thence<sup>l</sup>, and let us also remember, that whatever Quantities of these precious Metals should be thus acquired, would enter into our Circulation<sup>m</sup>, and it will then clearly appear, that the Public, without

<sup>d</sup> It is to shew this, that Comparisons have been made of the Quantities of Metals formerly, with the Produce of our Mines from the beginning of the present Century to this Time.

<sup>e</sup> In Bishop Gibson's Additions to Camden his Correspondent mentions this Mine; Heton in his Preface to his Account of Mines says, the working it was stopped by Law Suits.

<sup>f</sup> It is from the numerous Advantages which result from them to the Community, that Mines in a peculiar Manner claim the constant Notice and Protection of the State.

<sup>g</sup> All that is intended in the Text, is to suggest a strict and steady Adherence to the Spirit of those two Laws founded upon the justest Principles.

<sup>h</sup> These Franchises seem to have existed from Time immemorial, were recognized by all, and confirmed and extended by our wisest Princes.

<sup>i</sup> The surest Way of discovering these, is by making a strict and accurate Analysis of all the mineral Substances, the Contents of which are not already known.

<sup>k</sup> A Desire joined to a Security of quietly possessing a Gold or Silver Mine is a Premium (without Cost to the Public) sufficient to excite the most diligent Enquiry.

<sup>l</sup> Affording a comfortable Subsistence to the Industrious is the Share of the Public, and a Share of which at all Events she cannot be defrauded.

<sup>m</sup> At the Close of the Statute, Anno primo Gulielmi & Mariæ, there is a Proviso, that all Gold and Silver extracted from Copper, Lead, or Tin, shall be coined at the Mint, and the like Proviso

without running any Risk, or being at any Expence, would be at length the greatest Gainers.

WE may hope, in regard to Metals as well as in regard to Minerals, that the great Progress the present Age hath made, and is daily making in useful and experimental Knowledge, may lead us to considerable Discoveries, and in consequence of them to various profitable Improvements<sup>n</sup>. It is not at all improbable, that among the numerous, splendid, and ponderous Substances that are at present looked on as the Incumbrances of our Mines, some new Ores might be distinguished and wrought to very valuable Purposes, the rather as Experiment does not seem at all repugnant to this Notion<sup>o</sup>. We may still farther propose without Fear of deviating into Absurdity, that we may possibly discover new Metals, at least Metals new to us, and which hitherto have not made any Part of our Treasures<sup>p</sup>. The Gifts of Nature are innumerable, and though we already possess very many, yet assiduous Enquiries, which helped us to some of these, may in Time reward our Diligence with more. The mechanical Part of this particular kind of Mining, though wonderfully improved, has never been reduced into a regular System, or the Principles of it laid down and explained like other Branches of Science, which if once it was brought into Order, and such a Plan well executed, would no doubt prove of no small Utility<sup>q</sup>. There are some Reasons to suspect that the common Methods of refining Ores and Metals are not yet become absolutely perfect, and that if they were such as are now esteemed poor Mines might be wrought to Profit; and even the rich to greater Profit than they are at present<sup>r</sup>. It has been  
also

Provisee ought to take Place if Gold and Silver Mines are ever allowed to become the Property of the Subject. This would be but a proper Acknowledgment for such a Concession, and become at the same Time a Register of its good Effects.

<sup>n</sup> In earlier Times all that was done in Mines was by mere Dint of Labour; but Science has mitigated that, and increased our Profits; and no doubt as Science enlarges, and becomes more diffused, its Effects will be greater and more conspicuous. What has been done within these few Years in respect to Coal Mines, the curious Machines introduced into the Silk Trade, and the admirable Engines daily invented for raising Water, leave us no Reason to question it.

<sup>o</sup> That Lapis Calaminaris is the Ore of Zink is a Discovery of no long Standing; about twelve Years ago a Foreigner first taught them in Cornwall to distinguish Bitmuth, which till then they threw away; as they had done formerly a certain Kind of Copper Ore, which they called Poder, i. e. Dust or Yellow Mundic, now sold for twenty Pounds a Ton, and yields a fine Metal.

<sup>p</sup> Platina is a new Metal incontestibly, but it does not follow that it is the only one that remains to be discovered.

<sup>q</sup> An ingenious and regular-bred Engineer might render a lasting Service to his Country, and establish his own Reputation, by such a Work.

<sup>r</sup> We know that anciently they committed great Errors in melting, leaving their Slag and Ginders too rich as to be melted again with Profit, which induced an Opinion that Metals grew. In guarding against this, we may err also by raising our Fires too high. Besides, in stamping  
Ores



also thought, that Methods might be fallen upon for reducing the Quantity, and thereby the Expence of Fuel; and this appears so much the more probable, as the Use of Pit Coal hath been gradually introduced into many Operations, for which through a long Series of Years it was held utterly unfit<sup>s</sup>. Experience is very truly regarded as the Test of Reason, and repeated Experiments serve to correct those Errors that we may have been led into by too hasty Conclusions from Experience itself.

THE Apprehensions that have been entertained from the Reports that in Countries abounding with the richest Mines the People in general, and more especially the common Sort, are very poor and miserable, ought by no means to intimidate us in our Researches. In the Spanish Mines they employ Slaves whom at dear Rates they purchase from Foreigners, and those Wretches are truly miserable, not so much from their Work as from their Condition. In Friuli and Hungary the Case is very little better, as many, if not most of the Miners are Criminals, and compelled to labour for a poor Subsistence. In these Countries there is also another Circumstance that renders their Situation without Remedy; which is, that many of these Mines produce so little, that if they were wrought by any other People than these they would yield no Profit at all<sup>t</sup>. But in Countries where Freemen are invited to work, from the Consideration of adequate Wages, the Opening of Mines must have very different Effects. For such Men, when thus employed, there must be Towns to lodge, and Lands cultivated to afford them Subsistence. They must have Cloaths, Tools, and domestic Utensils, which can only be supplied from Manufactures, and these will consequently prove more and more considerable in Proportion to the Value of the Mines, and the Numbers employed therein, and maintained by them<sup>u</sup>. Thus Reason teaches us, that in such Countries, more especially if they have a great Commerce, and the Means thereby of exporting their Produce, Mines must be highly beneficial to the Community as certain

Ores to Powder, and exposing them to the Action of Water and then of Fire, may not much Metal be lost? Inquiries into the Proceedings in foreign Mines would soon determine this.

\* In Places where Turf is to be had, might it not be used with Wood? Might not charred Turf or Dutch Turf, that is, made and dried as the Dutch Turf is, supply, where neither can be had, the Place of Wood or Coal? Dutch Turf has been used by Silvermiths here. Would not Calm mixed in the making Dutch Turf produce a strong Fire? Has the charring Pit-coal been properly attended to, or its Effects sufficiently examined?

<sup>t</sup> Heton's Account of Mines, p. 67—71. Nothing can shew more clearly than this, that with us Mines are a national Advantage.

\* All these Articles would be furnished by Labour only in this Country, in consequence of a Mine's being wrought, and thereby a constant and regular Course of Circulation established. This is not a simple Speculation. What has been already said in relation to Coal Mines and their Consequences prove it incontestibly a Fact. None who subsist purely by Labour live better than these People.



Sources of various and extensive Improvements<sup>w</sup>. Upon these Grounds some have thought, that where Mines were too expensive for private Purposes, or produced but a slender or precarious Profit, it might prove Oeconomy in the Public to indemnify the Proprietors on account of the Advantages, which, whether lucrative to them or not, the State is sure to receive<sup>x</sup>. This Doctrine of the Benefit of Mines, when wrought under such Circumstances, being fully justified by Experience, we ought certainly to encourage and protect such Enterprizes as much as possible<sup>y</sup>. We have now executed entirely the Design of this Chapter; and we trust have therein fully shewn, that the internal Riches of the British Dominions are truly immense<sup>z</sup>; that from various Causes which have been explained, these were for many Ages much neglected; that in the two last Centuries we have in a signal Manner availed ourselves of these Resources; that with the Assistance of Labour only, we draw from these annually an amazing Revenue; and that instead of having any Grounds to apprehend the smallest Diminution of this Income, we have the strongest Motives to expect, that new Advantages will continually arise, and those derived from the present Funds continue at the same Time to increase.

<sup>w</sup> These Improvements though in the first Instance due to Mines, come in a Course of Years to be able mutually to support each other, even if the Mine should fail.

<sup>x</sup> L'Homme désintéressé, p. 127, where the Author observes, that if a Million of Livres be annually spent in the working a Mine, which produces no more than Nine hundred thousand, yet this last Sum, exclusive of all other Improvements, being just so much added to the public Stock, the Community may well afford to pay the Difference, or continue working under this apparent Disadvantage.

<sup>y</sup> The State of the Counties in which Mines are wrought, compared with their Condition in former Periods, amounts on this Head to Demonstration.

<sup>z</sup> Fossils of every Kind are strictly and truly what we have always filed them, Blessings bestowed by Providence. For though Men may raise Woods where there never was a Tree; render Fields fertile where Grain had never grown; or naturalize Animals in Countries where till imported they were never seen: Yet all the Skill and Industry of Men cannot constitute a Stratum of Clay, Chalk, or Gravel, a Quarry of Stone, or a Load, a Vein, or so much as a sparry Lump of any kind of Metal. We may purify, refine, and fit them for Use, but the Things themselves are pure Gifts of Nature, the peculiar Riches of those Countries in which she has placed them.

## CHAPTER III.

## Of the Productions of Great Britain as arising out of the Soil.

*THE natural and artificial Causes of Fertility in different Countries. In the earliest Writers we find Commendations of the Corn Harvests in Britain. The Country and the Inhabitants equally improved while under the Dominion of the Romans. The Saxons, when once they became fully Masters, were in this Respect also very industrious. In consequence of this they carried on a large and lucrative Commerce with their Neighbours. How this State of Things came to be altered, the People impoverished, and the Country ruined. The untoward State of Cultivation, and the Loss of Markets under the Normans. In the Reigns of Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, Grazing generally preferred to Tillage. Various unsuccessful Attempts under Elizabeth and the succeeding Reigns to correct this Error. Methods taken by Parliament in the Reign of Charles the Second for more effectually encouraging the Cultivation of Corn. The Bounties on the several Species of Corn revived and thoroughly settled after the Revolution. A succinct Account of Wheat, and its many Uses in Food, and in other Respects. Benefits which in various Ways result from thence to Great Britain: The like in regard to Rye, and the Uses to which it is applied. Reasons why more Attention should be shewn to the Culture of this kind of Corn. The History of Barley and Malt, with an Account of the Quantities annually produced of both. The Benefits that arise from hence to Individuals and the Community. The Cultivation, Produce, and Nature of Oats, with the several Uses of that Grain briefly stated. Remarks on the increased and increasing Consumption, and the Means of supplying it. The different Sorts of Peas, their Uses, and the singular Advantages arising from them. A like Account of Beans, Tares, Lentils, and the Emoluments that result from these Productions. Why they are worthy of Notice though no exact Estimate can be formed of the Quantities raised and consumed. The Means by which our Knowledge in Agriculture came to be extended and improved. Clover introduced here from Flanders, at what Time, and in what Manner. The Method of cultivating it as an intermediate Crop, and the great Importance of that Cultivation; an Idea of the Profits that have arisen from this valuable Improvement. The Field Culture of Turnips brought likewise into this Country from Flanders. The extensive Progress and immense Advantages derived from this new Husbandry. This has excited not the Admiration*

miration barely, but the Emulation also of other Nations. *An Account of Carrots from the Time that they were brought amongst us by the Flemings. The Extension and Manner of their Cultivation for the Use of Cattle. The Produce and great Benefits that are like to follow from this Improvement. Parsneps proposed in the same Intention with Probability. The Prudence shewn in the encouraging such kind of Attempts for the public Good. The History of Hops, and their Cultivation in different Places. The many signal Emoluments that have arisen from this Improvement. The Culture of Hemp, and the Capacity of this Country to produce it in the highest Perfection. The Produce and incontestable Benefits that flow, and that might flow from its Cultivation. Flax grows in every Respect through all the British Isles as well as in any Part of Europe. The many Advantages that are, and may be derived from thence to the Landholders, the industrious Poor, and the Community in general. Rape and Cole Seeds singular and substantial Improvements; the Emoluments arising from these and other Cultivations of the same Nature. A succinct Account of the extensive Culture of Potatoes, and the Benefits derived from them. Seeds and Roots cultivated for their Uses in Medicine. The Manner of planting, and the great Profit derived from Liquorice. The Nature, Cultivation and Value of Saffron. Teasles, their Uses, and the Advantages arising from their Propagation. The History and Culture of Madder, with the Emoluments expected from thence. Safflower sown in some Places, and for what Purposes. The Culture of Weld or Dyers Weed; its Uses, and the Profits arising from it. The curious Method of cultivating Wood, and the Benefits attending it. Of Meadows and Pastures, and the different State of them in past and in present Times. The History of Saint Foin; its Culture and Produce: The same with regard to Lucerne, of Burnet, and various other new Improvements. Observations on the Benefits arising from the Application of Philosophic Principles in conducting and improving the Arts. The present State of Timber in these Islands, and the more obvious Causes of its Decay. Remarks thereupon, and some Hints as to the Remedies that may be applied. A retrospective View of the Contents of this Chapter.*

**T**HE Excellence of Soil and Climate are Blessings bestowed by Providence; but like all other Blessings, as we have often observed before, are capable of being augmented or impaired, according as they are either neglected or improved. In some Countries, where Humidity and Heat exceedingly abound, we still see a luxurious and spontaneous Vegetation, resembling at least, to a certain Degree, the Fictions of the Golden Age, when Nature supplying the whole Expence, Men lived without Toil, and relying solely upon her Bounty, enjoyed all Things in com-

mon<sup>a</sup>. But there is another, and yet more general Principle of Fertility, which is the Application of Man, by which many, if not most of these beneficial Productions which naturally spring up in one Country, may be transported into, and cultivated with Success in another<sup>b</sup>. Indeed if this had not been ever the Case, Mankind could not have spread over the Face of the Earth, but the far greater Part of the World would have remained in a State of Nature, void of Improvement and of Cultivation. It is true, that this Power hath its Limits, inasmuch that some Spices, Trees, and medicinal Plants are not to be removed out of certain Climates<sup>c</sup>. But Things of more general Utility may, and this in such a Measure as to excite a Doubt whether Countries, naturally of exuberant Fertility, are such as from thence are capable of being rendered the most populous<sup>d</sup>. Be this as it will, it admits of no Dispute, that the Capacity of producing, when directed by Skill, and supported by Labour, extends the Bounties of Providence, and that in such a Manner, as that both Soils and Climates may in Process of Time be beneficially altered by a vigorous and assiduous Attention to their Improvement<sup>e</sup>.

WE may with more Probability therefore admit, that Britain was very early known to the Phœnicians, since in the first Accounts we have from the Greeks, who derived their Knowledge from them, it is celebrated for its Fertility, a certain Proof that it had been long inhabited<sup>f</sup>. Julius Cæsar

<sup>a</sup> Strab. Geog. lib. xv. p. 715, in the Speech of the Brachman Calanus. Virgil. Ecl. iv. Ovid. lib. iii. Eleg. which shew the Antiquity and Universality of the Tradition of Paradise, where the principal Vegetables created for the Use of Man were to be removed, as they probably were, before the Deluge, and after that, upon the Dispersion of Mankind, gradually improved by them in all the inhabited Regions of the Earth.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xv. cap. 13, 14. 18. 22. 25. Are not all Vegetables spontaneous in their Growth in some Country or other? Must they not have been transplanted from these into different Regions? Were not Ceres, Triptolemus, Bacchus, &c. deified by the Ancients for thus extending the Benefits bestowed by Providence? Has not this been the Case in Countries now famed for Fertility? Is it not remarkably so in our own?

<sup>c</sup> But even these Limits are not so confined as is generally believed. Cinnamon and Cloves would grow in Tobago. Sugar does grow in Spain, Sicily, and in Egypt. Oranges have been naturalized in Portugal, that were originally the Production of China. Curiosity and Luxury however, in respect to modern Importations, have done more than the nobler Principles of Economy and public Spirit.

<sup>d</sup> L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xviii. ch. 3, 4. 9. He observes, that in Countries naturally abundant the People are idle, feeble, and timid.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xvii. cap. 4. where he observes, that the Soil about Philippi being drained by Sluices, the Climate was altered and became drier. The same has been observed in Ireland, and in our Plantations. I say observed, for in Truth the Case is the same every where, only every where it has not been observed. The Converse of this Proposition is also true, for in Countries long neglected the Climate becomes unhealthy, and the Soil barren.

<sup>f</sup> If we confide in the Sentiment of Camden, Orpheus calls this the Royal Court of Ceres. See also Strabo, Geog. lib. iii. p. 200. Diod. Sicul. lib. v. p. 109. Authors, who though they wrote after Cæsar, yet drew their Materials from Greek Geographers and Historians, who lived long before him.

allows,

allows, that in the maritime Provinces of this our Isle, the People were well furnished with Corn; but at the same Time asserts, that in the interior Countries they lived chiefly on Fleish and Milk g. The first he undoubtedly might know with Certainty, but the second he could only learn from Report. Cornelius Tacitus, a cautious and correct Author, from the Information of his Father-in-law Julius Agricola, than whom no Man of his Time knew this Country so well, or could describe it better, acknowledges the Mildness of the Climate, and the Richness of the Soil, which except the Olive, the Vine, and other Plants, which he judged to be peculiar to warmer Countries, produced every Thing else in the greatest Plenty. He also observed, that though the Springs were forward, yet that the Grain ripened slowly h. This he attributed to frequent Rains, and the Humidity of the Air and Soil. We see no Reason to doubt either of the Truth of the Representation, or of the Justice of the Remark i. The Britons were but just beginning to learn the true Principles of Agriculture. Their own Skill, such as it was, enabled them to provide sufficiently for their own Subsistence in the Manner in which they lived, and hitherto they had looked no farther.

By the Romans, who continued here the greatest Part of five Centuries, the Britons were well instructed in all the Arts requisite to civil Life. They taught them to construct Roads, to open Canals, to work Mines, to improve their Ports, and, above all, to cultivate their Country in the best Manner, by which they rendered it a Region of exquisite Beauty and flowing Abundance, while themselves were not only an elegant and polite, but at the same Time an active, industrious, and opulent People. Britain was in those Days another Sicily to the Empire; and as the former supplied Italy, so the latter furnished the Roman Armies in Germany and in Gaul with Corn and other Provisions k. It was this rendered our Island of so great Consequence to, and so much considered by, these Sovereigns of the World. It was this put it in the Power of Carausius, himself a Briton, to constrain Maximinian and Dioclesian to allow his assuming the imperial Title l. It was this that induced the Panegyrist to compliment Constan-

g De Bello Gal. lib. v. cap. x. He acknowledges however that the Climate was less severe than in Gaul. Cic. de Legibus, lib. ii. gives us the Reason, because of the tepid Vapours from the surrounding Sea.

h In Vita Agricola, cap. xii. His whole Relation shews him to have been diligent and exact in his Inquiries; very sensible and impartial in his Reports.

i The same that has been said of Ireland, our Hebrides, and the West Indies, and from the same Causes, i. e. the Want of Cultivation.

k Zosim. Hist. lib. iii. Camden. Britan. Viti Hist. Britan. lib. i. p. 9. Seldeni Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 3—8. Huet Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, chap. 58, 59.

l Sext. Aurel. Victor. Eutrop. Breviario Romanæ Hist. lib. ix. c. 13, 14. Card. Noris in Explicatione Nummi Diocletiani, p. 29.

tius Chlorus, and his Son Constantine the Great, in such swelling and pompous Terms on their recovering Britain, and thereby providing for the Subsistence and the Security of the Frontier Provinces<sup>m</sup>.

ON the coming of Julian, with the Title of Cæsar into Gaul, when he found those Provinces in the utmost Distress, as well as in the greatest Danger, his first Care was to settle the Peace, and restore the Commerce of Britain, from whence he drew more than once Eight hundred Ship Loads of Corn, without which he could never have extricated himself from the Difficulties he was in, or attained such a Degree of Power as lifted him to the Empire<sup>n</sup>. New Troubles arising, and new Emperors being set up, some of them here, the whole Strength of the Island, after numerous Armies raised in, and frequently when transported abroad recruited and reinforced from hence, was at length totally exhausted, and the Country so depopulated, as instead of affording, as formerly, a continual Support to, it became a Burthen on a declining Empire; in which State the Romans gradually and unwillingly abandoned it<sup>o</sup>. The continual Irruptions of the barbarous Nations into the Roman Provinces in Britain, quickly completed their Ruin, so that it was not only spoiled and rendered desart, but the very People, and with them the Arts they had acquired, were in a great measure exterminated and extinguished<sup>p</sup>.

It was more than a Century before these Troubles totally subsided, and the Saxons, who were invited as Auxiliaries, becoming more cruel Enemies than the Picts and Scots, fixed themselves fully in their respective Principalties, and then in the first Intervals of Peace began to improve them<sup>q</sup>. But when they once set about this, and more especially after they embraced the Christian Religion, they made a great Progress, and soon revived the Credit of this Country for Plenty and Hospitality. The Excellence of their Constitution, the Justice of their Laws, their regular Plan of Policy, but above all, their equal Distribution of Land, not only produced but secured a general, constant, and thorough Cultivation<sup>r</sup>. We preserve more certain Proofs of this than even the most authentic Histories could afford, in the

<sup>m</sup> The Reader may find large Citations from these florid Descriptions of Britain, in Camden, Speed, and in other Authors; and making just Allowances for the Genius of that Age, the Style peculiar to such Pieces, and the Motives they had to paint all the Advantages of this Island in the most lively Colours, we may derive from them very considerable Information.

<sup>n</sup> Eutrop. Breviario Romanæ Hist. lib. x. cap. vii. Zosim. Hist. lib. iii. Ammian Marcel. Hist. lib. xx.

<sup>o</sup> Zosim. Hist. lib. vi. Procop. de Bel. Vandal. lib. i. Sigon. de Occiden. Imper. lib. x.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. Guild. cap. 14—17. Nennii Hist. Briton. cap. 27, 28. Chron. Saxon, p 11.

<sup>q</sup> Bed. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. Chron. Saxon. Alured. Beverlacenf. Asserii Chron. Rogeri Hovenden. Annal.

<sup>r</sup> See the Collections of Saxon Laws by Bromton, Lambard, and Selden.

Number of Cities and great Towns, and the almost innumerable Villages raised, and many of them named, by these intelligent and industrious People <sup>s</sup>. In the Cathedrals, Colleges, and Monasteries, which they erected and endowed with Lands, which their Ecclesiastics took care to improve to the utmost <sup>t</sup>. In the System of their rural Oeconomy, which they established, and which still in a great measure subsists, and in the Terms made use of in all Things relative to Husbandry, which most of them, at least, are retained amongst us to this Day <sup>u</sup>.

WE have also sufficient Evidence to convince us, that though this Country was then fully peopled, our Harvests not only sufficed to feed them plentifully, but supplied also a very large Exportation <sup>w</sup>. Hence it was the Emperor Charles the Great called Britain the Granary of the Western World <sup>x</sup>. This Commerce enabled the renowned King Edgar to form those numerous Fleets that were at once the Guard and Glory of his Dominions <sup>y</sup>. In succeeding and less happy Times the Wealth accumulated by this lucrative Trade, for Riches, or rather the Signs of Riches, that is, Gold and Silver, could be brought hither no other Way, enabled his Successors to procure some temporary Reliefs to their Subjects by those Subsidies which bore the Title of Danegeld <sup>z</sup>.

IT is now necessary to relate how this State of Things came to be altered, and that too in such a Degree as almost induced a Doubt, as to the Capacity of this Country to produce so much Grain, and made it a Question whether the Histories of the amazing Plenty in Britain in ancient Times were not

<sup>s</sup> Consult Spelman's *Vitæ* or Lambard's Dictionary, or Dr. Gibson late Bishop of London's Map, entitled *Britannia Saxonidæ*.

<sup>t</sup> See Camden's Preface to his *Britannia*, Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and Bishop Tanner's learned and curious Preface to his *Notitia*.

<sup>u</sup> Somner's, Junius's, Spelman's, and other Glossaries. These derive in Truth their great Utility from this very Circumstance.

<sup>w</sup> Our old Historians are very deficient in what regards Commerce. Lambard has preserved a Law by which it was honoured and encouraged. King Alfred, in his Saxon Translation of Orosius, has recorded a very exact Account of the remotest Countries in the North, by Persons whom he sent to discover a Passage that Way to the Indies. He sent Alms to the distressed Christians in the East, and received Presents from them. Will. Malmesb. de Gest. Pontiff. lib. ii.

<sup>x</sup> This induced him to live in the strictest Friendship with Offa King of Mercia, to whom he wrote with equal Kindness and Respect. Will. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 32.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 122. Chron. de Mailros, p. 150. Will. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. p. 57. and many other Authorities that might be cited.

<sup>z</sup> This Tax was raised for different Purposes, sometimes to engage the Danes to retire, sometimes to raise Forces against them, and at Length as an ordinary Revenue. The Rate also was different. Originally Two, afterwards Four, and even Six Shillings on every Hide or Plow-land in the Kingdom. It is for this I cite it, to shew that the Saxons relied on their Land and its Produce. The Reader who would be better informed may consult Mr. Webb's learned Discourse on Danegelds.

much exaggerated, if not entirely fabulous <sup>a</sup>. Under the Saxons this Country, as we have already observed, was fully peopled, and fully cultivated, the Nation in general rich, happy, and in some Degree luxurious <sup>b</sup>. This tempted the Danes, who made a Profession of Piracy, to make Descents on different Parts of the Sea Coasts in order to plunder. Encouraged by Success, they invaded and made themselves Masters of several Spots in the Maritime Countries, and from thence harrassed, depopulated, and in a great measure destroyed the Whole <sup>c</sup>. These Distractions with little Intermiſſion continued for three Centuries, and had ſuch an Effect on the Country as well as on the People, that, together with the great Changes in the Genius and Spirit of the Government, by the coming in firſt of the Danes, and then of the Normans, as in the Miſt of an impoverished and deſolated Nation, left a bitter Remembrance of paſt Plenty and Proſperity, with ſcarce any Proſpect of future Recovery <sup>d</sup>. We have a very ſingular and deciſive Inſtance of the Truth of this, in the Satisfaction and Admiration expreſſed by a judicious Author in thoſe Times on the Deſcription of a Saxon Monastery, and the Country round it, which from the Peculiarity of its Situation had eſcaped the almoſt univerſal Ruin <sup>e</sup>.

**AFTER** the Norman Government became ſomewhat more ſettled, Agriculture was either ſo little encouraged, or ſo indifferently underſtood, that what from the Variation of Seaſons, from the Frequency of civil Commo- tions, and repeated foreign Wars, there was a continual Fluctuation between great, but very tranſient Periods of Plenty and extreme Scarcity.,

<sup>a</sup> We ſhall hereafter ſee, that not above two Centuries ago ſome of the beſt men in the Kingdom doubted the Poſſibility of rendering this Iſle ſo fertile in Corn, as not to be in a continual State of Dependence in this Reſpect on its Neighbours. On this Principle they oppoſed Laws for promoting Agriculture, as oppreſſive and vexatious to the People, as directing their Views to an Object which their utmoſt Industry could never attain.

<sup>b</sup> This was after the Days of Edgar, furnamed the Engliſh Solomon, who raiſed the Saxon Monarchy to the higheſt Degree of Splendour. In conſequence of this many Strangers frequented his Court, foreign Cuſtoms were introduced, and People affected a magnificent and expensive Way of Living unknown to their Anceſtors.

<sup>c</sup> Aſſer. de rebus Geſt. Ælfridi, p. 32, 33. Chron. Saxon. p. 141. Ingulphi Hiſtoria, p. 24. 56, 57. Henr. Huntindon. p. 358.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 139. Johan. Glaſton de rebus Glaſton. p. 143. Chron. de Mailroſs, p. 153. Heming Chartular. vol. i. p. 248. See alſo Sir John Spelman's Preface to his Life of Alfred, where he not only acknowledges, but fully proves, that none of the Invaders of this Country were in any Degree ſo fatal to it as the Danes, who before they had a Proſpect of Conqueſt ſeemed to aim only at Deſolation.

<sup>e</sup> Will. Malmſb. de Geſt. Pontif. Angl. lib. iv. prope fin. The whole Paſſage is tranſcribed by Camden. See Biſhop Gibſon's Tranſlation, col. 494, 495. The ſame Place is deſcribed by the Archdeacon of Huntingdon Hiſt. lib. v. p. 357. This was Thorney Abbey in Cambridgſhire, made a perfect Paradise by the Monks, adorned with ſtately Woods, noble Orchards, ſpacious Vineyards, delightful Lawns, and elegant Buildings, in the Miſt of Fens and Marſhes.



may, sometimes downright Famine<sup>x</sup>; and as an Instance of this, in the short Space of fourteen Years, Wheat was once at Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence, twice at Sixteen Shillings, and once at Twenty-four Shillings a Quarter, though once within that Space so low as Two Shillings *y*. Neither were those before-mentioned the highest Prices, for in twelve Years after this Period, Wheat was Four Pounds Sixteen Shillings a Quarter, and at some Times and in some Places it went even higher<sup>z</sup>. In these Circumstances they had not only a Notion of importing to relieve their Necessities, but of exporting also to keep up the Price of their own Grain. But both being subject to Licences and other Incumbrances they neither of them answered any general or public Purpose<sup>a</sup>. The same may be truly said of a Law that promised better, by fixing a Price at which Grain might be imported from abroad, which looked like declaring what was then regarded as the standard and moderate Price of the Commodity<sup>b</sup>.

IN the Time of Henry the Seventh a Notion began to prevail amongst the Nobility and Gentry, then by far the principal Land-owners in the Kingdom, that their Estates might be rendered much more valuable to them by being employed in Grazing than in Tillage<sup>c</sup>. This Humour continued to spread during the two succeeding Reigns, though visibly contrary to the public Interest; and in the Days of Edward the Sixth excited a Rebellion, in which the common People, who were exposed to all the Hardships without sharing in the Profits, sharpened by Indigence and Oppression, demolished in many Counties the greatest Part of the Inclosures<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> A. D. 1005. Chron. Saxon. p. 134. A. D. 1041. *ibid.* 156. A. D. 1043. Hen. Huntind. Hist. lib. vi. A. D. 1069. *in* Hoveden Annal. A. D. 1089. Chron. Johan. Abbat. St. Pet. de Burgo, p. 52. All these, and possibly more, happened in one Century. But if the Reader would know more particularly to what Height these Famines rose in ancient Times, he may find an Account at large of that in A. D. 1316, in Baker, p. 113. Echard, B. ii. chap. iii. p. 137. Rapin, vol. i. p. 193. Wheat was then Forty-four Shillings a Quarter.

<sup>y</sup> This was from A. D. 1244 to 1258. In A. D. 1270, it was at 4*l.* 16*s.* which amounts nearly to 13*l.* 19*s.* of our Money.

<sup>z</sup> Fleetwood's Chron. Precios. p. 63. which shews plainly these sudden and signal Variations were owing to the Want of sound Policy.

<sup>a</sup> In the Reign of Edward III. many Restraints were laid on Exportation, often on the Request of the Commons. Cotton's Records, p. 18. 100. 135. Statute 17 Ric. ii. c. 7. the Subject may export Corn freely, at his Pleasure. Stat. 4. Hen. vi. c. 5. allows this to be restrained by King and Council. Revived by 15 Hen. VI. cap. ii.; and by Stat. 23 of the same Reign made perpetual.

<sup>b</sup> Stat. 3 Edw. IV. cap. ii. afterwards repealed. It shews however that it was at this Time thought necessary to limit Importation as well as Exportation.

<sup>c</sup> Stat. 4 Hen. VII. cap. 19. Sir Thomas More's Utopia, Book i. Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 345. a. Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1301—1310. Sir John Hayward's Reign of Edward VI. in Kennet's History, vol. ii. p. 292—308.

This however did not remove the Evil any more than the Laws had done which were made against Forefallers and Ingrossers<sup>e</sup>.

In the Reign of Elizabeth somewhat more was attempted, but little or nothing accomplished by the Acts for promoting and encouraging Tillage, which were warmly supported on Principles of true, rational, and consistent Policy by the wise Sir Francis Bacon, and as vehemently opposed on very plausible Grounds of Experience and Observation by the able Sir Walter Raleigh, who really thought it was impossible to render Grain a Staple Commodity in this Country. In this Opinion, as strange as it may now seem, that great Man was by no means singular<sup>f</sup>. Under the two next Reigns Proclamations and Laws were not wanting to encourage both Importation and Exportation, but with little Effect<sup>g</sup>. During the civil War, and under Cromwell, there was much actual Scarcity<sup>h</sup>, though a true Spirit of Industry and Agriculture began then to rise, which afterwards had such happy Consequences. But there still wanted some judicious, solid, and permanent Regulation, which might give a Spring and Support to constant Cultivation, in order thereby to establish certain, settled, and suitable Markets<sup>i</sup>.

IMMEDIATELY after the Return of Charles the Second, when the Principles of our domestic Interest, and the true Nature of foreign Commerce, through the indefatigable Labours of many intelligent and public spirited

<sup>e</sup> Stat. 5th & 6th Edw. VI. cap. xiv. A Law certainly well intended, and in its Motives just; but from the Number of Exceptions and Provisoos difficult to be carried into Execution, and therefore, by several Statutes, has been since, for the Improvement of Tillage, and with a View to general Circulation, in many Respects repealed.

<sup>f</sup> Sir Simmons Dewe's, Journals, p. 551, where there is a long Speech of Sir Francis Bacon, p. 674. Sir Walter Raleigh on the other Side urged, that poor Farmers could not purchase Seed to sow the Land which the Law required to be sown. That France offered the Queen to supply Ireland at two Shillings a Bushel, at which Price our Farmers would be Beggars. That Spain would buy no Corn from us if we could supply them. And that after all, the Dutch had Plenty of Corn without troubling their People about Tillage. Sir R. Cecil espoused *the Plough*; he said it raised People as well as Corn: That these were stout, honest, and laborious People; and that as we were forced through Want to buy Corn, so no doubt, if we had it, we could sell. By an Act 39 Eliz. these Tillage Laws were repealed.

<sup>g</sup> See the Statutes, 1 Jac. I. cap. xiii. 21 Jac. I. cap. xxviii. 3 Car. I. cap. iv. all in Favour of Exportation, which the last allows till Wheat is above Thirty-two Shillings.

<sup>h</sup> Hartlib's Legacy of Husbandry, p. 93. where he says in A. D. 1651, that without Supplies from abroad the Nation must have been brought to the utmost Distress. We have no Reason to doubt this, for in A. D. 1648, Wheat was 4 l. 5 s. A. D. 1649, 4 l. A. D. 1650, 3 l. 16 s. 8 d. A. D. 1651, 3 l. 13 s. 4 d per Quarter, the Lowest of which Prices is much higher than it has been for Half a Century past.

<sup>i</sup> These Alterations in the Laws shewed they none of them had answered the End desired, which was to encrease the Quantity of Corn. This could be no otherwise done, than by finding some effectual Means to encourage the Grower, by affording him a constant Prospect of an adequate Return for his Labour and Expence, which hitherto had been never attained.

Persons,

Persons, came to be better and more clearly understood <sup>k</sup>, there were several well intended Statutes made relative to this important Point. By the First of these, the Exportation of Wheat was permitted under certain Duties till it came to be Forty Shillings a Quarter<sup>l</sup>. By the Second, Exportation was allowed till it was Forty-eight Shillings, with some Alteration upon the Rates on Importation <sup>m</sup>. By the Third, it was permitted to export even when above Forty-eight Shillings, paying the Custom <sup>n</sup>. But the Fourth, though a temporary Act, continuing in Force only for the Space of three Years, was the most remarkable, since by this a Bounty was given on Grain at a certain Price when exported <sup>o</sup>. This Indulgence is in the Body of the Act expressly said to be on account of the low Rate at which Corn then sold abroad, had a very good Effect, and was considered by the most intelligent Persons in those Days as an Experiment, which having answered so well deserved to be followed <sup>p</sup>.

IN the next Reign there was a Law passed, which has been since on mature Deliberation more than once confirmed, for regulating the Manner of establishing the Prices, according to which Customs were to be paid on Importation <sup>q</sup>. Immediately after the Revolution the Bounties on the several Species of Corn were established (as except when for the public Security the Power of Parliament interferes) they still subsist <sup>r</sup>. Such have been the Acts of the Legislature with an Intent, by encouraging the Cultivation, to increase the Quantity of Grain, and thereby, as far as human Policy can, contributing to preserve Plenty. Let us now see what have been the Consequences, that in the Course of upwards of Seventy Years these Laws have produced.

WHEAT, as it affords in various Ways the most general and necessary Subsistence to the Human Race, so through the peculiar Beneficence of Di-

<sup>k</sup> Particularly such as Prince Rupert, Sir Robert Moray, the Hon. Robert Boyle, John Evelyn, Esq; Dr. Beal, Mr. Hartlib, Mr. Ray, Major Grant, Sir William Petty, Dr. Nehemiah Grew, Sir Peter Pet, Mr. Pepys, Sir Dudley North, Sir William Temple, and many others.

<sup>l</sup> Stat. 12 Car. II. cap. iv. § 11.

<sup>m</sup> Stat. 15. Car. II. cap. vii. § 2, 3, 4. Wheat imported to pay 5 s. 4 d. Poundage.

<sup>n</sup> Stat. 22 Car. II. cap. 13. Wheat imported, when at 53 s. 4 d. a Quarter, to pay 16 s.; when at Four Pounds, 8 s. a Quarter.

<sup>o</sup> Stat. 25 Car. II. cap. i. § 37. A Bounty is granted on Wheat at 48 s. or under, of 5 s. a Quarter; on Barley or Malt, at or under 24 s. of 2 s. and 6 d.; and on Rye, at or under 32 s. of 3 s. and 6 d. a Quarter.

<sup>p</sup> Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, vol. iv. p. 389. where he assures us that in one Year the Bounty amounted to more than 61,000 l.

<sup>q</sup> Stat. 1 Jac. II. cap. xix. continued by several Statutes, and made perpetual by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. vii.

<sup>r</sup> Stat. 1 W. and M. cap. xii. § 2. commonly considered as the first Bounty Act, but gives the same Sums and at the same Prices as 25 Car. II. cap. i. § 37.

vine Providence we find it capable, with proper Skill and Industry, of being raised and cultivated in most Soils and Climates through the four Quarters of the Globe <sup>s</sup>. Besides those different Uses to which it is applied in Food, it is sometimes malted, and in that Form enters largely into the Composition of several Liquors, and more particularly of Mum <sup>t</sup>. The Distillers also make Use of considerable Quantities, as they find that it yields great Plenty of a fine strong Spirit <sup>u</sup>. Starch, of which in different Ways there is a constant and large Consumption, is likewise manufactured from it, and this to a very great Value <sup>w</sup>. The Bran, of which there are several Sorts separated from the Flour, when Ground, serves several Purposes in Manufactures as well as in Medicine, and is afterwards found by Experience to be a very profitable Manure <sup>x</sup>.

IN these our British Islands, exclusive of that unceasing Attention it deserves as an indispensable Necessary of Life, it is in a national Sense of very great Consequence in affording constant Employment, and of Course Maintenance to Multitudes, in its Cultivation <sup>y</sup>; and in that Respect as well as in many others, it may be considered as a Manufacture, and the Basis of other Manufactures <sup>z</sup>. It is become now, notwithstanding the Opinion entertained

<sup>s</sup> In Europe Wheat grows in Norway as well as in France and Sicily; in most Parts of Asia; but that of Smyrna or the Archipelago is fittest for our new Husbandry. See Tull, p. 104. 136. In regard to Africa, the Harvests of Egypt and Barbary, in point of Quantity and Quality, are equally famous. Shaw's Travels, p. 230, 406. In respect to America, in the Kingdom of Chili in the South, Ovalle, lib. i. cap. 3. in great Plenty and Perfection; and as to North America I need cite no Authority.

<sup>t</sup> Stat. 5 Ann. cap. xxix. § 15. A Bounty on Exportation of 5 s. a Quarter is given on Wheat-Malt, ground or unground, when Wheat is at or under 2 l. 8 s. a Quarter.

<sup>u</sup> On the first Apprehension of Scarcity the Distillers are prohibited the Use of Wheat; but in Seasons of Plenty, Exportation and the Distillery supercede the Necessity, and consequently save the Expence of Granaries, the Ends of which are immediately and effectually answered by such temporary Prohibitions; because the Quantities used by both are brought to Market for home Consumption, in Bread and other Kind of Provisions.

<sup>w</sup> Starch is made by steeping Bran or damaged Wheat in soft Water for a Week or ten Days in the Sun; the Sediment properly prepared is turned into this Commodity, of which we make about Forty thousand Hundred-weight, and the Duty amounts annually to Thirty thousand Pounds, but is drawn back on Exportation. The French under severe Penalties prohibit the using good Wheat in making Starch; they also make very considerable Quantities.

<sup>x</sup> Bran is much used by the Dyers, who boil it in Water, to which it gives an Acidity, and makes it fit for scouring; when pressed after steeping, it is sold for Dung.

<sup>y</sup> For the History of Wheat consult Columel de re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. vi. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. vii. Raii Hist. lib. xxii. cap. i. Plot's Oxfordshire, p. 153—155. Morton's History of Northamptonshire, p. 476, 477, 478. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 87, 88. Worlidge's System of Agriculture, p. 39. 53. Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 127—130. 149. 332. Tull's Horse-hoeing Husbandry, chap. ix.

<sup>z</sup> If we consider the Number of Persons employed in this Husbandry, the Expence of Cattle, and the Wear and Tear of Country Utensils, we may quickly see that there is no Impropriety in Stiling the Culture of Wheat a Manufacture. Indeed in some Respects it surpasses most Manu-  
factures,

tertain'd by our Ancestors, a very valuable and much envied Article in foreign Commerce, and considered in that Light hath brought within the Compass of a few Years immense Sums into the Nation <sup>a</sup>. About the Time the Bounty was effectually established, Mr. Gregory King's very curious and accurate Calculations were made public, which shew what at that Period was the Produce of England in this Grain, which, so soon were the good Effects of the Law either felt or foreseen, began even then to be considered as a Staple <sup>b</sup>. We have the Satisfaction however to see, that from that Time we have gone on increasing in the Culture and Production of this valuable Grain, and at present produce a far greater Quantity; so that of course the Nation is in this Respect so much richer, larger Tracts of Land have been brought into Tillage <sup>c</sup>; and we have, and may certainly continue to have, a more extensive Exportation. It is true, that there still sometimes happens Seasons of Scarcity, but these fall out much seldomer, and in Respect to Severity are in no Degree comparable to what were felt in former Times <sup>d</sup>. Besides even these have their Utility, inasmuch as they serve to inform us, that there is yet sufficient Room for Improvement, and not the least Ground to doubt, that Markets may and will be found for the increased Produce, even if it should be carried, which surely is far from being impossible, much beyond its present State.

RYE is a Kind of farinaceous Grain, which grows very tall, on a thin, dry, and gravelly Soil, and will, generally speaking, succeed where other

fares, as it supplies constant Employment, and though moderate yet competent Wages, which the Fruit of their Labour always supports, as Corn is an Article never suffers from Fashion.

<sup>a</sup> Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 136. It appears that in Nineteen Years from A. D. 1746 to 1765, deducting the Value of Wheat imported within that Space, we exported in that Grain to the Amount of £. 10,365,606, which at an Average is £. 545,558 per Annum. All in our own Shipping, which is another and very great Advantage.

<sup>b</sup> Published by Dr. Davenant in his Essay upon the probable Means of making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade, London, 1699, p. 71. He states the Produce of Wheat at 14,000,000 of Bushels.

<sup>c</sup> The Vouchers for this are taken from the Collections of the accurate, ingenious, and industrious Author of the Tracts on the Corn Trade. He makes the annual Growth of Wheat 32,372,824 Bushels. Of this he computes there is spent in Bread 30,000,000, for other Uses he allows 720,000, and fixes the Exportation at 1,652,824 Bushels. In regard to Weight, a Bushel contains from Fifty-six to Sixty Pounds. In the Counties where they measure nine Gallons to the Bushel, as for Instance, in Staffordshire, they reckon from Seventy to Seventy-five Pounds a Bushel. The Mealmen who choose to buy rather by Weight than Measure agree, that a Sack (which should contain three Bushels) shall weigh two hundred and twenty Pounds.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Davenant in the Book above-mentioned, p. 81. says, that in Edward III's Reign, Corn once rose to thirteen Times the common Value. If we call Four Shillings a Bushel the common Value of Wheat, then we may truly affirm, that in Sixty Years it never rose to double the Value, and not above once came near it. In some Parts of England this may be contradicted from Experience; but enquiring into, and comparing Measures will re-establish the Fact.

Corn would not <sup>e</sup>. It is next in Price to Wheat, which, though inferior to it in many Respects, in some others it very much resembles <sup>f</sup>. In several Places this Grain with an early Kind of Wheat are sown and reaped together <sup>g</sup>. The general Use of Rye is for Bread, of which there was much more formerly eaten than at present, and yet there is still more of it consumed in this Way than of Barley <sup>h</sup>. Rye-bread in the Opinion of good Judges, is rather unwholesome than unpleasant. It is conceived to be of very difficult Digestion, and therefore only fit for hard-working and laborious People <sup>i</sup>. Besides this, it is black, heavy, and by no Means pleasing to those who are not used to it; but, as appears from their continuing in the Use of it, very acceptable, and agrees well with such as have been accustomed to it from their Youth <sup>k</sup>. But this Grain being mixed with Wheat, is thought from its Clamminess to contribute to keep the Bread made of it long moist, to give it an agreeable Flavour, and to make it go farther, and to save the Trouble of frequent baking <sup>l</sup>. It yields a great deal of fine and strong Spirit, and some Use is made of it by the Tanners <sup>m</sup>.

UPON the Whole, as the chief Consumption of Rye was in Bread, and as for more than Half a Century past this has been continually diminishing, so we at present grow less of it than in Times past, though we export more of it

<sup>e</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. cap. xvi. Camdeni Britan. p. 546. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xxii. cap. 2. Markham's Farewell to Husbandry, p. 79. 93. Worlidge's System of Agriculture, p. 40. 54. Mortimer's Husbandry, p. 125. 149. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 87, 88. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 270. Hill's History of Plants, p. 213.

<sup>f</sup> It rises higher than Wheat, the Ear is smaller, with shorter, sharper, and rougher Awns, the Grain is less in Size, thinner and darker, the Root not so bushy as that of Wheat, and therefore does not so much exhaust the Soil; it is earlier in the Ear by a Month. It is next in Weight to Wheat, the Bushel being from 56 to 59 Pounds; where they allow nine Pecks to a Bushel it sometimes reaches to 67 Pounds.

<sup>g</sup> This mixed Corn is commonly called Maslin (Miscellane) and also Mung-corn or Monk-corn, corruptly for Monk-corn, because Bread made of it was commonly eat in Monasteries. Professor Bradley assures us, that this was the sweetest and moistest Bread he ever tasted. Many others are of his Opinion in this Respect. But in the Article of Bread, we are at present rather governed by the Sight than the Taste.

<sup>h</sup> Mr. King estimates the Produce of Rye in his Time at 10,000,000 of Bushels. We grow at present 8,509,216 Bushels, of which 7,992,000 are spent in Bread, 248,000 are consumed in other Uses, and 269,216 Bushels are annually exported. This Amounts to 283,798 l. whereas in the last Century, though we grew more, we imported considerable Quantities, and consequently the Nation gains very considerably by this Grain.

<sup>i</sup> In Germany Rye is as much used as in any Country in Europe, and the People who eat it are very robust, and go through a great deal of Labour, which they think they could not do without it.

<sup>k</sup> Use in this Respect has wonderful Effects, insomuch that those who have long eat Rye-bread have little Relish for Wheat.

<sup>l</sup> When this was the Bread, as it once was of the common People, Wheat went much farther, which is the Reason, that notwithstanding the Difference of Money, Wheat is now thought dear at what was then esteemed a moderate Price.

<sup>m</sup> Rye parched and ground has been used as a Substitute for Coffee; it is less heating, but has not the Flavour or any other Properties of the Mocha Bean.

than

than we formerly did<sup>n</sup>. It may however deserve some Consideration, whether for several weighty Reasons the Culture of this Grain should not be more attended to and encouraged, and, amongst others, for these that follow. Because it will grow almost every where, and on any Soil, not only with little Trouble, but, which is a Circumstance not unworthy of Notice, with less Danger of failing than almost any other Crop<sup>o</sup>. Because though less eaten here than in former Times, yet it is still in great Esteem abroad, more especially in the Northern Parts of Europe, where the Consumption of it is large, and it sells at a considerable Price<sup>p</sup>. Lastly, because our Rye is thought wholesome, and much less if indeed at all exposed to that dreadful and deplorable Malady the French call ERGOT<sup>q</sup>, which frequently renders the eating it very dangerous and destructive, not to Man only, but to all Animals, and of course our Rye from this fortunate Circumstance will preserve a Preference in foreign Markets.

BARLEY is said to have been the first Grain introduced for the Sustenance of Man, the Cultivation of which was taught by the Goddess ISIS to the Egyptians, according to the most ancient Histories of that Nation<sup>r</sup>. It grows on worse Land than Wheat, and the different Kinds thereof agreeing with various Soils, we find most Sorts of it raised with great Success, more especially within the Space of the current Century throughout all the British Islands; to the Inhabitants of which it is a Grain highly valuable, on account of the many and important Uses to which it is converted<sup>s</sup>. It was anciently made into Bread, and much esteemed in many Countries. It was so even in this, and though now Wheat-Bread very much, as well as very generally prevails, yet it is still the common Food of at least the ordinary Sort of People in several Counties, where Experience shews it to be very

<sup>n</sup> The French very wisely and successfully practise a Husbandry which they learned from us (Dictionnaire Universelle d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 209.) they split the Ridges of Wheat-stubble, and sow it with Rye, which in April and May they cut for their Black Cattle (whereas we feed Sheep and Lambs); and if the Weather proves favourable they mow it three Times, which at that Season is highly beneficial.

<sup>o</sup> Rye does well in mountainous Countries, and ripens almost without seeing the Sun in light sandy Soils, and also in tolerably good Ground thrives wonderfully.

<sup>p</sup> Often above, and very seldom under a Guinea a Quarter, usually at a higher Price than Barley, and about two Thirds the Price of Wheat.

<sup>q</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. cxxx. p. 758. It is a most horrid Distemper, ending frequently in an incurable Gangrene.

<sup>r</sup> Diodor. Sicul lib. i. p. 9. Plutarch. de Isid. & Osirid. Reimm. Id. Antiquit. Egypt. § 25, p. 54. It deserves some Consideration what this Invention was. It appears from the first cited Author, that Isis found the Plants of Barley and Wheat growing in the Woods, and that she taught Men how to collect, sow, and cultivate them, so as to increase the Quantity, and at the same Time to meliorate the Grain.

<sup>s</sup> The Produce of Barley, as stated by Mr. King, was 27,000,000 of Bushels. At present the the annual Produce is 38,826,176 Bushels in a common Year.

wholesome,

wholesome, hearty, and nourishing <sup>t</sup>. There is particularly a certain Sort of it stiled Naked or Wheat Barley, the Flour of which answers better than any other for that Purpose <sup>u</sup>. But Barley in general, on account of its being more incumbered with Bran, is now chiefly employed for the making MALT, which is a very useful, extensive, and curious Manufacture, by which Multitudes are maintained <sup>w</sup>. Malt is brewed into Beer and Ale of different Kinds, the Use of which is as general in respect to Drink, as that of Wheat in regard to Bread <sup>x</sup>, and from hence arises great Profit to Individuals, and a very large Revenue to the Public <sup>y</sup>. Besides this there is a very large Consumption of Malt by the Distillers, who draw from thence amazing Quantities of Spirits, on which likewise there are very considerable Duties <sup>z</sup>.

IN some Countries in Europe Barley is used as Oats are with us in feeding Horses <sup>a</sup>. It serves also admirably well for fattening Hogs, Poultry, and other Animals <sup>b</sup>. We export, after supplying our own large Demands of all these different Kinds, both in Grain and Malt, to a very considerable Amount <sup>c</sup>. We grow at present about one Fourth of this Grain more than we did at

<sup>t</sup> The Consumption of this Grain in Bread is computed at 8,129,000 Bushels. It is allowed that those who eat Barley-Bread eat one with another eleven Bushels in a Year, whereas People usually eat but eight Bushels of Wheat. This is highly probable, since Barley commonly weighs but from Forty-four to Forty-seven Pounds a Bushel; in the Counties where nine Pecks are computed to a Bushel it sometimes weighs Fifty-eight Pounds.

<sup>u</sup> Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xxii. § i. cap. 3, 4. Plot's Staffordshire, p. 343. *Hordeum Nudum*, or *Zopyrum*, this by the Botanists is called *Tritico-Speltum*. At Rowley, where it grows plentifully, they call it French Barley. It produces largely, makes Bread very near as good as Wheat, and Malt not inferior to any Barley.

<sup>w</sup> The annual Quantity of Barley made into Malt is computed to be 26,400,000 Bushels, and the Duty on Malt in 1762 amounted to £. 1,011,701.

<sup>x</sup> It appears from hence, if there were no other Arguments to prove it, that Agriculture is the great Support of the Nation, in which every Individual is interested for the most material Articles of his daily Subsistence in Food and in Drink; in this Respect all Manufactures depend upon it; from its Produce it is the chief Stay of the Landed Interest; it contributes largely to Navigation and Commerce, and in various Ways; and, taking all these together, to a vast Amount towards the Maintenance of Government. All these Benefits, important as they are, become exceedingly more so, from the Consideration that they are stable and permanent, the Work of Prudence and Perseverance, and which can never decline but through Indolence and Folly.

<sup>y</sup> The gross Duty on Malt in 1762 has been given above, and in 1764; the Quantity which paid Excise advanced to 28,000,000 of Bushels.

<sup>z</sup> It is sufficient to shew the Importance of the Distillery to the Public to remark, that every Quarter of Corn consumed therein pays three Pounds or more in Duty.

<sup>a</sup> This was the Usage of the Romans, and is still so of the Spaniards, and of many other Nations who have it in Abundance, and make no Use of Malt.

<sup>b</sup> The Consumption in this Way, considering how much better Animals for Food are now kept to what they were formerly, must be very large. It has been rated by good Judges at 936,000 Bushels, which is rather certainly within than beyond the Truth.



the Beginning of the current Century <sup>c</sup>; that is, in South Britain; and it may be still more in Proportion in North Britain and Ireland; in both which Countries it thrives exceedingly well, and it has been of late Years, as we have before observed, very assiduously cultivated <sup>d</sup>. As the Bran of Wheat, so the Dust of Malt, is found by Experience to be a most excellent Manure; and indeed the Grains and the very Lees of Malt Liquors are converted to profitable Uses <sup>e</sup>.

OATS are of different Kinds, distinguished commonly from their Colours into black, grey, red, and white Oats; and as a very useful and profitable Grain, cultivated throughout all the British Islands <sup>f</sup>. In the County of Cornwall, and in the Bishoprick of Durham, it may be also in other Counties, there is a Sort of naked Oats, which very much resembles Wheat, and is said to sell almost as dear, as we have already mentioned elsewhere <sup>g</sup>. This Grain is still used in making Bread in Wales, over the greatest Part of Scotland, and in the North of Ireland, and the People who eat it are strong, active, and healthy <sup>h</sup>. It serves in other Respects as a necessary and salubrious Article both in Food and in Physic to the Inhabitants of the whole Island, and great Quantities of it are continually used at Sea <sup>i</sup>. But the principal Consumption, more especially of late Years, and particularly in South Britain, hath been for the Feeding of Horses, being from Experience found the wholesomest and fittest for that Use;

<sup>c</sup> It has been computed that we annually export in Barley 299,184 Bushels, in Malt 1,806,840 Bushels, and our Exports in both continue to increase.

<sup>d</sup> For the History of this Grain, see Columel de re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. ix. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. vii. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xxii. § 1. cap. v. Plot's Natural History of Oxfordshire, p. 155. Staffordshire, p. 343. Childrey's Britan. Baconica, p. 11. Morton's Natural History of Northamptonshire, p. 479. Worlidge's System of Agriculture, p. 39. 53. Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 130. 151. 333. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 271—289. Borlase's Cornwall, p. 87, 88.

<sup>e</sup> Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 50, 51, where he shews the Uses, explains the Reasons, and assigns the Quantities of this Manure.

<sup>f</sup> For the History of Oats, see Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xvii. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xxii. cap. xiii. Sibbaldi Scotia illustrata, lib. i. P. i. cap. xiv. Worlidge's System of Husbandry, p. 40, 41. 54. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, vol. i. p. 134. 151. 352. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 289—295. Hill's History of Plants, p. 209.

<sup>g</sup> Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire, p. 344, 345. Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 136. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 87.

<sup>h</sup> It is generally held, that in South Britain fewer People eat Oat than either Barley or Rye-bread, and yet the annual Consumption of Oats in this Way amounts to 14,329,800 Bushels, which falls only short 1,791,200 Bushels of the Rye and Barley used in Bread put together. This arises from the different Quantities which are requisite for Subsistence. A single Person eating of this Bread within a Bushel of three Quarters in a Year. The common Weight of the Bushel seldom exceeds forty Pounds, and where it contains nine Pecks rises but to forty-five.

<sup>i</sup> Markham's Complete English House-wife, B. ii. chap. viii. p. 175. where there is a large Account of the Uses made of Oats in his Time, which is curious.

and in regard to this, it is at present become a very considerable Object <sup>k</sup>. Oats are likewise very much used for the Fattening of Poultry and other Animals, and were formerly preferred to all other Grain for this Purpose. They may be, and in Times past were frequently malted, and made a very good, pleasant, and wholesome Drink, yielding likewise a very fine Spirit <sup>l</sup>.

IN the Opinion of some it is not at all impossible that their Hulls might be employed as the Bran of Wheat is in making Starch <sup>m</sup>. As there was no Bounty allowed upon the Exportation of this Grain in the first Statutes, the Defect was afterwards supplied <sup>n</sup>. But notwithstanding this, it has been thought by the best Judges, that there still remain some Defects which ought to be remedied, and this it is conceived might be easily done, by putting Oats on a proper Proportion with other Grain, which would very much facilitate the free Circulation both of the Corn and Meal here at Home, and thereby prevent a Monopoly of some Parts of the Kingdom against the Rest, and might also promote a farther Cultivation <sup>o</sup>; which seems to be a Thing extremely necessary, since though we grow at present more than double the Quantity that we did about Sixty Years ago <sup>p</sup>, yet the Demand is so much increased as to occasion frequent and large Importations, and this too (which deserves Notice) at a Price so high as to be visibly inconsistent with the public Interest <sup>q</sup>, and which by the Amendments above proposed might very probably be prevented.

BESIDES these different Kinds of GRAIN, there are several Sorts of Pulse that are set or sown for intermediate Crops in what is stiled Arable

<sup>k</sup> It is computed that for the Maintenance of Horses, and in other Uses, we spend yearly 19,692,000 Bushels. But our whole Growth amounts to no less than 33,927,576 Bushels; whereas Mr. King states the Produce of Oats at 16,000,000 Bushels. But our usual Consumption amounts to 34,021,800 Bushels, which is supplied by an annual Importation of this Grain, which seems to be still encreasing.

<sup>l</sup> Mr. Gervase Markham in the Work before cited, B. ii. chap. vii. gives the Method of malting Oats, which in his Time he says was commonly practised in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and elsewhere. Mr. Mortimer assures us, that in Kent they commonly brewed with one half Barley and the other Oat-malt.

<sup>m</sup> This Observation has arisen from considering the Resemblance between boiled Starch and Flummary, which is best made from the Hulls of Oats steeped in Water; and from the Likeness of the Thing produced, and the Similarity of the Process in making it, a Presumption appears, that this Grain might be applied as well as Wheat in this Manufacture, which, if Experience should justify this, would be of Utility.

<sup>n</sup> Stat. 5 Ann. cap. xxix. § 10. gives a Bounty of 2 s. 6 d. a Quarter on Oats exported, when Oats are under fifteen Shillings a Quarter.

<sup>o</sup> It has been suggested, that instead of 15 s. Exportation should be permitted till Oats are 20 s. a Quarter, but this Merits mature Consideration.

<sup>p</sup> We have before stated the present Growth, from the Tracts on the Corn Trade to what is mentioned by Mr. King, to be as 17 to 8, and yet we fall short of the Demand.

<sup>q</sup> In A. D. 1763, was the greatest Importation, which amounted in Oats and Oat-meal to 219,310 Quarters, or 1,754,480 Bushels, which must cost about £. 175,448.

Land, from an ancient, well founded, and still prevailing Opinion, that instead of impoverishing or exhausting, they nourish and improve the Soil <sup>r</sup>, turning also in their own Produce to very considerable Advantage. Amongst these we may in the first Place very justly reckon PEASE, that is Field Pease, of which in the common Estimation there are a great many Kinds, denominated sometimes from their different Colours, and sometimes from the Places in which from their succeeding best they are most esteemed. But a very able Writer of our own Country very judiciously observes, that they may be all reduced to two Sorts, distinguished by their Size, the lesser and the larger <sup>s</sup>. They are likewise held to be very ticklish, and incertain in their Success, for which the same Author assigns very probable Reasons <sup>t</sup>. However of some Sort or other they are universally cultivated, and serve for a great Variety of Uses. Large Quantities in a Diversity of Ways are consumed annually in our Kitchens, still larger in Sea Provisions, and much more than both these taken together in the Fattening of Hogs, which creates a constant, considerable, and continual Demand <sup>u</sup>.

NEXT to these we may reckon BEANS, which serve likewise for much the same Purposes <sup>w</sup>, are exported for the Food of the Negroes in our Plantations, employed in feeding Horses at Home; so that altogether they are in daily Use, and most certainly turn to a very considerable Amount <sup>x</sup>. VETCHES or TARES of various Denominations are likewise sown for the Sake of yielding early Fodder for Cattle while green, and when ripe afford excellent Food for Pigeons <sup>y</sup>; as LENTILS, which the common People call

<sup>r</sup> Columel. de re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. x. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, chap. xi. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 317, 318, 319.

<sup>s</sup> Columel. ubi supra. Plin Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xii. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xviii. cap. ii. p. 890. Langham's Garden of Health, p. 473. Markham's Farewell to Husbandry, p. 93. 106, 107. Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 137. 355.

<sup>t</sup> Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 300—315, where he observes, that besides the Distinction of Size mentioned in the Text, there is another Distinction which respects both the lesser and the larger, and this is their being tender or hardy, and by having a due Regard in the Choice of the Lands on which, and of the Time in which, they are sown, by adverting to these Distinctions, all Incertainty may be in a great measure at least, if not wholly prevented.

<sup>u</sup> We have enumerated the principal Uses of Pease, of which there is a great, and also growing Consumption in Town and Country, immense Quantities annually put on board our Ships, a great deal used in Hospitals, Infirmarys, and Workhouses; so that one cannot well conceive we should use less than we did formerly; and yet Mr. King's Computation of 7,000,000 of Bushels seems beyond the Truth: If, as it is not at all impossible, this should be the Case in regard to some of his other Estimates, it will turn the more in Favour of our modern Improvements.

<sup>w</sup> The ancient Writers as before, as also Markham. Worlidge's System of Husbandry, p. 42. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 296—300. Hill's History of Plants, p. 543.

<sup>x</sup> Mr. King states the annual Growth of these Vegetables at 4,000,000 of Bushels, in which possibly there may be some Mistake.

<sup>y</sup> Columel. de re Rustica lib. ii. cap. xi. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xv. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xviii. § 1. cap. ix. p. 900. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 315—323. Hill's History of Plants, p. 543.

TILLS, do both for Pigeons and for Calves, and therefore in some Counties are in great Request<sup>a</sup>. All these are raised with very little Trouble, grow when Seasons are favourable luxuriantly, yield consequently quick and large Returns, and, when brought to Market, are one with another sold as dear or dearer than Barley, which makes them no inconsiderable Object to the Farmer, in Addition to his other Grain<sup>a</sup>.

It is on this Principle they find a Place here by Way of Appendix to the Produce of Corn Lands. It is not possible, however, from any Inquiries, or indeed from the Nature of the Subjects themselves, to enter into so much as a probable Calculation of their respective or comparative Values<sup>b</sup>. Yet we may venture to assert, without Fear of injuring Truth, that in Proportion to the greater Extent of our Corn Lands, and the Increase of all Sorts of Animals that are nourished for Food, the Quantities of all Kinds of Pulse must have been gradually very considerably augmented.

ALL these have an apparent Relation to the ancient Stile in Agriculture, and no small Part might possibly be preserved, by what seems to have been the Law of Farmers, a constant Tradition from the Times when our Lands were so successfully cultivated by, or at least under the Direction of the Romans, who as their learned and judicious Writings plainly shew, were very studious in, and had a just Reverence and Esteem for, this most useful and profitable Science<sup>c</sup>. In succeeding Ages there is no Question, that in consequence of the Travels of our observing and public-spirited Countrymen, and the Knowledge they obtained from their frequent Expeditions into foreign Countries, we borrowed new Lights from some of the most intelligent of our Neighbours, and more especially from the Flemings<sup>d</sup>, who for a long Time were very highly and very deservedly famous for being one of the most ingenious, as well as one of the most industrious Nations in Europe, and with whom in different Periods we had very close Connections<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, chap. xi. Markham's Farewell to Husbandry, p. 98. Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 140.

<sup>a</sup> An Acre for Example, that when sowed with Wheat produces Three Quarters, when with Barley Four Quarters, with white Oats Three Quarters, will the succeeding Year bring a Load and a Half of Tares, and leave the Land fit, with proper Tillage to carry a Crop of Wheat again the next Year. This shews the great Consequence of these seemingly inconsiderable Articles.

<sup>b</sup> Computations when founded solely on Conjecture, as in these Cases they must be, though intended only to explain, may probably mislead, and for this Reason we decline them.

<sup>c</sup> Columel. de re Rustica, lib. i. cap. i. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 290. Essays on Husbandry, p. 41—45.

<sup>d</sup> They were equally distinguished by their accurate Skill in Agriculture, their singular Ability in Manufactures, and their wonderful Dexterity in Commerce.

<sup>e</sup> At first in regard to political Concerns, and afterwards from our commercial Intercourse, as our Staple was established at Antwerp.

It was from them somewhat more than a Century ago, as near as can be collected, that we learned the Nature, Value, and the Culture of CLOVER <sup>f</sup>. But it was notwithstanding a great many Years after it had been thus introduced, that we came to make Use of this very valuable Acquisition, as an intermediate Crop, which occasions the Mention of it here <sup>g</sup>. In this View it is sown about the Beginning of the Month of April, to the Quantity of Ten or rather of Twelve Pounds of Seed, though some say Twenty Pounds, upon an Acre <sup>h</sup>, in Land naturally rich and warm, or on Lands that have been highly manured with Dung, Lime, or Marl <sup>i</sup>. About the End of May it will be fit for mowing, or, which is held better or more advantageous, may be then employed in feeding Cattle; and notwithstanding this it will feed sometime in the Month of June, sooner at sometimes and in some Places than in others, according to the Nature of the Soil, and Benignity or Backwardness of Seasons; and then being again mowed, it is even after that, more especially if the Weather is favourable, still of some Value in feeding <sup>k</sup>.

It is often luxuriant in its Growth, and proves consequently a very profitable, but is ever an uncertain and precarious Crop. It may, and sometimes does yield five Bushels of Seed; but three on an Acre is more common, and even then all the Advantages derived from it being computed and considered, it is not thought inferior in the Value of its Produce to Wheat <sup>l</sup>. The Seed is threshed out of the Hay with no small Trouble about March, and is always a saleable Commodity, though sometimes at a

<sup>f</sup> Directions for the Improvement of barren Lands, London 1670, 4to. p. 11, 12, 13. This curious Piece was written by Sir Richard Weston of Sutton in Surry, and by him addressed to his Sons. Samuel Hartlib had published Two Editions before under the Title of a Discourse of the Husbandry used in Brabant and Flanders. Mr. Hartlib has much more on this Subject in his Letters to the Honourable Robert Boyle, printed in the last Volume of his Works.

<sup>g</sup> The inquisitive Reader, by consulting the Authors cited in the next Note, may learn the History and Progress of this valuable Improvement.

<sup>h</sup> Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xviii. § 3. cap. i. p. 944. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 2, 3, 4. Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. 205. v. p. 260. 267. Blith's English Improver improved, p. 179—186. Worlidge's System of Husbandry, p. 26—29. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry, vol. iv. p. 18. Mortimer's Husbandry, B. i. ch. iv. p. 32—36. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 39—57. Tull's Horse-hoeing Husbandry, p. 188. Hill's History of Plants, p. 553.

<sup>i</sup> It is looked upon as a great Improver of Clay Ground, chiefly by feeding it, and in this View it has been very much cultivated in Sussex and other deep Soils.

<sup>k</sup> The feeding before it is mowed for Seed, according to the best Information I could obtain, may be estimated at a Guinea an Acre, and after mowing at about Three Shillings.

<sup>l</sup> It will appear from the foregoing and the following Note, that an Acre yielding Three Bushels of Clover Seed, at 1 l. 5 s. is worth near a Fifth more than an ordinary Crop of Wheat at Thirty Shillings a Quarter, exclusive of the different Expence in raising the Two Crops, which is likewise in Favour of Clover.

higher, sometimes at a lower Price<sup>m</sup>. Both by growing and feeding it it improves the Soil, that the Farmer seldom fails with due Care and Culture of reaping a good Crop of Wheat from the same Land the next Year<sup>n</sup>; and this Circumstance, as in Justice it ought, is a strong Recommendation; and therefore Clover is very likely to maintain that Credit in which in this Respect it has so long stood amongst those who are its only proper Judges; that is, the judicious and experienced Practitioners of Husbandry<sup>o</sup>. These are now much increased in Number, which is an Event equally favourable to the Art and to the Nation.

WE owe to the same Country, and to the same Neighbours, another Improvement of the same Kind in respect to TURNEPS. The Value of them, even in the Manner in which we use them, though looked on as a new Species of Husbandry, was however very far from being unknown to the Ancients, for Columella and Pliny both say, that they were generally esteemed next in point of Value to Corn in their Produce; and the former assures us, that they fed their Cattle with them in Gaul in his Time<sup>p</sup>. But certain it is, that the first Notion of what has been since so generally and so successfully practised by us, came, as we have said, from Flanders at the same Time with Clover<sup>q</sup>. But at first, which has been too frequently the Case in Things of this Nature, it seems to have been overlooked, and even neglected for many Years<sup>r</sup>, and then again proposed, explained, and recommended with better Success<sup>s</sup>. For it to fell out, which proved the

<sup>m</sup> When Clover was first introduced, and we had our Seed from abroad, it was sometimes extravagantly dear, and, which was worse, seldom to be depended upon. But since we found out that our own was the best, it has sold (according to the Scarcity or Plenty) at or from One to Four Pounds a Bushel; the best is of a greenish Yellow, and when spoiled becomes Black.

<sup>n</sup> Clover may be sown after any Crop, it will feed many more Cattle than common Grass, and when mowed for Seed the Crop is removed in good Time.

<sup>o</sup> Experience is the Farmer's only Guide, and yet he can seldom spare Time or Money to make Experiments. The Society by their Premiums have removed, at least, in a great measure this Difficulty. In doing this they have done more than was ever done towards promoting the Progress of Agriculture, and thereby merit highly of their Country.

<sup>p</sup> Columel. de re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. x. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xiii. lib. xix. cap. v. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 166.

<sup>q</sup> Directions for the Improvement of barren and heathy Land, p. 21, 22, where Sir Richard Weston gives as full and plain Directions as can be desired.

<sup>r</sup> The Edition of the Book, cited in the former Note, was published by one Gabriel Reeve, with an Epistle, dated Hackney, April 14th, 1676, to Kenrick Eyton of the Inner Temple, Esq; He has prefixed Sir Richard Weston's Letter to his Sons, but without his Name, or any Intimation that it had been printed Twenty Years before.

<sup>s</sup> Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xvi. § 1. p. 800. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, N<sup>o</sup>. ccclx, p. 974. Worlidge's System of Husbandry, p. 46. Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 131. 157. Houghton's Collections, vol. iv. p. 144. Tull's Horse-hoeing Husbandry, chap. viii. p. 79. Lisle's Observations on Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 26—36. Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxii. p. 453. 501. xxiii. p. 69. Hill's History of Plants, p. 525.

principal Cause of its succeeding Progress, that the first effectual Trial of this enlarged Cultivation was made in a Country the fittest of all others for the Reception of such an Improvement, where it succeeded as well as could be wished; and yet, notwithstanding this was so well known and much admired, so backward were People in those Days in Things of this Nature, that it was some Time before it travelled out of Norfolk into the next County, Suffolk, and from thence into Essex<sup>t</sup>. In the same Proportion as the Turnep Culture prevailed, it was rendered more and more useful, by correcting several Inconveniencies with which at its first Introduction it was attended<sup>u</sup>. But for many Years past it has been continually spreading, not only into most Parts of South, but also into North Britain and Ireland, where its Utility is so apparent that it continues to extend itself every Day<sup>w</sup>.

TURNEPS carefully cultivated, more especially according to the new Husbandry<sup>x</sup>, grow to a large Size, many of them from Six to Fourteen Pounds a Turnep, or more<sup>y</sup>. We may the less wonder at this, since Pliny speaks of Forty Pounds, and other Writers mention Turneps of far greater Weight<sup>z</sup>. It is not however their Size only, but the Quantity of Turneps which render the Crops of them so highly beneficial. Fifty or even Sixty of these large Roots are in the new Husbandry frequent on a square Perch,

<sup>t</sup> There is a wide Difference between an Improvements being known and published, and its coming into general Use; in respect to which, an History of British Husbandry would be of great Utility. As to this particular Husbandry, it came into Norfolk about the Beginning of this Century, and in about Twenty Years grew into general Use there, where it still continues to flourish, and is prosecuted with increasing Success every Year.

<sup>u</sup> See an Account of these Inconveniencies and their Remedies in Tull's Horse-hoeing Husbandry, p. 91, 92. An Engine has been invented for slicing of Turneps, and the Society offered a Premium to make such an Engine useful and cheap. In Ireland also such Instruments have been brought into Use by the Care of their Society, the laudable Endeavours of which for the Improvement of their Country are universally known, and as universally applauded.

<sup>w</sup> In many Parts of the South of Scotland they cultivate Turneps with Assiduity and Success. In Ireland also they are falling into this Husbandry. In both Countries as Improvements are made by or under the Inspection of Persons of Property, they are commonly carefully and effectually performed.

<sup>x</sup> The great Lord Viscount Townshend, a Practiser as well as Patron of Agriculture, made a Trial of both Methods in the same Field, when the Difference appeared to be no less than One Ton and an Half in the Produce of an Acre, in Favour of the New or Drill Husbandry. Besides the Roots raised in this Way are perfectly sweet, free from that Rankness which attends the Use of Dung, and of course communicates no bad Taste to the Milk or Flesh of the Cattle that feed upon them.

<sup>y</sup> Mr. Tull says he has heard of some 19 lb. but has often known them of 16 lb. However, in 1758, there was one pulled up near Tudenham in Norfolk upwards of 29 lb. Weight.

<sup>z</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xiii. He says the best grew in the Country of the Sabines, and were worth at Rome a Sestertius or Two Pence a Piece.



which amounts to about Eighty Quarters on an Acre<sup>a</sup>. In most Soils, with due Attention, Turneps do remarkably well, but most so in light, warm, gravelly Grounds, and in Sand, where they are thought to meliorate the Soil<sup>b</sup>. The great Profit that almost constantly accrues from them, arises from their being excellent Food for all Sorts of Cattle. Ewes, Lambs, Sheep, Oxen, and even Hogs, are not only fed but fattened by them, properly managed, and with the Addition of a very little dry Food<sup>c</sup>.

THE very great and continued Success attending this Husbandry hath, as will be presently explained, opened a Field to farther Improvements of a like Nature<sup>d</sup>. It may be, that even in regard to these already valuable Roots in this inquisitive Age, and when so great Attention is shewn to every Thing of this Nature, some farther Progress may be still made<sup>e</sup>. But even as Things now stand, there is no one Branch of English Husbandry that hath been more admired and esteemed by Foreigners than this, and in which they have testified a greater Inclination to imitate us, more especially in Germany and in France<sup>f</sup>.

CARROTS seem to be as early if not earlier brought into this Country than Turneps, for, as in another Place we have already observed, the Flemings, who fled hither in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, finding the Soil

<sup>a</sup> Tull's Horse-hoeing Husbandry, p. 89. Dr. Desaguliers in the Philosophical Transactions before cited shews, that an ounce of Turnep Seed contains between Fourteen and Fifteen thousand Grains; and he farther shews, that supposing the Growth always uniform, a Turnep may increase Fifteen Times its own Weight in a Minute.

<sup>b</sup> It was this that gained them so much Credit in Norfolk; and the Money gained by this, as it put Wealth in the Farmers Purses, so it gave them a Turn to several other Improvements, and a Capacity as well as a Spirit to pursue them; which so changed the Face of Things in that County, that an Estate at Sculthorpe, which had been let to a Warrener for Eighteen Pounds, in no very long Space came to be worth 240 l. per Annum.

<sup>c</sup> The Number of Cattle fed and fattened by this Means is in many Respects beneficial to the Public as well as the Proprietors, and has contributed not a little to the Improvements before mentioned.

<sup>d</sup> Amongst these we may include the Trial made by Dr. Hill in regard to the Naper or Norway Turnep, which grows to a large Size on Hillocks raised upon Bogs. This, though of no great Consequence in a fertile Country, may be found of great Utility in Moors and Morasses, till they fall into the Hands of such as can afford to drain and cultivate them in a better Manner. All Experiments of this Nature ought to be made as much known as possible.

<sup>e</sup> The Romans boiled and eat the green Leaves, as has also been done here in hard Frosts. In Times of Scarcity they formerly boiled Turneps, and after pressing kneaded them with an equal Quantity of Wheat Flour into what was called Turnep Bread. The many Uses to which they are applied in Medicine are well known, and strongly supported by Experience.

<sup>f</sup> His late Majesty caused an Abstract of the Norfolk Husbandry to be published for the Use of his Subjects in Hanover. The French have also introduced and made many Experiments for the Advancement of this Improvement.



remarkably fit for them, introduced them about Sandwich<sup>c</sup>. They grew quickly into Esteem as an edible Root, and, considered as such, were propagated through, and carefully cultivated in most Parts of the Island<sup>b</sup>. They were afterwards sown in Fields, and chiefly employed in the Fattening of Swine and Geese. But the principal Object aimed at by this enlarged Cultivation was their Seed, which bore a great Price, and for which there was a constant Market<sup>i</sup>. This was practised in the last Century, particularly in Northamptonshire, where the sandy Soil agreeing well with the Root, proved favourable for this Improvement, and consequently diffused the Practice considerably. At length, in the Eastern Part of Suffolk, encouraged by the Success of the Norfolk Farmers in regard to Turneps, they began to grow Carrots, for which their Soil was better adapted, and applying them to the same Purposes met with like Success<sup>k</sup>. In this County they might have continued long unheeded, and been looked upon as a mere local Improvement, if the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Arts had not, by the Promise of a Premium<sup>l</sup>, called the extensive Cultivation of this useful Root into a Point of public View, and have thereby excited thereto a stronger Degree of Attention.

It was in consequence of this that an active, sensible, and industrious Farmer in Norfolk, after making a few leading Experiments, ventured to sow upwards of Thirty Acres, and which was equally serviceable to the Public, gave a clear, plain, and distinct Account of his whole Management in the Course of this Undertaking, which gave much Satisfaction<sup>m</sup>. Carrots

<sup>c</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 398, from which Sandwich Carrots are still famous, as in the last Age were Sandwich Pease.

<sup>b</sup> Raii Hist. Plant. lib. ix. § 3. cap. xix. p. 465. Langham's Garden of Health, p. 123, 124. Mustel on Foods, p. 218. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 461. Worlidge's System of Agriculture, p. 164. Moreton's Natural History of Northamptonshire, p. 484. Mortimer's Husbandry, B. v. chap. xxii. p. 201. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 283. Miller's Gardiners Dictionary.

<sup>i</sup> The Markets fluctuated from Five to Twelve Pounds an Hundred. Mr. Mortimer informs us, that a Farmer in Essex grubbed an Orchard of a single Acre, dug it up, sowed it with Carrots, which produced Ten Hundred-weight of Seed, which he sold at London for Ten Pounds an Hundred.

<sup>k</sup> This Culture prevailed chiefly about Woodbridge, where the Soil is mostly Sand with a small Mixture of Loam. Carrots grew there to a very large Size, and they had commonly Twenty Loads or more upon an Acre. They used them chiefly for Feeding their Horses, and sometimes when they had very large Crops sent considerable Quantities by Sea to London.

<sup>l</sup> The Society promise Three Premiums of Twenty, Fifteen, and Ten Pounds for the greatest Quantities of Land sowed with Carrots, not less than Ten, Eight, and Six Acres, to obtain these Premiums respectively, and promise a Gold Medal for the best Account that shall be given of the most profitable Method of cultivating them, which Premiums are extended to North Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies in North America.

<sup>m</sup> The Title of this little Piece is, "An Account of the Culture of Carrots, and their great Use in feeding and fattening Cattle, by Robert Billing, Farmer, at Weafieldham in Norfolk, London, VOL. II. M 1765."

rots affect a light, warm, sandy Soil, and the nearer the Land on which they are cultivated approaches to this so much the better. If it hath borne a Crop of Turneps the preceding Year it is ploughed twice, otherwise thrice at least, and must be also properly dunged. The first ploughing early, that is about November, in a slight Manner, but the second as deep as the Staple of the Earth will allow<sup>n</sup>. The Seed being small and very apt to cling together, it is first pressed through a fine Chaff Sieve, and then carefully sown, about Four Pounds upon an Acre. Sometimes immediately after Lady Day, but always in the Course of the Month of April. In about Three Weeks the Carrots begin to appear, and in Six or Seven are fit for the Hoe. In the Space of a Fortnight after, they are harrowed, and if the Weather be rainy, the hoeing and harrowing must be repeated<sup>o</sup>. Towards the Close of October the Carrots are drawn either with a four-tined Fork, or a narrow shared Wheel Plough going slowly, followed by a Boy who picks up the Carrots, and lays them in Heaps. The hoeing, harrowing, and drawing, as we have intimated already, are attended with a considerable Charge p.

THE Produce is from Ten to Seventeen, to Twenty, to Twenty-two, and even Twenty-four Loads of Carrots on an Acre<sup>q</sup>. In regard to the Uses of this Improvement, they are numerous and of some Consequence. Cows feeding on them give much Milk, from whence excellent Butter is made, well tasted, and of a fine Colour. Calves thrive admirably on

1765," 8vo. The Account was published by the Desire of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Extracts from it were inserted in most of the periodical Collections, and thereby the History of this Improvement extensively diffused.

<sup>n</sup> There is much Stress laid upon the Ploughing. Some recommend doing it early in Autumn, laying it in high Ridges that it may be mellowed by the Frost. It is to be cross-ploughed in February, and the third Ploughing in March for the Reception of the Seed. Some use two Ploughs, one following the other in the same Furrow, and the latter loosening the Earth, a Foot and an Half deep. Others, instead of the second Plough, have a Man following the first Plough with a Spade.

<sup>o</sup> The first Hoeing Mr. Billing says cost him Ten or Twelve, the second Five Shillings an Acre. This with the Harrowing makes the Culture expensive. But as Carrots are not exposed like Turneps to the Fly or to the Caterpillar, which make them a more certain, and in their Nature they are a more beneficial Crop. This being the Case, the Farmer will have no great Reason to complain, and with regard to the Public the more poor People who are employed so much the better.

<sup>p</sup> In the former Note it hath been shewn, that this is no very strong, much less an insurmountable Difficulty. But we ought also to consider, that as this Improvement advances these Objections will be removed. As People are more used to Hoeing, they will do it quicker and cheaper; add to this, that Farmers themselves will fall upon Methods of Lessening the Trouble which naturally, indeed necessarily, attends any new Undertaking.

<sup>q</sup> Mr. Billing gives a very distinct and clear Account of his Crop. On Thirty Acres and an Half, he assures us he had Five hundred and Ten Loads of Carrots, many of them Two Feet in Length, and from Ten, to Twelve, to Fourteen, and even to Sixteen Inches in Circumference at the Top. This he judges to have been equal to One thousand Load of Turneps, and went as far as Three hundred Load of Hay, which was, as he also tells us, at that Time worth One Pound Five Shillings a Load.

these Roots, and Bullocks fatten upon them expeditiously. They agree equally well with Sheep. Horses will perform all ordinary Work without any other Sustenance. Swine eat them readily, increase in Flesh, and require only a few Bushels of Pease to harden their Fat, and are therefore made fit either for Pork or Bacon <sup>r</sup>. They serve also wonderfully well for Poultry. They are strongly recommended for Dogs, and in hard Winters they have been found highly serviceable in preserving Deer <sup>s</sup>. But after mentioning these Advantages, it is but just to allow, that the Cultivation of Carrots is attended with some Inconveniencies. All Lands that bear Turneps will not serve for Carrots, their Culture, for the Reasons before assigned, is more expensive, and in case of Frost they are with great Difficulty drawn out of the Ground <sup>t</sup>. On the other Hand, they are allowed to be a more certain, and a more profitable Crop. They keep better, and the Method of raising them out of the Earth by the Plough, besides other Advantages, prepares the Soil for any other Crop, which in case of their being followed by Barley particularly, hath been remarkably plentiful <sup>u</sup>. Upon the Whole, this is certainly a valuable Acquisition, as it affords us a new and cheap Sustenance for Animals, and at the same Time furnishes an admirable Precedent for future Improvements <sup>w</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> All these Facts are also taken from Mr. B's Account, where he enters fully into Particulars, so as to leave no Doubt that what he wrote was from his own Experience and well considered. This shews the Importance of this new Husbandry, and it is hoped will justify the Pains taken here to set it in a proper point of Light. It is very seldom that in Matters of this Nature one has such authentic and conclusive Evidence.

<sup>s</sup> In reference to Horses, the Virtues of Carrots in preserving and restoring their Wind had been long known and practised as a Secret before it was introduced as their common Food in Suffolk. It may be this afforded a Hint for giving them to Dogs, as better and cheaper than what they are usually fed with. It is also probable that Carrots may keep them cool, and prove in some Degree a Preservative from Madness. Mr. Miller speaks of their Utility in respect to Deer.

<sup>t</sup> The proper Time for drawing Carrots is when their Leaves change Colour. As to their suffering by Frost, it probably happens but seldom, and it seems to be a Proof of this, that the Culture continued many Years in Suffolk, which it would scarce have done if this Accident had been frequent. When through Practice in different Soils, the Management of these Roots comes to be thoroughly understood, Means will probably be found to guard against it.

<sup>u</sup> It seems to deserve Notice, that the Reason assigned by Mr. B. for Ploughing but twice for this Carrot Crop the Land that bore Turneps is, that it was thoroughly clean from the Cultivation and Summer Hoing of the preceding Crop. Neither was there any Dunging but what proceeded from the Feeding off the Turneps, yet he had Sixteen Loads of Carrots on an Acre. He says he had Three Loads of Barley on an Acre after the Carrots. He further tells us, that in a former Year having sown the Two Ends of a large Close with Carrots without Dung, and the Middle with Turneps, for which the Land was well dunged, when the Whole was the next Year sown with Barley, that after the Carrots was the best.

<sup>w</sup> This hath been so much insisted upon for many Reasons. As a new Husbandry it deserved to be particularly explained. It shews how long an Improvement of this Kind may be overlooked and neglected. It proves lastly, what prodigious Advantages are in our Days derived from arable Land, for the Maintenance of Cattle and other Animals. Advantages to which our Forefathers were utter Strangers.

PARSNEPS, as they have a great Resemblance to Carrots, have like them been many Years in our Kitchen Gardens, and esteemed equally pleafant and nutritive as Food <sup>x</sup>. But hitherto no Trials have been made how far they might be acceptable to Animals. On the Knowledge, however, that in this View they had been cultivated in the neighbouring Country of Bretagne with some Degree of Succefs <sup>y</sup>, the Society for Encouraging Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, very generously gave a Premium to facilitate the Culture of thefe Roots for the like Purpofe here. How far this will fucceed Time muft determine. It feems however certain, that being inferior in point of Profit to Carrots, they are by no Means likely to fupplant them. But if what a very intelligent and judicious Writer afferts, that they thrive beft in a Soil direétly oppofite to that which is moft proper for Carrots <sup>z</sup>, fhould be found a Fact, they may then be cultivated in fome Places where the Land is unfit for Carrots to confiderable Advantage. At all Events the Conduct of the Society merits much from the Public, as by their Interpofition a Trial will probably be made, from which the Poffibility of this Culture in this Country will be afcertained, and the real Value of it rendered apparent <sup>a</sup>.

UPON the fame judicious Principle they have in like Manner given Encouragement to feveral other Attempts, fuch as the Sowing of Parsley in Fields for the Feeding of Sheep, which is faid to have been tried many Years ago, and not without Succefs, in Hampshire <sup>b</sup>, and befides is a Thing very reafonable  
in

<sup>x</sup> Raii Hift. Plant. lib. ix. § 1. cap. ii. p. 409, 410. Langham's Garden of Health. p. 464. Hartlib's Legacy of Husbandry, p. 11. Worldige's System of Agriculture, p. 155. Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 156. Lifle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 283. Miller's Gardener's Dictionary. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, vol. ii. col. 404, 405. Dictionnaire Univerfelle d'Hiftoire Naturelle, tom. iv. p. 141.

<sup>y</sup> Corps d'Observations de la Societe d'Agriculture, de Commerce, et des Arts etablie par les Etats de Bretagne, p. 141. The Society were acquainted with this Husbandry by M. le Brigant, who fays the Seed is fown in February or March, raifed out of the Ground in Oétober, or rather in November. He fays that Cattle and Hogs thrive equally well on thefe Roots, and that Horses would eat them, but that they render them dull, and ruin their Eyes and their Limbs.

<sup>z</sup> The ingenious Mr. Lifle fays, that Carrots and Parsneps delight in different Soils, viz. Carrots in fandy and the lighteft Grounds, Parsneps in the ftrongeft Land. In fupport of this he cites the learned Mr. Ray, who ufes the fame Terms. One might conclude from hence, that one or other of thefe Improvements may be introduced in moft Places. The great Point is whether both are alike wholefome, and this muft be decided from Experience.

<sup>a</sup> Before we part with this Subject abfolutely it may not be improper to remark, that Mr. Houghton in his Collections, vol. ii. p. 461, acquaints us that a Patent was obtained for diftilling Spirits from Carrots and Parsneps, but that the Spirits from Parsneps came neareft French Brandy. Mr. Hartlib and Mr. Mortimer both fay, that Peafe yield Plenty of a ftrong and fine Spirit, more than two Gallons out of a Bufhel; the Procefs may be found in the Art of Husbandry, vol. i.

p. 355.

<sup>b</sup> This Trial was made in the Neighbourhood of Portsmouth, and ftands reported by Mr. Houghton in his Collections, vol. iv. p. 142, where many Reafons are given in Favour of this Culture.

in itself, and which may very probably be attended with various Advantages when once it shall be brought into public Notice, as the Flesh of Sheep fed upon this Herb is said to derive from thence a very agreeable Flavour *c.* These pecuniary Encouragements must necessarily be productive of many beneficial Consequences in the introducing and establishing those new Husbandries, and those only which are found practicable and profitable; and which is of no less Utility in detecting specious but deceitful Projects, which have frequently a fair Appearance on Paper, but which fail notwithstanding in the Execution. Besides, which is no inconsiderable Advantage, the giving, what was never done before, an Opportunity to every knowing and ingenious Person to propose his Thoughts in respect to this useful Science, and to bring his Notions to the Test of Experiment. By Means like these Agriculture will be gradually reduced to certain and stable Principles, and as this most useful Art extends national Plenty and Prosperity will of course extend with it.

WE come now to speak of Things that are in their Produce of far greater Value, which for that Reason are raised, not as intermediate Crops but by themselves. The Hop came like our other Improvements from Flanders, and was introduced into this Country about Two Centuries and a Half ago *d,* and hath been from that Time cultivated, and of late Years more especially, with equal Assiduity and Success *e.* There are several Kinds of Hops; but notwithstanding this we find, generally speaking, Two Kinds only that are at present cultivated in our Grounds, which are distinguished

Culture. Mortimer in his Husbandry, vol. i. p. 62, mentions it as practised in Buckinghamshire to preserve their Sheep from the Rot. He also relates that a Farmer in Essex made a great Improvement by sowing some Lands with Mustard Seed for the same Purpose.

*f* It is impossible to judge in such Cases with any Degree of Certainty otherwise than by a Trial. Things from which little is expected have produced extraordinary Effects, and others of much more promising Appearance produced nothing. Mr. Ashby sent One Hundred-weight of Rice from China to Carolina towards the Close of the last Century, and in the Beginning of the present we imported from thence several Hundred Tons. A fruitless Experiment leads sometimes to another that pays the Cost of both.

*g* Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 457. where he says he was informed from Maidstone (in the Neighbourhood of which at the Close of the last Century they returned £. 200,000 a Year for Hops) they were introduced A. D. 1524, the Fifteenth of Henry VIII. which agrees with our old Chronicles, but they were known and used long before. In a Statute in the Reign of Edward VI. relating to Inclosures, an Exception is made in favour of Hop Grounds. We still continued importing the greatest Part of the Hops we consumed, and were so ill used in this Commodity, that in the First of King James I. a Law was made for preventing Frauds in the Package of Hops, in which it is said, that Two thirds of what was brought over were Sticks, Stones, and Dirt, so that the Nation was annually cheated of more than £. 20,000.

*h* Plin Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. xv. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. iv. § 1. P. i. cap. i. p. 156. Merret. Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 74. Langham's Garden of Health, p. 328. Fuller's Worthies in Essex, p. 317, 318. Markham's Farewell to Husbandry, B. ii. chap. xx. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 110. Worldidge's Systema Agriculturae, p. 145—157. Britan. Baconica, p. 68. Mortimer's Husbandry, B. v. ch. 20. p. 70—201. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. i. p. 378.

by the Names of the Long White and the Oval Hop, and are commonly mixed together <sup>f</sup>. This Plant pierces very deep into the Earth, sometimes, as we are told, Four or Five Yards, which is very necessary to obtain that copious Supply of Juices requisite for its Growth <sup>g</sup>. In different Counties, for the Culture of it is now very widely spread, they employ very different Soils; but it is commonly allowed, that Land inclining to a South Exposition, low and warm, defended from the Fury of the Winds, either by Hills or Trees, of a deep Soil, and where Water may be commanded in the Summer, is the properest for a Hop Garden <sup>h</sup>. The Culture of this Vegetable, than which none requires greater Care or more constant Attention, proves frequently beneficial in a very considerable Degree to Individuals, and is always so to the Community.

A VERY considerable Number of Persons, and these in different Ways, are employed in the Management of a Hop-Plantation, and almost at all Seasons in setting, weeding, dressing, polling, picking, drying, and bagging of Hops. All of these are in themselves very nice and curious Operations, on the exact and accurate Performance of which, independent of Seasons, which are also of great Consequence, the Success of the Hop Planter in a great measure depends <sup>i</sup>. The Benefits derived from them are subject to great Uncertainty, no Plant being more exposed to Accidents, and independent of this too great Fertility is to the industrious Owner sometimes as fatal as too slender a Crop. But those who have Money, and of course are able to wait for a Market, avail themselves of both <sup>k</sup>. It hath been computed by those who

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Childrey in his *Britannia Bætonica*, mentions Hops growing naturally in the Marshes between Thanet and Sandwich. If he means wild Hops, they are found in many Places. In Kent some Oeconomists plant Apple and Cherry Trees at convenient Distances in their Hop-grounds. At the Close of Ten Years, when the Cherries bear plentifully, they destroy or transplant the Hops, and in Thirty Years cut down the Cherry Trees, the Apples being then in full Perfection.

<sup>g</sup> This can be only in a few deep Soils. In Kent they find Hops prosper well in a fine hazle Mould, though there be a rocky Bottom but three Feet below the Surface.

<sup>h</sup> It is clear from Experience, that they will do well in different Soils if due Care is taken in their Cultivation. In Essex, in a moory Ground, dug deep, well drained, and properly prepared. In the Neighbourhood of Farnham in Surry, where there are or were as fine Hops as any in England, and in the adjacent County of Hants, they thrive on various Soils. In some Grounds they set the Hills at twice the usual Distance, and yet have as many Hops on an Acre.

<sup>i</sup> The inquisitive Reader, if he desires to see the Whole of this curious Subject more minutely discussed, may consult the Article *Lupulus* in Miller's *Gardiners Dictionary*, where he will also find some ingenious Experiments made by the learned and judicious Dr. Hale. What is here offered is to shew the national Importance of this Improvement, which would have been less conspicuous without a general Account of the Nature and Cultivation of this Vegetable.

<sup>k</sup> The great Hop Planter, if a Man of Skill and Substance, seldom fails of making or rather earning a large Estate. He is continually attentive to his Grounds, and by that Attention provides for the accurate Culture of them, at a small, at least at a moderate Expence. In a common Year his Profits are considerable. In a Year of Plenty he lays by a Stock, and when in the Course of Four or Five Years Crops in general fail, his Stock fetches a large Price, and he has a sure Sale.

are esteemed the best Judges, that in an Acre of Hops, producing to the Value of Thirty Pounds, one Moiety goes clear into the Pocket of the Proprietor, and that the other Moiety of it goes in discharge of the Rent, Tythe, and all other Expences<sup>l</sup>, except the Duty by Excise, which is however drawn back on Exportation<sup>m</sup>; and the Duties on Hops imported are so high as to prevent their coming in, except in a Time of extreme Scarcity, when the Brewery might be otherwise injured; and in many other Respects Provisions have been made by Law to render the Proprietors of so precarious a Commodity as safe as possible<sup>n</sup>.

HEMP is a Plant so generally known, and has been so long and universally employed in a Variety of Ways for the Service of Mankind, that it is unnecessary to enter into any Description of it°. As it is every where of Use, so it grows or at least would grow in most Climates. It seems to thrive, rise higher and stronger in the Northern Parts of the World; but is fairer and finer in Southern Countries. However in respect to this, very much depends upon Cultivation, and on the primary Manufacture<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> This Computation proceeds on the Supposition, that in a Year of moderate Fertility an Acre produces Ten Hundred-weight of Hops, and that these are sold at Three Pounds an Hundred. The Moiety is thus accounted for, the Rent One Pound, the Tythe Ten Shillings, Expence of Husbandry Three Pounds, for the Wear of Poles Four Pounds, for Picking and Drying Five Pounds, and for Dung One Pound Ten Shillings. Thus the Produce goes into a Variety of Hands, and the Public pays and yet gains the Whole.

<sup>m</sup> This Duty, which is One Penny on every Pound Averdupois of Hops cured, was imposed by Stat. 9 Annæ, cap. xii. § 1. made perpetual 1 Geo. I. cap. xii. and Part of the Aggregate Fund. On so incertain a Produce the Duty must of course vary, and that very considerably. In A. D. 1760, it amounted to £. 42,115; in 1761, to £. 118,513; in 1762 to £. 81,781. On these Facts many Remarks might be made, but these will occur to every discerning Reader, as we have not room to insist upon them here. It may not however be amiss to add, that for Thirty five Years, ending A. D. 1753, the net Duty on Hops paid into the Exchequer amounted to £. 1,891,981, which is nearly £. 54,056 per Annum.

<sup>n</sup> Stat. 9 Annæ, cap. xii. § 1. gives an additional Duty of Three Pence a Pound on foreign Hops. None but British Hops can be imported into Ireland under the severest Penalties. No Drawback is allowed on the Hops sent to Ireland; and Mr. Dobbs computed, A. D. 1730, the annual Exportation thither at £. 40,000. The destroying Hops while growing hath been made Felony without Benefit of Clergy.

<sup>o</sup> Columel. lib. xvi. cap. ii. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. ix. lib. xx. cap. xxiii. Dioscor. lib. iii. cap. cxli. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. iv. § 1. P. i. cap. ii. p. 158. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 19. Hartib's Legacy of Husbandry, p. 39—43. Worldige Systema Agriculturae, p. 43. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, Book v. chap. ii. p. 152, 153. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 96, 97, 98. Gee's Observations on the Growth of Hemp and Flax, 8vo. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. p. 506—510. Dictionnaire Universelle d'Histoire naturelle, tom. i. p. 524—531. Corps d'Observations de la Societe d'Agriculture, de Commerce, et des Arts. etablie par les Etats de Bretagne, p. 137—145.

<sup>p</sup> In this the most intelligent of our own and foreign Authors agree. In the first Place the Soil is to be regarded, and that being either by Nature or by Art rendered fertile, if the Thread is to be fine the Seed must be sown thick, and the Summer Hemp, especially if well dressed, will produce a Yarn as fine as Flax, and of an excellent Colour. But if Strength be required, then the Seed is to be thinner sown, and the Winter Hemp particularly will have great Strength and Substance.

It delights certainly in a deep, rich, and warm Soil; but Experience shews, that with due Care and proper Manure there are few Soils in which it may not be raised to Profit. The Land employed for this Purpose must be ploughed as often, and rendered as fine as for Barley <sup>q</sup>. It is sown in the Month of April, sooner or later as the Season directs, about Three Bushels upon an Acre. It rises speedily out of the Earth, and by its own Strength defends itself pretty well from Weeds, notwithstanding which in some Places they hoe it carefully, and it thrives the better for it <sup>r</sup>. It is liable to Accidents as well as other Crops, but suffers most from a very dry Season. The Sexes of this Plant are so obvious as to have been always distinguished, which, however, has not hindered their being commonly mistaken <sup>s</sup>. The Summer Hemp, as it is commonly called, is pulled about the Beginning of August; but the stronger Hemp not till towards Michaelmas, and great Care is to be taken in the first pulling <sup>t</sup> not to injure what is left standing.

As no Country consumes more of the Manufactures made of Hemp than our own, so perhaps there is not any Soil or Climate that agrees better with it, or where it may be, or indeed is raised in greater Perfection <sup>u</sup>. In the Northern Parts of Great Britain it rises as high, and is as strong and tough as that from Riga, and in the South we have it as fine as in France. We will not speak here of the particular Places, as having already pointed them

<sup>q</sup> Markham's Farewell to Husbandry, B. ii. chap. xv. p. 66—69. English Housewife, B. ii. chap. v. p. 129—135. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 386—397. These old Books represent the Principles of the ancient Culture of Hemp in Marshland, Isle of Axholme, and other Parts of Lincolnshire, where it has flourished for Ages, and still flourishes upon very different Soils, and is the great Staple in those Parts, producing high Rents and large Profits.

<sup>r</sup> The Advocates for the new Husbandry think (and indeed with great Appearance of Reason) that it would be exceedingly advantageous in this Culture. It is allowed that the Stalks of Hemp twice hoed looked brighter, rose higher, and spread more than usual; and it has been sown in Drills with Success. It would be certainly an useful Experiment to cultivate Hemp for three Years successively, according to the new Husbandry, on a Soil of moderate Fertility, as in Case of Success it would remove those Prejudices that have hitherto hindered a general Cultivation.

<sup>s</sup> The common People esteem the *Fimble* or Summer Hemp to be the *Female*, but it is truly the *Male*; for it bears small yellow Flowers, from whence proceeds that prolific Dust which impregnates the Seeds born by the other Plant. This latter is the *Karl* or Winter Hemp commonly reputed the *Male*, because the Stalks are stronger and stouter, but is really the *Female*, as bearing the Seeds, which unless fecundated by the Dust before-mentioned, will not grow or yield Oil.

<sup>t</sup> In this consists the nicest and most material Part of the Cultivation. If the Summer Hemp was allowed to stand a Fortnight longer, it might be pulled with greater Safety, and the Seed of the Plants left will be all full and fair, and amount to Three Quarters on an Acre.

<sup>u</sup> As to the superior Quality of our Hemp, which is what I mean by Perfection, it appears from the Price, for when foreign Hemp sells from 27 to 29 Shillings per Cwt. ours will fetch from 34 to 40 Shillings. We are not the only People who complain of this unjust Prepossession. The French import Hemp from the North, yet the Inhabitants of Bretagne asserted theirs was better, and upon Trial before the best Judges in France so it was found. Upon this the States of Bretagne have taken the Cultivation of Hemp under their Protection.



out in this Work. But nothing is more certain than the Facts that have been advanced, so that it seems not a little strange that we should import annually such large Quantities <sup>w</sup>, unless it be the giving Bounties for the Production of it in our distant Colonies, when with a small Degree of Attention we might supply even our large and constant Consumption from the Growth of this Plant at Home <sup>x</sup>. It is, considered in this Light, and indeed in many others, a Thing that well deserves the Notice and Encouragement of Government <sup>y</sup>. The Harvest being late affords Employment for many poor People at a Season when they stand most in need of it; for though it demands no great Attention while growing, yet the pulling, watering, beating, swingling, and heckling makes it pass through many Hands, to whom it furnishes a comfortable Subsistence, and the Produce of an Acre, when it has passed through these Operations, is very seldom less than Ten Pounds <sup>z</sup>. The Seed also is of great Value; but where this is principally regarded, the Plants should be suffered to grow at a greater Distance from each other, and be also allowed to stand till they are thoroughly ripe.

## FLAX

<sup>w</sup> Mr. Houghton tells us, we imported in A. D. 1695, 3573 Tons and 14 Cwt. In A. D. 1763, we received from Russia as I have been informed, 764,874 Pounds of this Commodity, which makes about 12140 Tons, which shews the great Increase of our Manufactures, and the immense Saving that would arise if we could grow this, or the greater Part of it in the British Isles; which their Extent, and the present Condition of many of them maturely considered, cannot be thought impracticable.

<sup>x</sup> The Two capital Objections to our growing Hemp in great Quantities, are, 1. That it requires the very best Land, which, as we have already observed, is not true. At Holme, in Spalding Moor, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the Soil is barren Sand, yet with proper Care and Culture it produces the finest Hemp in England, and large Crops of Flax also. 2. That it impoverishes the Land, so that it must rest long before it can bear another Crop. This is best answered by a Fact. At Crowle in Axholm, there is one of the largest Fields in the whole Island, which hath not been fallowed Time immemorial. The Method pursued there is this; they manure their Barley Stubble in the Spring with fresh Horse or Cow Dung, or both, and plough it under, then they sow their Hemp Seed, and harrow it in with a short-toothed light Harrow, and if the Season be favourable have a good Crop. Hemp destroys all Vegetables, and leaving the Ground free from Weeds, it is by a Pin-fallow rendered fit for Flax in the Spring. As soon as the Flax is pulled they prepare the Ground for Wheat or Rye. After the Corn is got in they Pin-fallow it, and in the Spring sow Barley. Upon the Barley Stubble they manure and sow Hemp as before. Thus they have Four Crops, and manure ~~the~~ once, and the Field which is a mere Sand never lies fallow. This Husbandry is not confined to Crowle, but is practised in other Parts of the Island. See Mr. Gee's Observations on the Culture of Hemp and Flax, p. 12.

<sup>y</sup> If attentively considered, the Expediency of such a Measure will be very apparent. It would be a Means of improving Land; it would employ a Number of Hands; it would be an immediate and immense Saving to the Nation. Besides, there can arise no doubt as to its being practicable. If Hemp produced from Lands now in Cultivation had a Preference at the King's Yards, and a small Bounty given on such as grew on Land brought into Cultivation for that Purpose, we should soon see the Effects.

<sup>z</sup> With such Encouragement, it might afford full Subsistence to small Farmers and their Families. Many Improvements would be quickly made in the Management, and particularly in the Dressing this Commodity. M. Marcandier, a Magistrate of Bourges, has wrote an excellent little Piece on this Subject, of which we have an accurate Translation, intituled, A Treatise on Hemp, London,

FLAX is a Vegetable well known, assiduously cultivated, and in the highest Esteem from all Antiquity, being celebrated as one of the great Staples of Egypt, and from the Manufacture of which arose one of the most lucrative Branches of her Commerce<sup>a</sup>. It is thought to require a very deep, rich, and warm Land; but we know from Experience, that with proper Skill and Attention it will thrive exceedingly well on almost every Soil throughout the British Islands. It is indeed true, that the Ground which is to produce Flax ought to be several Times carefully ploughed, so as to render it perfectly fine, and must then be laid as smooth and even as possible<sup>b</sup>. It may be sown about Three Bushels on an Acre, in the first warm Weather after the Middle of March, and if Rain succeeds it must be kept free from Weeds till it rises about Two Inches high<sup>c</sup>. In some Places they have ventured in this State to feed it with Sheep, and this without Prejudice. It is ripe somewhat later than Hemp, and when ripe is to be pulled as expeditiously as possible, and then laid in small Parcels evenly with the Head towards the South that it may dry conveniently. It affords after this a great deal of Employment in watering, piling, breaking, &c. which is certainly an Advantage, as it supplies Labour, and of course Subsistence to many poor People, and when all this is done the Profit is seldom less than Ten Pounds an Acre<sup>d</sup>. But when we consider the Benefits that arise from this Commodity when it comes into the Hands of the Manufacturers, and the Multitudes that get their Bread in spinning, weaving, and bleaching it, it must appear to be a national Object of the greatest Importance, and the more so, as there is not a Probability only, but, a Certainty that with pro-

1764, 8vo. This is with great Propriety dedicated to the Laudable Society for the Improvement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. ii. p. 56. Athen. Deipnos. lib. xiv. cap. dcxxvii. Plin. lib. xix. cap. i. The Scriptures also frequently mention the *finé Linnen* of Egypt. The principal Argument used to prove the People of Colchos were an Egyptian Colony, was their Proficiency in this Manufacture. In Pliny's Time the Culture and even the Manufacture of Flax seem to have reached those Countries, in which they still flourish.

<sup>b</sup> This Notion, that Flax would succeed only in a rich fat Soil had sunk so deep into the Mind of Sir Richard Weston, who was a Gentleman well skilled in, as well as a great Lover of Husbandry, that he was exceedingly amazed, when he found in Flanders they employed their rich Lands in producing Grass, Barley, and Wheat, while their most valuable Crops of Flax, Turneps, and Clover, were raised by Dint of Cultivation out of barren Sands.

<sup>c</sup> Columel. de re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. x. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xix. § 2. cap. xi. p. 1072. Merretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 72, 73. Blith's English Improver Improved, cap. xli. p. 259. Markham's Farewell to Husbandry, B. ii. ch. xv. p. 68. Moreton's Natural History of Northamptonshire, p. 485. Scabant Husbandry by Sir R. W. Mortimer's Husbandry, B. v. ch. xii. p. 154, 155. Tracts published by the Dublin Society.

<sup>d</sup> This Circumstance of employing Numbers of industrious People in a kind of mixed Labour, in which Agriculture is compounded with Manufacture, ought to recommend the Culture of Hemp and Flax in an extraordinary Degree to intelligent Statesmen, who must know how much the public Tranquillity depends on providing a constant and comfortable Subsistence every where, for such as are disposed to earn it, and at the same Time facilitates Settlements.

per Encouragement it might be made as much a British Staple as Wool. On this Account it deserves, and surely the Time is not far distant when it will meet with the utmost Attention, the only Thing requisite to put it effectually in our Possession.

It is owing chiefly to some ill-founded Prejudices that it is not already so, and a greater Service could not be rendered to the Public than by removing these Prejudices, not simply by Arguments, but by Experiments, which would put the Fact entirely out of Doubt<sup>f</sup>. The Dutch, who understand both the Culture and Manufacture of Flax better than any other Nation in the World, prefer their own Seed raised on the stiff Clays of Zealand to any that they receive from the Northern Parts of Europe, though they also drive a very great Trade in this. But the Flax employed in their Manufactures grows on a light, warm, gravelly Soil, and owes its Beauty and Fineness to their sedulous Care in manuring, cultivating, making it properly in the Field, and in the Dressing it afterwards<sup>g</sup>. They likewise carefully guard against an Error into which we frequently fall, which is the pulling the Flax too green, by which in the first Place the Seed is lost, and if preserved is of little Value in respect to the producing another Crop. The Occasion of this Error was the fairer Appearance of Flax when thus pulled than when suffered to stand longer. But this Advantage was simply in Appearance, since the green Flax loses more in the Dressing, and has never that Strength in the Thread, which it would have if pulled in a more mature State<sup>h</sup>. We have the same Diversity of Lands, and much more

\* Another Circumstance, which is no less in Favour of this Improvement is, that it must be both begun and continued in Country Places, and probably in different and distant Parts of the Country. This is actually the Case at present, in respect both to raising and manufacturing these Articles, more especially in South Britain, where though great Quantities of Hemp and Flax are annually grown, and large Quantities of Home spun Linnen made, yet little of it goes to distant Markets.

<sup>f</sup> These Experiments should be made with great Care and Skill on Heaths, Moors, Commons, barren Sands, and other waste Lands, of which in the Northern Parts of South, and in the North West Parts of North Britain and the Islands, large Quantities which have been useless may be found. The bringing any Proportion of these into such Cultivation would be a prodigious Acquisition, and this would remove the Doubt as to the procuring Soil for so extensive and so profitable an Improvement.

<sup>g</sup> When once the Way was broken, our People would quickly equal, and very possibly excel the Dutch. In pursuing this, our Cultivations of other Kinds, and of Corn particularly, instead of being lessened would be increased. It is owned, that Flax is of all others the most lucrative Crop; but as the Land will not bear successive Crops, we learn from the Instances of Spalding Moor and the Isle of Axholm, that Wheat, Rye, and Barley must come in their Turns.

<sup>h</sup> In the former Notes we have shewn the Propriety, the Practicability, and Expediency of encouraging effectually the Growing of Flax in Great Britain. If we neglect this, our Linnen Manufacture must be ever at the Mercy of Strangers, who, putting what Price they please on the Material, will thereby put a Check on our Industry. Of this there are already great Complaints in some Parts of this Island, and great Apprehensions expressed, that the Manufacture of coarse Linnens (which

more of them than the Dutch, and therefore if we took equal Pains there is no reason to doubt that we might succeed as well as they; and that by changing our own Seeds, we might be released from the Necessity of importing them as well as Flax for our own Use, and when the Consequences of this shall be duly considered, there is very little room to fear that every Obstacle may not be overcome<sup>i</sup>. In our Sister Island this has been made an Object of national Attention; and the Success which has followed that Attention, and which is daily increasing, ought to recommend it to our Notice, and also to our Imitation<sup>k</sup>.

RAPE and Cole Seed, the Practice of Sowing which was brought to us from Flanders by those Germans and Dutchmen who drained our Fens, and a very great and very profitable Improvement it is. We have already taken Notice, how highly advantageous this hath been, and still is in Lincolnshire, in the Isle of Ely, and in general through the Fens<sup>l</sup>. An Opinion has prevailed from hence, that it will succeed only in such deep miry Soils, but this however is no better than a popular Mistake. In preparing the Land which is to receive it, Care must be taken to plough it in May, and again about Midsummer, making the Ground as fine, and laying it as smooth and even as possible. It is to be sown the very Day of the last Ploughing about a

is of no small Consequence) will, by the Advance in the Price of the Commodity, be quickly lost. Here then is an Argument of Necessity, which joined to raising our Rents, encreasing our People; relieving our Poor, and saving perhaps a Million a Year to the Nation, is fully sufficient to support a Measure to which no solid Objection can be raised.

<sup>i</sup> In A. D. 1695, according to Mr. Houghton we imported 495 Ton of Flax. In A. D. 1763, from Russia 161,756 Pounds or Poods, which make about 2576 Tons. Our Flax as well as our Hemp is superiour in Worth as well as in Price to what we import, and is equally fit for all the different Manufactures coarse and fine, in which it either is or can be applied. The Perfection to which some of them are already arrived, may well plead for the Notice requisite to bring forward the Rest.

<sup>k</sup> In Ireland they saw clearly that to gain and preserve the Linnen Manufacture it was necessary to grow Flax, and to bring this about they gave a Bounty of Five Shillings a Barrel on the Importation of Flax or Hemp Seed; they gave this gratis to such as would sow their Lands therewith; they gave Bounties of Ten Shillings, Eight Shillings, and Six Shillings on every Hundred weight of Thirty-five, Thirty, and Twenty Shillings an Hundred in Value; they gave their Freedom in Country Corporations to all Hemp and Flax Dressers; and they held out a Premium on every Bushel of Seed, when at Five Shillings a Bushel, which should be exported. As to the Premiums and Encouragements given for the Support of the Linnen Manufacture, an Account of them would require a Treatise.

<sup>l</sup> This is one, amongst many others, of the Improvements introduced into this Country by Foreigners, the Descendants of some of them remain still in Lincolnshire and in Yorkshire, seated on those Lands their Ancestors recovered and rendered habitable. Between Spalding and Crowland, there is a large Tract of Country, in which Cole, and Rape Seed have been cultivated, with intermediate Crops of Oats, for a long Series of Years. They have many Oil Mills driven by Sails, which serve also for draining their Lands.

Gallon upon an Acre <sup>m</sup>. This Seed need not be described, since it is better known than almost any other, being that which is commonly used for feeding Birds. In the Months of January, February, and March, it affords very good Food for Cattle, and will when cut sprout again, and prove very excellent Nourishment for Sheep. After all, if not too closely fed, it will the next Year bear Seed in July <sup>n</sup>. In ordinary Land it will do all this, and from thence it came to be considered, more especially before intermediate Crops were known to us, as a very singular Benefit; for at a Season when all other Sorts of Fodder were scarce, such a Supply as this, obtained at a very small Expence, could not but be exceedingly acceptable, independent of any farther Expectations <sup>o</sup>. But after all, the great Importance of this Improvement must be allowed to lie in the Seed, because from thence the principal Profit is derived.

WHEN Rape or Cole is cultivated solely with this View, it ought to be sown on deep strong Land, but without the Trouble or Cost of Dunging, and must be suffered to stand thereon till at least One Half of the Seeds are turned brown, which according to the Seasons will be sometimes sooner and sometimes later <sup>p</sup>. In this State it is to be cut in the same Manner, and with the same Care as Wheat, and every Handful as it is cut is to be regularly ranged on Sheets, that it may dry leisurely in the Sun, which

<sup>m</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. v. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xvi. § 1. cap. xiv. p. 802. Merretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 103. Blith's English Improver Improved, chap. xl. p. 253. Harlib's Legacy, p. 53. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. ch. xiii. p. 155. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 280, 281. Foreign Essays on Agriculture and Arts, p. 202. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 1477, 1478. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. ii. col. 228. Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 571.

<sup>n</sup> It is not at all strange, that this Improvement continued so long confined to the Fen Countries, in which it was at first introduced. It has been the Case of most Improvements, and from the common Opinion (founded only on seeing them in one Place) that they must be local, they actually become so. As they thrive in a deep miry soil, it was concluded they would grow nowhere else, and that they must be great Peelers or Impoverishers of Land, both which Notions, Facts have refuted.

<sup>o</sup> In respect to this, as well as Clover and other rich Food, some Caution is requisite (more especially in regard to Sheep) till Cattle are used to it, as it is apt at first to swell them. But that it is notwithstanding this very wholesome and nutritive, appears from the very large Size of Lincolnshire Beasts. It was therefore exceedingly beneficial in keeping up the Flesh of these valuable Cattle in the Spring before those Helps were found; which now in other Counties are used for the same Purpose.

<sup>p</sup> The Flemings are still as attentive as ever to this Husbandry, they transplant with great Advantage in the Month of October, in order to increase the Quantity and Size of their Seed, and this with so good Effect, that in the District of Lisle, which is about Nine Leagues Square, they make annually from Ten to Twelve thousand Tuns of Rape Oil. In like Manner most of the Produce of our Fens, either in Seed or in Oil, is transported to Wisbech, and from thence as the Demands for this Commodity require.

one Root<sup>a</sup>. The Ease with which they are propagated, their growing upon various Sorts of very indifferent Land, and their requiring but two or three Hoings, renders this in its immediate and distant Consequences a very valuable Improvement.

IN some Places where they succeed remarkably well, and the Situation is favourable for that Purpose, the Demand for them has been such as to occasion a considerable Exportation. The new, that is the Horse-hoeing Husbandry, if we may credit some very respectable Witnesses both at Home and Abroad, hath not succeeded either more certainly or more conspicuously in any Instance than in the Culture of Potatoes<sup>b</sup>. It is asserted, that not only several Crops have been by this Method raised from the same Ground, but that from being originally very poor, it hath solely by this Cultivation been so much improved as to render it fit for other Crops<sup>c</sup>. That these Roots yield a cheap, wholesome, and palatable Food, easily and speedily prepared, has been their principal Recommendation, and contributed to their spreading through all the Three Kingdoms, more especially of late Years<sup>d</sup>. But whether, after all, we have been sufficiently attentive to the Uses that might be made of them in the Nourishment of Animals, is a Point that perhaps may be worthy of Consideration<sup>e</sup>.

IN

<sup>a</sup> The Produce of this Vegetable deserves to be particularly considered. The Reason why the Planting large Roots at double or treble the common Distance has been preferred, is, that it renders the Potatoes larger without diminishing the Number. At Darlington, in the Bishopric of Durham, John Baldry planted in a Piece of Ground which had been under Flax the Year preceding, Potatoes in the Month of April in the new Manner; and on the Fourth of September he from four Plants took up Three Hundred and Two Potatoes, which weighed Forty-eight Pounds.

<sup>b</sup> The Principles on which the new Husbandry is raised appear very satisfactory in regard to all Sorts of Roots, and Experience seems in many Instances to be in its Favour. Stirring, dividing, and pulverising the Earth, opens a Passage for the small Strings passing from the Potatoes and the repeated Hoings furnishing continually the Knobs with wholesome Food, it is easy to conceive they must gradually and equally increase; so that Facts (supposing them true) correspond with the Theory very exactly.

<sup>c</sup> This Point of meliorating coarse Lands, and rendering (without Expence) Grounds capable of bearing Crops, that were esteemed unfit for Tillage, merits unquestionably some Attention. It had been long since remarked in Ireland, by the worthy Archbishop of Dublin, as may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions before cited. It has been also experienced by several intelligent Persons in the South of Scotland, who have given very large and circumstantial Accounts of it in the Select Essays.

<sup>d</sup> Other Nations have not been so attentive to this useful Root, which they own that they received, as we did, from Ireland. In Bretagne they are assiduously cultivated, and have spread under the Name of Pommes de Terre, i. e. Earth Apples, through Flanders, Picardy, Franche-Comté, Alsace, Languedoc, and other Provinces of France. But this falls short of Switzerland, where it is thought Two Thirds of the common People in a Manner subsist upon them.

<sup>e</sup> Mr. Worlidge took Notice of this Deficiency very many Years ago. Some accidental Trials in Times of great Scarcity have been made on Cows particularly, and always with Success. But we are assured that abroad they have given them not only to Cows and Calves, but to Horses, Swine,



IN respect to Medicine, which gives very deservedly a high Value to such Vegetables as from their known Virtues are generally esteemed therein, we want not some as excellent, and of as considerable Price, as in other Countries. But the far larger Number of these do not properly belong to a Work of this Nature. Such however as are cultivated in a more extensive Degree, and so as to become an Object of Commerce, fall for that Reason within our Plan, and therefore of the most remarkable of these we shall give a succinct Account. In treating of them we shall begin first with Seeds, though of these we have no great Number.

ANNISE is an Herb well known and much commended by ancient Authors, the Seeds and the Oil drawn from them are in common Use, and in great Esteem throughout all Europe<sup>f</sup>. They were for this Reason cultivated here in much larger Quantities formerly than at present. They chiefly affect a rich mellow Soil, which is ploughed about Michaelmas, and again in February, when the Seeds are sown, and a little fresh Horse Dung strewed over the Field to preserve them from the Frost<sup>g</sup>. They must be carefully hoed to preserve them from Weeds, and about the Middle or the latter End of August they become ripe, and the Seed is fit to be gathered. As this Cultivation is much declined, there is Reason to suppose that it scarce afforded a sufficient Profit. But notwithstanding this, we are well assured, that Anniseeds, which they call Cumine dulce or Sweet Cumin, are the staple Commodity of the little Island of Malta, and produce annually large Sums to its Inhabitants<sup>h</sup>.

Swine, and Poultry at first boiled, and in a little Time raw. It deserves some Inquiry whether the Stalk or Plant might not be converted to Use, being tough and strong, and its Fibres easily divided.

<sup>f</sup> Diosc. lib. iii. c. 56. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xx. cap. xvii. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. ix. § iii. cap. vii. p. 449, and many more that might be cited. It appears that the Ancients esteemed the Seeds from Candia to be the best, and next to these those coming from Egypt. We may from hence discern, that there is nothing absurd or improbable in proposing the attempting to introduce Vegetables from remote Climates, since our Anise Seeds grew to great Perfection, but did not produce sufficient Profit.

<sup>g</sup> Worlidge's System of Agriculture, p. 164. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. chap. xxv. p. 203. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 229. Neuman's Chemical Works, p. 393, 394. Hill's History of Plants, 348, 349. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 137, 138. Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 144, 145. They distil great Quantities of Oil about Magdeburgh, and though a Pound of Seeds yields but Half an Ounce, mix it so as to be able to sell it cheap.

<sup>h</sup> The growing or the not growing of Anise, it is confessed can be of little or no Consequence to Great Britain; but she has small Islands dependent on her to which it might be so. Suppose this Culture confined to Guernsey, Jersey, or the Isle of Wight, and when in a Condition to supply our Consumption, a proper, that is, an higher Duty laid on Anise Seeds imported. Would not this give such an Island a Revenue, and thereby enable its Inhabitants to purchase more of our Commodities and Manufactures?

**CARRAWAYS**, in some Places called Meadow Cumin, are Natives of this Country, growing wild in some rich Meadows in Lincolnshire, and in Yorkshire, more especially in the Neighbourhood of Hull, where they are in such Plenty as to be gathered in the Fields for Sale <sup>i</sup>. They are however cultivated for the same Purpose in Essex and in other Counties, with equal Care and Success. The Carum or Carraway is a biennial Plant, sown and springing up the first Year, but not bearing till the second. By sowing them in the Autumn, very soon after they are gathered and dried, they will flower the next Season, by which a Summer is gained <sup>k</sup>. They are, as every Body knows, a Seed of which there is a very copious and constant Consumption in Food, in Sweet-meats, and in Physic; and it is this that makes them in some Degree an Object of Profit, which, as we shall see, is augmented by the usual Method of their Cultivation.

**CORIANDER**, which like the Carraway, is as much used in the Kitchen as in the Shops, grows with us freely, and to great Perfection, though originally it is a Native of Egypt, and very much used and esteemed there <sup>l</sup>. In some Places they sprinkle them amongst their Bread before it is baked, from an Opinion that it helps Digestion; and it is also made into Comfits by the Confectioners. In Essex, where this Husbandry is chiefly, and has been long practised, they mix Eight Pound of this Seed with as many Pound of Carraways, and Half a Peck of Teasils. These they sow altogether on mellow rich Ground, that has been well tilled, and hoeing them twice at least to keep them free from Weeds. They cut the Teasils and the Coriander in the Autumn, and leave the Carraways standing, that they may flower and seed the next Year <sup>m</sup>. By this Means they have a very profitable

<sup>i</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. viii. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. ix. § ii. cap. v. p. 446. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 22. See also the Catalogues of Plants in Bishop Gibson's Translation of Camden at the Close of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Pliny says it was a Native of Caria, a Country of Lesser Asia, lying between Lycia and Ionia, and received its Name from thence. It appears therefore that Countries very remote in Situation may be nearly allied in their Productions.

<sup>k</sup> Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 461. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. chap. xxxiv. p. 202. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 229. Hill's History of Plants, p. 347. This Plant grows plentifully in France, and is sent particularly from Languedoc and Provence in large Quantities to Paris, where there is a vast Consumption amongst the Druggists, Apothecaries, Confectioners, Distillers, &c. In Germany they are yet more esteemed, and the Use of them more common.

<sup>l</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xx. cap. xx. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. ix. § iii. cap. xxii. p. 470, 471. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 30. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. chap. xxiv. p. 203. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 230. Hill's History of Plants, p. 341, 342. Is it at all impossible that other Plants, Natives of the same Soil and Climate, should be reconciled to Britain as well as Coriander?

<sup>m</sup> Mr. Mortimer mentions this as commonly practised about Kelvedon, Coggeshall, and other Places in Essex. Professor Bradley speaks of it as in Use in other Counties. Where-ever practised, or when-



profitable Crop; and it is farther said, that by the Help of this Management the Carraways remain and produce Seed for Three or Four Years<sup>r</sup>. We also raise Phalaris, or as we call it Canary Seed, because it was originally brought to us from the Canary Islands<sup>o</sup>; and there is little Reason to doubt that some other foreign Seeds, perhaps of more Value, might be thus naturalized with a little Diligence and Attention.

LIQUORICE is a Plant famous for its medicinal Virtues, the Cultivation of which is very profitable, and has been long practised in this Country with such Success as to be reputed at least as good as any in Europe<sup>p</sup>. The Root pierces deep into the Earth, and from thence arise strong herbaceous Stalks, which grow to Four or Five Feet in Height, and are ornamented with winged Leaves. The Flowers rise from the Top of the Stalks, are of a pale blue Colour, and are succeeded by compressed Pods, each containing Two or Three Kidney-shaped Seeds, which ripen with us only in very hot Summers<sup>q</sup>. The Soil intended for the Culture of this Plant should be loose, light, and sandy, at least Three Feet deep. It must be well ploughed, and dunged the Year before it is planted that the Dung may be thoroughly rotted. Immediately before the Setting of the Plants it must be dug Three Spades deep, and laid as light, even, and smooth as possible.

ever invented, it seems to be an ingenious Method, and worthy in that Light of Notice, and it may be of Imitation. If I remember right, the judicious Mr. Stillingfleet mentions, that in some Part of Gloucestershire, they are in the Practice of Sowing the common Vetch, feeding them by Horses in so good Time, as to have a Crop of Turnips the same Year.

<sup>r</sup> It is not improbable that the high Duties on Carraway and Coriander Seeds imported, may have contributed in no small Degree to our preserving the Cultivation of these Plants, which ought to be a Lesson on this Head, as it shews, in case by Skill and Industry we could acquire and propagate Vegetables of more Importance, how they may be preserved, and so much Money as their Price amounts to saved to the Nation.

<sup>o</sup> This the Greeks, and from them the Romans, call Phalaris; the Seeds are smooth, oval, and of a shining yellow Colour, bigger than Millet, and less than Linseed. It delights in light mellow Soil, must be sown in the Spring; the Stalk rises about a Foot and a Half high, is jointed, hath a round chaffy Top, which looks yellow when in Flower, and contains the Seeds. Besides this, there is the oriental perennial Canary Grass, which grows twice as high, and is a still greater Improvement.

<sup>p</sup> Camdeni Britan. p. 566. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xviii. cap. iii. p. 910, 911. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 48. Bliith's English Improver Improved, chap. xxxix. p. 250, 251, 252. The principal Places in which Liquorice hath been planted, are Pomfret in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Worktop in Nottinghamshire, Godalmin in Surry, Elme in the Isle of Ely, and in several Places about London.

<sup>q</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxii. cap. ix. Worlidge's System of Husbandry, p. 156, 157. Hough-ton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, vol. iv. p. 40—43. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 211—213. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. chap. xviii. p. 166, 167. Miller's Gardener's Dictionary under Glycyrrhiza. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 546, 547. Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. iv. p. 598.

THE Ground being thus prepared, fresh Shoots are to be taken from the Heads and Sides of the old Roots, in each of which there must be several Buds or Eyes. They are then to be regularly set by a Line, a full Foot or more asunder, and with the Space of Two Feet between the Rows<sup>r</sup>. This Planting is to be performed in the latter End of February or the Beginning of the Month of March, and to defray, or at least to lessen the Expence, a thin Crop of Onions may be sown with them, as these do not strike deep into the Earth, and the Liquorice Roots draw but a moderate degree of Nourishment during the first Year<sup>s</sup>. Besides, the Hoeing of the Onions will not only keep the Ground free from Weeds, but also by stirring it assist the Roots in piercing into the Soil. When the Crop of Onions is taken up the Ground must be again thoroughly cleared from Weeds. In October following a little rotten Dung may be strewed on the Ground between the Rows, and in the succeeding Month of March it should be slightly dug with the same View of destroying the Weeds, and affording fresh Nutriment to the Roots<sup>t</sup>. After they have remained Three Summers from the Time of their Planting, they will be fit in the Month of November or December to be taken up, as being then full of Juice and weighty, which is the great Point aimed at by those who cultivate Liquorice<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> All our old Writers lay a great Stress on rich Mould and rotten Dung; and Plenty of Manure appears to be the established Practice. Mr. Bradley, however, ventures to doubt as to the Necessity of it, and speaks of a deep black Sand, in which Liquorice did very well without it. The Land about Godalmin is very sandy. Mr. Miller informs us, that the rich Garden Soil about London increase the Bulk of the Root very fast; but that when taken up it looks very dark, and has not what he emphatically calls, the slightly Appearance, of what is planted in open sandy Ground.

<sup>s</sup> The Charge attending the Planting and Culture of Liquorice, and the waiting so long for a Crop, has hindered the Extension of this Cultivation. Yet Houghton and Bradley agree, an Acre of Liquorice will produce from Fifty to Sixty, and even to an Hundred Pounds, the Onions being equivalent to the Expences of Management. A convincing Proof of its Advantage is its continuing a staple Commodity at Pomfret for Two Centuries past.

<sup>t</sup> It is evident from these Circumstances, that allowing the Roots room in a loose Soil well tilled, is the principal Means of preserving their Vigour, and bringing them to their full Size. Mr. Miller says, in a very extensive Plantation the Rows may be three Feet asunder, by which the Hoeing may be conveniently done by a Plough, which would lessen the Expence. There are no Doubt, these Circumstances considered, many Places in Britain where Liquorice would succeed.

<sup>u</sup> Persia is the Country in the World where Liquorice grows to the greatest Perfection; that is, to the Size of a Man's Wrist; whereas with us it seldom exceeds that of the Thumb. It grows also in Italy, France, and Germany. At Bamberg they make vast Quantities of Juice of Liquorice, and adulterate it exceedingly. But the most, and by much the best comes from Arragon, where immense Plains on the River Ebro, above the City of Saragossa, are entirely destined to the Culture of this Plant. Their Juice rolled in small black Pieces is annually imported here to a vast Amount, though under a Duty of Seven Pounds Two Shillings and Six Pence per Cwt. besides what is smuggled. This fully shews the Importance of this Article, and will justify the Pains bestowed upon it.

**SAFFRON** is another Production of this Country, which is universally acknowledged to be superior in its medicinal Qualities to any that is raised elsewhere, and of course is more valued and esteemed. It is somewhat uncertain from whence and at what Time it was originally brought hither; but there is no Doubt that it has flourished here for several Ages, and thereby rendered famous the Place of its principal Growth <sup>w</sup>. It is a small bulbous Root, about the Size of a Nutmeg, covered with a coarse, brown, net-work Skin. The Flowers spring from the upper Part of the Root with the Leaves, the Tops of which only appear. The Tube of the Flower is very long, springing from the Bulb without any Foot-Stalk, divided into Six equal obtuse Segments of a purple blue Colour. In the Bottom of the Tube is a round Germen, supporting a slender Style, not more than Half the Height of the Petal, surmounted by Three oblong golden Stigmas, which are properly the Saffron, the only useful Part of the Plant, and for the Sake of which it is so carefully cultivated <sup>x</sup>. In respect to the Soil, a dry hazle Mould upon a Chalk Bottom is esteemed the best. But Experience shews, that with proper Tillage it will grow very well in any loose sandy Ground. They always plant it on a Fallow, and about the Close of March or the Beginning of the Month of April. The Soil designed for its Reception, whatever it be, is well ploughed, that is, both closer and deeper than for any Sort of Corn. In the succeeding Month of May, the usual Practice is to lay Twenty or Thirty Loads of rotten Dung on an Acre, and to plough it well in, that it may be thoroughly mixed with the Mould <sup>y</sup>. At Midsummer they plough for the third

<sup>w</sup> Harison's Description of Britain, B. iii. chap. xiv. Camdeni Britan. p. 326. 349. 356. Drayton's Polyolbion, Song xx. p. 338. Speed's British Empire, p. 31. Fuller's Worthies in Essex, p. 317. It was brought hither, as the first of these Writers says, in the Reign of Edward III. It was cultivated in many Parts of the Kingdom, especially (as it still is) about Walden in Essex. This Place was first called Walden Burgh, then, from its Market, Chipping Walden, and lastly, from the Culture of this Plant in its Neighbourhood, Saffron Walden. In Camden's and Drayton's Time however, the best Saffron in England was said to grow at Walsingham in Norfolk, which is near the Sea Side, and the Soil a mere Sand; and it was likewise planted in the same Kind of Soil in other Places.

<sup>x</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. vi. vii. xvii. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xxi. P. i. cap. xiv. p. 1176. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 31. Worlidge's System of Husbandry, p. 157, 158. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. chap. xix: p. 167, 168, 169. Bradley's Country Gentleman's and Farmer's Director, p. 48—51. Boerhaave's Chemistry, vol. ii. p. 152, 153. Select Essays of the Society for improving Agriculture in Scotland, p. 303. Smith's ancient and present State of the County of Cork, vol. ii. p. 243. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. ii. col. 930. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 653, 654, 655. Dictionnaire Universelle d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 59—64.

<sup>y</sup> Mr. Harison, who lived in the Vicinity of Walden; and gives a large Account of the Culture of Saffron, says that One Word of Dung, but attributes their large Crops to fat Earth and soft Dewes. Mr. Camden is wholly silent, and yet says that Barley will grow after Saffron eighteen Years without dung, and that the Ground will then be fit to bear Saffron again. Mr. Bradley declares roundly against Dung. He observes, that it is injurious to all bulbous Roots, that Custom

third Time, and at the Distance of every Perch leave a deep Furrow open to receive the Weeds. The Land is then fenced with what the People in Cambridgeshire call a dead Hedge, that is, with Hurdles, to keep out all Kinds of Beasts, and especially Hares.

WHEN Things are thus prepared, a Man with a Spit-Shovel cuts a Trench about Three Inches deep, and is followed by Two Women, who set the Bulbs flat on their Bottoms, about Three Inches one from another till the Whole is complete <sup>7</sup>. The Man then opens a second Trench at a small Distance, and with the Earth that comes out of it covers the Roots in the first, and in this Manner they proceed till the whole Spot is planted. The Quantity of Roots required for this Purpose may be Sixteen Quarters for an Acre <sup>a</sup>. About the Beginning of September they with a sharp Hoe pare the Ground between the Ridges, and bury the Weeds in the deep Furrow before-mentioned. In the Month of October, when the Flowers appear, they employ a sufficient Number of Hands in different Parts of the Field in pulling and putting them into Baskets. This is performed early in a Morning, and their Work is commonly over before Ten of the Clock <sup>b</sup>. These Baskets being carried Home with the greatest Expedition, they very carefully pick out from the Flower the Filaments and Part of the Style, which when they have collected into a sufficient Quantity is immediately dried on a small Kiln prepared for the Purpose. This is a very nice Operation, as on the accurate Performance of that the Excellence of the Saffron in a great

only supports this Practice against Reason, and that Experience had taught him fresh Earth, a little light, with a Staple of Six Inches, with a tolerable Bottom, will do better than any Lands forced by Dungs. He adds farther, that he has seen it thrive very well on common heathy Land, mixed with Sand and small Roots. These are Arguments and Facts that deserve to be considered.

<sup>z</sup> Blith's English Improver Improved, chap. xxxviii. p. 248, 249. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, N<sup>o</sup>. cxxxviii. p. 945, by Mr. Charles Howard, *ibid*. N<sup>o</sup>. cccclxxx. p. 441, and N<sup>o</sup>. ccccv. p. 566, both by Dr. James Douglas. See also Bradley's Improvements in Husbandry and Gardening, and Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under Crocus. These will sufficiently instruct those who are desirous to raise this valuable Flower.

<sup>a</sup> This makes One hundred Twenty eight Bushels, and, according to the accurate Dr. Douglas's Computation, 392,040 Roots. It is to be observed, that in Planting, though Three Inches be the middle Distance, yet they plant the smaller Roots closer, and the larger farther one from the other. Some Roots are sharp at both Ends, these they call Spickets, and never plant them because they do not flower. The Roots vary much in their Price, but are seldom very dear.

<sup>b</sup> In France they pursue the same Method, except that sometimes in the very Height of the Season they pull them in the Evening as well as Morning. A very hot Summer with soft mild Showers is the most favourable for these Plants. But the great Point here and there, is the Soil, which should be light, loose, and Sandy. Yet a stiff Clay increases the Number of Roots, and their Size, but the Roots in such Countries seldom bear Flowers, and of course are not in much Esteem.

Measure depends <sup>c</sup>. The Harvest, that is, the Pulling of the Flowers Morning after Morning, lasts about a Month, during which the same Labours with the same Diligence are constantly repeated. They have Three Crops from the same Spot, that is, a Crop in each for Three successive Summers, the first much smaller in Comparison with the Two last <sup>d</sup>. When the Three Crops have been taken, the Roots are to be raised out of the Ground, and having lain Three Weeks, are ready to be sold or transplanted the next Season into another Piece of Ground, as they never plant them twice without an Interval of some Years upon the same. But as soon as conveniently they can, they sow Barley after the Saffron, and have very great Crops <sup>e</sup>. At Walden they seldom sow less than One, or more than Three Acres of Saffron in One Field.

In respect to the Profits attending this Culture, the very high Price that this Commodity sometimes bears, hath made it, generally speaking, over-rated. It is indeed very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to come at what might be stiled an exact Calculation of the Expences and the Produce. A probable Computation, however sufficient for our Purpose of representing the Benefit arising from this Culture, may be, and has been obtained. The annual Value of clean saleable Saffron upon an Acre, which is taken by dividing the sum of all the Crops by Three, amounts to about Thirteen Pounds. Of which about Eight go towards the Discharge of Rent and the several Expences that necessarily attend the Crop, and the other Five comes into the Pocket of the Proprietor <sup>f</sup>. It is evident from the foregoing

<sup>c</sup> The Kiln, which requires a long Description, is accurately explained by Dr. Douglas. If the Fire be too strong the Cakes are often burned, and if too weak the Saffron is apt to mould. In either Case the Commodity loses a sixth, or perhaps a third Part of the Value. When properly cured, the Saffron appears of a rich orange Colour, is moist to the Touch, has an odoriferous Smell, and a quick pungent Taste, which dwells long upon the Palate.

<sup>d</sup> The first Crop is very uncertain, but it is esteemed the finest Saffron, sometimes it may amount to Ten Pounds of wet Saffron. The second in a good Season will yield Fifty or Sixty, the third Seventy, Eighty, or sometimes more. In the first Three Weeks, Five Pounds of wet will produce One of dry, but during the last Week it will require Six. Thus in a Month's Time the Trouble, except Hoing the Ground, is entirely over till the next Year.

<sup>e</sup> The Seed of this Plant seldom or never can come to Perfection with us, but this Defect is supplied by the Multiplication of the Roots. They are raised out of the Ground by a Plough or by a forked Hoc called a Pattock, after which the Field is harrowed, Fourteen or Twenty Persons picking up the Bulbs as they rise. After they are washed, picked, and such as are bruised or cut, or otherwise injured, taken away, there commonly remains Twenty-four Quarters of sound Roots. Though it is, and has been long the Practice at Saffron Walden to break up their Grounds after Three Crops, yet we know it was formerly the Custom in Norfolk to let them remain Six and even Seven Years in the Ground, Hoing them carefully twice every Year, and this without Prejudice to the Saffron.

<sup>f</sup> This Account is thus made up. The first Year Ten Pounds of wet, which will make Two Pounds dry, the second about Ten, and the third about Fourteen Pounds of dry Saffron. In all Twenty-six Pounds in Three Years. In regard to the Price, it fluctuates between One Pound and

going History, that Saffron might be planted in many Places, though perhaps in smaller Spots, and this through the whole Extent of Great Britain, as it has long flourished in the most Northern Part of the Island. As it employs a great many People, though but for a short Space of Time, a Person who had a small Plantation, and a large Family, would hire but few Hands, and thereby lessen the Expence, which probably might also be done in other Respects <sup>a</sup>; and if our Saffron was not so dear, and greater Quantities of it raised, the universal Preference given to it Abroad would render it more profitable to the Nation <sup>b</sup>.

WHATEVER is of great and constant Use in any Manufacture, even though not a Material, is notwithstanding an Object well worthy of Cultivation, more especially in such Places as are in the Vicinity of those where such a Manufacture flourishes. This is the Case in regard to Teasles, Teasils, Teazils, or Fullers Thistles <sup>i</sup>. They are a Kind of Thistles growing wild

Four or Five at most. At the more equal and middle Price of Thirty Shillings, this comes to Thirty-nine Pounds or Thirteen Pounds each Year, and the whole Expences from the first Ploughing to the last, at breaking up may amount to near Twenty-four, and so leave Fifteen Pounds for the Three Years Profits. In Years when the Commodity yields a good Price, it may produce considerably more, but let Seasons run as they may, an Acre will scarce ever yield less.

<sup>a</sup> It is evident that the high Price of our Saffron is a great Bar to its Consumption, as well as a Temptation to the adulterating with Spanish Saffron, which may be bought at a low Rate. This, as was long since observed, could not be prevented by imposing a high Duty, because it would then be smuggled, as is the Case in respect to the Juice of Liquorice. The only Remedy seems to be encreasing the Quantity raised, and abating the Price, without prejudice to the Quality of the Saffron. If as Conveniency offered it was cultivated in any light Land in Spots of an Acre or less, an Abatement in the Rent, the Dung, &c. might probably be made of One third at least of the Expence, and in small Quantities, the Saffron would be better picked, more carefully dried, and from the Emulation which must necessarily arise amongst a Number of Competitors for the Sale of their respective Proportions of the same Commodity, be continually improving in every Respect, while from the Reduction of Expences, the Profits to Individuals would be as great or greater, even if the middle Price was but Twenty-five Shillings.

<sup>b</sup> The Consumption of Saffron in Food as well as Physick is very great in the North, in Poland, and in Germany. It is said to grow in great Perfection, and with scarce any Culture on the Borders of the Caspian Sea, and in the ancient Media. It is also cultivated in some Parts of the Kingdom of Naples. We may add about Toulouse, Angoulême, in the Principality of Orange, near Avignon, and in Normandy. But the best Saffron in France comes from Boissie in Gatinois, where the Country is a mere Sand. At Amsterdam the middle Price of English Saffron is Eighteen Florins, of French Ten, and of Spanish Six for a Pound. This last is commonly mixed with Oil to make it keep, and though not esteemed abroad is much used in Cookery over all that Country. In France the Roots are liable to many Maladies unknown here. It is therefore highly probable, that if the Cultivation of this Plant spread into many different Parts of the Island, as has been before-mentioned, it would be attended with many beneficial Consequences. The Dublin Society, by promising and paying large Premiums for small Quantities, have introduced it effectually in Ireland.

<sup>i</sup> Besides the Names mentioned in the Text, it may not be amiss to take Notice of some others, as they explain the Nature of the Plant. The Romans following the Greeks called it Dipfacus, and also Labrum Veneris, i. e. the Basin of Venus, because the Leaves rising upright round the

wild in this and many other Countries, and which are sown and brought into regular Culture on account of their singular Utility to Clothworkers, Baymakers, and other Woollen Manufacturers in raising the Nap on their respective Goods, by the Means of certain hard, sharp, and crooked Points which grow out of their numerous Heads, and are admirably suited to that Purpose<sup>k</sup>. A stiff Clay is esteemed the best Soil for these Plants, which must be thoroughly well dug with a Spade, or double furrowed with a Plough some Time in the Month of December. In the succeeding February or March, the Seed is to be sown to the Quantity of about a Peck upon an Acre; they must be carefully hoed once or twice in the Spring, and will be fit to cut in August following. The Plant rises to the Height of Three or Four Feet, the Stalks are jointed, and at these Joints smaller Stalks come forth, which bear roundish Heads of the Size of an Egg, armed with those short sharp Hooks that have been mentioned. These Heads are at first green, but turn white as they become ripe. They flower either in June or in July, and are usually cut some Time in the Month of August. They are then tied up in Bundles or Faggots, which the Country People call *Staves*, and of these there are usually about Eight Score upon an Acre, which seldom sell for less than a Shilling a Stave, and consequently the Produce may be from Seven to Eight Pounds an Acre<sup>l</sup>. We will now proceed to those Vegetables that are particularly cultivated for the Use made of them in Dyeing, and which consequently are of the greatest Service to our Woollen, Linnen, Silk, Cotton, and other Manufactures.

Stalk, retain the Dew and Rain as in a Cup. This Water is held to be a great Cosmetic, and the Country People employ it against Warts. Some foreign Physicians commend the Plant highly in scrophulous Cases, and in Consumptions. There is a wild Sort rises pretty high, which is called *Virga Pastoris*, i. e. Shepherd's Rod; and is used when the cultivated Teasil is not to be had, the Root being esteemed in the Cure of Fistulas.

<sup>k</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxv. cap. xiii. lib. xxvii. cap. ix. *Rail Hist. Plant. Anct. lib. viii. cap. ii. p. 382.* Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britan. p. 33. *Maison Rustique, lib. ii. chap. lvii.* Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 227, 228, 229. *Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. chap. xxiii. p. 202.* Hill's History of Plants, p. 223. *Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary* under the Article of *Dipsacus*. *Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 795, 796.* *Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 537.* *Encyclopedie Portative, tom. i. p. 295, 296.*

<sup>l</sup> The Use of Teasils in the Woollen Manufacture seems to be of very antient standing both in this and in other Countries. They are cultivated with much Assiduity in Languedoc, Normandy, and Picardy, those of the last Province are esteemed the best that grow in France. According to the Trades in which they are principally used, they distinguish them into Chardon Bonnetier, Chardon Drapier, Chardon Foulon, in general Chardon Saniere, and the smaller Sorts are called *Tetes des Linotes*, i. e. Linnet's Heads. They commonly transplant their Teasils in France to improve their Heads, and have also made some Trials of the Horse-hoeing Method, and with a very good Effect. They look upon Teasils as Plants so essentially necessary in the Manufacture of Wool, that the Exportation of them is prohibited except by Licence. This Expedient is well imagined; for if the Harvest be very copious, the Price would fall so low as to injure the future Cultivation. In this Case Licences are easily obtained, and thus Exportation serves to secure domestic Plenty.



**MADDER** is a Plant, the Uses of which were well known to the Ancients, both in respect to Manufactures and Physic<sup>m</sup>. With their Roots they dyed Wool and Leather, and from these and other Parts of the Plant they formed a Variety of Medicines, to which great Virtues were attributed by their ablest Physicians. They had it likewise both wild and cultivated, the best Sort of the latter growing in the Time of Pliny in the Neighbourhood of Rome<sup>n</sup>. As Madder is a very valuable Commodity, so the raising and curing it in Perfection is a Work of much Time, Trouble, and Expence, for all which it pays abundantly at last. The Soil best suited to this Plant is a soft sandy Loam, which must be properly prepared by repeated and deep Ploughings, so as to render it perfectly even and fine. The young Shoots, for the cultivated Madder is not propagated by Seed, are to be planted, in the Course of the Month of April upon Ridges at Three Feet Distance, and the Plants themselves at a Foot and a Foot and an half Distance from each other. They remain Three Summers in the Ground, and during that Space are to be carefully hoed, kept clean from Weeds, and properly earthed up. They are drawn about the Month of September, and must be then conveyed immediately to the drying House, built like those used by the Tanners for their Skins, except that Hurdles are used in them instead of Floors, that the Air may have free Access to the Roots every Way. After remaining there Four or Five Days, and the Earth perfectly cleared from them, they are carried to the cold Stove, where they are farther but very slowly dried by the Help of Flues placed in the Sides of the Building. This being done, the Madder is carried next to the Floor, where it is threshed from its Bark or outward Rind, which however is swept together, barrellled up, and is what the Dutch call MULL, which sometimes sells for Eight Pounds a Ton, and thereby commonly defrays the Expence of drying. The Roots thus cleared are then conveyed to the warm Stove, where the drying is gradually completed. From thence they are sent to the Mill, and there ground, sorted,

<sup>m</sup> The Greek Authors call this Plant Erythrodanum from Erythron, red. The Latins on the same Principle Rubea or Rubia; in modern Writers it is often styled Rubia Tinctorum, from the Use made of it in Dyeing. Dioscorides and Galen do not insist upon its tinging Quality. But the former describes, and both so explain its medicinal Virtues as to leave no Doubt as to the Plant. Pliny, who commonly agrees with Dioscorides, mentions both its Uses, but in different Books of his History. In respect to its medical Qualities, they are followed by latter Authors; but the Nature of the Colour extracted from its Roots was left to such as wrote the History of the Arts. Some mention several Sorts, Linnaeus reduces them to Two, the cultivated Madder having Six Leaves, and the wild with Four.

<sup>n</sup> Dioscor. lib. iii. c. 160. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. iii. lib. xxiv. cap. xi. Galen. de Fac. Simp. Med. lib. vi. Marcel. Empir. cap. xxv. Q. Seren. de Morb. Regio, cap. lix. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. x. cap. iv. p. 480. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 106. Linnæi Gen. Plant. p. 24. System. Naturæ, p. 893.



packed up in Casks fit for Sale<sup>o</sup>. In these several Operations which must be all performed with much Care and Exactness, the Commodity loses so much of its Weight, that Seven or Eight hundred of the Green will seldom make more than One hundred of the dry Madder<sup>p</sup>.

THE Dutch are at present possessed of an almost absolute Monopoly of this valuable Commodity, the Cultivation of which they were taught by the Flemings, who, persecuted for their Religion, long since took Shelter amongst them. In Times past we imported Madder by the Way of Hamburgh from Silesia, and also from Flanders, whereas now we have it only from Holland<sup>q</sup>. This, that People have brought about by their unwearied Industry, their careful Management, and indefatigable Attention. It is in a particular Manner the great Staple of Zealand, where in the small Isle of Schowen they raise annually a Thousand Tons, for the Curing of which there are about Twenty Stoves, each provided with a proper Number of ~~the~~ Workmen, by whom every Thing is accurately and excellently performed at a settled and very moderate Price, and under the most prudent and equitable Regulations<sup>r</sup>. When the Work is finished, the Madder is, according to its

<sup>o</sup> Blith's English Improver Improved, chap. xxxvi. p. 235. Sir W. Petty's Account of Dyeing in Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 298. Houghton's Collections, vol. ii. p. 369—373. Worlidge's System of Agriculture, p. 158. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. ch. xv. p. 160. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 223—227. Hill's History of Plants, 231. Foreign Essays on Agriculture and Arts, p. 41—50. Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under Rubia.

<sup>p</sup> The Time, Trouble, and Expence attending the Cultivation of Madder in this Method have induced some, particularly the French, as we shall see hereafter, to endeavour to find some Expedients to shorten the Process, and by ridding themselves of Stoves and Mills to lessen the Charge. It is certainly right to examine and to consider their Attempts. But on the other Hand, there is with all its Proximity and Labour something very worthy Attention in this Mode of the Dutch. The Dyers use Madder in different Ways and for different Purposes, which are all suited by the several Divisions of the Madder by which all is sold, each fetches its just Price, and the Dyers find some or other of these Sorts adapted to every Intention, which is a great and apparent Conveniency.

<sup>q</sup> It seems evident from the Growing of this Plant in different Parts of different Countries, that it is not confined to any particular Soil. This hath been sufficiently cleared by Experiments made in France in Lands of very different Kinds, Clays, Sands, Marishes lately drained, and in others. If it was not so, how should every Kitchen Gardiner in some of the Dutch Islands have his little Cloſe or Plot of Madder? This shews that Culture does much, and possibly supplies Defect in Soil, even there. For all is done, if not by the Owner's Hand, at least under his Eye; which is such an Advantage, as in an Affair of this Nature must have wonderful Effects. In regard to Land therefore in Britain there cannot be either Doubt or Difficulty.

<sup>r</sup> As the Culture was best provided for by being in a Number of Hands, all equally stimulated by Attention to their own Interests, so the Curing, which is of equal Importance, is as prudently regulated. Such as grow only a small Quantity of this Commodity could not spare Money to erect, or the Time requisite to attend a Stove. This therefore is assigned to another Set of People to whom Practice gives a Facility in this difficult Business, as their constant Employment therein procures them a comfortable Subsistence. Besides the Mill mentioned in the Text, they distinguish what passes the Sieve on the first pounding by the Name of Gemeens, the next pounded, which is the best, Krap; and if these Two Sorts are blended it is stiled Onberooft, i. e. Undivided.

Fineness, divided into several Sorts, and after being inspected by Persons deputed by the Magistrates, each Sort is put up in Casks with Marks declaring its Nature, and the Arms of the Town of Zirikzee painted on them, which authenticates their Contents wherever they are exported<sup>s</sup>. This Plant is also cultivated not only in the other Islands which compose that Province, but likewise in different Parts of the Dominions of the United Provinces, from whence it is sent in immense Quantities over all Europe.

IN Proportion as Industry, Arts, and Commerce came to prevail, and to be understood here, it was very clearly discerned that our Dependance upon another Nation, for an Article so necessary to the Progress of several Manufactures, was pregnant with many Inconveniencies, besides the constant Drain of Money, not only for the Benefit, but even at the Will of Strangers, who set what Prices they pleased on what could not be wanted. In the Reign of Charles the First, a Patent was granted to Mr. Shipman the King's Gardener for Planting and Curing of Madder, which he did, and brought it to very great Perfection, till ruined by the Confusion of the Times, he was constrained to part with his Stock, and give over the Trade<sup>t</sup>. It was again attempted by Sir Nicholas Crispe, a Man of extraordinary Abilities, and of great Public Spirit, as also by Persons well skilled therein at Wisbech, who, notwithstanding many Obstacles that were thrown in their Way, would certainly have succeeded, had not the Dutch reduced, and for a Time kept the Price so low, that for Want of Support they were constrained to give up the making of Madder. This had so bad an Effect, that notwithstanding the Growing of this Plant for physical Uses, and for Curiosity in many private Gardens, no Thoughts were entertained of cultivating it to a large Extent, and for the Purposes of Dyeing, till within these few Years. It then appeared so reasonable in itself, and of such manifest Pub-

<sup>s</sup> The Assayers are sworn duly to respect the Ordinances of Zealand, of which there are several; very explicit and well considered. The Casks, besides the Arms of the Town, have the Name of the Stove where made, and the Quality of the Madder painted on them; and thus the Credit and Reputation of all the different Parties are staked, which excites a constant Attention and Emulation amongst them. Whoever reflects on the Sagacity of these Measures, and the Propriety of the States interfering to prevent private Avarice from injuring the public Interest, will see no great Cause to wonder, that the Dutch in a Course of Years gained this Commodity, or that they have so long kept it from their Neighbours.

<sup>t</sup> We have this Fact from Mr. Blyth, who having been an Officer in the Parliament Army became afterwards a great Promoter of Agriculture and all Sorts of Improvements, and is consequently a competent and unsuspected Witness. He says, that Mr. Shipman planted Madder, and set up his Works at Barn Elms, and that his Commodity was highly commended by its only proper Judges the Dyers. It is evident therefore, that at this Time we were possessed of this valuable Article, and might have been soon had in Plenty as well as in Perfection. If this Opportunity had been taken, and the Cultivation of Madder (as it might have been) universally introduced, it would be no difficult Matter to demonstrate, that this Nation might have been the richer for it by some Millions.

lic Utility, that an Act of Parliament was obtained to facilitate the Design, which Act hath been since continued, and many other Marks have been given of public Approbation<sup>u</sup>. It may be considered therefore at present as in a State of Progression, and there is very little Room to doubt, that as Experience in the Management of it increases, this important Enterprize will move faster till it reaches the Point of Perfection.

It certainly imports us both in Honour and in Interest to prosecute this Improvement, now it is begun, with Vigour. We have all the Advantages we can reasonably wish to prompt our Endeavours, as we have a great Variety of Soils as fit for the Cultivation of this Plant as any in Zealand or Flanders, and are in no Danger of being confined in point of Room<sup>w</sup>. In Reference to Industry our People are not inferior to any, and in respect to Dexterity and Dispatch superior to most, as from a Multitude of Instances, if it was necessary, might be proved. Something also may be trusted to the Genius of the Nation, which has been ever famous for improving whatever Inventions came into their Hands. We may add to all this, that there are Three very puissant Motives which ought to stimulate our Efforts in this Affair. In the first Place, we know very well that the Thing is practicable, that Madder will grow, and grow in as great Perfection here as any where else. In the next Place, if we either desist or are remiss in prosecuting this Improvement, we may, and indeed we must expect to have the Price raised upon us in Resentment for our having made the Attempt. Lastly, we have all the Reason that can be to expect, whatever Encouragement it is in the Power of Government to give, since no Duty is laid upon

<sup>u</sup> Stat. 31 Geo. II. In the Preamble the great Advantages that would attend the Cultivation of Madder are succinctly stated, and for promoting so important a Design, the Tythe of every Acre on which it is planted is fixed at Five Shillings from August 1st 1758 for Fourteen Years. Stat. 5 Geo. III. cap. xviii. after reciting that the Price of the Commodity hath been raised, continues the Tythe at Five Shillings an Acre for Fourteen Years farther from the Expiration of the former Act. The Society also for the encouraging Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce have promised very considerable and well considered Premiums for the encouraging this very expensive Improvement, as also (which may be of no small Importance) for the Cultivation of our own wild Madder.

<sup>w</sup> It seems to be a received Maxim that Eight Years should elapse before Madder is to be planted again on the same Ground. But it is allowed that in the Isle of Schowen, where they grow the very best, they are for Want of Land obliged to plant it in Four Years. It is also acknowledged that nothing prepares Land so well for Corn as the growing Madder, so that they have Three large Crops of Grain before Madder is planted again. If Experience should justify this, we need not in Britain be under any Necessity of Planting again before the proper Time, which will give us an Advantage on this Principle. But it may be that Experience will shew the contrary, and that by proper Crops and proper Tillage the Land may be sooner fit for Madder again.

Madder imported, that no additional Weight might be thereby thrown on our Manufactures \*.

BESIDES, we find in other Countries People are bent on the same Measure, particularly the French, who have made and published a Variety of Experiments that seem to throw new Light upon the Subject †, and to promise, if due Attention be paid to them, not only equalling the Dutch in their Cultivation, but even the Eastern Nations, who have been hitherto held inimitable in their Method of dyeing Cotton ‡. On the Whole, we ought certainly to be attentive to these Discoveries, and even to the Experiments that have been made elsewhere in a Point that so nearly regards our own Interests, and the Benefits of which are clearly as much in our Power as in theirs. It

\* As Things now stand, Madder, which is a capital Article in the Dyeing many, and in fixing more Colours, is looked upon as absolutely necessary, and therefore allowed to be imported free. But if it shall once appear to the Legislature, that we can grow it in as great Plenty as well as in as great Perfection as in Holland, the same Motive of encouraging our own Manufactures will render it expedient to take every Method for facilitating the Culture of this Plant. What those Methods will be, the Growers of Madder will be best able to point out, and from the Attention already paid to them, they may well hope for Success. The Sum annually paid for Madder is a Rent-charge on our Manufactures, of which the sooner we are rid so much the better.

† *Le Teinturier Parfait*, par Theodore Haak, p. 160—167. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 303—305. *Memoirs sur la Garance & sa Culture*, par M. du Hamel du Monceau, Paris, 1757, 4to. *Elements de Agriculture*, liv. xi. chap. iv. *Dictionnaire Universelle d'Histoire Naturelle*, tom. ii. p. 269. *Beaufobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique des Finances et du Commerce*, tom. i. p. 206, 207. *Encyclopedie Portatif*; tom. ii. p. 113.

‡ This Subject hath employed the Thoughts and the Pens of Three very able and knowing Men, Messrs. Hellot, Duhamel, and D'Ambournay. In consequence of their Researches and Experiments, it appears that it will grow very well on very different Soils; that it may be with Facility propagated by Seed from the wild Madder; that the Roots of this Madder will dye as well when green as when dry; that Four Pounds will have the Effects of Eight of green converted into One of dry Dutch Madder; that the green Roots may by a proper Method be preserved green, and without becoming mouldy for a long Space of Time; and that the Hazala or Hari of the Turks is very probably the same with our wild Madder, at least when carefully dried in Sun or Shade, will dye as bright and beautiful a Colour, though this as to its being wild Madder hath been doubted. The French King by an Arret of his Council, dated 24th February 1756, exempts all Persons who shall drain Morasses for the Culture of this Plant from the Taille for Twenty Years. They have begun to cultivate it in Germany and in Prussia. The Dublin Society have been many Years endeavouring to introduce it into Ireland.

\* It may in respect to the Cultivation of Madder, which if so far introduced as to serve only our own Consumption, would afford a comfortable Subsistence to Four or Five Thousand Families, deserve to be considered. Whether some Improvement may not be made in the Manner of growing it so as to lessen the Expence? Cannot the Method of Curing it be rendered more simple without Prejudice to the Commodity? Will not the Roots of our wild Madder yield a rich Colour, and in what Proportion to the cultivated? Might not the searching for, and collecting wild Madder Roots at a proper Season of the Year afford some Assistance to the Poor? Have we no other Plants in Britain, the Roots of which may afford as good a Dye as Madder if adequate Encouragement was given to find them? When it is said we import all our Madder from Holland, it is meant of the Krap or Madder in Powder, for some we receive in Roots from Italy and the Levant. We might easily

It was to set this in a strong Light, that so much Pains have been bestowed on this, and will be likewise employed in subsequent Articles; for there cannot be any political Truth more certain than this, that to lessen the Expence of our Manufactures is the surest Method of promoting their Sale, and consequently of promoting Industry, the only laudable Means of enriching this Nation.

**SAFFLOWER**, Saffore, stiled by the Botanists *Cnicus sive Carthamus Sativus*, in some Places called from its Use the Scarlet Flower; is a Plant originally from Egypt, and which was not cultivated in Italy till after the Reign of the Emperor Vespasian <sup>b</sup>. The Root does not penetrate deep into the Earth, being an annual Plant. It shoots up a stiff Woody Stalk, Two and sometimes Three Feet in Height, dividing upwards into many Branches adorned with oval Leaves entire, but slightly serrated on their Edges, each of the Points terminated by a Spine, not very strong or sharp. The Flowers grow single at the End of each Branch; their Heads are large, inclosed in a scaly Empalement, each of the Scales broad at the Base, resembling in other Respects the Leaf of the Plant, and terminating in a sharp Thorn. The lower Part of the Empalement spreads open, but the upper Scales embrace the Florets which stand out near an Inch above the Empalement. These are of a bright, orient, Saffron Colour <sup>c</sup>. When ripe it produces Seeds which are long, of a whitish shining Colour, and have a sweetish bitter Taste, and a purgative Quality.

A LIGHT warm Soil is the most proper for this Plant, which has been cultivated in the Vale of Evesham, and about Burton and Aston in Oxfordshire <sup>d</sup>. The Ground should be prepared as for Barley, with an additional Harrowing.

easily have the Seeds, and distinguish by raising them, if the Plant be the cultivated, the wild Bladder, or distinct from both.

<sup>b</sup> Theophr. lib. vi. Hist. cap. iv. Diosc. lib. iv. c. 182. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. xv. xxxij. Rauh Hist. Plant. lib. viii. cap. p. ii. 302. Reigeri Introduct: in Not. Rer. Natur. &c. tom. ii. p. 552—557. where all the Properties of this Plant are fully displayed, which it may be of Consequence to know if the Culture of it is ever introduced into this Island.

<sup>c</sup> Houghton's Collections, vol. iv. p. 353—360. Plot's Natural History of Oxfordshire, chap. vi. p. 157. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. chap. xix. p. 169. Hill's History of Plants, p. 560. Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under the Article Carthamus. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 655, 666, 667. Dictionnaire Universelle d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 463.

<sup>d</sup> The History of the first Plantation is contained in a Letter from Henry Hall, Esq; to Mr. Houghton, dated Nov. 14, 1683. He says, the Land on which these Seeds were sown was mixed Sand, worth about Fifteen Shillings an Acre; but this being a new Improvement, and supposed greatly to exhaust the Soil, a Spot of Twenty-five Acres was let to the Adventurers at Twenty-five Pounds an Acre. By this Undertaking, though in all Respects very ill managed, they cleared Thirty Shillings an Acre, all Charges (the Price of Seed excepted) deducted, by the Sale of the Flowers only. It was estimated the whole Crop might yield about 140 Bushels, from under 40 that were sown. He shews the Errors in their Conduct, how easily they might be avoided, and

from

Harrowing to lay it smooth and even. The most material Point is the affording it a proper Exposition, for it will not endure any Shade. The Seeds should be sown in Drills as early in the Spring as the Season will admit, about the Beginning of March, though some say it may be done in February, in Rows at Two Feet or rather at Two Feet and a Half Distance. It may be sown moderately thick, and in a Month's Time after the Plants will begin to appear. A Month after this they must be carefully hoed and thinned, so that they may stand at about Six Inches Distance. After a proper Interval they are to be hoed again, and thinned to a Foot Distance<sup>e</sup>. If after this the Weeds should rise afresh they must be hoed a third Time. It flowers in July, and the Florets are then separated with a short Knife, not all at once, but as they become ripe, so that this may take up a Week's Time or more, and the Work may be performed by Women and Children. They are next to be cautiously dried upon a Kiln, and are then fit for Sale. Such Stalks as are intended for Seed, should be left standing, and suffered to grow fully ripe, when the Seed will be as good as any we receive from Germany. It is true, that they will grow to their full Size, and appear as fair when left in the Flower that is cut, but upon opening them they will be found hollow, black, and empty<sup>f</sup>.

THE Use of these Flowers is to dye Silk of a Pink, Rose, and other red Colours; and for this Purpose we import annually great Quantities from the Levant and from Germany, where they grow plentifully on the Banks of the Rhine, more especially about Strasburgh. It has been proposed to raise them in Carolina, where without Doubt they might be cultivated in great Perfection; but as they have been formerly, so no Doubt they may again be raised in Britain, whereby so much as we pay for them

from Experiments made by himself; declares it an Improvement certainly and easily to be introduced. Dr. Plot assures us Colonel Vernon brought it into Oxfordshire, in which County it is mentioned also by Mr. Mortimer.

<sup>e</sup> The Reason why these Plants are allowed at Length so much Room, is, that they may be able to nourish and perfect their Flowers, of which they bear from Seven to Ten or a Dozen on one Stalk. But as the Seed sometimes fails, and the Plants may die by other Accidents, they are therefore thinned at twice, that this Space may be occupied only by thriving Plants. The great Space between the Rows is to facilitate the Hocking, as the Success of this Improvement must depend on keeping the Ground free from Weeds, stirring the Earth about the Roots, and providing as much as possible, that the Plants may enjoy the free Air and warm refreshing Light of the Sun.

<sup>f</sup> In this and indeed in all Cases where the Seed has its Value as well as the Plant or the Flower, it is preposterous to expect both in Perfection, if cut at the same Time. It is therefore always safest and best to allow some of the healthiest and stoutest Plants both Room and Time to perfect their Seed, which will be also found the greatest Oeconomy. It was, as has been observed, the Case of our Clover Seed. Mr. Hall assures us he sowed in February and March, and that the Flowers were ripe and gathered by the Twentieth of July. The former were not so fine as the latter, which he ascribes not to their too early sowing, but to their growing in the Shade. Neither Flowers or Seed, though he thinks his Garden Ground richer, were equal to those that grew in the Vale, owing to their having more Air and Sun;

would

would be clearly saved to this Nation *z*. They were heretofore much used in Medicine. The Seeds are exceedingly agreeable to Turkeys, Geese, and other Poultry. It may not perhaps be amiss to remark, that it is not only used in dyeing Feathers, but that from these Flowers, properly prepared, we have that famous Fucus, which is stiled Portugal Red, and with which the Ladies improve, shall we say, or spoil, their Complexions *b*.

*WELD*, Wold, or Dyers Weed *i*, which from its producing a yellow Colour the Ancients called *Luteum*, *Lutum*, *Luteola*, or *Lutea*, is a Native of this Country, to be found growing wild on dry Banks, old Walls, and other such like Places in many Parts of this Kingdom *k*. It is chiefly cultivated for Sale at present, as it has long been in the Neighbourhood of Canterbury. This Plant, or rather Species, the Followers of Tournefort's System call *Reseda*, and distinguish them into several different Kinds. But that growing with us is a biennial Plant, the Root of which is composed of ligneous Fibres; it throws out Leaves near the Ground, four Inches long, and about half an Inch broad. The Stalks rise to about Three Feet in Height, with Leaves, smaller in Size, but in other Respects very like those at the Bottom. The Tops or Points of the Stems are terminated by long loose Spikes of yellowish coloured Flowers, which appear about the latter End of June, and the Seed is commonly ripe in September *l*. It hath been hitherto

*z* As we are now so much improved in the Arts of Cultivation, and have so just Notions of the Nature and Value of Improvements beneficial to our Manufactures, an Attempt not so properly to introduce as to recover this, cannot but be acceptable to the judicious Peruser. All the Objections that can be formed against it, are very fairly stated, and as fully answered, by Mr. Hall; and we may therefore hope, that when next undertaken it will be effectually executed.

*b* This Plant is cultivated in Italy, Spain, and in some Parts of France. The French however, who consume a great deal, bring much from other Countries, and distinguish it by different Names. That from the Levant they call *Sofranum*, that from the Rhine *Safron d'Allemagne* and that of their own Growth *Safron batard*, or *bastard Safron*. The Seed from the Use they make of it they stile *Graine de Perroquet*; which confirms the Observations made here.

*i* This last Appellation, though commonly given to this, seems more properly to belong to another Plant, viz. *Genista Tinctoria*, Dyers Broom, Green-wood, Wild Woad, Wood-waxen, and sometimes Dyers Weed. It grows spontaneously in many Places, and will grow any where with very little Trouble. The small yellow Flowers produced by this Broom are chiefly used in Dyeing coarse Cloaths Yellow, and in Conjunction with Woad it dyes Green. It fetches but a low Price, the Colour being dull and but little esteemed. However, some have thought it might be improved by sowing the Seeds in tolerable Ground, keeping it from Weeds, and bestowing a little Pains in gathering and curing it. The French call it *Genestrole*, and use it much in the same Manner that we do.

*k* An Opinion has been entertained, founded on the Circumstance of this Plant being natural to our Country, that it must have been with this, rather than Woad, that the ancient Britons dyed their Skins, on a Principle either of striking Terror, or of Ornament. But to this, as we shall hereafter see, there are many Objections. Besides, the *Luteola* was so common and so well known in Italy, that it is not to be conceived the Romans should be mistaken about it.

*l* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. v. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xiv. §. 2. cap. vi. p. 1054. lib. xxxi. §. 1. cap. xi. p. 1725. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 44. 74. Sprat's History of



the most respectable, as well as the most authentic Writers<sup>r</sup>. It was, as they inform us, employed by the antient Britons of both Sexes in painting their Bodies, or at least their Faces; which shews that they had then this Vegetable, and knew by some Means or other how to extract its Colour<sup>s</sup>. Woad is a biennial Plant, the lower Leaves of which are of an oval Figure, with obtuse Points, entire on their Edges, and of a very lively Green. The Stalk rises to the Height of about Four Feet, dividing into several Branches, adorned with arrow-shaped Leaves. These Branches are terminated by Clusters of small yellow Flowers, succeeded by Pods, which when ripe turn black, and in each Pod is contained a single Seed<sup>t</sup>. The Growers of Woad in this Country hire Land, generally speaking, in some of the Midland Counties, or wherever they can find it fit for their Purpose, and give a good Rent for Two Years, as they seldom occupy it longer.

THIS Land is commonly the deepest and fattest they can meet with, neither too moist or too dry, and free from Stones or Gravel; a gentle hazle Mould is of all others the best<sup>u</sup>. They are very careful in ploughing it, and cross-ploughing of it in high Ridges, that the Frost may render the Earth mellow. They likewise by frequent Harrowings destroy the Weeds; and if there are any hard Lumps or Clods of Earth, they are beaten to Pieces, that there may be nothing to obstruct the Descent of the Roots<sup>w</sup>.  
When

<sup>r</sup> Cæsar. de Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. x. Pomp. Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. vi. Vitruv. lib. vii. cap. xiv. Dioscorid. lib. ii. cap. 215. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxii. cap. i. Oribaf. lib. xi. fol. 199. Galen de fac. simp. med. lib. vi. p. 179. Marcel. Empir. cap. xxiii. p. 162. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xvi. § ii. cap. ix. p. 842. Tournef. Instit. 211. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 46.

<sup>s</sup> Cæsar says expressly, that the Britons painted themselves of a blue Colour to make them terrible to their Enemies. Mela doubts whether it was for Terror or Beauty. Pliny makes this rather an Act of Religion. The Women in Britain, says he, both old and young, dye their whole Bodies, and so assist naked in their Sacrifices, being like in Colour to Ethiopians. Cæsar and Mela both call the Herb Vitrum, which in Latin signifies Glass. Pliny calls it Glastum, says it was common in Gaul, and resembled Plantain. Glass is a Celtic Word, was the Name of the Herb, and of the Colour drawn from it, viz. Blue, as it is still in Welsh; by the same Name they also called Glass, because theirs was of a blue Colour. Cæsar and Mela translate the British Word, whereas Pliny retains it with a Latin Termination.

<sup>t</sup> Fuller's Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 18. Blith's English Improver Improved, chap. xxxv. p. 227—235. Bishop Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 301. Worlidge's System of Agriculture, p. 45. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. v. chap. xvi. p. 163. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 213—219. Additions to Bedfordshire in Bishop Gibson's Translation of Camden's Britannia. Hill's History of Plants, p. 527. Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary under the Article Isatis.

<sup>u</sup> In this as in many other Cases, Custom establishes a Rule. There is no Doubt, that on very deep rich Soils Woad does admirably well. It does not therefore follow, it can do well on no other Soil than this. Yet it has been known to do full as well on an old Warren broke up and properly prepared. There is another Circumstance that ought to be considered, the Exposition. The more Sun the better Woad, the more Shade the larger the Crop.

<sup>w</sup> The Tillage is to the full of as great Consequence as the Soil. Sowing in Rows with a Drill Plough is a good Method, leaving the Plants six Inches asunder, hoeing them regularly,  
which



When the Soil is thus prepared, they sow or plant the Woad, allowing Four Bushels to an Acre. This is done about the Middle of March, though in some Places earlier, and in others later; and they are very attentive in keeping it free from Weeds, by repeated Hoeings in dry Weather. As soon as the Leaves come to their due Size and Colour, which is that of a very bright Green, they begin to cut, and so continue through the Summer, making Three, Four, and sometimes Five Crops<sup>x</sup>. But the Two first, which they usually mix together, are by much the best; the last however will sometimes fetch Seven or Eight Pounds a Ton. A very hot Summer makes the best Woad in point of Quality; a moist One produces the greatest Quantity. When cut, it is carried as soon as may be to the Mill, where it is ground very small; after which it is made up in Balls. These are exposed to the Sun on Hurdles till they become dry, and are then carried again to the Mill, where they are ground to a Powder. This Powder is spread upon a Floor, where it is well watered, suffered to ferment, and is frequently turned till it becomes dry, and of a greyish white Colour, which they call Silvering. After all this long and chargeable Preparation, it is put up in Bags of Two hundred Weight each, and so sent to the Dyers, who then make a Trial of the Colour, according to which they set the Price<sup>y</sup>. Some Plants are however left for Seed, and suffered to stand till that is ripe<sup>z</sup>. It would certainly be better if only the first, or at most the second Crop were taken from these Plants, and the other Leaves left to nourish and support them, by which the Seed would be rendered more valuable. An Acre in a tolerable Year will yield a Ton; and if the

which may be then done with Ease, and will exceedingly nourish the Roots, on which the Vigour and Produce of the Plant depend. This is apparent in the Leaves, which when the Plants are thus treated grow larger, have more Substance, and of course yield better than they otherwise would do.

<sup>x</sup> The Number of Crops depends chiefly on the Weather. Rains bring it forward; but they choose a warm and dry Day to cut it, and are very careful to do this when the Leaves are in their prime. The Plants should be hoed after every cutting, to refresh and strengthen the Roots. Five Crops are very seldom taken here, it is more common to take but Three, and even then, if the last be mixed with the Two former, it would spoil all, by diminishing their Body, and weakening the Colour.

<sup>y</sup> It is the Quality of the Woad that should be principally regarded, and this perhaps would be no Diminution of the Profits, for the third Crop will always supply a sufficient Quantity of low priced Woad, and the Care and Cost bestowed in the Culture and Curing the Two first Sorts, would establish their Value. What Mr. Miller from his own Judgment and Experience hath advanced, shews sufficiently, that notwithstanding our having had the Culture of this Plant so long, it may be still improved.

<sup>z</sup> When full ripe, the Seeds become black; the Plants should be then cut or reaped like Wheat, and laid in Rows to dry, which they will do in Four or Five Days. They are then to be threshed, and the Seeds will be good in their Kind, and in large Quantities. As the Seed Plants stand the Winter, some let the Sheep eat their Leaves; but this seems to be false Oeconomy, as it weakens the Plants, and thereby prejudices the Seed both in Quantity and Quality. New Seed answers best.

Summer is very favourable a Ton and a Half. The Price of a Ton is about Eighteen Pounds, sometimes Twenty, and even Thirty; so that notwithstanding there is a great deal of Trouble, and no small Expence in growing and curing it, yet the Profit is very considerable; more especially as it is not a perishing Commodity, but grows better by keeping <sup>a</sup>.

Woad not only affords a lasting and substantial Blue, which, according to the Scale of the Dyers, may be reduced into many different Shades, but is also of great Use in dyeing and fixing many other Colours. But notwithstanding this, and its being a Commodity of our own, the Use of it is very much declined since the Introduction of Indigo; for the Purchase of which large Sums go annually out of the Nation <sup>b</sup>. The Reason of this is, that Indigo affords a more lively and pleasing Colour, is managed with more Ease by the Dyers, and does their Business more expeditiously. Yet with all these Advantages it is universally acknowledged, that the Colour which Indigo affords is inferior to that of Woad in many Respects, and particularly in Permanency; for which Reason they are frequently used in Conjunction <sup>c</sup>. But the worst Consequence that has attended the Use of Indigo, is not barely lessening the Consumption, but abating the Price, and depreciating the intrinsic Value of Woad; so that less Care is taken in the Management of it; to which in a great Measure the Inferiority of its Colour, at least in some Places, is at present owing <sup>d</sup>. The Declension in its

<sup>a</sup> Some learned Antiquaries, particularly Mr. Baxter, think Glastonbury derived its Name from the Cultivation of Glastum or Woad in the Island on which it is situated. The Britons called this Isle Inis üttrum, and the Saxons translated this Glastney, i. e. Infula Glastaria, Glast or Woad Island. It should seem the Britons in this Appellation adopted the Latin Term, Vitrum, by which Cæsar expressed their own Word Glas, i. e. Blue; in Irish Blue is Gor, and Woad Gormin.

<sup>b</sup> Avicenna is supposed to have described both Woad and Indigo in separate Chapters, but under the same Appellation of Nil, that is Blue. It is a long Time since our Dyers were acquainted with a coarse Indigo made up in small Cakes called Ancal. But the true was brought hither from the East Indies about the Beginning of the last Century, and was then stiled by many Glastum Indicum, i. e. Indian Woad, though in truth the Product of quite a different Plant.

<sup>c</sup> It may be somewhat more than a Century since Indigo grew into Use and Reputation here, from the Facility of using it. For Sir William Petty tells us "The Using of Woad is One of the most mysterious, nice, and hazardous Operations in Dyeing. It is One of the most lasting Colours that is dyed. An intense Woad-colour is almost Black, that is to say of a Damson-colour; this Colour is the Foundation of so many others in its Degree, that the Dyers have a Scale or Number of Stalls whereby to compute the Lightness and Deepness of this Colour." Thus far this ingenious, inquisitive, and judicious Writer. As Woad was used to give Solidity and Substance, so Indigo was employed to give Brightness and Lustre; which Notion was adopted in France as well as here.

<sup>d</sup> This is a Circumstance so natural, that it might well be expected; yet it is more felt, and of Consequence more deplored in France, because, as we shall see, Woad was an Object of more Importance there than here, on account of the great Quantity exported. Many Propositions were therefore made to remedy this Evil, and to restore the Credit of the Commodity, but it does not appear they have hitherto been thought so practicable as to be carried into Execution.

Consumption is not the Case here only, but also in other Countries; for it was once the great Staple of Languedoc, and was cultivated also in Normandy, and in other Provinces of France<sup>e</sup>. As it also is in Spain, Portugal, the Azores and Canary Islands, Switzerland, in the Neighbourhood of Geneva, in different Parts of Germany, and in Sweden. Our own Woad was allowed to be superior to any that we imported; and yet before Indigo had so great an Ascendant, it was thought necessary to lay high Duties upon foreign Woad, for the Encouragement of the growing and manufacturing it here; which Duties still subsist. If we consider, that this is a Commodity in which Agriculture is as much interested as our Manufacturers, one cannot well doubt that the preserving and restoring it deserves great Attention here, as well as in other Countries in Europe, where the Support of it has been very seriously considered, from the bad Effects that have attended its Decline<sup>f</sup>. An Idea has been entertained, that by an Alteration in the Manner of Curing it, the Inconveniencies that are supposed to attend the Use of it, might be removed, and that Woad might be brought to answer all the Purposes of Indigo; which if it could be accomplished, would be most certainly a great Advantage, and an Advantage which every true Lover of his Country would wish should take Place here, rather than any where else g.

<sup>e</sup> Etat de France, par le Comte de Boulanvilliers, tom. ii. p. 567, 578. Le Teinturier Parfait, p. 140—155. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 73, 75. Elemens d'Agriculture, lib. xi. cap. ii. Nouvelle Description de la France, par M. Pignaniol de la Force, tom. iv. p. 57. Memoirs pour l'Histoire Naturelle de Languedoc, p. 323—331. Beaufobre, Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 204, 205. Dictionnaire Raisonne Universel de Histoire Naturelle, tom. iv. p. 181. Encyclopedie Portative, tom. ii. p. 301—303.

<sup>f</sup> In France this Plant is called Pastel, Guefle, and in Normandy, Voude or Woude. The best grows in Upper Languedoc, particularly in the Diocese of Alby, where the Culture and Curing differs not much from ours. What we stile a Ball, they call Cocagne; and such a Source of Wealth was this Commodity in former Times, that Pais de Cocagne is still a French Phrase for a Country of Abundance, a Land of Goshen, as Languedoc in those Days really was. For it was then exceedingly fertile in Grain, but Things are now entirely altered. When by the Decrease of the Demand at home and abroad, the Culture of Pastel declined, the People raised Tobacco and Millet; by which their Lands became so exhausted, as to be incapable of bearing Pastel or Corn. This Matter is thus explained. Woad required extraordinary and expensive Culture, and brought a suitable Return, leaving the Soil in the fittest State for Grain; thus it was a true Principle of Plenty; and by the Loss of it Languedoc is no longer in any Sense, a Pais de Cocagne.

<sup>g</sup> The Author of the Natural History of Languedoc, who has given an excellent Account of the Pastel, and pathetically laments its Decay, suggests that Woad, if cured in the same Manner as Indigo, might produce as lively a Colour; and adds, that from some Experiments made by himself, he is convinced the Method would effectually answer. The celebrated Mr. Du Hamel du Monceau informs us, that having proposed to Mr. Fontenelle, a Physician in Louviana, the cultivating the Pastel there in the Manner of Indigo, that Gentleman acquainted him, that by treating Indigo after the Manner of Pastel, he had obtained a very beautiful Green; but he did not say whether it was a solid and permanent as well as a lively Colour.

IT appears from this very succinct History, that Providence has bestowed upon us the primary Colours, or at least the Materials from which they are produced, in as great a Degree of Perfection as most of our European Neighbours. It therefore imports us, to endeavour by every Means to render them of the utmost possible Utility. By studying and practising every Method of meliorating them by Culture; by improving the several Methods of Curing them; or, if it shall be found practicable, inventing new ones; by endeavouring to add to our present Stock; by diligent Inquiries into the Nature of other Roots, Leaves, and Flowers than those, the Properties of which have been already ascertained; by transplanting either into this, or some of our adjacent Islands, what are at present only the Produce of other Countries; or, if found impracticable to do it here, then to make the like Trials in our Colonies, in some or other of which there is the highest Probability, that they might be raised in very great Perfection<sup>b</sup>. These are Points, not only of very great Importance towards promoting the Excellence and Cheapness of our Manufactures; but, as has been fully shewn, of no small Importance in regard to Agriculture, as the growing them here renders our Land of so much greater Value; and this attended with a Circumstance directly contrary to the vulgar Notion, which is, that instead of impoverishing or wearing out the Soil, they contribute to the improving and rendering it fitter for the Production of other Grains and Vegetables<sup>i</sup>.

THE Improvement of our Meadows and Pastures hath been attended to, as well as that of our arable Lands, more especially, for between the Space of Two and Three hundred Years; within which Period Mens Attentions have been according to the State of the Times, and of our Constitution, more or less fixed on these important Objects<sup>k</sup>. The Fertility and wide  
Extent

<sup>b</sup> These seem to be the most obvious Means of advancing the public Weal in this very material Branch of Industry. Science in the Abstract exceedingly delights, as well as ennobles the human Mind. But an Inclination and an Endeavour to render Science useful to Society, is still a more pleasing and a more noble Principle. What has been hitherto done in this Matter, has been rather from Tradition, Imitation, and Accident, than from any Kind of System or regular Inquiry. But that much more may be done in this Way by ingenious and diligent Persons, the intelligent Reader will easily discern, if he consults Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup> 381. p. 15 & 17, and the curious Paper of Mr. de Jussieu on the Corn Marygold, in the French Memoirs, A. D. 1724, as also Mr. Dufay's Dissertations in the Memoirs, A. D. 1737.

<sup>i</sup> This is a Fact not denied even by those who believe that Woad exhausts the Earth on which it grows. But they did not perceive this in Languedoc; where, after taking two Crops, they had Recourse to Pastel or Woad the third Year. Now this continuing for a long Series of Years without Intermission, the depauperating Quality of Woad must have appeared, as that of Tobacco afterwards did, so as to render the Soil unfit either for Woad or Corn.

<sup>k</sup> Maysler Fitzherbarde's Boke of Husbandry, imprinted in the House of Thomas Berthelet, 1534. His Surveyinge both in a small Size, 1539. Geoge's Heresbachius Four Books of Husbandry, 1577, 4to. Harrison's Description of Britain, 1577 fol. Tuffer's Five hundred Points of good Husbandry, 1590. Sir Hugh Plat's Floris Paradise, 1600. His Jewell House of Art and  
Nature

Extent of our natural Pastures, which is a Benefit bestowed by Providence, as being solely derived from our Soil and Situation, excited a Desire of rendering Grounds accidentally inferior to them of equal Value. This introduced Inclosures, that these Lands might lie sheltered and warm, and that those who for that Purpose were at the Expence of fencing might have the entire Advantage of them<sup>l</sup>. The Situation and Exposition of Pastures came likewise to be considered, as also the different Methods by which they might be benefited. Next the correcting of natural Defects, such as the spontaneous growing of Rushes, Broom, and Heath, grew to be a Matter of great Consequence, and a Variety of Ways and Means were devised for removing these Defects, and bringing those Lands into a State fit for grazing<sup>m</sup>. The draining of low Grounds, and thereby converting Marshes into Meadows, was assiduously attended to; as was also the availing themselves of Salt Marshes<sup>n</sup>. On the other Hand, the apparent Benefits received by the overflowing of such Meads as lay by the Side of great Rivers, suggested the gaining the same Advantage by Art, and the Flooding of Grounds, by turning Water upon them; which by altering the Course of some Rivulet, or previously raising Water for that Purpose, was in many Places very profitably effected<sup>o</sup>.

#### BESIDES

Nature, 1653, 4to. His Garden of Eden, 1660, 12mo. Fifth Edition. These are both posthumous Works, the latter only the Republication of the Flora's Paradise, with the Addition of a Second Part. Gabriel Platte's Adams Art revived, which many ascribe to Sir H. Plat, 1600. Gabriel Platte's Discovery of hidden Treasure, 1638, 4to. His Discovery of subterranean Treasure, 1639, 4to. Norden's Surveyor's Dialogue, 1607, 8vo. Gervase Markham's English Husbandman, 1635, 4to. His Master Piece, 1593, 4to. His Way to win Wealth, 1638, 4to. Hartlib's Brabant Husbandry, 1650, 4to. His Legacy, 1651, 4to. His reformed Husbandman, 1651, 4to. Blith's English Improver improved, 1653, 4to. Stevenson's Husbandry, 1661. Atwell's faithful Surveyor, Cambridge, 1662, 4to.

<sup>l</sup> Fitzherbert, the Father of our Husbandry, recommends Inclosures, as saving Money to the Owner, improving the Land, keeping four Times the Number of Beasts, and protecting the poor Man's Property from the Cattle of his rich Neighbour. Thomas Tusser, who though he wrote in Verse, now almost unintelligible, was a very honest, and a very sensible Man, a great Friend to Inclosures, and for this Reason quoted by Blith and others, in support of their concurring Sentiments on the Subject.

<sup>m</sup> There are many Chapters in Fitzherbert's Book of Surveying on this Head, copied with no very considerable Additions by many succeeding Writers, and yet but few of these had seen his Books. They stole at second Hand from one who had; and it is really wonderful how his Books were so long concealed, and those of his Cotemporaries and Disciples in these Studies (for such there really were) absolutely stifled and buried in Oblivion, as appears by the long Interval in which little or nothing was written on this Subject.

<sup>n</sup> This, as has been already shewn in respect to Kent, Somersetshire, and the Fens in Lincoln, Cambridge, and Huntingdonshires, was principally prosecuted by the Clergy and the Monks, who having in those Times an equal Ascendancy in Knowledge and in Riches, and having besides permanent Estates, were able to undertake and execute stupendous and most costly Works of this Kind, and which before Property was more equally and better divided, few private Persons could attempt.

<sup>o</sup> We find this Mode of meliorating Lands suggested and explained by almost every Writer on Agriculture, from Fitzherbert to Worlidge. It is indeed an Imitation of Nature, and the closer it

BESIDES these, and a Variety of other Methods, Recourse was had to Manures of different Kinds, suited to the Nature of the Soils, and the Uses to which they were to be employed<sup>p</sup>. All these were gradually and partially introduced; that is to say, they came in by Degrees as Mens Lights increased, and were pursued and practised in different Parts of the Island, till their Utility being confirmed by Experience, most of them at length universally prevailed<sup>q</sup>. By these Methods very great Changes were made, and many wonderful Alterations, wrought in the Face of Things; so that Land became much more valuable, by being in its Productions rendered much more profitable than it had been before, or than it could be conceived possible to render it in former Times<sup>r</sup>. Yet the greatest Improvement had not yet taken Place, which was accomplished, though very slowly, by the Sowing of new Seeds, and bringing in those of foreign Countries, by which prodigious Advantages were gained, and immense Multitudes of Animals of different Kinds raised, supported, and fattened, in consequence of these additional Labours and new Productions. We have already given a Specimen of this in respect to Clover, though considered in another Light, and as an intermediate Crop, which however may serve to throw Light upon this Subject<sup>s</sup>; but to render the Matter perfectly intelligible, it will be necessary to take Notice of some other Instances.

is kept to the Course of Nature the more effectual. The Water must be of a fat Kind, enriched with Soil, Mud, or Slime, not of a poor, hard, hungry Nature, or impregnated with any Sort of Mineral. The Land must have a proper Position, be flooded at the right Season, and so long only as is necessary.

<sup>p</sup> These multiplied by Degrees into a great Variety of Articles, such as Ashes, Chalk, Clay, Dungs of different Kinds, Ditch Scourings, Fullers Earth, Lime, Malt-dust, Marl, Rags, Sea-sand, Soap-ashes, Soot, Street-dirt, Turf-ashes, Sea-weeds, Wreck, or Ore. Mr. Atwell says of his own Knowledge, that Lands may be improved to more than double in their Productions, by One of these Manures well chosen, and judiciously and steadily applied.

<sup>q</sup> The Progress of Improvements is naturally slow, a Thing much to be regretted, but not easily remedied, as our best Authors on Agriculture unanimously agree, and of which they grievously complain. But in regard to this, we are certainly mending. Husbandry was formerly left entirely to Farmers, and most of them indigent and ignorant; it is not so now, Agriculture is grown into general Esteem, and many of our Farmers are in good Circumstances, intelligent and industrious.

<sup>r</sup> When the Father of our modern Improvements, Fitzherbert, shewed that by inclosing, One Acre might be rendered as valuable as Two, he thought, and very justly, that this was doing a great deal. When by Culture, Lands, waste and unprofitable before, were rendered equal to these, it was doing more. But the Application of Manures exceeded all this. In Mortimer, vol. i. p. 101, we have an Instance of Land raised to Twelve Times its Income, by laying One bad Soil on another.

<sup>s</sup> This Sowing of Grasses was an Improvement borrowed from the Flemings, who had got the Start of us in Husbandry. But if we had adverted to the Utility of this Method, we might have found many of these Grasses in our own Grounds. What is stiled the White Dutch Trefoil, because brought to us from Flanders by the Way of Holland, and is very justly esteemed, grows naturally and to Perfection here, though till imported perhaps never attended to.

SAINTFOIN or Esparcette is a Vegetable ; the Use of which we borrowed from the French, though it is a Native of this Island, and grows plentifully upon the poorest chalk Grounds near Royston <sup>t</sup>. It is somewhat more than a Century since the Cultivation of it was introduced about Gravesend, where the Soil agreeing with it, it produced considerable Profit. It may perhaps pass for an Argument in its Favour, that it is no where in greater Esteem, or more assiduously cultivated, than in that Neighbourhood at this Day. The Roots of this Plant are large, stringy, and run deep into the Earth. The Stalks rise Two Feet, and sometimes much higher, furnished at the Bottom with winged Leaves, but naked towards the Top, which is terminated by Spikes of soft red Flowers, like those of the French Honey Suckle, but smaller <sup>u</sup>. It succeeds wonderfully upon chalky Hills, if there be a Surface only of Six or Eight Inches ; and will likewise grow very well on a dry gravelly Soil. The Ground that is to receive it should be well ploughed and made very fine. If sown in Rows, these should be about Eighteen Inches asunder, and about an Inch deep. It may be sown pretty thick, and thinned, by removing the less thriving Plants when hoed, so as to leave the Plants Eight Inches asunder <sup>w</sup>. In the common Husbandry, as it is a large Seed, they allow Four Bushels, and formerly more, to an Acre, but three is from Experience thought by very judicious Persons to be sufficient, and Half that Quantity will do in Drills <sup>x</sup>. The Time most proper for sowing it is the Beginning or Middle of April ; but it must be done in dry Weather, because the Seeds are apt to burst when moist. I

<sup>t</sup> The proper Name of this Plant is Sain Foin, *Sanum Fœnum*, i. e. Wholesome Hay. Some of our old Writers stile it French Grass, because we borrowed the Use of it from them. It thrives as well in Britain as in Italy, and continues longer than in France, whence it is in some Place known by the Name of Everlasting Grass. This shews how much Soil and Climate may be assisted by Care and Culture.

<sup>u</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxiv. cap. xvi. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xviii. § i. cap. vi. p. 914. Merct Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 84, 85. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 1. Bliith's Engli. Improver improved, chap. xxvii. p. 186. Saintfoin improved, shewing the Benefit England may receive by the Grass so called, 1674. Tull's Horsehoeing Husbandry, chap. vii. p. 157—19. Elemeus d'Agriculture, liv. ix. ch. ii. Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 69.

<sup>w</sup> The Advantages arising from this Vegetable were well known, universally allowed, and warmly recommended long before Mr. Tull published any Thing on the Subject, but the Culture of this Plant being particularly his Study, and reasoning about it from Experience as well as Theory perhaps his Chapter on this Improvement in our Husbandry is not inferior to any Thing he ever wrote. It serves more especially to shew, that Freedom of Thought is as requisite in Agriculture as in any other Science.

<sup>x</sup> It was the general Doctrine before Mr. Tull's Time, that Saintfoin could scarce be sown so thick, and the Reasons assigned were, that it was a large Seed, that by this Means it got the better of the natural Grass and Weeds, and came sooner to yield a great Profit. On the other Side, Mr. Tull observes this Plant hath a tap Root, which pierces many Feet into the Earth, so that it receives Nourishment in Ten of its Nourishment from below the Staple of the Ground ; therefore, when thick sown these Roots starve each other ; for the same Reason, this Plant produces on poor Soil Forty Times a larger Crop than its own natural Grass or Turf ; and from this Cause also (when thin sown and properly hoed) its Longevity ; insomuch, that a Plant of Saintfoin hath been scarce known to die a natural Death.



must not be fed the first Year, but it may be mowed towards the End of July. The next Year it may be mowed in May, and the sooner the Hay is removed the better, for it quickly rises again, and may be fed with Sheep till September *γ*.

SAINTFOIN is generally allowed to be one of the greatest Improvements ever practised here, as by the Help of it many dairy Farms have been set up in Places where it would otherwise have been absolutely impracticable *z*. The Hay, when properly made, and the Season favourable, is equally wholesome, acceptable, and nutritive to Black Cattle and to Horses, is made with more Ease, is liable to fewer Accidents, and affords a larger Quantity than most other Kinds of Grass *a*. Some for this Reason mow it twice; but in the Opinion of good Judges, it is better to take One Crop only, and then to feed it cautiously and seasonably with Sheep, which are speedily fattened thereby, and at the same Time improve the Land. When it is left for Seed it should not be fed at all. It is then to be cut in September, when the Seed is fully ripe, and afterwards very carefully threshed *b*. In France, they feed their Horses with this Seed instead of Oats, and Experience hath taught them that it will go much farther. It is also very serviceable in feeding Hogs *c*. It is evident from these Circumstances, that it must be exceedingly profitable, more especially as it does not wear out like

*γ* The judicious Reader is desired to remember, that what is said in the Text is by no Means to controul the Judgment of Persons versed in Husbandry, or to establish any Theory or Practice in this or in any other Article, but simply to state such Facts and Circumstances as might best serve to explain the Nature and Effects, the Rise, the Progress, and the Consequence of our Improvements.

*z* In this Respect it is easy to discern that it must be of infinite Consequence. In dry, chalky, stony, flat, barren Hills, it grows and thrives exceedingly. This is owing to the Fibres of the tap Root creeping through the Interstices of the Stone or Slate, and finding thereby Food, to which other Plants could never reach. Besides, wherever it thrives, Cows find a wholesome plentiful Pasture, and from thence furnish Abundance of rich well-tasted Milk.

*a* Mr. Tull reckons Four Sorts of this Hay, the Virgin, blossom'd, full grown and threshed Hay; the first in his Opinion is the very best that can be made, and may be worth to the Owner four Pounds. He affirms, that the Hay from a single cultivated Plant may weigh about Half a Pound. But taking them at a Quarter only, it will will make Two Ton for a Crop upon an Acre. Other intelligent Writers agree with him nearly in this Computation, which may be taken for Truth.

*b* In this as in all Matters of the like Nature, much depends upon Skill and Care in the cutting, threshing, and curing. This Seed (on account of the large Quantities commonly sown) sells for Three Shillings a Bushel. Some speak of Five Quarters, but Four is a great, and Three Quarters on an Acre a good Crop. The threshed Hay of such a Crop may be worth Forty Shillings, and the Chaff from the Seed Twenty, the Aftermath paying for the cutting and threshing.

*c* When the Custom of sowing this Seed very thin comes generally to prevail, it will evidently reduce the Consumption, and perhaps the Price. In that Case, it will be very material to consider every other Use to which it can be applied. The making it in Conjunction with other Things supply Oats in feeding Horses, the enabling Sows to bring up more Pigs, and the using it in feeding and fattening all Sorts of Poultry, may in some Degree at least answer this End.

Clover,



Clover, but will last with very little Manure for Twenty Years; and if sowed in Rows, and properly hoed, more than twice that Time<sup>d</sup>. Besides, instead of impoverishing, it greatly enriches the Soil, so that the Land when broke up, and thoroughly ploughed, is so manured by the large Roots of this Plant, as to be fit for any Kind of Corn, and when a convenient Number of Crops have been taken, may be laid down and sown with Saintfoin again<sup>e</sup>. Though it is true, that it grows, and with great Profit, upon the worst Lands, even upon those that are flaty, and makes them better, yet it is acknowledged, that the greatest Crops are, as might be naturally expected, reaped from the best Soils; so that in this Light, of being equally adapted to poor and rich Soils, it may be considered as a general Improvement, and it has accordingly been cultivated with Success in most Countries<sup>f</sup>, and is still diffusing itself in Proportion as Husbandry is more studied, and as its Principles become better known.

LUCERNE, Luserne, or Luzerne, is the only Vegetable held to be superior in its Kind to Saintfoin. It is the *MEDICA* of the Ancients, so called because it came originally from Media, and spreading through Persia, became at length known to the Greeks, who cultivated it assiduously, and commended it highly<sup>g</sup>. From Greece it was transferred to Italy, before the Time of Cato or Virgil, was in the highest Credit with the Romans, who from the Benefits they received by it, were led to treat the Culture of

<sup>d</sup> Though Saintfoin lasts longer than any Grasses, it stands less in need of Manure, on account of its drawing the greatest Part of its Nourishment below the Staple of the Soil. In the first Year however, when the Plants are young and tender, Soot, Pear, and Coal-ashes serve to cherish them, and quicken their Growth. After the first Year, they require less hoeing, and when old may be revived by stirring the Earth properly with the Plough.

<sup>e</sup> The most intelligent Writers differ as to the Causes of this, but they all agree in regard to the Fact. The Ground must be well tilled, on the breaking up of Saintfoin (for want of which some have failed); and this Precaution taken, it will produce Three large Crops of Grain, without the Assistance of Dung, and this on a Soil, which, before it was improved by Saintfoin, would have yielded but an indifferent Crop even with the Help of Manure.

<sup>f</sup> As to the Profit arising from Saintfoin, Mr. Kirkham mentions an Estate of One hundred and Ten Pounds per Annum, so improved thereby as to be sold for Fourteen thousand Pounds. Mr. Tull confirms this, and adds, that a Farm in the same County (Oxfordshire) which while arable, distressed the Tenant at no more than Ten Pounds a Year, when planted with Saintfoin was let for One hundred and Ten Pounds per Annum, and proved a good Bargain. These were both flaty Lands, worth only from One to Two Shillings an Acre, and never would have been worth more but for this Improvement. As great as the Advantages are, which have been already derived from this Vegetable, the subsequent Article will shew, that managed in the same Way, it may possibly be rendered (in some Soils at least) still more beneficial.

<sup>g</sup> Dioscorid. lib. ii. cap. cxvii. Theophrast. de Plantis, lib. viii. cap. viii. The former of these Authors tells us, that the Seeds being mixed with Salt were for their agreeable Taste eaten in Pickle, and that the whole Plant was acceptable and nutritive to Animals. Pliny informs us, that Amphilocheus wrote a whole Book on the *Medica* and *Cytisus*; that is, the Lucerne and the Starub Trefoil, which were in the utmost Credit with the Ancients; and the latter, though not introduced here, is still in great Esteem in the East.

it with all possible Industry and Attention<sup>h</sup>. It flourished with them so long as their Empire flourished; but when that was over-run by the barbarous Nations from the North, it is no wonder that a Thing which required, or as their Writings shew, was thought to require so much Skill and Diligence, fell gradually into Dissuetude and Oblivion. It had been before this Time carried into Spain, where it was preserved, and spread itself especially in Andalusia<sup>i</sup>. When the Arts revived, it returned from thence into Naples, and by Degrees came again into several Parts of Italy. It made its way from thence into the Southern Provinces of France, and from the Place where it was first or principally cultivated, it was called Grand Trefle, Trefle, ou Foin de Bourgogne<sup>k</sup>; that is Great Trefoil, Burgundy Hay, or Burgundy Trefoil. About Two hundred Years ago it came into the Palatinate, and some other Parts of Germany, where it did not continue long before the Fame of it reached hither<sup>l</sup>.

BUT it was the Fame only, depending on the Testimonies of ancient Authors, as to its Worth and Excellence, and the Relation of foreign Writers, that this valuable Vegetable still subsisted, and was cultivated in other Countries. But notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding our Taste for Husbandry revived, yet for many Years nothing more was heard of the Medica, owing very probably to an Opinion, that it would scarce be reconciled to our Soil and Climate<sup>m</sup>. As soon indeed as Saintfoin was introduced

<sup>h</sup> Virg. Georg. lib. i. p. 215. Varro de Re Rustica, lib. i. cap. xli. Columel. lib. ii. cap. xi. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xvi. Pallad. lib. iii. tit. 6. & lib. v. Mens. April. tit. 1. Isidor. Origin. lib. xvii. cap. iv. Raii Hist. Plant. lib. xviii. § v. cap. viii. p. 960. Columella and Palladius agree, that Medica, properly cultivated, would last Ten Years. Pliny extends this Period to Thirty. We have not had sufficient Experience to determine the Point in respect to Britain.

<sup>i</sup> Mathiol. in Dioscorid. p. 330. where he tells us, it is called by the Spaniards Alfalfa. It was in high Esteem amongst the Moors, who were great Farmers, and in that Respect their Expulsion was a fatal Blow to Spain. They have also an excellent Kind of Saintfoin, which from thence was brought into the Franche Comte and into Burgundy. The French are still desirous of procuring the Seed of both Saintfoin and Lucern from Spain, though their own is very good.

<sup>k</sup> Harduoin, in his Notes, upon Pliny says, that the Medica of the Ancients is Lucern, vulgarly called Saintfoin. These Plants indeed, were formerly, even by able Writers, frequently confounded. A. Speed speaks of Saintfoin, which might be cut Seven or Eight Times in a Year, required a very rich Soil, and was not to be fed by Cattle. This must be Lucern, of which he had heard, and calls it Luceran; but was not able to distinguish it, having never perhaps seen it.

<sup>l</sup> It was brought into the Lower Palatinate in A. D. 1573, or thereabouts. The Baron Conrad Heresbach mentions this, and says the Germans called it Welscholken. Mr. Googe translated his Four Books of Husbandry soon after they were published, and thus it became known to us. But known no farther than it might have been from Columella, Pliny, and Palladius; which, how well soever their Directions might suit Italy, would by no Means answer in Britain.

<sup>m</sup> Googe's Whole Art of Husbandry, fol. 35, 36. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 4. 112—118. Blish's English Improver improved, chap. xxvii. p. 188. Adam Speed's Adam out of Eden, 1659, 12mo. chap. v. Worlidge's System of Husbandry, p. 30. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. i. chap. iv.

duced a Complaint arose, that Lucern, by which Name the Medica was now known, had been too much neglected. We began then to have better and more distinct Accounts of it, and the Manner in which it was cultivated in France. It does not however appear, that even after this Revival of its Reputation, there were any Efforts made to introduce it into this Country. When it was first made known, it was considered as a Curiosity, and when at length the introducing the Cultivation of it came to be looked upon as an Improvement, the Trials that were made of it were by no Means attended with Success, or at least not with that Degree of Success requisite to gain it Credit with the Public<sup>n</sup>. It is in truth but very lately, and chiefly in consequence of repeated Accounts of Benefits derived from it in the Southern Provinces of France, that we came to consider in Earnest the Possibility of bringing it into Britain<sup>o</sup>. When thus considered, it still met with many Difficulties. For though the ingenious Mr. Tull had a very high Opinion of it, confessed its Superiority to Saintfoin, and believed he had found the only Method by which it could be cultivated here to Profit, yet he still professed he had his Doubts, how far, considering the Difficulty of finding proper Lands for its Reception, it could ever become a general Improvement<sup>p</sup>. Notwithstanding this, some ingenious and enterprizing Persons, having the Honour of their Country, the Credit of Agriculture, and the national Profits that might arise from it at Heart, were far from despairing. It is to their Spirit, Perseverance, and Sagacity we owe the Prospect we have, that Lucern may, at no very distant Period of Time, be added to the List of our numerous modern Improvements. Whenever

p. 39. Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry, p. 112. 173. 201. Tull's Horsehoeing Husbandry, chap. xiii. Miller's Gardener's Dictionary, under Medica. Dr. W. Harte's Essays on Husbandry. Essay ii. containing an Account of the Culture of Lucern.

<sup>n</sup> From perusing and considering the Authors cited in the former Note, the Account given in the Text was taken. As Things have been since explained, it appears no way strange that our first Experiments gave us no favourable Impressions of this valuable Vegetable. But it does great Honour to those ingenious Persons, who from meditating on the Circumstances attending them, traced out the Errors committed, and thence directed a new and effectual Method.

<sup>o</sup> It was, considering Things in this Point of View, no great national Loss that these first Attempts were not profitable in any great Degree. Because by this Means the Cultivation of Lucern was consigned to the Conduct of those who had Leisure, Abilities, and, which was equally necessary, were in Circumstances that enabled them to pursue their own Schemes, however tedious and expensive in the Outset, however precarious or uncertain in their Issue.

<sup>p</sup> According to his Notions, most of our Lands were too poor, too rich, or too cold for Lucern managed in the Way of the common Husbandry. But being set in Rows at proper Distances, so as to admit Horse-hoeing in the Intervals, and Hand-hoeing about the Plants, he affirmed they would be as healthy and vigorous, bear cutting as often, and last as long, or even longer in Britain, than either in France or Italy, provided the Soil was agreeable; in which he did not go beyond Truth.

this shall happen, the succinct History we have given will be read with some Degree of Profit as well as Satisfaction 9.

THAT Kind of the MEDICA, which is known to us by the Name of Lucern, hath a perennial Root, and an annual Stalk, which in very good Land will rise Four Feet high, shooting out Three Leaves at each Joint, shaped like Spears, and serrated at their Tops. The Flowers grow in Spikes, to near Three Inches in Length, standing upon naked Foot Stalks, rising from the Wings of the Stalk, are of the Butterfly Kind, of a fine Purple Colour, which are succeeded by Lunar or Screw-like Pods, containing several Kidney-shaped Seeds <sup>r</sup>. Lucern has been cultivated with us in Three very different Manners. The first was in the Broad-cast or common Mode of Husbandry, and this either with or without Corn, neither of which answered. In respect to the first, the Corn drew from it so much of its necessary Nourishment, that it hardly recovered it, and in the other, though it did somewhat better, Weeds and natural Grass generally choked it in a Couple of Years, so as to take away all Hopes of a future Crop <sup>s</sup>. Mr. Tull, as hath been already observed, thought these Difficulties might be in a great Measure removed, as in truth they were, by drilling the Plants in Rows, and by frequent Horse and Hand-hoeing them, which was the second Method. This indeed succeeded incomparably better than the former, and where the Land is very rich may produce large and lasting Crops <sup>t</sup>: But the third Method, though in the Beginning more troublesome and more expensive, bids by much the fairest, as there is no Neces-

<sup>9</sup> Amongst other Reasons, because it shews that an Improvement is not defeated by being delayed, but may be an Object of rational Hope, though not perfected in a Couple of Centuries; that it is a real Service rendered to the Publick to keep this Hope alive, by repeated Revivals of the proper Reasons for attempting such an Improvement; and that when cordially espoused by proper Patrons, more may be done in the Space of Twenty Years than in Seven Times Twenty Years preceding.

<sup>r</sup> There are many Sorts of Medica; and therefore this by Clusius and other eminent Writers hath been stiled Medica Legitima, by our old Authors Medick Fodder. The Medica Palustris or Meadow Medic, and some others mentioned by Dr. Christopher Merrett, are Natives of this Country, and perhaps we may apply to them, what was emphatically said of Lucern, that they have (some of them at least) been too much and too long neglected.

<sup>s</sup> It was however to these fruitless Attempts that the Discovery of a more successful Method of treating this very valuable Plant was due. When sown with Corn, here and there One of them remained, though the Crop miscarried, and many more where sown by itself, and the Ground afterwards tilled. These single solitary Plants continued to grow and thrive beyond any that had been cultivated with the utmost Care, which shewed that giving Room, and suitable Tillage, was all they wanted.

<sup>t</sup> From a true Sense of this the Rows, Intervals, Horse and Hand-hoeings, are retained in the third Method. Air, Tillage, and keeping the Soil free from all Weeds and Grass are Principles common to both, and upon which their Success depends. In the broad-cast Method these are and must be wanting, to which the Failing of the first Attempts seem justly attributed. But then, as has been shewn in the former Note, they were not useless, since past Errors pointed the Way to Truth.

sity of being extremely Nice in the Choice of the Soil. The best is allowed to be a rich loomy Earth, but except moist marshy Lands and stiff Clays, none need to be excluded <sup>u</sup>.

THE third Method consists in chusing a proper Spot for a Nursery, in which the Lucern may be sown towards the End of March, and by the Middle of August the Stalks will be about Eighteen Inches high. They are then to be very carefully raised out of the Earth, when both the Plant and the Root are to be amputated with a Pair of Scissars, leaving the former about Five Inches above the Crown, and the latter from Eight to Ten Inches in Length, and immediately after this Clipping they are to be thrown into a Tub of Water. They are next to be planted with a Dibble or Setting-stick the same Day, in a Piece of Ground which hath been previously properly prepared, ploughed, and reduced as fine as possible. They are to be planted after the Manner introduced, by what is called the New Husbandry, leaving the Plants about a Foot asunder, and with Intervals about Forty Inches, to make Room for Horse-hoeing of the latter, and Hand-hoeing of the former, which keeps them in perfect Health, and allows every Plant the Space requisite to live and thrive <sup>v</sup>. Lucern thus transplanted will not reach its full Perfection till the third Year. It is true, it may be cut thrice the first, and Five Times the second Year; but the Quantity arising from these Cuttings will by no Means equal those in succeeding Years, when if the Season be very favourable, it may be cut even Six Times, and yield largely every cutting <sup>x</sup>. The trouble and Expence attending this Method, which it must be acknowledged are very considerable, are only necessary during the first Two Years; and as Lucern will

<sup>u</sup> In this lies the great Merit and superior Excellence of the third Method, as it removes Mr. Tall's Objection or rather Apprehension, that Lucern with all its Advantages (of which he had a very just and high Sense) could never be rendered a general Improvement. This was the last, and, in the Conception of the best Judges, the most arduous Step to be taken in order to put Britain on a Level with France and Italy in respect to Lucern as well as Saintfoin.

<sup>v</sup> The Consequence of cutting the tap Root, is its pushing no longer downward, but horizontally, and therefore transplanted require a greater Space between them than drilled Roots. Dr. Harte allowed Thirty Perches for a Nursery, and Four Ounces of Seed to a Perch. At first he allowed but Two Feet between the Rows, and Six Inches between the Plants: But finding they stood too close, he resolved to thin them, and this suggested a new and better Method, which in few Words is this; transplant an Acre according to the first Method, which may contain 26,000 Roots, let another Acre of Ground be properly prepared, and in the Spring remove One Half of the Plants, and dispose them as directed in the Text; by this a second Nursery will be saved, a Year gained in Point of Time, and Two Acres of Lucern equally good instead of one.

<sup>x</sup> When properly cultivated, it will generally be fit for cutting by the Tenth of April. It is fit when Sixteen or Eighteen Inches high. It should be cut even in the Nursery when about to flower, because flowering weakens the Roots. This Operation is better performed with a Reap-hook than with a Scythe, because the latter is apt to wound the Crown of the Plant. It is proper to cut towards the Close of October, though but Six or Eight Inches high, for the Health of the Plants.

last Ten Years, and with proper Management perhaps longer, it will answer very well, as the Advantages resulting from it are singularly great <sup>y</sup>. To say nothing of its Beauty and agreeable Appearance when thus regularly cultivated, it is much earlier fit for cutting than Meadows, which is a Circumstance of no small Consequence <sup>z</sup>. It is valuable also in respect to its Certainty, for though the first and the last Cutting depend upon the Season, yet the intermediate are very regular, and in that respect highly serviceable. It yields very large Crops, to the Amount sometimes of Five Tons upon an Acre <sup>a</sup>. It is generally computed that Four Pounds Weight of green Lucern will make one Pound of Hay, and both the Grass and Hay are in the highest Esteem. For with proper Caution in the Distribution, it is held the most wholesome and nutritive of any Vegetable whatever, which is the less to be disputed, since it has maintained its Reputation in this Respect, in so many different Countries, and for so many successive Centuries. It is of general Utility; for though commonly commended for its Excellence with respect to Horses, yet Experience shews, that it is equally acceptable, and answers as well in the Feeding of Cattle and other Animals <sup>b</sup>. It is impossible to say, till the Culture of Lucern is better and more fully established, what the Profits arising from it may be. An Author remarkably careful in his Calculations, seems to be certain that it will reach Five Pounds an Acre, all Expences deducted <sup>c</sup>; and that One Acre of this Ve-

<sup>y</sup> According to Dr. H's Computation, the Whole of the first Year's Expence may amount to Six Pounds Twelve Shillings, and One Third of this may be saved by the Method already mentioned. The second and every succeeding Year, the Horse-hoings, Hand-weeding, and Manure, such as Peat-ashes, Soot mixed with Sea-sand, or Malt-dust, may come to Forty Shillings. In Process of Time no Doubt, as People become more accustomed to this Tillage, it will be done cheaper.

<sup>z</sup> In this Respect, it is commonly Six Weeks, sometimes Two Months, earlier than the best Grasses, which is surely a great Recommendation. In some Seasons it has been near a Foot high in February. This shews how well it agrees with our Climate, and indeed it grows very well in Neufchatelle, where the Winters are commonly more rigorous than with us. As it comes earlier, so it also continues later than any other green Fodder, and is in that Respect a great Benefit.

<sup>a</sup> It is pretty certain, that neither in France or at Geneva they cut oftener, or more at a cutting than has been done in England. But they have a little more Experience, and so speak with more Certainty. Mr. Du Hamel, a Man of a most respectable Character, and to whom the World is much obliged, affirms that he hath actually had Ten Tons of excellent Lucern Hay from One Acre. This shews what may be done in regard to this Vegetable, and possibly in the next Century this will not be thought very extraordinary in Britain.

<sup>b</sup> Lucern Hay, judiciously given, will subside Coach Horses without Corn, and contributes much to their Recovery when sick. Oxen are speedily fatted with green Lucern. Cows from this Food give Plenty of excellent Milk, and Calves may be tempted to eat it when they will not touch other Grass. Sheep eat it readily, and it is very wholesome for them. The Lucern when cut should be kept in a dry shady Place Forty-eight Hours before it is given to any Animal.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. H. is most commendably cautious, not only in avoiding all Exaggerations, but also in holding constantly in View the rendering this as far as possible an easy and practicable Improvement. He declined the Choice of the best or most proper and promising Soils for his Nursery, his Plantations, and all his Experiments, contenting himself with such Grounds as might easily and almost any where be found, that many might be from thence encouraged to like Undertakings.

getable,

getable, rightly managed, will answer all the Purposes, and consequently be of equal Value to several Acres of inclosed Meadow, as each Acre of that is esteemed to be worth Four of common Downs <sup>d</sup>.

It was necessary to insist more largely upon this Article, as being not only of singular Importance, but also because it has not reached yet to its full Perfection, a Thing greatly to be desired, and therefore ought to be assiduously endeavoured <sup>e</sup>. This new Method, which Promises so fair, is indeed of foreign Invention, and first practised by a worthy Magistrate of Geneva <sup>f</sup>, transferred from thence into France, and adapted to our Soil and Climate with great Care, Industry, and Application, by a Person of admirable Abilities, from the noblest of all Motives, that of true public Spirit, a Desire of enriching his Country, and of adding this to the numerous Acquisitions in Agriculture which have been made in this last Century. From his excellent Writings this succinct View of what may be expected from Lucern has been taken; and where-ever it appears obscure or imperfect, the inquisitive Peruser may from those Writings meet with all the Information that he can reasonably desire, and meet likewise with a Fund of curious, rational, and learned Entertainment, which from such a Subject he could hardly expect <sup>g</sup>. This Improvement, by the sedulous Application of a worthy Gentleman of Family and Fortune, has been happily in-

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Du Hamel says expressly, that each of Three prime Cuttings of a good Acre of Lucern is equal in Quantity, and Superior in Quality to the Produce of Two Acres of natural Grass; that is, One good Acre of Lucern is worth Six Acres of Meadow Land. Dr. H. does not go so far, but he adopts this Mode of estimating the Value of the Improvement. If we abate something in this Account yet the Value of this Acquisition will appear very considerable.

<sup>e</sup> The best Ground for a Plantation of Lucern is an old Hop Garden; and if the Situation permits, the Rows should face the Mid-day Sun. No Water must lodge upon it, and the utmost Care ought to be taken to preserve it from Hares, &c. It will not admit of Feeding by Horses, Black Cattle, or Sheep, neither are Geese or Ducks to be allowed Entrance into a Field of Lucern. It certainly requires a great Deal of Trouble in its Culture, but it will in its Consequences be found to merit all the Trouble it requires.

<sup>f</sup> M. Lullin de Chateauvieux, chief Syndic of Geneva. The Reader may also consult Agostino Gallo *vinti Giornata da l'Agricoltura, nella seconda Giornata. Della Agricoltura de M. Africo Clemente Padouano*, lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 36, 37. *Dictionnaire Oeconomique*, tom. i. col. 1558—1563. *Traite de la Culture des Terres*, par M. Du Hamel, tom. i. p. 271—280. iv. p. 497—522. v. p. 3. 71—76. 523—529. 531—534. 537. 577. *Observations de la Societe d'Agriculture de Commerce, et des Arts etablie, par les Etats de Bretagne*, p. 73—77. *Elemens d'Agriculture*, par M. Du Hamel, liv. ix. chap. ii. Art. i. *Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle*, tom. iii. p. 327—329. M. Bertrand *Essai d'Agriculture*, p. 132. *L'Agronome*, tom. i. p. 518, 519.

<sup>g</sup> The Piece referred to is the Second of the Essays on Husbandry, the Title of which runs thus, "An Account of some Experiments tending to improve the Culture of Lucern: Being the first Experiments of the Kind that have been hitherto made and published in England." "From whence it appears that Lucern is an Article of great Importance in Husbandry." In this single Work all the material Observations of ancient and modern Writers are judiciously collected and candidly examined.



roduced into Ireland, and hath made some Progress also in North Britain, as well as in several Parts of the South, and this in all the three different Methods that have been mentioned.

THERE are other Discoveries and Improvements of this Kind which certainly merit, and are in due Time very likely to meet with Notice and Attention. Such particularly as the introducing of Burnet, and some Grasses from America<sup>h</sup>. But as these have not hitherto been brought into general Use, the Advantages flowing from them have not been so fully ascertained by Experiment, as to come within the Plan of this Work, farther than being mentioned as Things which may become hereafter of signal Utility. Whatever hath this Tendency hath an undoubted Right to Consideration; for the Improvement of Land, is, in fact, an Acquisition of Territory, a Kind of civil Conquest made by Science instead of Arms, highly beneficial to us, and yet no Way injurious to our Neighbours. These Improvements are beneficial also in another Sense, as every Instance of this Kind serves to inculcate the great Principle of studying and following Nature, which is the shortest, most certain, and effectual Method of perfecting Agriculture<sup>i</sup>. But before we quit this Subject, we most congratulate our Country on a very ingenious, and yet simple Proposal, which Points at something still more extensive than even these Improvements, and which, if duly prosecuted, may become of infinite and perpetual Consequence to the whole Nation<sup>k</sup>. This Proposal consists in first carefully collecting the  
Seeds

<sup>h</sup> Burnet is a Native of this Country, grows freely on a poor, light, sandy, or chalky Soil, and is a perennial Plant. It is sown in Broad-cast in Autumn, but succeeds better when sown in the Beginning of July, and transplanted in the Manner of Lucern in the Beginning of October in Rows Twenty Inches apart, and the Plants about Fifteen Inches from each other. It will perfect its Seed twice in a Year, and at Two Mowings will yield Ten Quarters of that, as much Chaff, and Three Loads of Hay (or rather Haum) on an Acre. It is a good Winter Pasture for Cattle, encreases their Milk, and renders it rich and well tasted; it does not like some rich Grasses sweat or bloat them: It will bear Feeding with Sheep, and when it is grown plenty, the Seed it is thought will answer as well as Oats for the Support of Horses. Practical Observations on the Culture of Lucern, Turneps, Burnet, Timothy, and Foul Meadow Grass. Communicated by Letters to Dr. Templeman, London, 1766, 8vo.

<sup>i</sup> It is the judicious Remark of the wise and noble Verulam, that Man is the Minister and Interpreter of Nature, that his Skill arises from his knowing her Manner of Proceeding, and that his Power is limited by this Knowledge of her Operations. If he seems in some Instances to command her, it is only in the Eyes of such as have been less her Servants and Scholars, and know not, that even in this he only practises those Lessons which he originally was taught by her.

<sup>k</sup> The great Linnæus gave the first Hint of this important Discovery. He observed (Flora Lap. p. 159) that there were several Plants that Horses though hungry would not taste. He judged that this might be the Case with other Animals. He then very earnestly requested, that a strict Inquiry should be made, as to the Plants most acceptable to useful Animals, and such as they refused. After waiting in vain for some Years, he was obliged to commit this Task to his own Disciples. In consequence of this, one of these, Nicholas Hasselgren, from a Multitude of Experiments, produced his PAN SUECUS, in which there is a Table shewing what Swedish Plants



Seeds of those natural Grasses, which Experience hath shewn to be most valuable; and then as carefully sowing them on Ground properly prepared, due Regard being had to the Nature of the Soil, and to the Nature also of the Cattle that are intended to be fed thereon<sup>l</sup>. An Overture so apparently beneficial in its Consequences, and so obviously practicable in its Execution, one would be tempted to think, needed very little Persuasion to bring it to a fair Trial. Yet it must notwithstanding be acknowledged, that as nothing could be more laudable, so nothing at the same Time could be more necessary, than the Interposition of the Society for the Improvement of Arts, to excite and support so salutary an Experiment<sup>m</sup>. An Experiment calculated to render all our common Pastures both fertile in their Produce, and excellent in their Quality, and thereby conducive to the great End of rural Oeconomy, the procuring all Sorts of Cattle, the most palatable, wholesome, and nutritive Food, altogether unincumbered with Weeds, and this too for a long Space of Time, and with very little Trouble or Expence.

THIS succinct History of our national Improvements, evinces sufficiently how much they have been accelerated and promoted by the Increase of true Science, and the Influence of philosophic Principles, built on the solid Basis of Reason, and confirmed by the Testimony of Experience. These have acted chiefly, by banishing several Kinds of Superstition with which the old Husbandry was over-run<sup>n</sup>; by exploding groundless Notions, that

were eaten, and what refused by Oxen, Horses, Goats, Sheep, and Swine, of the former were 1228, and of the latter 886, making together 2314. Linnæi Amœnitat. Academ, vol. ii. p. 203.

<sup>l</sup>The truly worthy and accurate Mr. Stillingfleet has translated the SWEDISH PAN. Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 341, and subjoined Observations on Grasses, p. 365—391, in which this Doctrine is admirably accommodated to this Country, and the Way thereby opened to have large Tracts of fine unmixed Grasses suited to all Kinds of Cattle; a Thing not otherwise to be obtained, and which from its manifest Advantages must be always desired. The common Practice is to sow Grass Seeds as they come from the Hay-rick, which as Mr. Stillingfleet observes, is not more absurd than if a Man should sow Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Peas, Beans, Vetches, Buck-wheat, Turnips, and Weeds of all Sorts together. If any Advantage is to be gained by mixing Seeds, it may be more probably expected, if made by Choice than if left to Chance.

<sup>m</sup>The judicious Proposer of this Method of having the finest Grass and Hay, endeavours to obviate the strongest Objection that could be made, from the Difficulty of procuring such Seed in sufficient Quantities, by observing that a little Boy in Three Quarters of an Hour, by a Road Side, collected as much of the pure Seed of crested Dog-tail as weighed a Quarter of a Pound Averdupois. But the Society conceiving rightly the Nature and Importance of the Proposal, and of how great Consequence it must be to the Publick the bringing it to a fair Trial, have not only encouraged this liberally, but very judiciously in different Manners, so that there is good Reason to hope, some or other of them will take Effect to the Honour of the Society, the Increase of useful Knowledge, and the Emolument of the Nation.

<sup>n</sup>We see plainly in the ancient Writers on Husbandry, and in Pliny who collected from many that are now lost, innumerable Instances of this. The Truth of the Matter is, that in all Countries

that prevailed in a Manner universally for Want of their being examined ; by tracing the Origin of old Customs, and enquiring into their Consequences ; by lessening the Authority of vulgar Traditions ; and by admitting for the Sake of new Advantages new Methods of Cultivation <sup>o</sup>. By Means like these, the Foundation was gradually laid, grounded on clear intelligible Principles, confirmed, as we have said, by proper and repeated Experiments. From hence arose strict Inquiries into the real, that is the natural Causes of Fertility and Barrenness, the Food or Nutriment of Vegetables, the Variety and Nature of Soils deduced from their component Parts, the Means of altering and meliorating them by the Assistance of proper Manure and Culture, the introducing foreign Seeds, and adopting from the Nations whence they were borrowed their Methods of improving them <sup>p</sup>. By such Steps, steadily pursued, our best Lands have produced much more than formerly, and those that had been long considered in quite another Light, were by a suitable and judicious Treatment made equally rich and valuable <sup>q</sup>. By a judicious Alteration in the Course of Crops, many Benefits were obtained ; by spreading, though slowly, new Improvements from one County into another, the Practice of rational Agriculture was extended, and the real Value of our Soil and Climate rescued from vulgar Errors, and set in a true Point of Light <sup>r</sup>. Old Prejudices, which would hardly have given Way to Reason, were by Degrees eradicated and effectually eradicated by

tries the Mass of the People, and more especially of country People, are naturally superstitious. A Disposition, which though highly detrimental, is hardly to be eradicated, however weak and absurd, because till Mens Minds are enlarged, the acting contrary to such Notions has an Air of Impiety.

<sup>o</sup> When for Want of Method and Inquiry the true Causes of Things were not known, fictitious or conjectural Causes were assigned productive of numerous Errors. Customs which, it may be, were founded on just Motives, continued to subsist after those Motives ceased, and even when they were no longer remembered. Tradition was a blind Guide, ruling present Things according to Lights past, and was therefore properly corrected by more recent Observations.

<sup>p</sup> It is indeed true, that these Subjects are not even now either thoroughly or certainly understood. But they are undoubtedly much better known than they were in virtue of the great Improvements made in Natural Philosophy and Chemistry ; and from their being better known, we are become greater Proficients in Agriculture ; we now enter with more Certainty into the Connection between Causes and Effects, leave less to Chance, and improve frequently by our Disappointments.

<sup>q</sup> Instances of this have been given in the raising Hemp and Flax on Soils supposed to be incapable of bearing them, and the Land being improved instead of being impoverished thereby. The same hath been shewn in regard to Woad both here and in France. Still more evidently in respect to Saintfoin. It is highly probable the same Effects may follow from Lucern and Burnet, whenever the Culture is thoroughly understood, and widely extended.

<sup>r</sup> When we reflect that Saffron, Liquorice, and Hops are better here than in most Parts of Europe ; that Saintfoin continues longer here than in France ; and that Lucern hath been as often cut here as in Italy ; it should in a great Measure remove all Diffidence as to Soil and Climate. We have attempted few Things where we have pursued right Methods, and steadily persevered, in which we have not succeeded, and some there are, and those too of great Importance, in which we may still succeed.

Experience, and Men, by seeing what had been done, grew into a Confidence of being able to do more.

IN the same Proportion, that such closer and stricter Enquiries have been made, new Lights have been gained, and as Mens Minds have been turned from abstruse, unavailing, and fruitless Speculations, to those useful, national, and important Studies, the Progress of our Improvements, and the Advantages necessarily attending them, have been both quicker and greater<sup>s</sup>. In consequence of this, it may be truly said, that the Face of the Country in no small Part of this Island hath been entirely changed. The Value of our Lands, independent of other Causes, from their intrinsic Worth, hath been gradually raised. The Number of our Productions wonderfully multiplied. Many new Materials for Manufactures have from thence been introduced<sup>t</sup>. The Means of foreign Commerce have been thereby supplied, and the Circumstances of all Ranks and Degrees of People rendered very much better than they were<sup>u</sup>. As many of the Undertakings from which these Benefits were derived had their Rise from Men of singular Parts and Abilities, so from the very Nature and Circumstances of those Undertakings they very happily fell more immediately under the Care of Persons of Fortune, liberal Sentiments, and sedulous Application, who in pursuing them, pursued at once their own and their Country's Interest, and of Course could not either be more wisely or more worthily employed<sup>w</sup>. But though  
by

<sup>s</sup> The Detail of these Improvements, compared with their Extent, and the Times in which they were made, make this sufficiently manifest. We may add, that as the Science of Husbandry is now in great Esteem; as many elegant as well as excellent Books have been published thereon; as Encouragements are given to promote it in all its Branches in Britain and in Ireland; and as the Legislature countenances whatever may promote it, we may very reasonably hope it will hereafter advance with greater Celerity.

<sup>t</sup> As an Illustration of this Matter, it will be very expedient to mention, that the Bounty on the Scots Linnen commenced, A. D. 1728. By which we are enabled to compute the Progress of that Manufacture; for in that Year the Quantity amounted to 2,183,978 Yards, and in value to 103,312 l. and in A. D. 1766, the Quantity was 13,242,557 Yards, and the Value amounted to 637,346 l. It is generally understood, that the English Linnen Manufacture is pretty nearly of the same Value. We may from hence discern the great Importance of gaining full Possession of the primary Material.

<sup>u</sup> Mr. William Harrison, who published his Description of Britain, A. D. 1577, says, that old People remarked to him Three remarkable Changes that had happened in their Times. (1.) That every House had Chimnies, whereas in their Youth there were not above Two Chimnies in an upland Town. (2.) That whereas they had Beds, Sheets, Bolsters, and Pillows, when young they slept on Straw, and the Master of a Farm House thought himself well to pass, if he had a Flock Bed to lie on, with a Log to rest his Head upon. (3.) That Platters were exchanged for Pewter, and Wooden Spoons for Tin, and even for Silver. He also mentions in those Days a Farm let at Four Pounds a Year, which in his Time was let at Forty. and yet the Farmers lived better, and saved more since they paid Forty than when they paid Four. Description of Britaine, B. ii. chap. x.

<sup>w</sup> This is a Point of very great Importance, for our principal Improvers, as well as those amongst the Romans and Greeks, have been Men of Rank and Learning, such as Fitzherbert, Googe,

by these Steps we are more especially within a Century past, far, indeed very far advanced, yet are we still undoubtedly very distant from Perfection. For not only new and useful Designs may still be struck out, but even those that have been prosecuted with the utmost Diligence, may by the Continuance of it, be carried much greater Lengths, as the Prospect continues, notwithstanding the Progress we have made still expanding before us<sup>x</sup>. Towards the extending these national and salutary Views, the chief Things requisite are Industry, Frugality, and public Spirit<sup>y</sup>. The first may derive much Assistance from Laws; the second can be only brought about by Example; and if the Two first were once generally diffused and firmly established, the third would follow of Course. For as Idleness and Dissipation are the Sources of Corruption, so Industry and Frugality naturally produce public Spirit, as the Voice of Reason teaches, and as Experience hath in all Countries often verified<sup>z</sup>.

THERE are still some Points, which though they have been incidentally touched already, require to be mentioned again before we close this Chapter. The modern Manner of laying out our Grounds for Pleasure is incomparably better than in former Times, because more natural, and having in it also more of Utility. The present Taste for Shrubs is very pleasing and elegant in respect to their Colours and Odours; but perhaps, without lessening this, some Regard might also be had to the introducing

Googe, Viscount St. Albans, Sir R. Weston (by whose small Treatise this Nation is said to have gained Millions) Sir Hugh Plat, Dr. Beal, Mr. Evelyn, Sir William Temple, Mr. Worlidge, Mr. Timothy Nourse, Mr. Tull, Mr. Lisle, Dr. W. Harte, and many others who have merited highly of their Country.

<sup>x</sup> If we reflect on the great Space that intervened between the first Mention of some of our great Improvements, and their being brought into common Use, this will not appear at all improbable. Above One hundred Years ago, the Practicability of supporting Horses on Carrots was not only known, but published, and overlooked. The same may be said as to Potatoes. An Hundred Years hence, these Roots may be applied to a Variety of other Purposes which at present are scarce in Contemplation.

<sup>y</sup> It is a weighty Observation of a judicious Writer, "Nature has bestowed Mines on several Parts of the World; but their Riches are only for the Industrious and the Frugal. Whom ever else they visit, it is with the Diligent and Sober only they stay." Locke's Works, vol. ii. p. 35. Let Wealth be acquired by Industry, and there is great Probability that Frugality will keep it; for what is gotten slowly and assiduously, it is not in the Nature of Man hastily to lavish away.

<sup>z</sup> In the early Ages of the Roman Commonwealth, when their Dictators were taken from the Plough, all these Virtues were not only conspicuous but common. It was the same in the infant State of the United Provinces; J. de Witt, who had the Power, had also the Prudence of those Dictators; and we know what Effects his Example had upon the Manners of his Countrymen. As by Industry, we do not mean simply Labour, but the Application of the best Part of a Person's Time, according to his Condition, unto useful Purposes; so we desire to distinguish from Sordidness, that Frugality we applaud; which is such a Regulation of Expence, as Age, Rank, and Circumstances may prescribe. Avarice, the dirtiest of Vices, is the Parent of Narrowness; but Frugality is the Offspring of Decorum.

such as might bring us Use and Profit as well as Amusement <sup>a</sup>. Our Kitchen Gardens may be justly stiled superior to any in Europe, for the great Variety and Excellence of esculent Plants. Our Flower Gardens also contain whatever may content the Sight or delight the Smell, and sufficiently demonstrate that our Soil and Climate will admit of Improvements that would have appeared utterly incredible to our Ancestors <sup>b</sup>. What cannot be reconciled to these, I mean our Soil and Climate, are to be found in our Greenhouses and Conservatories, where, by an equal Exertion of Skill, Industry, and Expence, we possess in a Manner the vegetable Treasures of the whole Earth. Our Orchards and Fruit Gardens abound with better chosen, and greater Variety of fine Trees, than in the Age immediately preceding this <sup>c</sup>, though some very great Men then made their Improvement their peculiar Study <sup>d</sup>. In planting for Shew and Ornament, we have likewise far outdone our Predecessors, by introducing many and some of them very useful Trees from the most distant Parts of the Globe, and naturalizing them in both Islands <sup>e</sup>: A Thing highly laudable, considering them only as they were intended, in the Light of Curiosities and Ornaments; but which would certainly turn to a far better Account, if they were planted in much larger Numbers, and with a View to the public Benefit, as in Process of Time we have great Reason to expect they will.

<sup>a</sup> We may be induced to give some Attention to this, if we reflect that the People of Arabia, neglecting all the rich Commodities, for trading in which, they were famous in the most early Ages, confine themselves to the Culture of the Coffee Bush. The Sugar Cane commands in like Manner the Attention of the People in the West Indies. Here, that humble Plant the Oser produces Ten Pounds an Acre, sometimes more, with very little Trouble, and as little Expence.

<sup>b</sup> The Art of Gardening is not above a Century old in the Manner it is now practised. When Guineas were first coined, one would scarce purchase a Couple of Cauliflowers; we now produce the best, and by far the greatest Quantities of any Country in Europe, and even export them annually to Holland, from whence we originally received them. This surely is a demonstrative Proof of what Skill and Labour will do in this Soil, and under this variable Climate.

<sup>c</sup> But to the Honour of the Improvers of those Days, they seemed very attentive to the promoting Cyder, Perry, Mead, and other English Liquors, which they wisely judged capable of being rendered as acceptable, and consequently as saleable abroad as foreign Wines are here. On this Subject Dr. Beal, Mr. Evelyn, Sir Jonas Moor, Mr. Worlidge, and Mr. Mortimer have reported many Facts that ought to be remembered, and made many Observations which well deserve to be considered.

<sup>d</sup> It may be, that in Time we may have Vineyards again in this Country, as we had formerly, towards which Perseverance is as necessary as Soil or Situation. One dares not be so positive as to Olives, though they have borne Fruit at Kensington and in Devonshire. A Nobleman, who was an excellent Judge, thought they would do as well in the Isle of Wight as in Italy. White Mulberries grow here as well as any where, and it is said where-ever they grow Silk may be introduced.

<sup>e</sup> As for Instance, Cedars from Lebanon and from America, which grow freely, and to a large Size. The Cypress, so much esteemed in early Ages. The Plane-tree of stupendous Bulk. Firs of many different Kinds, the Silver, the Norway, the American Spruce, the Newfoundland, and the Hemlock; in like Manner all the numerous Families of the Pines, such as the Pinaster or wild Pine, the Tartarian, the Siberian, the Weymouth, the Virginia, the North American Red and White Pines, &c.

YET in the Midst of these truly noble Attempts, which seem to breathe such a vigorous Spirit of Improvement, we hear a general Complaint, that there is an evident, and even dangerous Decay of Timber, both in Britain and in Ireland, and this notwithstanding our natural Advantages, which in this Respect are very great, since no Country is more proper for the Production of this valuable, and considered as a commercial People, necessary Treasure <sup>f</sup>. We have in common with other Regions, Heaths, Moors, Mountains, Morasses, and other waste Grounds, which, though dreary, inhospitable, and useless in their present State, would be very profitable if planted. But we have also Forests, Chaces, and Parks, exceedingly well adapted to, and which were originally appropriated for, the raising all Kinds of useful Timber <sup>s</sup>. To this we may add, that if Indolence, and the narrow Spirit of looking to ourselves only, and not forward to Posterity, would give us leave to see it, there cannot be in proper Places a more profitable Improvement than might by this Means be attained <sup>h</sup>. But as the Fact, in reference to this Declension of Ship-timber, and the most useful Kinds of Wood, cannot be controverted, we ought certainly, the Thing being so much, and withal so manifestly in our Power, to turn our Thoughts, and bend our Endeavours to the proper Remedy, and this for a Variety of Reasons.

<sup>f</sup> It is a Point out of all Doubt, that both the Southern and Northern Parts of this Island were overgrown with Wood; and immense Quantities of subterraneous Trees of different Sorts, have been for Ages past, and are still in several Places digged out of the Bowels of the Earth. Our Oak, Elm, Ash, Chestnut, Beech, &c. grow as large, last as long, and their Wood is as sound and useful, as in any Country. Trees brought from the most distant and discordant Soils and Climates are made to live and thrive here.

<sup>g</sup> In those Days, when regular Surveys were taken of these Places of Amusement and royal Recreation, though Towns, Fields, and Commons, as the Country grew populous, came to be interspersed, yet their original Design was so far remembered, as that Accounts were constantly taken of the growing Timber to preserve it, of the periodical Falls of Coppices, and burning of Charcoal, which though rarely beneficial to the Crown, was highly useful to the Publick.

<sup>h</sup> We have already employed some Pains to justify this Proposition. Indeed, valuable Timber-trees, such as Oak, Ash, and Elm, may be cultivated, where both Land and Labour are dear, to great Advantage. But through the Beneficence of Providence, there is no Kind of Land but may admit, with Improvement, some Kind of Trees. The coldest, most open, and exposed Situations suit that noble and useful Timber the Chestnut best. In dry hilly Lands (fit for nothing else) Sycamore in a few Years will grow to a large Size. On stony, barren, and chalky Grounds, and on the Declivity of Hills, may be raised Groves of Beech. Box and Yew, both valuable in a high Degree, as their Wood serves for various Uses, will thrive in the coldest and most dreary Soils without Care or Cost. The Poplar, Aspen, Abeal, Alder, Withy, Sallow, Willow, and other Aquatics, in Marshes, Fens, Bogs, where no other Trees will live; yet are of quick Growth, in constant Demand, and very profitable. The same may be said of Birch, which will grow any where. The Scots Pine, commonly, though improperly called the Scots Fir, from which we have our Deal Boards, will grow in Peat Bogs, in chalky, gravelly, or stony Soils, and in dry barren Sands. The Laburnum or Peas-cod Tree will grow on the bleakest Mountains, and if only suffered to grow will become a large Tree, and afford excellent Timber. The Rowan Tree or Quick-Beam, which produces both an useful and valuable Wood, grows, and is the only Tree that grows naturally, on some of the Rocks in Shetland.

In the first Place it is to be considered, that the very same Complaint is at present made in most of the Countries of Europe, even in those from whence we at present draw our largest Supplies; in consequence of which the Commodity rises in Price, whereas by a due Exertion of our own Powers all this Money might be saved to the Nation <sup>i</sup>. We ought next to advert, that there is not perhaps in the World, a Country where there is either a more copious or a more constant Demand for Timber, and every Kind of Wood; so that if this growing Evil should proceed, as it is very likely to do, to a much greater Height, it must be attended with very great and very manifest Inconveniencies <sup>k</sup>. To this we may add, that whenever we shall come to see it in its proper Light, and in consequence of this resolve to set about an Amendment in Earnest, even this must in its very Nature be a Work of Time, which is a Point that deserves the most mature Attention <sup>l</sup>. Supposing therefore that our Apprehensions on this Head may be a little too strong at present, and that considerable Supplies of Timber may be still found in Hampshire, Sussex, Wales, and some few other Places, yet this, instead of diminishing, ought rather to excite our Care, as shewing, that if we go about it immediately, there may be still some reasonable Hopes of preventing a Mischief, that may otherwise become in many Respects extremely fatal.

THE LAWS, which through a long Course of Years have been enacted with a View to the Preservation of Timber, sufficiently shew the Sense of the Legislature upon this important Subject <sup>m</sup>. In the preceding Book we have

<sup>i</sup> In Norway, in Switzerland, and in France, they make bitter Complaints of the Decay of Wood of all Sorts. This they very truly ascribe to the Desire of present Profit, by complying with that increased Demand which growing Luxury every where excites, without providing an adequate Supply. The Price of this, which not only is, but must ever continue a Necessary, is daily rising at home and abroad, which though an immediate Draining, may in its Consequence become an Advantage. For these high Prices may be considered as Bounties in favour of our Application to planting; and those who first fall into this Track, will so avail themselves of this Circumstance, by raising immense Sums from Lands that now yield very little, as to create Envy, which may excite a general Imitation, and of course a gradual Approach to Plenty.

<sup>k</sup> In some Places where Timber is considered as a Staple, they have already had Recourse to Restrictions in cutting down their Woods. It is true, that there hath in those Countries been hitherto little Regard paid to these Restrictions, which is the Reason we have not felt their Effects, except in raising the Purchase. The French, however, aware of what may happen, have enforced their old Laws, and a strict Reform of their Forests, which has produced some Memorials of Mr. Buffon, and several excellent Works by Mr. Du Hamel.

<sup>l</sup> When we hear or read of Oaks many Hundred Years old, and of other Timber-trees of vast Age, we must not conclude that the Effects of Planting are not to be felt within a much shorter Period. In good Land, agreeable to their Nature, Timber-trees will be fit for Service in Half a Century, and continue improving Half a Century more. In worse Soils Trees grow more slowly; but the Timber is not the worse. But even Half a Century is a long, a very long Period to be spent in Expectation.

<sup>m</sup> The Statutes from the Reign of Henry VIII. are most of them penal Laws, and are from a Variety of Causes seldom executed. It might probably answer better to propose Encouragements, as



have ventured to give some Hints for promoting the same valuable Purposes. But a Matter of such national Concern, ought not to be left to uncertain Measures<sup>n</sup>. It calls for immediate, vigorous, and effectual Remedies, which if they can be pointed out there is no Reason to distrust the Willingness of the Legislature to interpose its farther and most effectual Assistance for the Welfare of the Publick. In the first Place, a strict Survey ought to be taken of all Forests, Chaces, &c. and an authentic Report made of the State in which they are at present, and what Supplies of Timber, and in what Space of Time, might under proper Management be expected from them<sup>o</sup>. It should seem reasonable on renewing all Royal Grants of Lands, that a Reserve of Trees for the Use of the Navy in Proportion to the Extent of the Grant should be required in the Nature of a Quit-rent, and the State of such reserved Trees should be properly certified upon every subsequent Renewal<sup>p</sup>. Besides the Laws upon this Subject ought to be carefully reviewed, such Parts of them as are become obsolete or improper repealed, Rewards and Penalties clearly and with Propriety assigned; but above all, some Methods should be pursued by Presentments at the Summer and Lent Affizes, to carry these Laws, thus amended, into strict and constant Execution<sup>q</sup>. In respect to private Persons, they may be wrought on

to

to which Hints have been already given. But if Parishes or Counties could be induced to raise Plantations of Oaks, by granting them Annuities towards the Relief of their Poor, from the Time the Trees were of a certain Age, till cut for the Use of the Royal Yards, it might prove an effectual Means of securing them.

<sup>n</sup> We have from Experience (for it is now more than a Hundred Years since Mr. Evelyn published his Sylva) learned, that Persuasion and Argument will do little. We must (though I am rarely an Advocate for that) look up to Authority. There is certainly in this Island a great deal of Ship-timber of Twenty Years Growth or more, which if, without Injury, or rather with Emolument to the Proprietors, it could be preserved for the Use of the Navy, might have many good Consequences.

<sup>o</sup> The original Design of Forests was for the Conveniency of Hunting, when this was esteemed the noblest of royal Diversions. As the Nation grew more civilized, many of these artificial Deserts were disforested, and Towns and Villages admitted in the rest. But the single Emolument arising to the Publick, was the Growth of Timber, of which (as Things now stand) it is very expedient the Publick should have a distinct Account. This was an Age ago recommended to Charles II. by Mr. Evelyn, who thought that a due Regulation of the Forests and Chaces might amply supply the Royal Yards with Timber. If ever these large Tracts of Land are converted into Farms, the reserved Rents might be at the same Time converted into an Obligation of planting and preserving a certain Number of Timber-trees in proportion to the Extent of such Farms.

<sup>p</sup> In France, no Man, let his Fortune or his Rank be what it will, can cut Timber on his own Estate, but under the Inspection, and under the Regulations of the King's Surveyors. In that Kingdom the Fourth Part of Woods in the Hands of Ecclesiastics, or others holding in Mortmain, is reserved for a Supply of serviceable Timber, by an Ordinance in A. D. 1573, confirmed in A. D. 1597, but never executed till A. D. 1669. Such Regulations benefit the Publick without Injury to private Persons.

<sup>q</sup> It is something worse than Folly to enact wise Laws, and take no Care to see them executed. Yet this is the Case here and in France, to say nothing of other Countries. In Biscay (the freest

Province



to contribute to this salutary End, by different Methods. A few publick spirited Improvers of superior Quality might quickly bring this Kind of Planting into Fashion <sup>r</sup>. The first Attempts of this Sort would be attended with very great Advantages, by exciting Emulation, producing Experience which we very much want, and in a very short Time demonstrating from Facts, what has been so often hinted from Reason, that this is a very solid, certain, and considerable Mode of Improvement<sup>s</sup>. The Society for promoting Commerce, Manufactures, and Arts, seeing Things already in this Light, have very laudably and judiciously contributed their Assistance. The same Thing has been done in Ireland <sup>t</sup>; and we have great Reason to expect, that the rising Generation, induced by Principles of true Oeconomy, and encouraged by these Examples, will entirely remove this Reproach, and restore to these Islands such a Provision, not of Timber only, but also of every useful Kind of Wood, as may fully supply the Demands of their industrious Inhabitants <sup>u</sup>.

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Province in Spain) they have great Iron-works, and much Ship-building; but their Laws being well made, and punctually obeyed, they have constant Supplies of Wood and Timber for both. The Preamble of the new Law well penned, and the Utility of it fully explained in the Judges Charges, would soon relieve us from all Apprehensions.

<sup>r</sup> Fashion is the only Law that enforces its Dictates without Officers and without Penalties. We see it has introduced Planting for Pleasure; why then should it want the Power of dissuading the Disposition of Planting for Profit? In the last Age, many Gentlemen in the Western Counties, were ambitious of preserving their Names in Apples brought by them into Use, and to their indefatigable Pains and Experiments we owe our most excellent Kinds of Cyder. In the same Manner Lord Weymouth hath fixed his on the New England Pine.

<sup>s</sup> It is a Thing of the greatest national Consequence to put this Matter by some known and unexceptionable Experiments beyond all Dispute. The ablest Writers on, and the best Judges of the Subject, are clear and unanimous in their Opinions, and some of them have given us very ingenious, and, very probably, accurate Calculations. But it is not Opinions or Calculations of which we stand in need, but of Facts. These would silence all Doubts, these would answer all Objections, these would add Authority to Opinion, these would give decisive Evidence to Calculations: In a Word, these would inspire a Desire of Planting; and whoever sets the Example, by a Plantation of an Hundred Acres of Oaks, will do an inexpressible Service to this Country.

<sup>t</sup> The Method pursued by the Society here, is the proposing for Two Years together Gold and Silver Medals for the raising in different Proportions Oaks, Chestnuts, Elms, Scots Fir, and the Weymouth Pine. This Attention shews a Regard to national Good, and the Rewards are suitably adjusted to those from whom such Improvements can only be expected, viz. Persons of Distinction and of Landed Property. The Dublin Society have for several Years pursued the same Method for planting and preserving Trees; in some Cases, there is a Medal assigned to each Province; in others, a Medal is assigned to every County, in order to extend so noble, and so beneficent a Spirit into all Parts of the Island. It also appears by their annual Accounts of their Premiums bestowed, that their laudable Intentions have produced very good Effects.

<sup>u</sup> Whoever considers the great Importance of our Navy, which is, in truth (under Divine Providence) the Glory and the Support of the British Empire, must be fully convinced how necessary it is, that we should not be dependent on other Nations for those Supplies of Timber that it annually requires. At the same Time it must appear a Work of great Difficulty to procure these Supplies in Britain, when we are told the Navy requires at present Four if not Five Times the Quantity of Timber that would have answered its Demands about a Century ago. Besides, we

must.

It is hoped, that in the Course of this long Chapter, the Principles we have so often laid down, in relation to the natural Fertility of this Country, have been clearly explained and incontestibly proved, not by Assertions grounded only on probable Arguments, but from that Evidence which is ever requisite in such Cases, the Testimony of Facts. We have likewise endeavoured to trace the gradual Accessions that have been made to the national Income, by the Assistance of an improved and extended Agriculture. For the same Reason we have stated the true Grounds upon which our Expectations are founded, that they may be carried still farther, and that in succeeding Times successive Improvements may be made, some of them perhaps as important as any of those we at present happily possess. It would not have been difficult to have made this still more striking, and in Appearance more certain, by having Recourse to Calculations. But as these, though made with the greatest Care, and conducted with all possible Moderation, might from their very Nature have been liable to Cavil and Controversy, we chose to leave them to the Consideration of the intelligent Reader, who may perhaps be furnished with better and clearer Lights, at least in many Instances, though we have not failed to give him such as we had, and upon which we thought he might safely depend. A Proceeding that seemed less liable to Error, as, in regard to the material and fundamental Points, there can be no Doubts raised by any who consider the present, and reflect on the past State of Things.

WE have more than once observed, and the Subject at present obliges us to repeat it once more, that it is the Capacity for a Variety of useful Productions which constitutes the real and intrinsic Excellence of any Country. These form its interior Strength, and comparative Power in respect to other Countries. These are the true substantial Resources from whence arise national Independence\*. It is therefore from having just and ade-

must at the same Period advert to the wonderful Increase of our Merchantmen, and in consequence of that the prodigious Augmentation of our Small Craft in all our Ports, and upon all our Rivers, which are also multiplying every Day, and of course heighten the Demand.

<sup>w</sup> If the Improvements now made had been stated as Things certain, or even probable, a Century ago, how little Credit would they have met with? How many plausible Arguments would have been adduced to shew they deserved little Credit? But if it had or could have been so stated, would it have been at all less certain, that we actually possess and enjoy them now? If so, this Country had always the same innate Power of producing; and Skill and Industry have developed this by Effects. It is clear then that Skill and Industry are the Instruments that have produced this great and happy Change. But the Country having still the same Principle of Fecundity, and these Instruments being as much as ever in our Power, what stronger Argument can be brought to shew the Probability of our making future Improvements?

\* What hath been said at the Beginning of the Chapter, in this Paragraph of the Text, and in the preceding Note, might be sufficient on this Head. But the Utility of it is so great, that it may not be amiss to remark, that every new and useful Product we acquire adds to the Balance of our Trade the Sum we formerly expended thereon, besides somewhat to our Industry, and a great deal more if capable of being manufactured. In all Respects to our national Income and Independancy.

quate Ideas of these, that we gain a certain and a distinct Notion of the Worth or Value of any Region whatever; and it is for want of having such Ideas, that we take up fanciful Partialities for some, and entertain groundless Prejudices against other Countries, till at length Matters of Fact awake us from our Dreams, and force us to perceive the Truth. It is from a due, though not a very early Attention to this Capacity for different Productions, and the calling them forth by an assiduous Application to the Arts of Culture, that we have rendered this Island in its Appearance so very different from what it was a few Ages ago. It is from these Causes that we, the Inhabitants of it, are at this Day an active, industrious, commercial, opulent, and potent People, incomparably more so than within a Century past. It will be due to our Adherence to these salutary Principles, that we shall preserve and extend our Importance; and therefore the keeping constantly our Duty in this Respect in our View, is our first and great political Concern. If notwithstanding all that has been said, the Reader should retain any Doubts or Scruples, any Difficulties or Suspicions, these will be fully removed in the next Chapter, in which we shall consider more at large the Effects, the Consequences, and the Advantages that flow from our numerous Improvements.

YET however we may be pleased with the various and beneficial Sources of Profit, which are to be stated in the succeeding Chapter, let us always consider them as secondary Emoluments naturally arising from, and necessarily connected with, those Improvements that have been already explained, and without which they can no more survive and flourish than Plants when torn from their Roots. This I say we must constantly remember, for Agriculture and Manufactures are Twins, and must always wax or wane with each other. The Produce constitutes the Worth of any

<sup>1</sup> We look on Spain as a rich Country, because of the Wealth that is drawn from it, which is rather a Proof of its Wants. We in general consider Switzerland as a very poor one. But since the Swifs have applied themselves assiduously to discovering and improving the Resources they have in their Country, harsh as it is, their Linens, Horfcs, Black Cattle, Cheeses, and Manufactures bring in vast Sums, which their Industry in raising Corn, Vines, Hemp, Flax, Timber, and other Necessaries, with their great Frugality, enables them to keep: There are in consequence of this fewer indigent Persons there than in almost any other Part of Europe. The Swifs would be still richer, if their Government did not lock up the public Treasure in Chests, and private Men vest theirs in foreign Funds.

<sup>2</sup> It is from the various Products of our own Soil, that the Bulk as well as the most stable Part of our national Substance proceeds, and therefore such Products call more immediately for publick Attention and Protection. In the first Instance they arise from Labour, and thereby give a frugal Livelihood to many Thousands of Families; in the next they supply Materials for Art and Industry to work upon, and, our home Consumption provided for, become lastly, the most lucrative Articles (their whole Amount being clear Gains to the Nation) in our foreign Commerce. It is allowed they are not the only lucrative Articles; but then it must be also admitted, that in their very Production they procure us a Race of active, robust, and hardy Men, to protect and preserve what by these different Means we acquire.

Country. Plenty of Provisions is the Substance, the Wealth, the Patri-  
 mony of the common People, other Riches belong to those of a superior  
 Rank. But it is upon the Abundance and Cheapness of the former, that  
 the Industry of the Many, and of Course the Happiness of Society, the Peace  
 and Welfare of a Nation, must always depend. It is therefore an Obliga-  
 tion upon, and at the same Time the Interest of Government, to take  
 every possible Method to prevent their Dearthness, and dear they must be  
 if they are scarce. It is acknowledged that Manufactures and Commerce  
 produce a Part, and a great Part of our Wealth; but in order that they  
 may produce, it is requisite, absolutely requisite, that Manufacturers should  
 be able to live. Men work in order to eat, and if their Labour will not  
 procure them a comfortable Subsistence, they will either become idle and  
 indigent here, or remove elsewhere. If our Manufactures cannot be made  
 at a reasonable Rate, they cannot long remain Materials for foreign Com-  
 merce. It ought therefore to be equally the Object both of the Landed  
 and Trading Interests to encourage Agriculture, taken in the most exten-  
 sive Sense, as the Mother and Support of Arts, as the great and per-  
 manent Principle of our domestic Policy, on which our Attention must be  
 invariably fixed, if we mean to preserve that Felicity to which the Bene-  
 ficence of Providence has given us, as this Chapter fully shews, an incontestible,  
 and if we are not wanting to ourselves, an indefeasible Title.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Of the Animals in the British Dominions.

*THE Variety of Animals rendered by the Creator serviceable to the human  
 Race, the Wisdom and Goodness of Providence visible in their Oeconomy,  
 and in the happy Distribution of them in these Islands. Sheep more imme-  
 diately the Care of Man, useful to him in many Respects, thrive in all Cli-  
 mates, but no where better than in Great Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent  
 Isles. A short View of their Nature, Properties, and the Management of them.  
 The signal and numerous Benefits derived from them briefly stated and ex-  
 plained. The History of Wool and the Woollen Manufacture in this Coun-  
 try from the earliest Times. The same continued to the Close of the Reign of  
 Edward the Sixth. Farther prosecuted to the End of that of James the  
 First. The same Subject continued and concluded. Considerations on the  
 Value of our Sheep, Wool, and Woollen Manufactures, as they stand at pre-  
 sent. A short Sketch of the same Subject, in respect to North Britain and  
 Ireland. Goats, their Nature, Properties, Places fit for them, and other  
 Particulars.*

*Particulars. Have been perhaps too much overlooked and neglected. Account of Black Cattle; this Country ever famous for having them in Plenty, and excellent in their Kind. Justly considered as of the highest Importance in regard to our System of Husbandry. The Profits of the Dairy, various, constant, and very considerable. The several Manufactures which Black Cattle furnish for the Benefit of Society. A short History of the different Kinds of Leather, and the Value of it to this Country. Of the several Sorts of Deer, and the Advantages accruing from them. Swine of all Kinds, and from different Climates, live and thrive here. The great Utility, and the Variety of Emoluments that are derived from them. Horses of every Kind, and excellent in their respective Kinds, bred in Britain. The many Uses that are made of them, and many Advantages arising from them candidly and impartially considered. Asses thrive as well, and live as long here as in most Countries in Europe: Hardy, healthy, patient, laborious, useful in many Respects, and might be made so in many more. Mules less frequent now than in former Times, yet might be rendered exceedingly serviceable in several Ways. Of some other Animals, that are for several Purposes useful to Mankind. Tame, wild, and water Fowl, with the Benefits that accrue to us from them. Bees, their signal Utility; together with some Thoughts on the Possibility of increasing and improving the Advantages obtained from them. Of Fish, and the Profits that are and might be drawn from them. How far it is practicable or expedient to increase the Number of our Animals, by introducing new Species of them, from other Countries. Conclusive Considerations, drawn from the Contents of the Three last Chapters.*

**T**HE Productions of the Earth not only nourish, and yield many other Conveniencies for Man, but are also serviceable in the same Respects to other Animals, of which there are also many Kinds exceedingly useful and beneficial to the human Species<sup>a</sup>. Some of them afford him both Food and Physic, nay, and cloathing also, by which he is defended from the Inclemency of the Weather. Some again are employed in bearing Burthens, in carrying him from Place to Place, in drawing Carts, Waggon, and Coaches. There are many that supply very useful and profitable Manufactures, and others that administer both to his Subsistence and to his Pleasure from the

<sup>a</sup> Animals, through the Will and Wisdom of the Omnipotent and Omniscient Creator, are joint Tenants with Men of this terraqueous Globe. The same Power hath provided for their Subsistence, as well as ours, and regulated whatever regards their Oeconomy with admirable Policy. They have their proper Places assigned them, to which their Nature and Faculties are exactly adapted. Their Appetites are also restrained, some eat one Sort, some another Sort of Food, so that all have enough, and all have Variety. Their Numbers also are perfectly balanced, by the very different Periods of their Lives, by the several Measures of their Prolificacy, by carnivorous Animals that prey upon, and thereby limit the Increase of others: Points of divine Sapience, extremely worthy of our deepest and most serious Meditations, as well as our sincerest Praises.

Qualities with which they are endowed by Nature, and of which he is enabled by the Superiority of his Reason to make Use for his own Benefit and Advantage <sup>b</sup>. It is therefore justly esteemed a very singular Happiness for any Country to be plentifully stocked with a Variety of useful Animals, and no small Privilege to be exempted from those that are noxious to the human Race, or to other Animals, by their Rapacity or Venom. There are very few Countries considered in this Light, that stand more amply or more manifestly indebted to Providence than the British Isles, which abound with Creatures every way suited to supply our Wants, and to answer other beneficial Purposes, at the same Time that we are very little exposed to those Ravages and Inconveniencies that arise from Beasts of Prey, destructive Vermin, or poisonous Reptiles <sup>c</sup>. It is to set the numerous and transcendant Advantages, which in this Respect we enjoy, in a clear and conspicuous Point of Light, that this Chapter is destined, and in which so much only of natural History is introduced as seemed requisite to render these Benefits intelligible and incontestible.

IN order to answer this Purpose effectually, we will begin with that Animal, which, as Varro tells us, was the first that Man took under his peculiar Care and Protection, and which indeed seems to want, and to deserve it more than any other. This is the SHEEP, the tamest, the most inoffensive, the most gregarious, the easiest supported, and, in the Opinion of many, the most useful and beneficial of all Animals <sup>d</sup>. It is probably for

<sup>b</sup> But the same Supreme Being, who so beneficently and so effectually provided for the Happiness of Animals, bestowed the Dominion of them upon Man, who therefore ultimately reaps the Profits of the Provisions made for them. In virtue of his superior Abilities, he, for his own Emolument, or even for his Amusement, enlarges for them those Limits assigned them in a State of Nature. He makes Ponds and Canals to multiply Fish. He feeds and provides for Multitudes of winged Creatures, thence stiled domestic Fowl. Forests and Parks give Shelter to the Rest of the feathered Tribe, and even to wild Beasts. In respect to those that are tame, by multiplying their Subsistence, he multiplies them to the Extent of his Convenience, or even to that of his Wishes.

<sup>c</sup> In respect to useful Animals, it is the Business of the Chapter to give an Account of them, and it would be needless to enumerate them here. In regard to the voracious and the venomous, we have of Quadrupeds, the Badger, Wild-cat, the Ferret, the Fox, the Martern, the Otter, the Pole-cat, and the Weasel. Of Birds of Prey, we have the Eagle, the Falcon, the Hawk, the Kestrel, the Kite, the Lanner, the Osprey, the Sparrow-hawk, the Tassel, and a few smaller of the Owl Kind chiefly. Of the venomous, the Viper, the Blind-worm, and as many think the Toad and the Spider. Some of these are only in particular Districts, and in several Parts of the British Isles most of them are not found at all. Wolves were formerly in these Islands, but have been long since rooted out, to our inexpressible Benefit.

<sup>d</sup> Num. xxxi. 32. 2 Kings iii. 4. 2 Chron. xvii. 11. Varro de re Rustica, lib. ii. Strabon. Geograph. lib. iii. p. 144. Columel. lib. vii. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 47, 48, 49. xxix. cap. xii. Fizzerbert's Book of Husbandry. Googe's Husbandry, fol. 130—136. Harrison's Description of Britaine, Book iii. chap. viii. Markham's cheap and good Husbandry, Book i. chap. i.—xxx. Mortimer's Husbandry, Book vi. chap. vi. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. ii.

for this Reason that Providence has given them such a Nature, that they are able to thrive in almost all Countries and Climates, so as to be the Companions of Men, and the Objects of their Care, not only in mild and temperate Regions, but also in the torrid and frigid Zones, which perhaps we should hardly believe, if we were not convinced of it by unquestionable Experience<sup>c</sup>. At the same time that they are thus generally spread over the Face of the whole habitable Earth, we may nevertheless truly assert, that there is no Part of it more fitly adapted to the Nourishment and Improvement of these gentle and beneficial Creatures than the Islands of Great Britain and Ireland<sup>f</sup>. In these the Soil supplies the most pleasing, wholesome, and luxuriant Pastures, the Climate too is peculiarly agreeable to them, as being not so sultry, even in the warmest Summers, as to affect their tender Frames, which frequently happens elsewhere, or so inclement even in our hardest Winters, as to prove any way prejudicial to them, or at least but very seldom. It is not therefore at all wonderful, that this Nation should have been in all Ages extremely attentive to its Flocks, more especially as these were at all Times pregnant Sources of its Wealth, neither ought it to be any great Motive of Surprise, that in consequence of this, we have at certain Times, in which commercial or indeed civil Policy was but indifferently understood, suffered our Partiality

p. 159—223. 356—363. Piero de Crescenzi del Agricoltura, lib. xi. cap. lxxvi—lxxv. Maison Rustique, liv. i. chap. xxv. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 413. Negoce d'Amsterdam, p. 86. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 545. tom. ii. col. 568, 569. 940—961. 1191—1195. 1283—1286. 1451. tom. iii. col. 48—51. Instruction sur la Maniere d'elever et de perfectionner les Bestes a Laine, composer a Suedois, par Frederic W. Haffner, A Paris 1756, 12mo. L'Agrologue, vol. i. p. 82. 127. 481. vol. ii p. 62. Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire, Naturelle, tom. i. p. 280—291. tom. iii. p. 193. 522—525.

<sup>c</sup> The Scriptures speak at large of the Sheep in Syria, Palestine, and the adjacent Countries. In the Empire of Indostan and in Persia they have Sheep with Wool soft and shining as Silk. In Egypt and Ethiopia they have immense Flocks. In Barbary they have Two Kinds, one having coarse and hairy, the other close and fine Wool. In some Parts of Africa they have Sheep with large Tails. In Spain and Portugal they have been always famous for an excellent Breed. They have fine Sheep in Italy, more especially in some Parts of the Kingdom of Naples. France, Flanders, and Germany abound in Sheep of various Sizes, and their Wool of different Qualities. In the Kingdom of Norway they have many Sheep, and much Wool. In the Isles of Feroe and in Iceland the principal Substance of the Inhabitants consists in Sheep, and they cloath themselves with their Wool.

<sup>f</sup> There is an amazing Plenty of Sheep, not only in Great Britain and Ireland, through their whole Extent, but in all the small Islands also dependant upon them. In Jersey there were Sheep with Four and even with Six Horns, as there are still in Feroe and Iceland. In Wight an excellent Breed both for Flesh and Fleece. In many of the Western Isles there are as fine natural Pastures as any. In a Word, there is not a Spot in which the Inhabitants cannot from their Flocks derive Food and Cloathing.

<sup>g</sup> Our Laws shew that we had Plenty of Sheep a Thousand Years ago. One of our Saxon Kings, Edward the Elder, A. D. 925, married a Shepherd's Daughter. Under our Norman Kings, Wool was our great national Staple; and A. D. 1354. 28 Edward III. we exported in Wool, and in woollen Manufactures, to the Amount of more than Seven hundred Thirty-seven thousand Pounds, according to the Value of our Money at this Day.



for Sheep, or rather for the Advantages arising from them, to carry us beyond the Measures that Reason dictated to us, in respect to our general Interests <sup>b</sup>.

THE Male of these Creatures, which is by us called the RAM, is held from Experience to be the principal Source of a good Breed, as the Lambs propagated by him have the same coloured Wool with his Fleece and Skin, and therefore a fine stout Ram sells at a very high Price <sup>i</sup>. These Rams kept for Breed are chosen with great Care from among the He-Lambs, and the rest that are bred up are cut, and then called WEATHERS. The Females or EWES bring Lambs usually till they are Seven Years of Age, though they would live and breed to Twelve, and as some say to Twenty, but are seldom suffered to survive Half that Time <sup>k</sup>. Sheep love open Fields and Light, but are very impatient of Heat, and for that Reason always in the Middle of the Summer Days affect the Shade. They are of a humid, tender, and delicate Constitution, very subject to the Rot, to the Dropsy, and in general to many more Diseases than any other Animals, except Men and Horses <sup>l</sup>. They thrive best in dry Pastures, are endangered by moist Grounds and wet Weather, except only in Salt Marshes, where they do very well. Indeed, nothing contributes to their Preservation more than their having Recourse, if indisposed, to salt, hot, and bitter Herbs, such as Broom, Parsley, Mustard, Thyme, and Scurvy Grass. They are usually shorn with us, sometime in the Month of June, before which they are carefully washed, that the Wool may be as clean as possible. Their Age

<sup>a</sup> This was in the Reigns of Henry VII. Henry VIII. and Edward VI. when, as hath been remarked in the former Chapter, a Spirit prevailed among the Land-owners, to give an unreasonable Preference to Grazing. This concurring with, or perhaps being occasioned by, the wretched Policy of the Two last Reigns, of debasing the Coin, produced a general Dearthness of all Things, and of Consequence universal Discontent and Confusion amongst the Commons.

<sup>i</sup> As to the Signs of a good Ram, they are distinctly mentioned by Varro, by Virgil in his Third Georgic, and by Columella, who from the Experiments of his Uncle, M. Columella, has given more Light upon this Head than almost any other Author. In Spain, where the Nobility pique themselves on the Breed of their Sheep, they give Two hundred Ducats, or Fifty Pounds, for a fine Ram. Strabo assures us, that in his time (under Tiberius) they gave more than Three Times that Sum for a Ram of the Breed of the Coraxi, who were a Pontic Nation believed at that Time to have the finest Sheep in the World.

<sup>k</sup> It is observed, that as Sheep grow older their Wool becomes finer, but then they have less of it. In Germany and Sweden, if a Ewe be a remarkably good Breeder, they keep her beyond the usual Time, though her Mouth is broken, and supply her with soft Food when she can no longer feed herself. The Ewe goes One hundred and Fifty Days or Five Months; she knows her Lamb, and the Lamb her in a large Flock, though Sheep are looked on otherwise as very stupid Creatures.

<sup>l</sup> It is from this stegmatic Constitution that Sheep are exposed to so many, and such dangerous Distempers. It is observable, that almost all the Cautions for preventing, and Remedies for the Cure of these, are to be found in Virgil, Columella, or some other of the Authors de re Rustica. It should seem, that we have added little from our own Experience, which is singular, and the more so, as our Soil and Climate, and we may presume too the Nature of our Sheep, to be in some Degree different from theirs.



is known by their Teeth; when a Sheep is one Shear, as they call it, they have Two broad Teeth before; when Two Shear, Four; when Three, Six; when Four, Eight; after which their Mouths begin to break<sup>m</sup>. They begin to bear Lambs at Two Years old, and have seldom more than One at a Time, sometimes Two, very seldom Three. The third Lamb, that is, the Third a Ewe brings, is held to be the stoutest, and commonly proves the best Breeder. In rich fat Pastures the Sheep are tall, strait, and of a large Size. Where they feed on Hills and short Grass they are smaller, but are stout and square. In all dry Soils, whether rich or poor, they do well, but are thought to thrive best upon Land that is newly broken up<sup>n</sup>.

It has been already said, that Sheep are very useful to Men, and indeed they are not so only living and dead, but also every Part of them has its Uses. Their Flesh affords a pleasant, light, and wholesome Nutriment, inasmuch that People eat good Mutton oftener, and with less Satiety than any other Kind of Meat. Their Milk is much used in other Countries both for Butter and Cheese, and mixed with Cows Milk, is thought to give an excellent Flavour to the latter. It is also esteemed very salutary, more especially in Diseases of the Breast<sup>o</sup>. The Skin when tanned or tawed, which is dressing them white, makes good Leather, and that is applied to a great Variety of Uses. It is so dressed, in France especially, as to resemble Shamoy. Besides this, it is made with much Skill and Pains into Parchment<sup>p</sup>. The Suet or Tallow is also a Commodity of great and general

<sup>m</sup> In order to understand this clearly it may be proper to remark, that a Lamb at a Year old hath eight Teeth in the lower Jaw, but these are all sharp, or, as they are commonly called, Dog-teeth. At Two Years of Age Six of these remain, and in the Front they have Two broad Teeth. At Five Years old they have Eight broad, and no sharp Teeth at all. But though their Mouths break at Seven, they will live, and their Fleeces grow, to Twenty. Vide Johnston's Hist. Nat. de Quadruped. p. 61.

<sup>n</sup> We have very different Kinds of Sheep in England; in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire; for Example, they have small Sheep with black Faces, which bear fine Wool, but their Burthens are not great. Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire produce large boned Sheep of the best Shape and deepest Staple. Lincolnshire the largest Sheep of all. In Wales the Sheep are small, excellent in their Flesh, but the same cannot be said of their Fleece.

<sup>o</sup> Sanctorius has established the Superiority of Mutton as an Animal Food from Experiment. Prosper Alpinus assures us, that the Arabs half boil their Mutton, then put it in a Pot well stopp'd, and so carry it even in their Journies under that hot Climate for Twenty Days without corrupting. Sheep's Milk is still much used in some Countries, and is very rich in its Nature. The Brain, the Gall, the Oesophus, or Sweat on the Thighs, the unwashed Wool, the Fat, Lungs, Cawl, Dung, Urine, Bladder, Head, Feet, incinerated Bones, and Rennet, are all used in Physick.

<sup>p</sup> The Curriers have many different Methods of dressing Skins, according to the different Purposes to which they are applied. Amongst others, a Method hath been found to make them resemble Shagreen. At Rome and Paris they discovered the Means of separating, by the Help of Lime,

general Utility, so that what is annually consumed, especially at its present Price, amounts to a great Sum. Several Toys and other Utensils are made of the Bones. The very Dung is esteemed the best of all others, more especially for cold Clays. It is for this Purpose that they are kept in Folds upon the Land, which by this Means is enriched by the Urine as well as the Dung, and the more if the Ground be ploughed immediately after the Sheep are removed, so that the Salts are less exhale<sup>d</sup>. But the best Improvement is made in Flanders by the Help of a covered Fold, in which their Urine and Dung is mixed with Earth, Sand, &c. and this is afterwards spread upon the Land, which Method is also in some Places practised here. The vast Advantages which in this Respect are derived from these Animals, may by mature Meditation be clearly conceived, though it could not be easily reduced to Calculation<sup>r</sup>. The Swedes have endeavoured to express it in a Proverb; "Sheep, "say they," have golden Feet, and where-ever the Print of them appears the Soil is turned into "Gold."

THEIR Wool however, as the great Source of Profit, hath always been esteemed the principal Thing to be regarded in Sheep, and by which their Excellence was to be distinguished and determined<sup>s</sup>. In this Light our Wool has been very highly considered for a long Series of Ages abroad as well as at home, and as such hath been a continual and a copious Source of Industry and Wealth to this Nation. A Subject, which as our Plan requires, we shall endeavour succinctly to explain. It cannot be doubted, that as the Inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, so the Sheep also came origi-

Lime, the Epidermis or upper Tegument of the Sheep-skin, which prepared in a particular Manner is called Cuir de Poule, and the Gloves made of it Chicken Gloves. The Value of Sheep and Lambskins is very considerable.

<sup>q</sup> There is scarce any Article respecting Agriculture in which Authors, ancient and modern, so clearly agree, as in preferring this to all other Dungs, which Unanimity can only be founded in Experience. Mr. Lisle observes, the Virtue of Sheep's Dung varies according to the Food of the Animal. He says also, that the Dung of Ewes is preferable to that of Weathers. It is not only their Dung, but the very treading and lying of Sheep upon the Ground that warms and improves it.

<sup>r</sup> In some Parts of England they give Twelve Pence a Night for the Tails (as they Phrase it) of an Hundred Sheep, that is for folding them One Night on the Ground. By this, some Guess might be formed of the Advantage derived this Way from Sheep. But it will be still clearer, if we recollect what in the former Chapter hath been cited from Sir Richard Weston, who affirms by the Method mentioned in the Text, the sandy Heaths in Brabant were brought to produce twice, nay, thrice as much as the best natural Lands in the Province.

<sup>s</sup> Sheep are the only Creatures that, strictly speaking, bear Wool, and the French stile them very properly *Betes a Laine*. This Substance, which is composed of very fine Threads, twisted in a particular Manner, arises from the moist lax Constitution of the Animal, the peculiar Texture of the Skin, and the Nature of its Food. If the Reader is inclined to see a very succinct as well as scientific History of the Sheep, he may consult the *Sytema Naturæ* of the learned and accurate Linnaeus, vol. i. p. 70. Edit. xma.

nally hither from some other Country, and most probably, for many Reasons that might be assigned, from Spain<sup>t</sup>. But as to what is reported of Henry the Second, or some other of our Princes, sending for Rams or Sheep from thence, in order to improve our Breed, it seems to be equally absurd and fabulous<sup>u</sup>. Our Wool continued a staple Commodity for many Ages after we had the Manufacture; and at what Time this was first introduced, is, in which there is nothing strange, very far from being distinct or clear. But that we had it, at least in some Degree, about the Beginning of the Twelfth Century is very certain<sup>v</sup>: Though it must be acknowledged the Introduction of it is commonly placed much lower, even by very intelligent Writers. There seems to be but small if any Foundation for the Tale of Edward the Fourth sending over some English Sheep from Cotswold, from whence the excellent Breed of Sheep in Spain are supposed to be derived<sup>x</sup>. What the Spaniards themselves say, that their Wool was much improved by the Care of Cardinal Ximenes, in bringing over Rams from Africa; that, is Rams bred by the Arabians there, is much more probable, and a practice by no means new in Spain, where the Management and Improvement of their Flocks hath been always the favoured Point of their Oeconomy<sup>y</sup>.

As

<sup>t</sup> It is the Opinion of the most learned and judicious Authors, that the Northern Parts of this great Island were peopled from Germany, the Southern from Gaul, and the Western from Spain; and there seems to be little Doubt, that the original Inhabitants of Ireland came from the same Country. There is therefore nothing unreasonable in supposing they brought over Sheep with them, which seems to be confirmed by the Breed being the same in both Islands, and having a great Resemblance unto those of Spain.

<sup>u</sup> Part of the Ransom of King Richard I. was raised by a Loan of Wool, which shews that long before this it was a staple Commodity. P. Chomel, in his Dictionnaire Oeconomique, gives us a long formal Story of a wise King of England, who sent an Ambassador to a King of Castile, from whom he procured Three Thousand Sheep, which he distributed, a Ram and Two Ewes, to every Parish in which there was proper Pasture: All which is a pure Fiction, intended to shew how easily such a scheme might be executed in France. It is Conjecture, not Authority that applies this to Henry II. But against this, our History furnishes a Fact that seems to be decisive: For that Monarch, in the Thirty-first Year of his Reign, granted a Patent to the Weavers of London, that if any Cloth was found to be composed of Spanish mixed with English Wool, it should be burned by the Mayor. Stowe's Annals, p. 419.

<sup>v</sup> In the former Note it hath been shewn, that we had this Manufacture, and were jealous of it, A. D. 1185. In A. D. 1224, we have an Act of Parliament regulating the Breadth of Cloths: Upon this Statute Sir Edward Coke very justly observes, that though this is the first Law respecting it, the Woollen Manufacture had nevertheless subsisted here from Times beyond Memory. Yet our Historians fix it to A. D. 1331, which was 28th Edward III. because in that Year the King brought John Kemp and other woollen Weavers from Flanders.

<sup>x</sup> The only Authority for this is Hall's Chronicle of Edward VI. fol. vii. and he mistakes the Year of the Treaty. Some foreign Writers reverse the Story, and say it was Edward IV. who procured Sheep from Spain. But the great Objection is, that allowing the Fact of a Present made to the King of Arragon of Sheep from Cotswold, the fine Wool of Spain is not in Arragon but in Castile, and had been there long before this Time. It would have been easier for them to have mended their Breed from thence than from England.

<sup>y</sup> The Lanas Castillas, or fine Wools of Castile, are divided into Segovianas, Leonisas, Segovias, Sorianas, and Molinas. The Wools of Arragon are Albarazins, fine and middle, the Campos, and the black

Wool

As Wool and woollen Manufactures continued for many Ages the principal Commodities of this Country, so we need not wonder, that during this Space they were both of them the constant Objects of Government<sup>a</sup>. Our Kings drew a very large Revenue from the Custom upon Wool exported, a great Part of which, though not all, went into the Low Countries, where it was manufactured in great Perfection, to the no small Emolument of the Inhabitants, who while they could be plentifully supplied by us, did not give themselves much Concern about procuring Wool from other Countries<sup>a</sup>. As our Manufacture also became considerable, and much of our woollen Cloth was exported, many Regulations were thought necessary for fixing the Reputation of it, by ascertaining the Fineness and Measure of the respective Kinds of Cloth at home, and the assigning certain Ports both here and in foreign Parts from which, and to which only, they should be exported, and these were stiled STAPLES which, according to the fluctuating Politics of those Times, were frequently changed<sup>b</sup>. From the same Cause arose the Privileges granted at different Times, with respect to the Company of foreign MERCHANTS of the STEEL-YARD, and the English Company of MERCHANT ADVENTURERS, with Restraints upon the Rest of the Subjects from exporting Cloths, which though they appear to us very strange, and utterly incompatible with the publick Interest, were not seen in that Light then, at least by those who were intrusted with

Wool of Saragossa. There are also fine Wools from Portugal and Navarre. We have generally imported the Prime of the Castilian Wools, which were used in making our finest Cloths; our own from Herefordshire, Cotswold, and the Isle of Wight being equal to the Rest of the Castilian Wools in all Respects.

<sup>a</sup> It was for this Reason we find more Laws relating to them than in Reference to any other Subject. At home they made the Bulk of private Property. The Wealth of the Nobility, Clergy, and Monasteries consisted chiefly in Wool. It was at the same Time the prime Article in Commerce. Aids to the Crown were granted therein. It supplied the Demands for the Support of Armies, the Payment of Subsidies, and all other Expences incurred on the Account of the Publick in foreign Parts.

<sup>a</sup> It was the Intercourse in respect to Trade, that occasioned for a long Series of Years so close a Conjunction between the Two States, which was equally conducive to their Interests. Our Wools long supported their Manufactures, in which they were also our Masters, as they likewise were in other Arts. But this Harmony between the States was sometimes interrupted, generally through the Quarrels and Caprices of their Princes, and to the no small Detriment of their respective Subjects, which however, when felt, brought them together again.

<sup>b</sup> There were various Motives assigned for the fixing and removing these Staples; but the great Object therein was the gaining a more perfect Knowledge of what was exported, and securing the Custom. But whatever the Object might be, the Places abroad and at home, where these Staples were fixed (though but for a Time) were exceedingly benefited by them. Those originally assigned for England were Bristol, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Newcastle upon Tyne, Norwich, Westminster, and York. For Wales, Caermarthen. For Ireland, Cork, Drogheda, Dublin, and Waterford. To facilitate Exportation they were to be sent from York to Hull, from Lincoln to Boston, from Norwich to Yarmouth, from Westminster to London, from Canterbury to Sandwich, and from Winchester to Southampton.

Power<sup>c</sup>. In point of Fact however, very great Exportations were made, which could not but be very advantageous to this Nation, and at the same Time the Wealth of these Corporations enabled them to make great Loans, and to be in other Respects very serviceable to Government, which, generally speaking, preserved them against the Complaints that from time to time were very naturally raised against such Monopolies<sup>d</sup>. But in Process of Time, as Commerce became better understood, and a Spirit of Freedom gradually prevailed, the first of these Companies gave way, though the latter still maintained its Ground, as being composed of English Merchants, whose Gains, whatever they were, naturally and necessarily centered in this Country, which made their Monopoly, though still a Monopoly, more tolerable, and at the same Time the great Riches they acquired, gave them a very extensive Influence, and procured them very considerable Support<sup>e</sup>.

In the glorious Reign of Queen Elizabeth, many wise Laws were enacted for promoting our foreign Trade, several of which were in many Respects very favourable to this important Manufacture. Besides, many new Channels were opened and several of these left free, by which in a Course of Years, the Exportation of Woollen Cloths of different Sorts was so increased, as to amount to a Million and a Half annually<sup>f</sup>. It does not how-

<sup>c</sup> These great and opulent Companies, by Means of their extensive Correspondence abroad, and their numerous Connections, supported by their Privileges here, were enabled to export annually immense Quantities of Cloth to foreign Markets with much Regularity and Certainty, which naturally recommended them to every Government, who, as it was natural, preferred that Stability in Trade which certainly answered best to them to the laying it open, though that might, in many Respects, have answered better to the People.

<sup>d</sup> The Trade to France, Italy, and the Isles adjacent, at least in some Periods, were in respect to Wool and Woollen Cloths left free. This gave the Subjects some Notions of unrestrained Commerce, and indisposed them especially against the Merchants of the Hanse. Yet even in regard to the Trade to Italy, it was not carried on in our Vessels, but the Merchants from Genoa and other Places came with their Commodities to Southampton, sold them to our Merchants, and took their Value in our Goods.

<sup>e</sup> In A. D. 1552 the Company of the Stilyard were dissolved for the Abuse of their Charter. But our Historians give an obscure Account of the Matter, in saying they exported 44,000 Cloths, and all other Merchants but 1100. It could be no Crime to export a large Quantity of our Manufactures either against the Crown or the Nation. What was it then? Sir John Hayward (Kennet's History, vol. ii. p. 326) says, all the other foreign Merchants exported but 1100 Cloths. The Merchants of the Stilyard were by their Charter favoured in their Customs, and in the Reign of Edward IV. forfeited their Charter for colouring other Strangers Goods, that is, exporting them as if they had been theirs, but had it restored. It is most likely they were guilty of the same Fault now. They were prosecuted before the Council by the Merchant Adventurers.

<sup>f</sup> There were some prudent Regulations made in respect to the Manufacture. A kind Reception was given to the Protestant Weavers driven out of Flanders by the Duke of Alva. The Purity of the Coin was restored. Trade was opened with Holland, France, and the Streights. After Antwerp was destroyed, a new Correspondence arose from our Staples being transferred to Embden, Middleburgh, Stade, and Hamburgh. Our Commerce to Turkey, Barbary, and the East Indies, now first established, procured us Variety of new Markets.

ever appear that there was any Prohibition by Law against the exporting of Wool, of which however there was probably no great Quantity sent abroad, by reason of the great Demands of our Manufacturers at home. These Circumstances being duly and candidly considered, foreign Historians, and particularly the learned Grotius, and the judicious President de Thou, are very excusable, in supposing that our Woollen Manufacture was established in this, or at the highest in King Edward's Reign, though it imports us very much to know, that in this Respect they were certainly very much mistaken g. In the succeeding Reign the Exportation of Wool was forbidden by Proclamation, but was nevertheless probably permitted under Licences h. At length, Anno Domini 1614, a very plausible Proposal was made, and met with the Approbation of the Crown, which was for restraining the Exportation of white Cloths, and suffering only such to be sent abroad as were dressed and dyed at home. It is very evident, that if the End, which by this Measure was proposed, could have been compassed, as in some Degree it might possibly have been, if the Dressing and Dyeing, in order to their being one as cheap as possible, had been left free, it would in a national Light have been very beneficial, by increasing the Number of Hands employed in the Manufacture at home i. But as it was managed it proved highly detrimental. For as hitherto Foreigners, and especially the People of the Low Countries, having participated in the Profit by Dressing and Dyeing our white Cloths, this interested them in extending their Sale; upon the depriving them of that Advantage they revolted against this Scheme, and being no longer supplied with our Wool as they

g Grot. de Rebus Belg. lib. vii. asserts, that in former Times Commerce was wholly in the Hands of the trading Cities in Germany, who had an Establishment at London; the English in those Days balanced in a great Measure with other Nations from the Produce of their Pastures, exporting nothing but raw Wool till in the Reign of Edward banished Persons from the Low Countries taught them how to manufacture their own Wool, which enabled them to get rid of the Merchants of the Stilyard. Thuan Hist. sui Temporis, lib. xlvi. after giving a most pathetic Detail of the Cruelties of the Duke of Alva and their Consequences, assures us, that it was from the Flemish Fugitives who fled hither from his Severities, that we learned all our Manufactures, having no Arts amongst us before, except Agriculture and Gardening, adding a List of Towns with Norwich at their Head, which being decayed and deserted, were repaired and inhabited by these industrious Refugees.

h There are many Instances almost in every Reign of prohibiting or restraining the Exportation of Wool, sometimes under the severest Penalties, which were always looked on as Grievances, because the Intention was not to keep Wool at home, but to extort Money beyond the Subsidy (though that was very large) for a dispensing Licence, which was not refused if well paid for. Under this Reign the Prohibition was a popular Measure, Wool being dear, and the Licences were occasional Resources for the Supply of a necessitous Treasury.

i This was by no Means a new Thought, for there had been a Statute made 27 Henry VIII. prohibiting the Exportation of white Cloths above the Value of Four Pounds a Cloth. But after some Years Experience the Merchant Adventurers represented this as highly prejudicial to Trade, and Q. Elizabeth granted them a Licence to export white Cloths, *non obstante* this Statute. By this they recovered the Trade so as to vend 80,000 Cloths annually, all other Merchants remaining bound by that Statute.

had been formerly, began to look out for other Markets, and to strike more generally into the Manufacture than they had done, in both which their Example was followed in Germany, which proved so manifestly injurious to our Trade, that in Two Years this Project was given up<sup>k</sup>. This palliated but did not cure the Wound. We have dwelt the longer upon this as it is by much the most remarkable Circumstance in the History of the Woollen Manufactory.

CHARLES the First, after the Example of his Father, prohibited the Exportation of Wool by Proclamation, as a Thing, on account of the Dearness of Wool, generally acceptable to the People<sup>l</sup>. Some Regulations were also made in the same Reign in respect to the Company of Merchant Adventurers, which however, because they still left it a Monopoly, were not satisfactory. When the Parliament assumed the Power, Application was made to them on that Subject; but the Company advancing a Sum of Money for their Service, were allowed to retain their Privileges. In 1647, the Exportation of Wool, as agreeable to the Sense of the Publick, was prohibited by an Ordinance of both Houses, and after the Restoration this Prohibition was renewed by more than One Law under the severest Penalties<sup>m</sup>. When M. Colbert entered on his so much celebrated Plan for settling Manufac-

<sup>k</sup> It was the great Sale of the Merchant Adventurers which produced this Overture from Alderman Cockain and his Associates, who procured a Patent for Dressing and Dyeing Cloths. They were opposed by the old Company at *home*, their Cloths were prohibited abroad, which produced an absolute Stagnation of Trade, which intimidated the new Company. The Consequences might have been, and indeed were soon discerned, and by an immediate Recall of the Patent might have been in a great Measure prevented. But according to the procrastinating Humour of the Times, and out of too great Deference for some powerful Persons who patronized the Project, it was over and over canvassed in Council, and not cancelled at last till voted a Monopoly by the House of Commons. See Lord Bacon's Works, 1765, 4to. vol. iii. p. 327, 328. Coke's Detection of the Four last Reigns, p. 43.

<sup>l</sup> There was ever in this a great Jealousy of other Nations depriving us of our Wool. At first it was apprehended from carrying abroad live Rams and Sheep, which was forbid by Proclamation so early as A. D. 1338, by Edward III. and again by a Law, A. D. 1424, in the Reign of Henry VI. The Practice however continued, which occasioned the severe Statute 8 Eliz. cap. iii. by which for the first Offence the Criminal was to forfeit all his Goods, suffer Imprisonment for a Year, and Loss of the Left Hand to be nailed up in the most conspicuous Part of the Market Place where the Punishment was inflicted, and the second Offence was declared Felony. This Law has been often said to be against exporting Wool. But no such Law passed during that or the Two succeeding Reigns, it was only prohibited by King James's Proclamation, A. D. 1604, and again by this of King Charles in A. D. 1630. Rymer's Foedera, tom. xix, p. 155.

<sup>m</sup> See the Three Statutes of the 12th, 13th, and 14th of Charles II. In the Preamble to the First, the Design of the Act is declared to be, finding Employment sufficient for the Poor, and that the whole Benefit derivable from the native Commodities of this Realm may redound to, and be solely enjoyed by its Subjects. It also enacts, that if any Person shall transport, or as Traders cause to be transported, Sheep, Wool, &c. and be convicted thereof, they shall be disabled from requiring any Debt or Account from any Factors or Debtors, without taking away the heavier Penalty in the Act before mentioned.



tures in France, that of Wool was one of the first undertaken, and prosecuted with the greatest Effect, which, as it excited much Jealousy, so it occasioned many, and those not ineffectual Precautions, to be taken for the Security of this valuable Branch of Industry and Commerce here<sup>n</sup>. Soon after the Revolution, the Woollen Trade, in point of Exportation, a Thing ardently and universally wished, was set entirely free, and from that Time, in every Reign, the Legislature hath shewn all possible Attention to its Encouragement and Support<sup>o</sup>. With this View many new Laws have been made to prevent by every possible Method the clandestine Exportation of Wool, either from Britain or Ireland, and for regulating the Trade of the latter, as we shall hereafter see, so as to prevent its becoming injurious to the former. By removing those Impositions, which, however tolerable while we had fewer Rivals, were now no longer to be sustained; by providing as far as Laws can provide for the due making and manufacturing of Cloth, and other Kinds of Drapery, that the Reputation of our Woollen Goods might not suffer in foreign Parts, through any Frauds in the making; by securing the Journeymen from any Injustice or Oppression from the Avarice of their Masters, and by every other Means that appeared to have a rational Tendency to the preserving this important Object, and which ought to be considered as none of the least Marks of Kindness and Attention, altering, amending, and repealing<sup>p</sup> such of these Laws as from Experience were discovered, from a Change of Circumstances or any other Causes, to be ineffectual or injurious.

<sup>n</sup> It must be observed, that as we had Holland and Germany before, so from this Period France became our Rival, and a very formidable Rival she hath been, though confessedly inferior in the Material, at least of her own Growth. But this was made up by large Assurances from Government, Assiduity in Management, well planned Establishments, the Aid of foreign Artificers, and Cheapness of Labour. All these have been steadily employed in the Support of her Manufactures ever since.

<sup>o</sup> In consequence of several of these Laws, which removed many Obstacles, furnished various Encouragements, and promoted a general and vigorous Spirit of Industry, the English Woollen Manufactory was enabled to cope with all its Rivals, more especially by the Treaty concluded with Portugal in 1703, and the Demands from our own Plantations, particularly on the Continent of North America, and other new Channels of Trade that were opened, by our Merchants being released from all Restraints, and left at full Liberty to promote the publick Interest and their own.

<sup>p</sup> This abundantly appears in the many Laws for regulating the several Sorts of Drapery, so as to correct every Species of Fraud, and to amend every Defect as soon as either was discovered. By the Statute, 11 William III. cap. xx. § i. All Duties on all Cloths and Woollen Goods, and Subsidy and Aulnage, were taken away. Yet by the Statute, 6 Ann. cap. xx. § i. a Duty of Five Shillings was, and from very prudent Motives, again imposed on every Piece of broad Cloth exported White, but without any Restraint of Exportation. By several Laws passed in the Reign of King William, Ports in Ireland were fixed, from which only Wool was to be exported, and this only to certain assigned Ports in England, in which some Alterations were made in the Reign of Queen Anne. But in A. D. 1753, all these Restraints were taken away, and all the Ports opened for this Purpose in both Islands.



It is not to be doubted, that we have throughout these Islands very great natural Advantages in respect both to this valuable Material and its Manufacture, and such as in regard to either cannot be taken from us <sup>q</sup>. For we have Sheep of very different Sizes, and their Wool is also of very different Qualities, yet all of them serviceable to some Purpose or other, and consequently all of some, though not of the same Worth <sup>r</sup>. The Spanish Wools that we import are only those of their first and finest Sort, since we have enough of our own, equal if not superior to the Rest. And with regard to those fine Spanish Wools, they are equally necessary for the Uses to which we apply them to the French, the Dutch, and all other Nations <sup>s</sup>. We have been able therefore to enter into every Branch of the Cloth and Stuff Manufactures, known in our Statute Books by the Name of Old and New Draperies, and to carry them to the highest Perfection. Besides entering into the Fabric of these, Wool is employed in a vast Variety of Ways, in the making of Caps, Gloves, Stockings, and a long &c. of other Articles, so that the very List of them, and of those to whom they give Subsistence, though ever so briefly set down and explained, would swell to a considerable Treatise <sup>t</sup>. It is therefore much easier to conceive than it would be to compute, the prodigious Multitudes that are employed by them, and these too Persons of all Ages and Sexes, so that nothing can extend farther

<sup>q</sup> In respect to the Excellency of Wool, the first Point is the Breed, and it is well known that we have as fine Rains as any in Europe. The next is the Pasture, and our Downs are as good natural feeding Grounds as are to be found in most Countries. The last Thing is the Care and Management, which is facilitated by the Mildness of our Climate, more suitable to Sheep than that of Italy. Add to this, our being entirely exempt from Wolves, and in a great Degree from all other ravenous Animals. Our Skill in the Manufacture, though derived originally from Foreigners, is now so much improved by Experience, that our very Rivals recommend their Goods by saying they are of the English Make, or resemble Cloths from London. In this Situation it is evident we have but one Difficulty to overcome, which is the Dearthness of our Labour.

<sup>r</sup> Our smallest Sheep weigh from under Five to Seven Stone, allowing Eight Pounds to a Stone. These commonly bear fine Wool, and whereas in some Northern Countries such Sheep seldom carry more than One Pound, ours carry at least five Pounds. Our middle sized weigh from Eight to Eleven Stone. Our largest Sheep from Eighteen to Twenty Stone. Our Ewes commonly bear Twelve Pounds, and our large Weathers from Fourteen to Eighteen Pounds of Wool, which by due Attention is rendered both long and fine.

<sup>s</sup> The judicious and accurate Mr. Little tells us, that the Clothiers complained in his Time that Spanish Wool was not so fine as formerly, and that they said the same with regard to our Herefordshire Wool. He likewise acquaints us, that amongst the Spanish Wool there is often found a Bur, which being scattered on the Ground produced a Sort of Medica, the Feeding on which he supposes to have an Effect on the Wool, but can by no Means determine (which however deserves to be inquired into) whether it contributes to Fineness or Coarseness.

<sup>t</sup> It has been positively asserted, that from the Wool-grower to the Consumer, a Piece of Broad Cloth passes through One hundred different Hands. It is as certain there are near the same Number of Trades dependent on the Woollen Manufacture, though not actually concerned in it: But if we add to these the numerous Trades employed in the several beneficial Commodities arising from Sheep, exclusive of Wool, such as Tallow, Skins, Catgut, &c. and the Retailers of these when manufactured, it will render the following Calculation more intelligible.

or wider than the Produce of Wool in the Benefits derived from it to the whole Community<sup>u</sup>. Add to all this, that though the Crown no longer receives any Subsidy on Wool exported, or any Duties on most Branches of its Manufacture, yet it may be justly considered as contributing much more to the publick Revenue than in former Times, if we reflect on the amazing Consumption constantly and necessarily made by the Multitude of Persons employed therein of all exciseable Commodities<sup>w</sup>. Yet notwithstanding that already so much hath been done, there is no Doubt that much more may and will be done, in respect as well to the Material as the Manufacture. Our Wools, though in their present State scarce inferior to any, may still be considerably and generally improved<sup>x</sup>; and without Question there are a vast Variety of different Kinds of Woollen Goods that may be invented and wrought, which hitherto have never appeared in our Market; and as from the Ingenuity and Dexterity of our Manufacturers; so much has been effected in this Age, Posterity instructed by their Example, will, from a Principle of Emulation, undoubtedly carry it farther.

THERE is no Question, that in North as well as in South Britain, since it was originally peopled, there have been always Sheep and Wool, and these were formerly manufactured, not barely for the Use of the Natives,

<sup>u</sup> Many Computations have been made on this important Subject, and, amongst others, One about Thirty Years since, which at that Time was thought to be pretty near the Truth. According to the best Informations that can be obtained there may be from Ten to Twelve Millions of Sheep in England, some think more. The Value of their Wool may One Year with another, amount to Three Millions, the Expence of manufacturing this may probably be Nine Millions, and the total Value Twelve Millions. We may export annually to the Value of Three Millions, though One Year we exported more than Four. In Reference to the Number of Persons who are maintained by this Manufacture, there are probably upwards of a Million. Sanguine Men will judge these Computations too low, and few will believe them too high.

<sup>w</sup> The Duties on Cloth as well as Wool were of very old Standing. By a Patent Roll, 30 H. III. m. 4. it appears, that Monarch exempted Simon de Campis, Merchant of Douay, from paying any Duty on Cloths purchased here for Three Years. As this Trade encreased, the Revenue arising from it augmented, so as to become a very interesting Object in that Respect. But according to the present Mode of Taxation it is become much more considerable, since all who are employed in all these numerous and extensive Branches of Manufacture, must expend what they earn in all Kinds of Necessaries, which if we advert to their Numbers before, if not exactly, is at least under-rated, ought to be computed at between One and Two Millions, another Circumstance that puts Sheep, and what is produced from them, in a strong Point of Light.

<sup>x</sup> In respect to what may be effected by Attention to Breed it is well understood and practised. By this the Hair of Cornish Sheep hath been improved into good Wool. To this we owe, that exceeding fine, long, soft, shining, combing Wool from the Sheep in some Parts of Leicestershire, and the South Marshes of Lincolnshire, as also the long Wool from Warwick, Northampton, Rutlandshire, Rumney Marsh, &c. and indeed more or less in most Counties where due Attention hath been paid to this Circumstance. There is no Doubt therefore that this Advantage may be extended over all this Island. Mr. Stillingfleet's Proposal of sowing the best Grasses pure, will furnish, in Conjunction with fine Hay and Turnips in the Winter, the most proper Nourishment for the fine Fleece, which may of Course in like Manner with the Breed, and with like Facility, be expended.

but

but even, and that in no inconsiderable Quantities, for Exportation *y*. But as from a Variety of Circumstances, the People of England came in Process of Time to excel all other Nations in every Species of Drapery, it is no great Wonder, that the Trade, and in consequence of that, the Manufacture of Scotland declined; and that those who could afford it, chose rather to purchase fine Cloths from their next Neighbours than to wear coarse ones made at home *z*. However, before the Union, when the Nations were upon ill Terms with each other, some Attempts were made for reviving the Woollen Manufacture in this Part of the Island, and these Efforts were attended, though not with very great, yet with some Degree of Success *a*. For the Wools of the Sheep in Lammer Moor, which is a very great District in the Shire of Berwick, and in the several Shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Tweedale, Galloway, Carrick, Stirling, Dunbarton, and Fife, are still for a Variety of Purposes in good Reputè; neither are the Wools of Aberdeen, Sutherland, and Rosshire contemptible. But since that happy Event, the best of the South Country Wools have been sold to their Neighbours, and the People here have in general contented themselves with making a few Species of coarse Goods for the Wear of the common People, more especially since the Year One thousand Seven hundred and Twenty-seven, when the Linnen Manufacture came to be encouraged by the Public *b*. In the Western and Northern Isles indeed, they still continue to cloath themselves with their own Produce. But if Industry and Commerce come to take Place amongst them, there is little Reason to doubt, that they will follow

*y* Antient Histories in North as well as South Britain record little relative to Manufactures and Commerce. Yet this is no Proof against their Existence. The Scots, whatever might be the Case of the Picts, were always cloathed, and probably with their own Wool. In the Reign of their King James III. A. D. 1486, we find an Act of Parliament for the just Measuring of Cloth. In A. D. 1511, they exported into the Dominions of the Emperor Maximilian Cloth to about Half the Value of what was at that Time exported from England.

*z* This, before the Junction of the Two Kingdoms, was a favourite Trade with the English, because it consisted chiefly in fine Goods; this was an open Trade, not included in the Charter of the Merchant Adventurers; and because by the Help of the Scots Merchants considerable Quantities were exported into the Low Countries and other Places, to which these unincorporated English Merchants could not carry on a direct Commerce, this Trade therefore in some Measure continued even when the Peace between the Two Nations was interrupted.

*a* In the latter End of the Reign of Charles II. and when his Brother the Duke of York was Governour in this Country, that they set about reviving the Woollen Manufacture, and this Spirit subsisted for some Years. In this Space they made as fine Cloths, and some other Species of Goods not inferior to those made in England, but with a Loss of 25 per Cent. notwithstanding the Support of their Government, which with these Manufactures were determined by the Union.

*b* Advantages of promoting Manufactories, Edinburgh, 1683. Spruel's Account Current between England and Scotland, 1705. Interest of Scotland considered, Edinburgh, 1733. The last Author had the Interest of his Country very much at Heart, and understood it well. He had no Idea of establishing the Woollen Manufacture there, from their Want of Skill in the Management, their Want of Money to raise and support it, and their total Want of Means to resist the Jealousy which such an Attempt would excite.

the Example of their Countrymen on the Continent, and affect to wear good Cloaths as soon as they find themselves in a Condition to pay for them, which in that Case would be a great Benefit to this Country, and no Prejudice at all to them c.

IRELAND hath also always had a good Breed of Sheep, and the Excellence of their Wool for most Sorts of Manufactures is not to be disputed, though for a long Series of Years, through the continual Wars and Disturbances in that Country, much overlooked and neglected d. But after the Prohibition of sending over their Black Cattle hither, A. D. 1666, they were in a Manner compelled to do what they could to repair that Loss, by working up their Wool, in which they soon became very successful, more especially in Frizes and some other Kinds of Goods, which they made in great Perfection e. But the Country being again plunged in a civil War, this and every Species of Industry was interrupted, and which was still worse, prodigious Quantities of their Sheep were destroyed f. In a few Years

c Their Funds ought to arise from their Fisheries, and the Manufactures and Commerce necessary to, or proceeding from them. For it will be the constant Endeavour of every wise Administration to promote extensive Agriculture, and from thence a general Plenty through the whole British Dominions, to excite and encourage Industry every where, and by every Means, directing it always to proper Objects, so that an assiduous Exertion of Individuals, pursuing their private Interests in all Places, may, without crossing or clashing with each other, concur to the Accomplishment of publick Good.

d The Irish Wool in general, but especially in Limerick, Kilkenny, Kerry, Waterford, Cork, and other Counties, is fine long combing Wool, than which there is little in England superior. It is this makes it so acceptable in foreign Parts, where it is not our short fine Wools they desire to have for the making fine Cloths; for these they may, and do procure from Spain and Portugal, but that before described, which is indeed not common, and therefore valuable in other Countries.

e We may safely affirm, that no Law was ever so warmly attacked, or so indifferently defended, as this for prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle, and yet being a popular Law it was persisted in, and by subsequent Statutes enforced. The Conduct of the People of Ireland was natural, and such as might have been, and probably was foreseen; and some English Manufacturers attentive to their own Interests, and knowing the numerous, and in respect to Manufactures and Commerce, important Advantages of Ireland, went over and set up there. It was not at all pleasing here even in this Period, that the Irish should manufacture for Exportation (though even then Wool could not be exported to foreign Parts); but as the Bulk of their Exportation consisted in Frizes and coarse Stockings, which did not interfere with the Trade of England, it produced no new legal Restraint.

f The War that followed the Revolution in Ireland contributed to the Ruin of their Woollen Manufactures many different Ways. The Places where they were established suffered by the Military Operations. Some who were at the Head of them returned to England. Numbers of the inferior Sorts fled into other Countries. The supplying Camps, the maintaining Garrisons, and the Depredations of the Soldiers and the native Irish, destroyed vast Numbers of Sheep. But as soon as the Nation was quiet, and the Manufactures re-established, the Spirit of Jealousy revived here, and shewed itself in several Instances, some of which will be hereafter mentioned, all pointing to that Measure which was thought to be the only effectual Remedy which was proposed, in A. D. 1698, in an Address to the Crown, and passed into a Law the Year following.

however

however after the Revolution, when Things were once more reduced into Order, the Woollen Manufactory began again to lift up its Head, and in a short Time became so flourishing as to excite Apprehensions here, on a Point of all others as to which with great Reason this Nation was most jealous; and therefore as the publick Tranquillity in Ireland had been restored at a great Expence of English Blood and Treasure, it was thought necessary, the rather because the Cheapness of Labour would have given great Advantages to the People there, to restrain by Law the Exportation of Wool and Woollen Manufactures from Ireland, except to England; and even this Exportation was confined to particular Ports in both Islands.

BUT to soften this as much as possible, the Linnen Manufacture was set on foot, and all possible Encouragement given to it by the Publick; and by this Means, as some of the most intelligent Persons in that Country acknowledge, they had a very full Equivalent by the substituting as easy, as certain, and at the same Time a more profitable and advantageous Mode of employing their Labour<sup>n</sup>. Yet this, and all the Care that in other Respects could or can be taken, hath never prevented there, any more than here, the Smuggling of Wool, or the clandestine Exportation of Manufactures from thence. In order however to effect this, or at least to lessen and abate the Evil as much as possible, several legal Indulgencies have been granted; such as the opening all the Ports in both Islands, removing the Duties upon Irish Woollen Yarn imported into England, and whatever else might contribute towards reconciling the Interests of the Two Nations<sup>i</sup>.

This

<sup>n</sup> By Stat. i. W. & M. cap. xxxii. § 2. the Exportation of Wool from Ireland was limited to Six Ports in that Island. By Stat. vii. & viii. W. III. cap. xxviii. § 3. the former Act was confirmed, and the Importation limited to Eight Ports in England. By Stat. ix. & x. W. III. cap. xl. § 1. the Exportation of Fulkers Earth and scouring Clay into Ireland from England or Wales are prohibited; and by Stat. x. & xi. W. III. cap. x. § 1. the Exportation of any Woollen Manufactures from Ireland, except into England and Wales, are prohibited. The Woollen Manufacture in Ireland is now carried on for their own Consumption, and many light and elegant Stuffs proceed from their Looms. They send over annually immense Quantities of raw Wool and Yarn into Britain, besides what is clandestinely carried abroad, for want of Demand at home.

<sup>i</sup> The Beginning of the Linnen Manufacture may be dated from the Stat. vii. & viii. W. III. cap. xxxix § 1. when all Productions of Hemp or Flax were allowed to be exported into England and Wales Duty free; this was extended also to the British Plantations, and has been cherished and assisted since in every Reign. Mr. Dobbs, who was an able and an impartial Judge, computes, that in less than Forty Years from this Time, the Produce of this new Manufacture amounted in the home Consumption and Exports to a Million per Annum. He farther states, that all this arose from the Produce of no more than Thirty thousand Acres, and afforded Employment and a Living to at least One hundred and Seventy thousand Persons; an amazing Proof of what Industry will do, when duly encouraged, as well as properly directed! Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, P. i. p. 35.

<sup>1</sup> If one may be allowed to speak freely on so delicate and so important a Point, the Case seems to be this: The British Dominions, in proportion to their Extent, produce more Wool than the Rest of Europe. We endeavour, and wisely, to avail ourselves of this Advantage. By keeping at

This Article, however long, it is hoped will not appear tedious to the intelligent Reader, as it proceeds from an earnest Desire of affording him a comprehensive View of a Subject, that might, and indeed hath employed many Volumes. A Subject of the greatest Importance, as regarding the most ancient, and beyond Comparison the most valuable of all our Manufactures, and by the treating of which so fully it may be allowed to be more concise in respect to the Rest <sup>k</sup>.

WE come next to speak of another Kind of Creatures nearly allied to Sheep, which are GOATS. The Ancients were much more attentive to these than we are, for which some probable Causes may be assigned, and more especially this, that in hot Countries their Flesh is more juicy, sweeter, and better tasted, especially that of Kids, which in the Regions of the East hath been always, and is still accounted a Delicacy<sup>l</sup>. The Goat is naturally more docile and sagacious than the Sheep, and withal stronger, bolder, more active, and more lively. They are indeed constitutionally brisk, wanton, capricious, roving, and impatient of Restraint; but notwithstanding these Qualities, they are easily tamed, grow familiar with Men, and even fond of them. In point of Colour, they are sometimes black, sometimes white, but more commonly these Colours are intermixed, and they are frequently spotted with what we call Fallow. The He-Goat is distinguished by his Beard, which is sometimes Nine Inches long, wreathed Horns, full Eyes, and very stately in his Walk. They are capable of breeding very young, the Male at a Year, the She-Goat at Seven Months;

home (as much as in us lies) we keep the Material low; while the Rest of Europe, being in Comparison with us in a State of Want, give a higher Price for our Wool than it will fetch at home; and this, in Spite of all our penal Statutes, they by this advanced Price obtain; and it is to be feared will always obtain, till by an Augmentation of our Inhabitants, and the Extension of our Commerce, we ourselves are enabled to work it all up; which ought therefore to be the constant and assiduous Object of our Councils, and our Endeavours.

<sup>k</sup> The History of Wool and the Woollen Manufacture in one Period, and in one Point of View, is the History of our publick Revenue. In a succeeding Period it becomes the capital Object of our Commerce. It grew from thence the important Subject of our political Councils. The preserving and supporting it against foreign Rivals, the due Regulation of its numerous Branches, and proper Restrictions, which were judged requisite to the commercial Benefits resulting from it to this Country, have occupied our ablest Statesmen for more than a Century past. Whoever desires to be more circumstantially informed in any or all of these Particulars, may meet with Satisfaction by consulting that accurate and laborious Work published by the ingenious and indefatigable Mr. Smith, in Two large Volumes, intitled, *Memoirs of Wool*.

<sup>l</sup> Var. de la Russie, lib. ii. cap. xi. Columel. lib. vii. cap. vi. vii. viii. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. i. Joub. Quadrup. 47. Raii Synops. Animal. 77. Linnæi Syst. Nature, vol. i. p. 68. Harlow's Description of Brittain, Book iii. chap. viii. Googe's whole Art of Husbandry, fol. 136—139. Markham's cheap and good Husbandry, p. 96. Worlidge's System of Agriculture, p. 173. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, Book vi. chap. vii. Piero de Crescenzi. del Agricoltura, lib. ix. cap. lxxvi. Maison Rustique, liv. i. chap. xxvi. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 576—580. L'Agronome, tom. i. p. 191. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 868, 869. Raufobie Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 173. Dictionnaire universelle d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 352, 355.

but

but the proper Time of matching them is when the Male is Two, and the Female Three Years old<sup>m</sup>. The former is serviceable till he is Five, the latter to Seven Years, and they seldom live, or rather are suffered to live, beyond Eight. But this is by no Means their usual Term of Life in a State of Nature<sup>n</sup>. They carry their Young like Sheep about Five Months, bring sometimes One, sometimes Two, rarely Three Kids; though in Egypt and in the East Indies they have frequently Four.

They love rocky, mountainous, shrubby Grounds, where they live on any Thing they can find, affecting a Variety, though at the same Time they are very fickle in their Food<sup>o</sup>. They are best kept in small Herds of about Fifty, for which one Male is sufficient. They are subject, at least with us, to fewer Diseases than Sheep; and if they are allowed full Liberty, seldom fail of finding Remedies for their own Distempers. It is easy to discern even from this short Account of these Creatures, that they are by no Means fit for, and indeed they by no Means thrive in, level, rich, or well cultivated Countries. But they are more especially hurtful where there are any Nurseries or Plantations of young Trees, where they can get into any Gardens, especially Kitchen Gardens, in which they make great Devastation, or even into common or Corn Fields, where they destroy whatever they find. But in Places that are proper for<sup>p</sup> them, they are or might be made very

<sup>m</sup> The He-Goat should be of a large Size, his Neck short, his Head long and thin, his Ears pendant, his Thighs stout, his Legs firm, his Hair thick, soft, and sleek, and his Beard full-sized and bushy. The Female also should be large and plump, especially behind, her Thighs fleshy, her Head light, her Udder full, her Teats long, with thick, soft, shining Hair. Virgil, who spoke from his own Experience, highly commends these Animals in his Third Georgic, and even places them on a Level with Sheep.

<sup>n</sup> If any one had conjectured these Creatures might reach to the Age of between Thirty and Forty Years, and even then retained their Strength, he would scarce have gained Credit. Yet this is a Fact, as appears from Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 169, his Crew, in the Island of Juan Fernandez in the South Seas, having shot several Goats which had the Mark of Alexander Selkirk, who lived there a long Time alone, and had been delivered from thence Thirty-two Years before. These Goats living wild, were sweet and well tasted like Venison. The Spaniards, to deprive their Enemies of the Subsistence afforded by these Goats, had since Selkirk's Time put Dogs of different Kinds upon the Island to destroy them; and in this they so far succeeded as to diminish their Numbers very much, and to drive the Remainder into Places so steep and full of Precipices, as to be inaccessible to all other Animals.

<sup>o</sup> It appears from the PAN SUECUS, that Goats eat more different Herbs than any other Cattle, but are observed to feed chiefly on the Tops of Herbs and Flowers. They also eat Hemlock freely, though to most other Animals it is Poison. But they delight particularly in browsing on the tender Boughs of Trees, more especially, as Columella remarks, on the Branches of the Ailaternus, or evergreen Privet, the Arbutus or Strawberry Tree, and the Cytisus or shrub Trefoil.

<sup>p</sup> There are many Places in the West and North even of South Britain, as well as Wales, North Britain, and the Islands dependent thereon, exceedingly adapted to the Support of these Animals, and in some of which they are very common, but in none of them much esteemed, or the keeping them turned to so much Profit as they might, and as they actually do in other Countries, where they are inferior in all Respects to ours, and consequently there is nothing wanting but a little Attention to render them as useful here. It may not be amiss to remark, that in Places



very beneficial; for they will thrive very well where other Cattle would starve, are very hardy, never incommoded, as Sheep sometimes are, by the Heat of this Country, nor much by the Cold; though in rainy and very severe Weather they are the better for being housed, provided the Floors of the Places where they lie be well pitched with Flints or paved with Tiles, so that they may be easily washed and kept clean, since in this Respect there are few Animals more nice or more easily injured by Filth of any Kind. It is a general Opinion that the smell of them is very salutary to Horses; for which Reason, even in great Cities, they are commonly kept in Stables &c.

IN Countries where they have Abundance of Sheep and Black Cattle, as they have no need of Goats, so they are little regarded. But in Places where those are less common, and in which, from their Nature and Situation, these last mentioned Creatures can be much more commodiously kept, they may with very little Pains taken about them be rendered very profitable, more especially if they are of a good Kind, as ours are in the Opinion of our Neighbours, who in this Respect are the best Judges<sup>r</sup>. Goats give more Milk than Sheep, and in some Places it is very highly esteemed, as being less heavy than Cows, and not so aqueous as that of Asses. The Cheese produced from it, or at least from a Mixture of this with our Cows Milk, when well made, proves very good<sup>s</sup>. As for the Whey, it is thought preferable to any other, as being aperient, abstringent, attenuating, and laxative; for which, as well as the Milk, it is exceedingly commended

where they are most common, the Inhabitants have frequently need enough of Resources for adding to the Means of their Subsistence, and are not like to be displeas'd with any Informations that may advance, or are even offer'd with an Intention of advancing, so laudable an End.

<sup>r</sup> We find this mentioned in very ancient Authors, who speak of it as an old Custom. It is not easy to conceive how this Practice, which still generally prevails, could have kept its Ground, if not supported by Experience. Yet it is this Rankness, which is chiefly in the Skin, that hath created a Prejudice against Goats. It is probable that the keeping them in Parks, and hunting them, as Giles Markham says, was the common Method in the Azores, freed them from this strong Scent.

<sup>s</sup> Father Chomel in his Dictionnaire Oeconomique, asserts, "Chevres d'Angleterre trois fois plus utiles que celles de France," i. e. the Goats of England are thrice as useful as those of France. Not satisfied with making us this Compliment, he adds, we had the Wisdom to bring over this fine Breed from Barbary and the Indies, and the Prudence to distribute them through all the barren, rocky, and mountainous Parts of the Island. Other French Writers say the same Thing as to the Superiority of our Goats.

<sup>r</sup> Dr. Cheyne, an able Physician, and a most worthy well-meaning Man, observed that Goats feeding in pure Air, on high Places, on the most tender, light, and aromatic Plants, must communicate a Spirit, Balsam, and Sweetness to their Milk and Whey. He wondered that the amazing and indisputable Cures done by this easy Remedy in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, did not more recommend it; and laments, that the most beneficial and sanative Things are slighted and overlooked, while new, foreign, costly, and complicated ones are admired.



for the Recovery of consumptive and emaciated Persons<sup>t</sup>. Some Use is made of our Goats Hair, particularly by the Dyers<sup>u</sup>. But as ours are believed to be of the same Species with those in Asia, so there is little Reason to doubt that the Breed might be improved in such a Manner, as to furnish us at home with that long, shining, soft, and silky Hair, that we at present import from the Levant, and from which many Kinds of Goods are made which bear a considerable Price<sup>w</sup>. The Skins both of Goats and of Kids are made into Leather of different Sorts, some resembling Shamooy, which is indeed only the Skin of the Alpine Goat. They likewise are dressed white, especially those of the Kids, and are employed in making Gloves, and for other Purposes<sup>x</sup>. It has been already hinted, that the Suet or Tallow of this Animal is the hardest, and, if we except that of Deer, the best of any, and makes Candles close and white, very little inferior to Wax. In other Countries these Productions turn to great Account, more especially the last; and with a View to this, they not only cut the old He-Goats, but also many of the Kids, which with the She-Goats when past breeding they fatten with dry Food, and drive a considerable Trade

<sup>t</sup> As the most eminent Physicians, antient and modern, concur in these Sentiments, it is surely very practicable to introduce the like Use of this easy and effectual Remedy in some Parts of England, such as Malvern Hills which separate Worcester from Herefordshire, several Places in Cornwall, and very many in the Northern Counties. It cannot be doubted that under a proper Regimen as to Air, Diet, and Exercise, Goats Whey would be found as salutary in any of them, as in any other Parts whatever in this Island. It is by no Means improbable, that an annual Resort of Company in the proper Season might gradually produce Villages and Hamlets, where otherwise they will never be seen.

<sup>u</sup> Virgil acquaints us, that in his Time Goats were constantly shorn as well as Sheep, and that coarse Cloths were made of their Hair, which were worn by Seamen. Ropes made of this last long in Water without rotting. The French, who are very great Artists in Dyeing, make an excellent Red, by boiling Goats Hair, shred small, in a certain Lye in which it dissolves. This Colour they call Nacarat de bourre, which is esteemed very lasting. See the Preparation and Uses of *le Teinteur Parfait*, p. 9. 17. 22.

<sup>w</sup> In respect to mending our own Breed, by importing He-Goats from Asia, it seems practicable, because said to have been tried with Success in France. But it would be probably better to import both the He and She Goats, and to preserve the Race pure, which might be easily done in some of our small hilly Islands. This is what the Swedes, encouraged by mending their Wool, through the getting over (in spite of our several Laws) English Rams, have already attempted; Mr. Alstroemer, one of the Members of their Board of Trade, having for this Purpose expressly commissioned some fine Goats from Alexandria. This shews the Notion not to be either singular or chimerical.

<sup>x</sup> The several Kinds of Leather made of the Skins of these Animals prove that they may be rendered very profitable: To mention only a few; that soft, smooth, fine grained Sort, which we call Spanish Leather, Morocco of all Sorts, and of all Colours, the best brought from Constantinople and the Levant, much from Barbary and Spain, though it might be made in great Perfection here. In Spain and France they make use of Goat-skin Bags for transporting Oil and Wine, whence the latter acquires a peculiar Taste, which we call the Borachio.

with the Tallow and Hides  $\gamma$ . It is by no Means meant to recommend the Breeding of Goats in any Part of the British Dominions where they are not to be found at present; but in Places where they already are, the making the most of them is a Point that deserves to be considered  $z$ . It may possibly deserve also to be attempted.

IN respect to BLACK CATTLE in general, these Islands have been always, and very deservedly, famous. We have, and have always had, Animals of this Kind of very different Sizes, according to the Richness or Poverty of the Soil, rather than the Climate where they were bred. But we have been for about a Century past very successful, in many Places where this hath been particularly attended to, in the Improvement of our Breed, and in rendering them better, and more profitable in all Respects than formerly  $a$ . The BULL is with us of a stout, strong Body, and of a very fierce Countenance and Nature, with short smooth Horns, and not arriving at his full Growth until between Two and Three Years Old. They are fit for propagating their Species before that Time, and are of very little Value in that Respect when they are above Four or at most Five. Bateing them was formerly a Diversion, and supposed to render their Flesh more tender, but it is al-

$\gamma$  The Number of Uses to which this Commodity (exclusive of making Candles) is now applied, such as the Compounding Soap, Dressing of Leather, Caulking the Bottoms of Ships, &c. hath much increased the Demand for, and of course raised the Price of, Tallow. In consequence of this, Exportation is prohibited under severe Penalties, and vast Quantities are imported. It should seem therefore a Matter of some Importance to augment our Stock, especially since for medicinal Uses this is preferable to any.

$z$  The most fertile Countries have their barren Spots. Italy hath its Alps and its Appenines; and so, as Camden long since observed, hath England. On these the Goats are the Cattle placed by Nature. In such rude Corners where Nature seems to have taken the least, Men destined to live in them must take the most, Pains. Sagacity and Industry must supply all Defects, and if they will have Plenty they must earn it. There cannot consequently be a more honest or humane Action, than to endeavour at least towards contributing to such Mens Felicity. This in the present, and in many other Cases, hath been my sincere Aim; in which if I meet with any Success, it will add to that Satisfaction which the Intention gives me.

$a$  Varro de re Rustica, lib. ii. Virgil. Georg. lib. ii. iii. Columel. lib. vi. cap. 1—26. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 45. xi. cap. 37. 39. 41. 42. xviii. cap. 19. xx. cap. 7. xxviii. cap. 10. 11. Gesner. Quadrup. 25. Raii Synop. Animal. 70. Linnæi System. Nat. tom. i. p. 71. Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry. Googe's Husbandry, fol. 120—129. Harison's Description of Britain, Book iii. chap. 8. Markham's cheap and good Husbandry, p. 59—84. Fuller's Worthies of England, Lancashire, p. 106. Lincolnshire, p. 149. Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire, chap. vii. § 68. Houghton's Collections for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, vol. i. p. 277—413. Mortimer's complete Art of Husbandry, Book vi. ch. 5. Lisle's Observations on Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 85—153. Trattado del Agricultura di Crescenzi, liv. ix. cap. 60—66. Maison Rustique, liv. i. chap. 13. 14. 22. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, vol. i. col. 347—367. vol. ii. col. 1228—1233. Beaufobre Introduction a la Etude de la Politique des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 66—69. Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. i. col. 446—449. tom. iii. 1125—1127. col. 1141—1147. L'Agrologue, tom. ii. p. 417—427. Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. v. p. 354—373.

ways hard and coarse, and therefore seldom eaten <sup>b</sup>. Large Cows are most esteemed, more especially if their Udders be large also; they carry their Young Nine Months, and calve in the Beginning of the Tenth, bring sometimes Two, and sometimes Three Calves, are looked on as in their Prime between the Age of Five and Eight, and fall off about Ten. Yet they will live to twice that Age, though they are generally fatted and killed much sooner. They make good Beef, the Heifer especially <sup>c</sup>. Our OXEN are in many Places of a very large Size, remarkably fair and beautiful, their Flesh, when grass-fed, very sweet and wholesome if eaten fresh; but they must be stall-fed to take Salt well, and if their Flesh be then properly cured it will keep perfectly sweet for full Two Years <sup>d</sup>. They are seldom kept beyond Seven Years old. Our Calves are large, and our Veal remarkably white and fine. There are few CALVES reared in the Neighbourhood of London, not only from the Vicinity of so great as well as so good a Market, but because the Land, generally speaking, lets too dear to admit the raising them with Profit <sup>e</sup>. Black Cattle are subject to several

<sup>b</sup> Black Cattle seem confined to Europe, Part of Asia, that is, as far as Armenia and Persia, Barbary and Egypt, where they are very large, in some of the African Islands, and in America, to which they were transported by Europeans. Our Farmers say proverbially, an old Cock and a young Bull. This Animal, chosen with much Care, and reared with some Trouble and Expence, is worth near thrice as much at One as at Four Years old. He is then commonly gelt, called afterwards a Bull-flag, worked some Years, then fatted, and killed when their Flesh is tolerable.

<sup>c</sup> Cows have larger Horns than Bulls; in other Respects the more they resemble them, or Oxen (which shall be particularly described) the more they are esteemed. The Ancients kept their Cows from Breeding till Four Years old. We, for the Sake of Profit, admit them sooner. It is said (but it is unusual) that a Cow hath had Nine, nay, Ten Calves in the Space of Three Years. In Essex, Cows have had Three Calves, which having been brought up with Care, have been sold to the Butchers for Nine Pounds. In Moreton's Northamptonshire, p. 446, we have a singular Instance of a Cow that had Two Calves at Eighteen Years old, and both Cow and Calves remained found and healthy.

<sup>d</sup> It is universally allowed, that for all Uses whatever, but more especially for Salting for Land and Sea Service, our English Beef is as good and as wholesome as any in the World. If therefore our Manner of Living, and the constant Demands for our Shipping, be considered, we may easily conceive the Consumption, and of Course the Value of Beef must be very great. The Consumption of Beeves within the Bills of Mortality exceed (according to the best Lights that could be obtained) One hundred thousand, in the Rest of South Britain perhaps Five hundred thousand or more, the Amount of which must come to many Millions; but how many must depend upon the Size of the Beasts, the Price of Meat, and other contingent Circumstances which vary annually, indeed we may say, alter continually.

<sup>e</sup> The breeding Calves for the Butcher many Miles round London has been long in Use, and attended with great Profits, in consequence of the Judgment, Skill, and Pains exerted in rendering them of a large Size, and very delicate. They are brought partly in Carts or Waggon, partly on Horses, by which they waste less. It appears from the Returns of the Clerks of the Market, and other Informations, that the Number of Calves is about double the Number of Beeves consumed in this Metropolis; and it is from thence evident, that there is annually spent in Veal upwards of Half a Million; an amazing Sum! but greatly, at least for many Years past, within Compass.

Diseases, and yet not near so many as Sheep; but are, like them, liable sometimes to Infection, or, as it is called, the Murrain, which carries them off in great Numbers, creating a Scarcity not speedily to be repaired <sup>f</sup>.

WE not only receive most wholesome and substantial Nourishment from the Flesh of these Animals, but they likewise render Mankind very essential Services while living. It is for this Reason they have been very highly, as well as very justly, celebrated by the ancient Writers on Husbandry <sup>g</sup>; and if they appear less useful, or rather less necessary in these Times, it is our Fault, since undoubtedly they are still as fit for the Labour of the Plough as ever. We may alter our Customs, but Nature will remain the same. Bulls, though it seldom happens, may be thus employed; but then they are to be yoked as Horses are in a Line, and not in Pairs <sup>h</sup>. Oxen however are generally used for this Purpose, to which they seem admirably suited, by their Size, their Strength, the Make of their Body, and their Temper, which is naturally patient. They are to be trained, or, as the Country Phrase is, broke to it at a proper Age, that is about three Years old, when they have attained their full Growth, and while they are still docile and manageable <sup>i</sup>. They are then duly fed, very gently used, and never urged beyond their accustomed Hours. The old and awkward Method of fastening their Harness to their Horns hath been long laid aside, for that which enables them to exert their Force more equally, and with greater Ease; in which it is not impossible however that some farther Im-

<sup>f</sup> This Disease hath been hitherto but indifferently explained, more especially as to the Cause. It has sometimes spread over a great Part of Europe, but gradually, and not all at once. Some ascribe it to a putrid Humour in the Juices of the Cattle, others to an infectious Disposition of the Air, some to a pestilential Vapour from the Earth, and others again to Insects, which seems to be the most natural, as the most effectual Preservatives and Remedies are Soot, Saltpetre, Gunpowder, Brimstone, and such-like.

<sup>g</sup> Hesiod, the oldest Author on these Subjects, makes the Farmer's Family consist, in the Husband, the Wife, and the Ox. He was termed the faithful Minister of Ceres, and the constant Companion of Man in the Labours of the Field. Virgil gives it us as a striking Circumstance of the Saturnian Age, that it preceded that in which an impious Race first feasted on slain Bullocks. In those Days the Horse was only for the Saddle, and the Culture of the Earth entirely committed to Oxen.

<sup>h</sup> The Reason of this is his fierce, surly, and obstinate Nature. If Two Bulls were yoked, they would gore each other with their Horns; on the other Hand, it should seem more practicable with an Ox of the same Size. This also hath been tried, but with little Success, not barely from the mischievous Disposition of the Bull, but chiefly from the nauseous Rankness of his Breath, by which the Ox, as the Farmers assert, (see Lisle's Observations, vol. ii. p. 85) would be very ~~speedily~~ killed, and therefore whenever Bulls are wrought they draw in a Line.

<sup>i</sup> Varro says, the Ox fittest for Labour hath a broad Forehead, large black Eyes, rough hairy Ears, Jaws wide and strong, thick black Lips, Dewlap large reaching to the Lances, thick brawny Neck, his Shoulders broad, his Hair not rough or shaggy, well set straight Legs, rather short, to sustain better the Weight of his body, his Knees large and strong, his Feet turning out, spreading wide, and broad withal, his Coat thick, short, and sleek, his Tail long, and covered well with hair.

provement might be made. They are also cued, that is, ~~shed~~ properly, and great Care is taken to keep them dry while wrought, and to afford them proper Nourishment in the Winter. They are wrought till about Ten or Eleven Years old, and are then fatted for the Shambles <sup>k</sup>.

OXEN are fittest for Ploughing in a deep, heavy, or clayey Soil, for they do not so well on Gravel, and still worse on Chalk, which very soon beats and ruins their Feet. They are cheaper than Horses in many Respects, particularly in their Food, as they require no Oats, still more in their Shoes and Harnes, and in their being less Subject to, and consequently less expensive from their Diseases <sup>l</sup>. But what makes the greatest Difference, is their not becoming either useless or of no Value in case of Lameness, or when past Service, since they are then fatted, and that too in a short Time, and brought to a good Market, as their Flesh is in every Respect, as tender and wholesome as that of younger Beasts <sup>m</sup>. There is therefore Reason to wonder, that the Use of Oxen, in this material Part of Husbandry, is so much declined. It must however be admitted, that even so early as the Days of Fitzherbert, it was held problematical whether Horses or Oxen

<sup>k</sup> In Marshland, and other Places, where they pique themselves on fattening Oxen to a large Size, they are very plentifully fed with fine Hay, live at their Ease, and are very carefully attended. But perhaps this may be more easily and cheaply performed. Mr. Houghton assures us, that an Ox which sold for Thirty Pounds, was Seventy Years ago fatted upon Cabbage Leaves in Suffolk. They are now very well and very speedily fatted with Carrots, as hath been already mentioned. Some of our Stall-fed Oxen are in Truth of an almost incredible Bulk. In A. D. 1755 an Ox was killed at Sunderland which weighed Two hundred Seventy-seven Stone Five Pounds, or 2221 lb. A. D. 1754, a Pair of Oxen, belonging to Mr. Constable of Burton Constable, were killed at Beverley, which weighed Five hundred Forty-two Stone and One Pound, or 4337 lb. But these fell all short of an Ox of Sir Walter Wagstaff Bagot, Baronet, killed A. D. 1753, at Blyth Field in Staffordshire, which weighed Three hundred Thirty-five Stone and Six Pounds, or 2686 lb. But these, out of many more Instances that might be produced within these Seven Years, are to be regarded as extraordinary and unusual. They shew however to what prodigious Sizes our Beasts may be raised; that this may be done, wherever there are good Pastures and due Attention; and that consequently very large Beeves may be had in any Part of the Island where the Course of the Markets may require them.

<sup>l</sup> It is true, that in Summer Oxen as well as Horses Feed on Grass. Yet it hath been long since remarked in favour of the Ox, that by his Dung he restores to the Soil as much as he takes from it. By this, and by the Thickness of his Lips, which hinder him from biting close, the Ox leaves his Pasture better than he found it; whereas an Horse gradually impoverishes and consumes it. In Winter, Straw and a few Turnips content Oxen, or at most a little Hay. A Lad that finds his Hands full in managing Four Horses, would look to Eight Oxen with much more Ease.

<sup>m</sup> This is the most weighty Argument, more especially if we consider the Price and the Demand for Beef of late Years. An Ox when his Vigour abates, and he is no longer fit for Plough, by which for Seven Years he has amply earned his Living, fats kindly at last, and sells for a good Sum. A disabled or a superannuated Horse is utterly useless, and as such is consigned to the Dogs. Indeed the Death of Horses, and the many Accidents to which they are liable, make an heavy Article in most Farmer's Expences, as themselves allow.

were the fittest for this Labour<sup>n</sup>; and perhaps the Solution of this Question may depend on the Difference of Soils. But allowing the difuse of Ox Teams to be, as indeed it seems to be, an Error, it will be best remedied by gentle Methods, by having Recourse to convincing Experiments, and by Gentlemens setting Examples of reviving the old Method, where they hold any Quantity of Ground in their own Hands<sup>o</sup>. It may be proper to remark before we quit this Subject, that the barren Cow, called by the Country People a Free MARTIN, has almost as much Strength, and is nearly as fit for this Labour, as the Ox, and proves afterwards also as good Meat<sup>p</sup>.

If the Labour of the Ox be of such Consequence in the Cultivation of arable Land, from whence we are supplied with Grain, we may with the strictest Justice affirm, that an equal Tribute of Praise is due to the Cow for the Support of our DAIRIES. These are unquestionably of great Importance in many Countries, but in none more than in this, where their annual Produce is amazingly large in Quantity, and at the same Time no less excellent in Quality. The Ancients were very exact in their Descriptions of the Marks of a good Cow, and entered so thoroughly into the Characteristics established by Nature, that they are acknowledged as the surest Rules at this Day<sup>q</sup>. Varro ranges the Colours of Kine in this Order,

<sup>n</sup> The Romans marked very strongly their Notion of Oxen only being adapted to the Plough, by giving their Acre, which was the Basis of their superficial Measure, the Denomination of Juggerum, i. e. A Day's Ploughing of a Yoke of Oxen. Our Saxon Ancestors on the same Principle had their Ofgang or Bovata Terræ, which was Fifteen Acres, and Six of these made a Ploughland, that is as much as Six Oxen could plough in a Year. Three Jugera make very nearly Two of our Acres. It should seem therefore that the Ancients did by no Means over-work their Cattle, since in many Places a Pair of Oxen will Plough One of our Acres in a Day without being faint or fatigued.

<sup>o</sup> It seems unreasonable at least to recur hastily to Authority in a Case of this Nature. We know not what the Farmers have to say for themselves; but without knowing this, we may safely conclude they think Ploughing with Horses most for their Interest. Convince them it is not so, and there will need no coercive Methods to bring them back again to the old Manner of Ploughing with Oxen. His Grace the Duke of Queensberry in Wiltshire, and Lord Clare in Essex, have already pursued this Mode, and it would be well if they were imitated by others of Rank and Fortune. This would quickly put the Fact out of Dispute; and, if they are in the wrong, the Farmers out of Countenance.

<sup>p</sup> The Romans were acquainted with this sterile Cow, and called her Taura. In Moreton's Northamptonshire, p 447, we are told the Opinion of the Graziers in that County, which I take to be general on this Head. They say, that when a Cow brings a Bull and a Cow Calf together, the latter is always a Free Martin, and never bears. He professes not to know whence the Name arises, and in this I profess also to be no wiser. But I much Doubt the absolute Truth of the Graziers Account of this Matter. Mr. Lisse observes from an intelligent Farmer, that a Free Martin's Head is coarser, her Horns more open, her Udder smaller than that of a Heifer. He adds, that the Flesh of a Free Martin when fatied will fetch an Halfpenny a Pound more than any Cow Beef.

<sup>q</sup> The Truth is, most modern Writers copy Varro and Columella in copying each other, and they could not do better, as these great Men, as is said in the Text, copied Nature. The latter insists

Order, first the Black, next the Red, then the Dun, after that the White; and lastly the Black and White, though of this Virgil seems to have had somewhat a better Opinion. A Notion prevails amongst us, founded as it is said upon Experience, that a Red Cow gives the best, and a White the most Milk, but that the Black produces the best Calves<sup>r</sup>. The prodigious Extent, the natural Fertility, and the modern Improvements which have been introduced into our Pastures, enable our Farmers to furnish from them immense Supplies both of Butter and Cheese, which partly from the different Methods in making, and partly from the peculiar Qualities of the Soils where the Cattle are fed, afford much Diversity of Flavour, and thereby gratify all Tastes, so that there is a reciprocal Demand for the several Sorts of both in almost all Parts of the Island. From thence arises the Expediency of establishing numerous Fairs and Marts, where these are exposed to Sale at stated Times<sup>s</sup>. Hence also arises much Land Carriage, besides what is sent on our navigable Rivers by Water, and in Coasting Vessels, to the no small Emolument of Thousands of Families, that derive a Subsistence from this Trade in a great Variety of Ways<sup>t</sup>.

It would be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to form an exact Calculation of the Value of these Articles; but from a very mature and impartial Consideration of a Variety of Circumstances, we are led to believe,

insists on an open well spread Fore-head, smooth shining Horns of a deep Brown, large full black Eyes, a capacious Belly, strait Legs, and small Feet. Yet Pliny remarks, that Cattle may be very good although unsightly, which seems to be verified in the Normandy and Alderney Cows compared to ours.

<sup>r</sup> Mr. Lisle, who is very exact, informs us, that Six Cows may be milked in an Hour, and some Women have milked Eight. In the Isle of Wight they reckoned their Cows one with another gave Two Gallons of Milk a Day, which would make Four Pounds of Butter in a Week. He mentions the common Opinion to be, that a Quart of Cream will make a Pound of Butter, but he thinks it requires Three Pints. A Cow was let at the Beginning of this Century for Forty-five Shillings, the annual Profits of a Cow are estimated now at double that Sum.

<sup>s</sup> If we consider the Difference between Cheddar, Cheshire, Cottenham, Gloucester, Stilton, Wiltshire Cheeses, and how commonly most of them are to be met with in all Parts of the Island, the Truth of what is said in the Text will most evidently appear. In regard to the great Fairs and Marts, those who live near them in the Country, and even those who have seen them only occasionally, know, that Cheese is a very considerable Article in them all, and in some of them the most considerable of any.

<sup>t</sup> This is a Point always deserving Attention; for whatever creates Labour, creates also the Means of Subsistence, and the Factors, the Seamen, the Waggoners, the Porters, the Cheesemongers, are as much maintained by the Dairy as the Farmer; as for Instance, they send great Quantities of Cheshire Cheese into Wales, into the Midland and Northern Counties by Land-carriage, to London, to Scotland, and Ireland by Sea, to the Amount, as some have computed, see Atlas Maritimus, p. 17, in the Whole of Thirty thousand Tuns annually. It is possible this may somewhat exceed the Truth, but most certainly a very great Quantity is sent by all these different Conveyances, and the Charge of the Carriage is included in the Price.



that there is no Exaggeration in affirming, that the total Amount of the Produce of the Dairies in South Britain, in respect to Home Consumption only, exclusive of a large Exportation of Cheese especially, amounts annually to many Millions Sterling<sup>u</sup>. It will in some Degree abate the Wonder, that at first Sight may arise from such an Assertion, if we reflect, that all Ranks, Sexes, and Ages are in a Manner equally Partakers of their various Productions. For it is evident, that at the same Time they furnish Delicacies to the Rich, they compose a great Part of the daily Food, and of course essentially contribute to the Subsistence of the Poor, entering also generally in some Form or other into every Regimen of Diet prescribed by the Physician. It is therefore at once a very obvious, and no less stupendous Blessing, that Things of such necessary, such constant, and such extensive Use, are every where throughout these happy Islands so cheap, and so common. But this prodigious Plenty instead of lessening may be said in some Measure to encrease their Value, by putting it into the Power of all Persons to procure them, which is the plain Source of so amazing a Consumption<sup>w</sup>.

THE principal Reason why Black Cattle are soon killed, is from the Profits that are drawn from almost all Parts of them, exclusive of the general Advantage arising from the Flesh, which has been already mentioned. It would be a very long and difficult, though by no Means an useless or air

<sup>u</sup> In all Computations of this Kind no Sort of Precision can be had, or indeed ought to be expected. The utmost that can be done, is to make the best Inquiries in one's Power, to consider and compare them carefully, and to leave the Result of them to the Reader's Judgment. It hath been reckoned by Mr. Maitland, who took all the Methods he could devise to come at Certainty, that there were consumed within the Bills of Mortality upwards of Sixteen Millions of Pounds of Butter, above Twenty-one Millions of Pounds of Cheese, together about Thirty-eight Millions, and Five Millions of Gallons of Milk, every Year. As this Account was taken about Thirty Years ago, if it was then a little too large, it can hardly be thought so now. It also agrees very well with the Principles of another Calculation, as to the general Expence in Provisions in this Metropolis, in which I find all these Articles rated together at upwards of One Million annually.

<sup>v</sup> Our Black Cattle are very considerable in point of Size. Some of our Oxen measure Two Yards between the Tips of their Horns, whereas a French Ox's Horns are asunder about Two Feet. These large Cattle are bred in Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, and in other Northern Counties. The Danish Cows are large, brought into Holland, and there, though ever so well fed, they do not grow fat, but give prodigious Quantities of Milk, which is also very good. The French, who purchase them from thence, call them Flandrines. In general however their Cows yield less Milk than ours, since, according to a very modern Calculation, the Profit of a milch Cow is reckoned there at Thirty Livres per Annum. As to the Beauty of Cattle, the Preference is given to those of Egypt, from the perfect Symmetry of their Limbs, and the exact Regularity of their Marks. They are also of a large Size. The Ancients highly commended the Breed of Cattle in Epirus; these were of a red Colour, very large and strong, the first they attributed to the Circum-spection used in the Choice of their Bulls and the latter to the not suffering their Cows to have Calves till they were between Four and Five Years old. Our Graziers are allowed to be as expert as in any Country whatever.



unpleasant Task, to give an accurate and distinct Detail of these, and to shew their signal Benefit and Importance with regard to the public Welfare, and the Number of Families to whom they afford constant Employment, and comfortable Subsistence\*. But for all these we have not Room, and therefore we shall content ourselves with insisting only on a few of the most remarkable, briefly pointing out some of the Rest. At the same Time recommending it to our Readers, to inform themselves farther, as Opportunities offer, on all these Heads, that they may acquire just Notions of the numerous beneficial Consequences, which flow continually from our national Advantages, and derive from thence a distinct and proper Sense of our Independency, and of the intrinsic Riches of this great Country; for Want of Attention to which, we are too frequently led into false Sentiments on a Subject, which, if we reflect on our Honour and Happiness as Natives of Britain, ought of all others to be the most thoroughly understood.

BUT to return to the Point from which we digressed.

To begin then with their HORNS, which serve for an Infinity of Uses, after they have been properly prepared by those who exercise that Trade, and are from thence stiled Horners, and whose sole Business it is, by a great Variety of very ingenious Methods, to render them fit for the several Purposes to which they are applied<sup>2</sup>. When thus prepared, they pass into the

\* This is the great Point; for whatever produces Labour, in this Country more especially, produces a Living. We do not sufficiently advert to another plain Proposition, that Persons of all Ranks live upon Labour, that is, either their own or other Peoples Labour. In every Country those who live on their own Labour, be that what it will, contribute something to the publick Stock, whereas those who never Labour at all contribute nothing. It is upon a just Proportion between these different Sorts of People, both necessary in a Community, that the Welfare of it depends, to which nothing can be more conducive than the having a Number of Methods in which Mens Industry may exert itself on the natural Produce of the Country. In this Case Consumption, whatever it be, is a Saving, and Commerce, to whatever it amounts, is so much clear Gain.

<sup>1</sup> Upon the Principles explained in the foregoing Note, Egypt in former Times, and China at present, have been celebrated as the finest Countries in the World. Yet without any Tincture of Partiality it may be affirmed, this Country is or may be made in this Respect equal to either, as in another it may be truly said to excel them both. For the ancient Egyptians, and the modern Chinese, affect to shew their Independency by declining an active and extensive Navigation. This, by producing Ignorance and Timidity, enervated Mens Minds, and destroyed all natural Courage, the only permanent Support of Independency, which by a contrary Conduct we have always maintained. The native Riches of Britain support her Commerce, and to her Commerce she owes her Naval Power. To distinguish the inseparable Connexion between these, which can only be done by minutely examining the Productions of this Country, and how they contribute to the Subsistence of the Inhabitants, is an effectual Method to evince our Independency, and to render us sensible at the same Time, that it cannot be either shaken or sapped, but by the general Prevalence of Folly, Indolence, and Corruption.

<sup>2</sup> The Horners were a very ancient and considerable Fraternity in the City of London some Hundred Years ago. In the Reign of Edward IV. they complained to Parliament, that by For-  
reigners

The Hands, and are the Objects of the Industry of other Artificers, such as Comb-makers, Cutlers, Makers of Spectacles, and several more, to all of whom they supply the Means of Subsistence; and are besides used in making of Tobacco and Snuff Boxes, Ink-horns, Powder Flasks, Blowing Horns, Shoeing Horns, drinking Cups, artificial Flowers, and a vast Variety of other Things, but more especially when split into Plates or Leaves, are put into Lanterns, and various Contrivances to admit Light, for which in this Shape they are peculiarly fit, as being less fragil, though at the same Time less transparent than Glass. But independent of these, the very smallest Fragments, and even the Dust and Filings of Horn, are found very serviceable in manuring cold Lands<sup>a</sup>. Besides the great Consumption, which is continually made of them at Home, there is a very large Exportation both in Leaves and Manufactures, from their Superiority to other Horns in Size and other Qualities<sup>b</sup>.

THE HAIR hath also its Value, and is employed in many different Ways. The long Hair of the Tail is frequently mixed with Horse Hair spun into Ropes, and sometimes wove. The short Hair serves to stuff Saddles, Seats of several Kinds, Mattresses, and Chairs. The Refuse is a good Manure, and operates more speedily than the Horns<sup>c</sup>. The Teguments, Cartilages,

and

reigners buying up our Horns they were in Danger of being ruined, and this Business lost to the Nation; and thereupon was made the Statute, 4 Edward IV. by which the Sale of Horns to Foreigners (except such as the said Horners refused) was prohibited, and the Wardens had power given them to search all Markets in London, and 24 Miles round, and to inspect Sturbridge and Ely Fairs, to prevent such Practices, and to purchase Horns at stated Prices. But on plausible Pretences this Law was repealed, Stat. 1. Jac. I. cap. xxv. and thereupon the old Evil revived. The Horners again applied to Parliament, and by Stat. vii. Jac. I. cap. xiv. the Act of A. D. 1464 was renewed (except as to the Inspection of the Fairs, and the old Prices) and remains in Force. The present Company were incorporated, Jan. 12th 1638, 13th of Charles I. consisting of a Master, Two Wardens, and Nine Assistants, without Livery or Hall. They have a Warehouse in Spitalfields, to which the Horns are sent as brought from Town and Country Markets, and thence regularly divided, the Widows and Orphans of deceased Members having equal Shares.

<sup>a</sup> The Matter lying within, on which the Horn is formed, is called the Slough, and when dry is used in making Walls or Fences, in which covered from wet it will last a long Time. It is also most admirable in mending Roads, where the Soil is soft and spewy; for dissolving it becomes a glutinous substance, that binds amazingly with Gravel. As a Manure they allow between Two and Three Quarter Sacks to an Acre. Horn Saw-Dust with Mould is an excellent Compost for Flowers. It is also of Use in the hardening, and giving what is called a proper Temper to Metals.

<sup>b</sup> It has been shewn in a former Note how desirous Foreigners were of having our Horns unwrought, which is wisely prohibited, as is also the Importation of unwrought Horns into this Country. In A. D. 1750, we exported to Holland only of Lantern Leaves 514,500, besides Powder Flasks, &c. There was formerly a Duty of Twenty Shillings a Thousand, under which Duty we exported, A. D. 1683, in the Whole 76,650. But by Stat. 8 Geo. I. cap. xv. these, and all other Manufactures made of Horns, may be exported free.

<sup>c</sup> Some of the Uses to which this Material is applied have been mentioned in the Text, and others might be mentioned here, which however would not apprise the Reader of its Value

and Gristles for the indifferent; and for the finer, all the Cuttings, Parings, and Scraps of Hides are boiled in Water, till the gelatinous Parts of them are thoroughly dissolved; the Mass being properly dried in the Sun or by the Wind becomes GLUE, which, while soft, is cut into Tablets or square Pieces, which hardened become transparent, but having a greenish Cast, and when used is dissolved again in hot Water. The older the Beast, the better the Glue, more especially if made from a Bull's Hide. The Consumption of this Commodity by the numerous Artificers to whom it is of indispensable Utility is prodigious, and of course the Value of it is very considerable. Of this likewise there is a very great Exportation, as English Glue is universally allowed to be the best in Europe, partly from the Excellency of the Materials, and partly from the Skill of the Manufacturers<sup>d</sup>.

THE SINEWS are prepared so as to become a Kind of Thread or small Cord, used in sewing Saddles, in making Racquets, and other Things of a like Nature. The BONES, thoroughly burned, are reduced to a fine Powder, and become then of a beautiful and glossy black, which is used by the Painters. All of these Articles which have been succinctly treated are of some, and several yield a good Price<sup>e</sup>. Many more might be added to these Instances without any Danger of exhausting the Subject<sup>f</sup>; but we will

or Consequences, which however is not inconsiderable. Serving as it does for a Variety of Purposes, it is in constant Demand, and is not worthless when decay'd. For when it hath lost its Elasticity in Mattresses, Cushions, &c. it is pulled out and wove; and worn out in this Shape, is torn for Manure. It pays Two Shillings an Hundred on Exportation.

<sup>g</sup> Innumerable Uses are made of this Substance, by the Multitude of Artificers to whom it is necessary, so that there is a constant and regular, as well as very large and quick Sale for all that can be made. Experience however shews that Glue is much better for keeping. Our Glue bears a high Price abroad, and the Glue made in Flanders is next in Value. In both it is made by the Tanners from Fragments of good Skins, dried with much Care. In France it is a separate Trade, and the Glue-makers pick up their Materials as they can, from the several Dealers in Skins, and boiling these with Cow Heels make their Glue, which as they purchase every Thing must render it dear, as well as of inferior Quality. The Duty on Exportation is Ten Pence, and on Importation Three Shillings and Ten Pence on an Hundred Weight.

<sup>h</sup> It is acknowledged that all these Accounts (though much Pains were taken about them) are very imperfect, and therefore we ought, as Occasions occur, to aim at obtaining a more distinct Notion of each of these Articles. As to Bones we see the Rag-gatherers carefully pick them up (large ones especially) in the Streets. These make certain Rings, Tobacco Stoppers, Boxes, and who knows how many Things besides? Ox Bones are also exported. In the Book of Rates, the thousand is valued at Six Shillings and Eight Pence. A. D. 1754, we exported Thirty-two Thousand to Holland. It is a theological Maxim of the judicious Lord Verulam, "That whatever GOD judges worthy of Esteem, Man ought to esteem worthy of Science." It is a Maxim taught us by Experience, that there is scarce any Thing so seemingly despicable out of which human Industry cannot extract a Living.

<sup>i</sup> Whatever is of Use hath its Value. The Hoofs of Oxen are employed in Case-hardening Iron, and also as a Manure. The Gall, from its saponaceous Nature, is of great Service to Dyers, and others.

will content ourselves with adding only Two great and important Manufactures.

THE first of these is LEATHER, the Benefits arising from which put the Capacity to the Stretch, and surpass our Powers of Calculation. It may seem strange that this should be asserted of the Skins of Bulls, Cows, and Oxen, for which the only Apology that can be made is, that in Point of Fact it is strictly true, and that it may be said farther, which ought to reconcile us to a strict Attention to the homely Subject, that all these Benefits accrue to the British Nation g. Hides pass from the Butcher to the Tanner, and from him to the Currier, and by their Labour these are converted into Leather, and are immediately after consigned to such a vast Variety of Tradesmen, as are exceeded only by the Number of those employed in the Woollen Manufacture<sup>h</sup>. In order to be convinced of this we need barely to make use of our Eyes. If we look abroad on the Instruments of Husbandry, on the Implements used in most mechanic Trades, on the Structure of a Multitude of Engines and Machines, or if we contemplate at Home the necessary Parts of our Cloathing, Breeches, Shoes, Boots, Gloves, or the Furniture of our Houses, the Books on our Shelves, the Harness of our Horses, and even the Substance of our Carriages; what do we see but Instances of human Industry exerted upon Leather? What an Aptitude hath this single Material in a Variety of Circumstances for the Relief of our Necessities, and supplying Conveniencies in every State and Stage of Life?

others, for cleansing, scouring, and other Purposes. Blood is used in some Places in boiling Salt, as a Compost for Fruit Trees, and is a capital Ingredient in making Prussian Blue. Bladders are in daily Demand for their Cheapness and Utility. The Guts of Oxen are put to many Uses, exported, nay, and re-imported as a Covering to Bologna Sausages. The thin Membrane of the Rectum or Straight-Gut is by a very curious Process made into what is called Gold-Beaters Skin. From the Feet of Oxen is extracted Neats Foot Oil, which is in common Use, and hath this singular Property, that it will not freeze. True it is, that none of these are of considerable Worth; but it is as true, that they are all in every Beast that is killed.

<sup>g</sup> The Size of the Skin depends on the Size of the Beast, as is self-evident. But the Value of the Skin is computed by its Weight; and it should seem that in Proportion to the Weight of the Beast, the smaller Skins are heaviest. In an Ox of Seven hundred Eighty-four Pounds the Skin was Eighty-four, that is nearly a Ninth. In an Ox of One hundred and Seventy Stone the Skin was Twelve Stone, nearly a Fourteenth. In Sir William Bagot's great Ox of 2686 lb. the Skin was 155 lb. which is but a Seventeenth.

<sup>h</sup> Besides those mentioned above, there are other considerable Dealers in Leather as a Commodity. Such as the Leather Cutter, the Leather Dresser, the Leather Dyer, the Leather Grounder, and the Leather Seller. All of these are very great and gainful Trades, and require large Capitals, because most of them purchase with ready Money, and sell on Credit. Some of them are very ingenious, and at the same Time laborious Employments, so that to their Skill and Industry the Superiority of our Leather is in some Measure owing.

Without it, or even without it in the Plenty we have it, to what Difficulties should we be exposed ?

AFTER thus answering almost innumerable Purposes, the very Rags, Relicks, and Recrements are not usefess, as we have already seen. In order to form some Idea of the mighty Importance of this Article, we must attend to the very great Number of Persons maintained by its different Manufactures, and by the Vending and Disposing of them in very different Manners <sup>k</sup>. We must next recollect how large a Revenue the Publick reaps from the Excise on this Commodity, which shews the Extensiveness of Home Consumption <sup>l</sup>. We must also advert to the constant and prodigious Exportation of tanned Hides and manufactured Leather, the whole Amount of which is so much clear Gain to the Nation. Lastly, we ought to recollect, how well this beneficial Trade has been from time to time preserved and protected, by a Diversity of Laws enacted, altered, or repealed, as the publick Interest directed; and which Laws still requiring frequent Revisions, oblige the Legislature to an uninterrupted Attention to what contributes so much to the Welfare of private Persons, and thereby to the Welfare and Happiness of Society <sup>m</sup>.

BUT

<sup>l</sup> It is understood, that a Cow Hide is the best; and the French have a sensible Proverb, which turns upon this, *A la Boucherie les Vaches sont Bœufs, et à la Tannerie les Bœufs sont Vaches*. In the Market Cows are Oxen, at the Tannery Oxen are Cows. In this Country the Address of those who prepare our Leather is so great, and they know how to manage the Materials so well, that every Manufacturer is not only readily supplied with Leather, but also with the particular Sort of Leather fittest for his Use.

<sup>k</sup> There is no better Method, at least that I can devise to give some Notion of this Matter, than to give a List of such Trades, exclusive of those already mentioned, as principally work on Leather. Such as Bellows-makers, Book-binders, Breeches-makers, Bridle-cutters, Buff Belt-makers, Cap-makers, Clog-makers, Coach-makers, Collar-makers, Cordwainers, Engine-makers, Fellmongers, Glovers, Harness-makers, Holster Case-makers, Leather-bottom Chair-makers, Leather Bodice-makers, Leather Bucket and Pipe-makers, Leather Case-makers, Leather-Gilders, Patten-makers, Powder-machine-makers, Pump-makers, Sadlers, Screen-Makers, Sedan-makers, Shaving-strap makers, Skinners, Sword-cutlers, Trunk-makers, Truss-makers, Vellom and Parchment-makers, Whip and Thong-makers.

<sup>l</sup> The Excise on Leather was originally imposed by Stat. 9 Ann. cap. xi. § 2. and extends to all Species of Leather tanned, tawed, or dressed in Oil. But the Expence of the War against France made it necessary to lay additional Duties, by Stat. 10 Ann. cap. xxvi. § 2. both for Thirty-two Years. These Duties and additional Duties were made perpetual, and Part of the General Fund by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. vii. By the Statutes of Queen Anne before mentioned a Drawback was allowed on all manufactured Leather exported of Two thirds of the Excise, which by a subsequent Statute in the same Reign was altered to Three Halfpence on every Pound-weight. This Excise Duty on all Sorts of Leather, Vellom, and Parchment, produced, A. D. 1760, 204,291 *l*. A. D. 1761. 211,483 *l*. A. D. 1762. 218,700 *l*.

<sup>m</sup> Whoever peruses these Laws, as they lie in our Statute Books, with Attention, and considers them candidly, will be convinced of the Truth of what is asserted in the Text. For these Statutes provide against the Exportation of raw Hides, which by 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. vii. is declared a common Nuisance; for the preventing Butchers from Cutting, Gashing, or otherwise injuring

BUT before we absolutely part with this Subject, it may not be improper to say somewhat with respect to CALVES. These, though they yield no Profit living, become notwithstanding very valuable when killed, not only in respect to their Flesh but their Skins, which are serviceable in a Variety of Ways, and of Course supply Materials to a Variety of Trades<sup>n</sup>. The Superiority of the Leather made from them occasioned a great Exportation, especially to France. The high Duty imposed upon them, rendered the Commodity to them very dear. But what was still more grievous to the French than the Duty, was the absolute Prohibition of exporting any Skin weighing more than Four Pounds. It was this induced Mr. Colbert to countenance an Undertaking in the Suburb of St. Marcell at Paris for Dressing Calve Skins *façon d'Angleterre*, and very great Expectations were formed upon this Project. Yet, after the expending great Sums, this Scheme was dropped; the Undertaker declaring, that the English Animal was stronger when calved than the French when a Fortnight old, were afterwards better fed and managed; and that in consequence of this, their Skins were of a superior Nature, and not to be imitated by any Manner of Dressing<sup>o</sup>. The French were however great Gainers by the very Attempt, though, as we see, it had utterly miscarried. For the Apprehensions we were under of losing so valuable a Trade as that then was, induced us to remove the Limitation, and to take some other Methods for its Preservation, by which at the Time it happened both Parties were pleased. Certain it is, that our Calve Skins, whether tawed or otherwise dressed, continue still to preserve their Superiority, and, in consequence of that, their Price<sup>p</sup>. But this

jurging Skins; for the Tanning and otherwise Dressing them properly; for the preventing Differences and Disputes amongst the several Trades dealing in and manufacturing of Leather; and for committing the Inspection of the Commodity to the principal Persons in the Trades most interested in seeing those Laws strictly executed. By these Means, as the Substance of our Skins is remarkably good, so the Leather is most admirably dressed for answering every Purpose.

<sup>a</sup> Calve Skins are made into Leather every Way; that is, they are tanned, tawed, and dressed in Oil, and thus prepared, they may become the Material of many Manufacturers, as Cordwainers, Book-binders, Saddlers, &c. the thin small Skins answer best for some Purposes, those that are thicker and stronger for others. The thinnest of all, and the Skins of abortive Calves, are made into Vellum. The Hair also is applied to the same Purposes with that of Oxen and Cows, and is therefore commonly mixed and sold with them.

<sup>o</sup> This Fact may be found in Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 1142, 1143, but is confirmed by our Statute Book. By the Act, 12 Car. II. the high Duty and Prohibition of exporting large Skins were imposed. By Stat. 20 Car. ii. cap. v. these Restraints were removed, and a Duty of One Shilling an Hundred-weight settled. It is remarkable, that it is said in the Preamble of this Law, that the former Act, by discouraging Exportation, had abated the Price of Skins. to the Detriment of the Landed Interest.

<sup>p</sup> By the Act of the Ninth of Queen Anne. these Skins tanned are charged with an Excise of Three Half pence a Pound-weight, and the like Duty on Skins tawed or dressed. By the Act of the Tenth, with an additional Duty of Two Pence a Pound on tanned, and Three Half-pence a Pound on tawed. If exported, there is a Drawback allowed as settled by those Acts. By the First of these Acts a Duty of One Shilling a Dozen, and by the Second Four Shillings a Dozen is im-

this Trade is not now so great an Object, because our Home Consumption is very much increased since that Period.

THE Second capital Article in respect to Profit, that we derive from Black Cattle, is TALLOW, which on a superficial View may, to vulgar Apprehensions, seem as fordid, if not more so than Skins; but to the Eyes of the Considerate, will appear what it really is, a Thing of very considerable Value, arising from its extensive Utility. In all the Beasts that ruminates or chew the Cud, there is a particular Kind of Fat, which fixes and becomes hard of itself, which is called Suet, and this when cleaned, melted, and refined for Use, is what we stile Tallow. The Consumption of this is equally large and indispensable, particularly in Candles and Soap, Things of necessary and continual Use; and it is likewise employed in most Branches of the Leather Manufacture, by Plumbers, and a Multitude of other Artificers, in a Variety of domestick Services, and in Physick. It is evident therefore, that so constant, so copious, and we may truly add encreasing an Expence of a Commodity, which though in small Quantities of little Value, and therefore more freely used, must accumulate to an immense Consumption. To attempt however the assigning its total Value with any Pretence to Exactness, would be very weak and absurd, as it is altogether impossible to collect the Materials requisite for making such a Calculation. The only Means of helping the Reader to form a tolerable Notion of this Matter, is to mention the Produce of the

posed on Vellom. The Disadvantages that might arise from all these Duties upon Leather were foreseen, and were consequently laid (the additional Duties especially) by the House of Commons with much Difficulty and Reluctance; so that nothing but a visible Necessity could have induced their Consent. They have been continued from the same Necessity for the Support of publick Credit.

† In an Ox that weighed Seven hundred and Eighty Pounds, the Tallow weighed Eighty. In One that weighed One hundred and Seventy Stone, the Tallow weighed Nineteen. In an Ox weighing Two hundred Seventy-seven Stone the Tallow weighed only Twenty-one Stone. In Sir Walter Wagstaffe Bagot's great Ox, which weighed no less than Two thousand Six hundred and Eighty-six Pounds, the Tallow weighed Two hundred and Twenty-six Pounds, which is somewhat more than a Twelfth Part, whereas in the smallest of these it was between a Ninth and a Tenth.

‡ It is by this gradual Consumption, if the Thing is in necessary and constant Use, that a Commodity (be it what it will) twells into Value, and in Consequence of this, becomes an Object of private Economy, then in Commerce, and at last in Policy. This will Excuse that Seriousness with which Tallow is treated in the Text. For upon these Principles it was, that so early as the First of Elizabeth it was made Felony to export Tallow clandestinely. This Law was indeed repealed; but by Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. v. the Prohibition is renewed under very heavy Penalties, confirmed by Statute 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. vii. § 5. The Importation of Tallow from other Countries is also allowed, but under such a Duty as not to interfere with our own Commodity. By these Means (so far as Laws can do it) the publick Interest is guarded, for if at any Time expedient this Duty may be reduced or suspended.

Tax upon Candles<sup>s</sup>, a Moiety of which only belongs to the Head that we are now treating, and the other Moiety to Sheeps Tallow. As to the Consumption in Soap, upon which there is also a Tax, that is still less conclusive, as it is composed of a Variety of Ingredients, of which this is only One, and that but in some Kinds of Soap<sup>t</sup>. We must therefore trust to the Obviousness of the Facts that have been before stated, and leave them to the Reader's Consideration.

IN regard to DEER, the History of them as Animals belongs to the Naturalists, as Beasts of Chace to those Authors who have wrote on Hunting, all that comes within our Plan is to shew their Utility<sup>u</sup>. No Country in Europe, in the Opinion of Foreigners as well as our own, is in all Respects fitter for them than this, or breeds them of a larger Size. In our Forests and Chaces we have Plenty of RED DEER, the Male of which is called a Stag or Hart, the Female a Hind, and the young One a Fawn. The Hart is a noble Creature, tall, admirably shaped, and remarkable for Strength, Swiftnes, and Beauty. His Head is adorned with stately Horns, which, after he comes to his full Size, he casts annually. The Hind wants these, but in all other Respects is as fine a Creature as the Stag<sup>w</sup>. The  
FALLOW

\* The Duties were originally imposed by Stat. 8 Ann. cap. ix. § 1. of One Half-penny on a Pound for Thirty-two Years. By Stat. 9 Ann. cap. xxi. § 7. the former Duty was rendered perpetual, and by the same Act an additional Duty was laid of another Half-penny, and by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. vii. made perpetual, and Part of the General Fund. These Taxes produced, A. D. 1752. 150,051*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* and A. D. 1762. 184,545*l.* 18*s.* 5½*d.* But the whole Duty is drawn back if Candles are exported.

† By Stat. 10 Ann. cap. xix. § 1. a Duty of One Penny on every Pound of Soap was imposed for Thirty Two Years, made perpetual, and Part of the General Fund by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. viii. By Stat. 12 Ann. cap. ix. § 1. an additional Duty of One Half-penny was laid for the same Term, which was also made perpetual by Stat. 6 Geo. I. cap. iv. These Duties produced, A. D. 1751. 143,737*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* and the gross Produce in A. D. 1761. 183,459*l.* 2*s.* 11½*d.* But the whole Duty is drawn back on all Soap that is exported.

‡ Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 502. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. vi. cap. 11. lib. vii. cap. 39. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 48. viii. cap. 32. xxviii. cap. 9. Raii Quadr. 84, 85. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 166. Linnæi Syst. Nat. vol. i. p. 67. Harison's Description of Britaine, B. iii. chap. 7. Fuller's Worthies, Hampshire, p. 1. Oxfordshire, p. 325. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 55. Moreton's Natural History of Northamptonshire, p. 11, 12. 253. 452, 453. Borelase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 288, 289. Salmon's New Survey of England, vol. i. p. 145—153. Hill's History of Animals, p. 577, 578. Maison Rustique, liv. vii. chap. 24, 25, 26, 27. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. p. 487, 488. L'Agronome, tom. i. p. 150, 192. 243. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 724, 725. Beaufobre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. p. 75. Dictionnaire Universel de Histoire Naturelle. tom. i. p. 493. 616. tom. ii. p. 181. La Nouvelle Maison Rustique, tom. ii. p. 610—625. Encyclopedie portative, tom. i. p. 277. 414.

§ We have now no Idea of Red Deer, other than as wild, fierce, and intractable Animals, from whence no Profit is to be drawn till dead. But this was not always the Case, as we learn from Gerald Barry, commonly stiled Geraldus Cambrensis (Itiner. Cambrie, lib. ii. cap. 6.) who says, that in A. D. 1188, when he attended Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, who went to preach  
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FALLOW DEER are mostly kept in Parks, of which it is said we have more in this Island than in all the Rest of Europe. The Male of these is stiled the Buck, and the Female the Doe. In point of Size, they are inferior to the Red Deer, yet are justly esteemed for their exquisite Beauty, resembling those in most other Respects, notwithstanding which they never herd or mingle with them. Of the Fallow Deer there are many Varieties, some finely marked, some mottled, but commonly of a red sandy Colour, which from them is called Fallow\*. They are at present kept for Sport, Pleasure, and Grandeur, though by no means in such Numbers as heretofore, many Parks being turned into Farms.

THE Red Deer live mostly by browsing on the green Boughs in Summer, and on the Bark of Trees in Winter; but the chief Food of the Fallow Deer is Grass, though they will also browse on the tender Shoots. Both the Hind and the Doe carry their Young between Eight and Nine Months, they bring generally One, and very rarely Two Fawns at a Time, which they educate with great Tenderness, and teach them to avoid the Pursuit of the Dogs, to which they readily expose themselves for their Preservation. The Hart or Stag was anciently supposed to be a very long-lived Animal, and to have often exceeded the Term of a Hundred Years, but of late this has been controverted; and it is now held, how justly I pretend not to say, that they do not reach to more than Forty, and the Buck but to Thirty<sup>γ</sup>. There were formerly in this Country Abundance of Roebucks, though there are few or none of them now. These still remain in North Britain, in the Highlands especially; but they are gradually wearing out even there. These Animals, though much smaller than even the Fallow Deer, are certainly of the same Kind, very beautiful and very sprightly, delighting to live in rough Countries, exceedingly wild; but their Flesh is esteemed excellent Venison<sup>γ</sup>.

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the Croisade through Wales, they were hospitably entertained at a Nobleman's House, whose Wife regaled them with Cheese made of Hinds Milk, the Produce of her own Dairy.

\* The great Difference next to Size, between the Stag and the Buck, is in the Horns, those of the latter being flat and broad at the Top, spreading out like an Hand, whence it is called *Cervus palmatus*, five, *platyceros*. The Skin is softer, the Flesh finer, and the Creature in all Respects more delicate than the Stag. The Fallow Deer seem to be confined to temperate Climates, seldom found in the bleak Forests of the North, and of a diminutive Size in the warmer Regions of the South. In Spain, the Bucks are however almost as large as Stags.

† If Antiquity could derive any just Credit to Opinion, the long Life of Stags could scarce be called in Question, being first asserted by Hesiod, and supported since by general Assent. It is indeed true, that the noble Verulam (*Hist. Vitæ et Mortis*, Art. iii. § 8.) drew this old Notion into Suspicion, from the Time this Animal arrives at its full Growth, which he fixes at Five Years. Modern Authors have positively denied the Longevity of Stags on this Suggestion, and framed thereupon a new Term of Life. But after all, this is a Point which Facts, well attested, can only determine.

‡ The Roebuck, in Latin *Capreolus*, and by the French called *Chevreuil*, is undoubtedly of the Deer Kind, resembling in some Properties the Stag, in others the Buck, yet in some Respects different.

It is to the Idea of Pleasure, Amusement, and Magnificence, connected with the Possession of Deer, that we owe the still numerous Forests and Chaces, and the very many extensive and beautiful Parks that adorn this Island, which in their present State are of considerable, and might be made of much more considerable Utility<sup>a</sup>. But exclusive of these, Deer, considered in themselves, though principally Objects of Delight, are not altogether unattended with Profit. In respect to their Flesh, that of the Stag is but coarse, neither is the Hind much commended; but the Fawn, when fat, and in the proper Season, is very fine. The Fallow Deer are in this Country the Venison most esteemed, and supply the Tables of the Great and Rich with excellent Food, both in Summer and in Winter. The Horns both of the Stag and Buck furnish a great Variety of Medicines, which though more regarded heretofore than at present, are notwithstanding still in some Form or other in general and common Use<sup>b</sup>. They are likewise employed by the Cutlers, and in the making some Sort of Toys. The Hair when taken from the Skins is held rather better than any other Sort,

different from both. In Coirage, Fierceness, and Activity, at least equal to the Hart, fuller of cunning, and harder to be taken; in Colour, Shape, and Look, nearer the Buck; but neater, and hath brighter Eyes. It is easier to mark the Differences that effectually distinguish this Species. The Horns are strong, and have seldom more than five Tines, they are shed in Autumn, not in the Spring like the Stag. The Doe brings her Young in the Middle of the Sixth Month, and hath Two Fawns, a Male and a Female. The Roebuck is constant to his Doe; they do not live like the Fallow Deer, but in Families. They are hardly ever tamed, cannot be well kept in Parks, and are usually killed by a Shot. The Flesh, Horns, Skin, &c. answer the same Purposes as those of other Deer.

<sup>a</sup> Parks are of greater Antiquity in this Country than Forests, for these were introduced by our Norman Princes, whereas Parks were in Use amongst the Saxons, as appears by Doomſday. In their Parks, our Ancestors preserved and bred foreign Animals, remarkable for Beauty or Use, and this was no Doubt a Point of Prudence not unworthy Imitation. Mr. Anſon, at his Seat of Shugborough in Staffordshire, hath Two of the Muſſoli, a Kind of Corſican Stag, with Horns turning back like Rams, and their Skin almost impenetrable. These were also, and some still are Nurseries of stately and useful Timber, and in all of them Corners might be found planted and fenced, where some Hundred of Oak, Ash, and Elm might rise unheeded to Perfection. Thus the Park springing from the Pride of one Generation may become a Source of Profit to the next. In these also exotic Trees may be, and in several are already reconciled to our Soil and Climate. Thus, near a Century since, the Anceſſor of the Earl of Moyra, cauſed many curious Trees and Plants to be brought from Jamaica, which still live and flourish at his Seat in the County of Down, in our Siſter Iſland of Ireland. Parks seem likewise to be Places exceedingly proper for the making Effays in Huſbandry; and this Kind of Experimental Agriculture, which might be here practiſed very commodiouſly at a ſmall Expence, would at once afford a rational Amuſement, and prove a moſt eſſential Service to this Country, by rendering the Science of Cultivation reſpectable; and giving every new Improvement the faireſt Chance, by putting it into the moſt proper Hands.

<sup>b</sup> It is almost ſufficient to mention the Word HARTSHORN to juſtify all that is ſaid in the Text. Shavings of Hartſhorn boiled become a Jelly, which hath been thought ſtrengthening, nourishing, and ſitting Light on the Stomach. Calcined Hartſhorn is uſed to ſtop Fluxes. The Spirit of Hartſhorn is in common Uſe, and the Oil is generally applied externally, the volatile Salt is by many held a moſt noble and efficacious Medicine. Without entering into their Merits, there is a large and conſtant Conſumption of all, and ſome of them bear a good Price.

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and is sold with other Hair for Purposes that have been already mentioned. The Marrow is very rich and high flavoured, supposed to have many medicinal Virtues, and in France is melted, then cast into little Cakes, which are sold at a pretty good Price. The Suet is esteemed the best of any, is very emollient, subtil, and penetrating, and most of it is used in Physick <sup>c</sup>. But these are all of little Value in comparison of the Skin, which is close, soft, warm, and very beautiful. It is dressed in every Way that Leather can be dressed, and is held preferable to any other for a Multitude of Purposes, such as the making Gloves, Breaches, Belts, and many other Things <sup>d</sup>. It is also in Credit with the Furriers, who make it into Muffs with the Hair on. We have more of these Creatures, as is on all Hands allowed, than in any of the neighbouring Countries, and yet their Skins would scarce suffice for our Home Consumption. It is therefore not at all wonderful, that we should annually import, especially from our own Colonies, very large Quantities of Deer Skins of different Kinds. These become the Objects of the Skill and Industry of our Artificers, by whom they are wrought up into different Articles, and furnish a very plentiful as well as a lucrative Exportation <sup>e</sup>.

SWINE, though never esteemed for their Beauty, in their Nature rather disagreeable, and affording little either of Profit or Pleasure while living, from their almost inexpressible Utility, when once deprived of Life, have been always considered as exceedingly beneficial to Mankind. On this Account we find them highly celebrated by the Ancients, to whom the Moderns stand much obliged for the best and most sensible Precepts that can

<sup>c</sup> Anciently it was believed that Stags lived much upon Serpents, and from thence it was concluded that all Parts of the Stag had very singular Virtues. They distilled a Water from the Head; the Powder of the calcined Bones in the Tail was esteemed a Specifick for the Stone, Dysentery, and Colic; the Blood dried was an effectual Sudorific; and the Bone in the Heart taken in Powder contributed to long Life. These have lost their Credit; but the Marrow and Suet, and an Oil distilled from the latter, are yet in Use as Unguents.

<sup>d</sup> These Skins are in their Nature exceedingly good tawed or dressed in Oil, are incomparable for all Uses; but through the Necessities of the State, they are charged with very heavy Duties; for by the First Act in the Reign of Q. Anne, these Skins tawed are charged with Three Pence a Pound-weight, and with the same Sum by the Second. Deer Skins dressed in Oil pay by the first Four, and by the second Two Pence a Pound. In neither Case (as I apprehend) is there any Drawback allowed upon Exportation.

<sup>e</sup> We import these Skins under a Duty, and upon Payment of this they are stamped, which exempt them from the Excise Duties. The Dexterity and Neatness of our Artificers make all the Manufactures into which they are wrought so beautiful, and at the same Time so strong and serviceable, as to give them, notwithstanding their high Price, a Superiority over our Competitors at foreign Markets; and no Doubt, as soon as the Circumstances of our Finances will admit, our Legislature will take away, or at least diminish those Impositions that are so visibly detrimental to Commerce.

be given for their right Choice, and the proper Management of them <sup>f</sup>; Precepts founded in Reason and Nature, and confirmed by the Experience of later Writers, who knew not that they had been published by them before. As these Creatures are of such general Advantage, we find them almost universally spread over the Face of the Globe. By the benevolent Hand of Providence they have been placed in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, and by the assiduous Care of the Spaniards and Portuguese, in many of the Islands, and on both the Northern and Southern Continents of America; where they have since run wild <sup>g</sup>. In the Southern and warmer Climates their Flesh is finer, their Juices are richer, and their Taste better; but they are more regarded, and much greater Attention is shewn to them in temperate and colder Countries, especially in the North, where they thrive exceedingly, and yield the People in return for their Care no inconsiderable Part of their Subsistence <sup>h</sup>. There is however perhaps no Country in which Swine have been more happily managed, and in consequence of this in no Country do they turn to more Benefit or produce a larger Profit, than in Britain. This however is by no means to be reckoned amongst the Number of new Acquisitions; on the contrary, for this our Island hath been always famous. It is notwithstanding a Point of Justice to acknowledge, that all our Writers on rural Oeconomy have paid a proper and a constant Regard to this Subject, and spared no Pains to support, and even to augment that Reputation, which in this Respect we had so long Time since attained <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. v. cap. xiii. lib. vi. cap. xvii, xviii. lib. viii. cap. ix. *Ælian*. Hist. Anim. lib. x. cap. xvi. *Var. de Re Rustica*, lib. ii. cap. iv. *Columel*. lib. vii. cap. ix. x. xi. *Florentinus in Geopon*. lib. xix. cap. vi. *Plin. Hist. Natural* lib. viii. cap. li. *Aldrovan. Bisulc.* 937. 1013. *Raii Quadr.* 92. 96. *Meretti Pin. Rerum Natur. Britannicarum*, p. 166. *Sibbaldi Prodrom. Nat. Hist. Scotiæ*, P. ii. lib. iii. cap. iii. *Charlt. Exer.* 13. *Linnæi Systema Naturæ*, tom. i. p. 49. *Vanier Præd.* 302.

<sup>g</sup> There is besides these, a Species of Hogs natural in and peculiar to America. They are of a dark Colour, smaller than ours, having a Gland open on the Rump, which some Writers stile its Navel. It contains a thin yellow Musk-scented Liquor, the Bristles, as they are called, are short, and soft on the Limbs and the Body, but hard, resembling those of a Porcupine, and Five Inches long on the Back. It is called *Tajacu*, is common in Panama, New-Spain, Nicaragua, Terra Firma, and the Brasils. See *Dr. Tyson's Accurate Description in the Philosophical Transactions*, N<sup>o</sup>. cliiii. p. 359.

<sup>h</sup> *Maison Rustique*, liv. i. ch. xxiv. *Dictionnaire Oeconomique*, tom. i. col. 624—631. *L'Agronome*, tom. i. p. 207—210. tom. ii. p. 212. 416. 444. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. i. col. 790—794. 943. tom. iii. col. 289. *Introduction a la Etude de la Politique, des Finances, et du Commerce*, tom. i. p. 74. *Dictionnaire Universelle de Histoire Naturelle*, tom. v. p. 90—100. *La Nouvelle Maison Rustique*, Part. ii. liv. iv. ch. v. *Encyclopedie Portative*, tom. ii. p. 719.

<sup>i</sup> *Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry*, p. 67. *Googe's Whole Art of Husbandry*, fol. 140—145. *Harison's Description of Britaine*, B. iii. ch. viii. *Fuller's British Worthies in Hantsire*, p. 2. *Markham's Cheap and Good Husbandry*, p. 99—107. *Mortimer's Art of Husbandry*, B. iii. ch. viii. *Derham's Physico Theology*, p. 206. 213. 257. 321. *Lisle's Observations in Husbandry*, vol. ii. p. 322—340. *Hill's History of Animals*, p. 571.

THE Male of these Creatures is called a BOAR, an Animal of an uncouth Aspect, dull in the Senses of Tasting and Feeling, but exceedingly quick in his Sight, his Hearing, and his Scent; chosen with great Care when kept for the Propagation of his Species, and thus employed from the Age of Two to Five Years, and then either sold or fatted <sup>k</sup>. The Males not allotted to this Use are castrated, sometimes at the Age of Six Weeks, and sometimes when they are Six Months old, and then fed to a Size either for Sale or for the Use of the Family. Sows are kept for Breed generally from One Year old to Seven, and are then spayed and fatted. They have commonly more Grease on their Intestines than Hogs, these being fattest on their Backs <sup>l</sup>. As to the Age of these Animals, we know nothing of it with any Certainty; some of the Moderns say, they will live Thirty Years, but the older they are, the more difficult it is to make them fat, and therefore they seldom reach to the Tenth Part of their natural Age, being killed for Pork at Nine, and for Bacon at Fourteen or Eighteen Months <sup>m</sup>. As these Creatures have very large Stomachs, they are exceedingly voracious, inso-much that Sows often eat their Pigs. But as they will feed almost on any Thing, they are bred and kept every where, and are quickly and cheaply fatted <sup>n</sup>. The Sow farrows in Sixteen Weeks or a little more, and consequently

<sup>k</sup> It is observed by Columella, that in Swine, as in other Quadrupedes, much depends on the right Choice of the Male. A Boar ought to be of a large Size, but rather square and compact, than either long or round. His Belly capacious and depending, his Flanks stout and fleshy, his Legs not over long, his Hoofs proportionable, his Neck thick and sturdy, his Snout short and turning up. The Sow should be of a longer Make, in other Respects the liker the Boar the better. Varro besides these Marks bids us remark the Nature, the Kind, and the Country from which the Boar is brought. Columella says, that in a cold Country the Herd should have exceeding strong, thick, black Bristles. In warmer Climates they may be of a lighter Colour, in some they are not the worse for being smooth and white. With us they differ in their Colour and their Size; but our Farmers know very well how to make them, of whatever Size they are, turn to Account, and how, if they think it necessary, to mend the Breed. This appears from the Difference of the Pork exposed to Sale, which is commonly between Ten and Twenty Stone, or Twenty five Stone at most. Hogs however may be and have been fed up to no less than Fourscore Stone, or Six hundred and Forty Pounds.

<sup>l</sup> Fitzherbert, the Parent of our Husbandry, though he highly commends Swine, is by no Means a Friend to Hogs. "See, says he, how many Swine thou art able to keep; let them be all Boars and Sows and no Hogs." His Reasoning in Support of this, might have Weight in his own Times. A Boar is as cheap kept, adds he, as a Hog, affords more and better Meat at any Time, either eaten fresh or soured. A Sow pays for her Keeping by her Pigs. Since we have no longer the same Taste for Boar's Flesh it is no Wonder our Oeconomy in this Respect should alter.

<sup>m</sup> It may seem strange that we should not know the natural Term of these Creatures Lives that are so very common. But a true and it is hoped a satisfactory Reason is given in the Text, viz. that it is inconsistent with our Interest to know it. Aristotle says, they may reach Twenty; Lord Verulam, from Fifteen to Twenty; some French Authors extend their Age to Twenty-five or Thirty; and this, though not established by any positive Fact, is nevertheless very likely to be true, and possibly wild Swine may live longer.

<sup>n</sup> Swine are fit for all Countries, and if they eat much, will eat also whatever can be eat, and what no Animals besides would eat, and this constitutes One great Part of their Value. In miry

frequently may, though they rarely have Three Litters of Pigs in a Year. They have at most but Twelve Teats, and consequently cannot bring up more Pigs, though there have been Instances of their having Twenty at a Litter°. These Animals in different Counties are of very different Sizes. In Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Pembrokehire they are very large. In Hampshire, Wiltshire, and where-ever they can run in the Woods, and feed on Mast and Acorns, their Flesh is firmer and better. They are subject to many Diseases, proceeding mostly from their foul Feeding. Their Sickness is more easily discovered than cured, and is best prevented by the keeping them, as the Ancients strongly recommended, very clean in their Sties, allowing them Air, Exercise, and Plenty of Water<sup>p</sup>. Many Improvements have been made of late Years in their Management, so that we feed them cheaper, keep them sweeter, and Cure their Flesh much better than formerly. There are still some of the wild Breed, and formerly many more were preserved in Chaces. These are not so large or so fat as the tame; but their Flesh is whiter, more delicate and firmer. The Chinese Breed are common; they are smaller, blacker, and their Legs shorter than ours, so that when fat their Bellies

and in marshy Grounds (to which they are not averse) they devour Worms, Frogs, Fern, Rush, and Sedge Roots. In drier and in woody Countries, they feed on Hips, Haws, Sloes, Crabs, Mast, Chestnuts, Acorns, &c. and on this Food they will grow fleshy, and fat. They are a Kind of natural Scavengers, will thrive on the Trash of an Orchard, the Out-casts of the Kitchen, the Sweepings of Barns and Granaries, the Offals of a Market, and most richly on the Refuse of a Dairy. If near the Sea they will search the Shores for Shell Fish; in the Fields they eat Grass, and in Cities and great Towns they are kept in great Numbers, and supported chiefly by Grains. It is evident that the Facility of Feeding them every where at a small Expence is a national Benefit; more especially in a Country where the People are accustomed to eat Flesh daily, and could not perhaps perform their daily Labour if they did not. It is no less observable, that notwithstanding this Facility of Feeding, and the Multitudes of Swine maintained, they seldom fail of coming to a good Market.

° The great Fecundity of these Animals is not simply an Instance, but a Proof of their Utility; for in the Oeconomy of Providence, Beasts of Prey have few, Beasts of Profit many Young. In the present Instance, the wild Sow farrows but once, the tame One commonly twice, in April and in October, and may rear Sixteen to Eighteen Pigs. Mr. Lise observes (it is probable with Truth) that Gentlemen seldom gain as Farmers do by breeding Swine, but the Nation gains in both Cases.

<sup>p</sup> In no Part of Europe is the Management of these Creatures better understood than in this Country. The Time of Farrowing is adjusted to the Nature of the Farm, the Food it can Supply; and the Number of Pigs sold and kept are in like Manner adjusted. New Kinds of Food, more wholesome and nutritive than what were used formerly, have been introduced; such as Turnips, Carrots, Clover, &c. They are in most Places regularly managed, and closely attended. Tuller many Years since affirmed from his own Experience, that a Sow might bring as much Profit as a Cow. In some Counties (if I am not misinformed) a Sow dependant on a Dairy hath produced, all Expences deducted, about Ten Pounds in the Space of a Year. It may be some Satisfaction to the Reader to know, that on a nice Calculation, the annual Profits of a Sow in France are found to be between Fifty and Sixty Livres.

literally touch the Ground. They thrive exceedingly well with us, are very prolifick, and their Flesh admirably fine and well tasted <sup>9</sup>.

IN treating of the Advantages derived from these Creatures, it is to be observed, that the Flesh of all their different Kinds, and at all Ages, is looked upon as a very wholesome, substantial, and agreeable Aliment, and of Course, in their proper Seasons, the different Sorts of Provisions this supplies are all of them very saleable. The wild Boar was esteemed a prime Delicacy amongst the Romans, and the Flesh of the tame was much more in Favour with our Ancestors than with us, though BRAWN has still many Admirers, is made in the greatest Perfection, and considered as a Rarity peculiar to this Country. Pork, though it might be wisely prohibited in some warm Countries, is found by Experience equally nutritive and salutary here. As such it furnishes a very large Proportion of that Food which is vended in our Markets, and the Consumption of it is prodigious when pickled or salted, more especially in our foreign Garrisons, and in the Sea Service. Our Bacon is differently cured, so as to render it acceptable to all Palates, and our Hams not at all inferior to those of other Countries. The Entrails of other Animals are of little Value, but those of Swine are so acceptable in themselves, and so diversified in their Preparations, as to be deservedly considered in another Light. Lard, which is the firmer Fat of these

<sup>1</sup> These are the same Kind with those of Siam and through the East Indies, coming nearer in all Respects to the wild Breed than ours. The Banians abstain from all Flesh; the Moors abhor Swine Flesh; but the Chinese prefer it to all Kinds of Food, and those who can afford it have Hog Meat of some Sort or other at their Tables every Day. The Chinese are great Farmers and excellent Oeconomists, set an high Value on Swine, keep many of them, and at so small an Expence, that they are always at a reasonable Price.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny tells us, P. Scervilius Rullus was the first who brought a whole Boar roasted to Table; but that in his own Time it was not uncommon to have Two or Three served up Whole at one Feast. In Queen Elizabeth's Time, the Head, the Flesh of the Neck called Collars, the Shoulders stiled Shields, and the Ribs were dignified with the Title of Brawn, the Rest, from the Liquid in which it was kept, and which was often changed to prevent its becoming sour, had the Name of Sowse, and was eaten by the Servants and meaner People.

<sup>3</sup> Small labouring Families in the Country seldom taste any Flesh but that of their Pig, which if they could not keep almost for nothing they would scarce taste Flesh at all. As they are supported by, they are also the great Support, in point of Profit, of our Dairies. Hogs are a principal Commodity in most of our considerable Fairs. In a Word, the breeding, feeding, managing, carrying to proper Markets, buying and selling them, forms a great Object, maintains Multitudes, and is a Trade daily encreasing.

<sup>4</sup> In this we have made great Improvements within these last Fifty Years; so that in Hampshire, Berkshire, and in several other Counties, it is prepared and cured in the utmost Perfection, which is not only a Benefit to the original Proprietors, but to the Waggoners who carry, and the Cheesemongers who vend it; to say nothing of the immense Consumption it occasions of Greens, Roots, &c. for the Production of which we have Thirty Thousand Acres of Garden Grounds well let in the Vicinity of this great Metropolis.

<sup>5</sup> This is undoubtedly a Fact. The Heads, Ears, Feet, Chitterlings, &c. are all sold; the Inmeat composes Sausages, black and white Puddings, &c. It is true, these are small Matters, all of them



these Animals, serves for such a Variety of Uses as renders it even dearer than Suet. That which is softer, and is commonly stiled Hog's Grease, hath likewise its Uses, and consequently its Value. The Skin is peculiarly fit when dressed for several Purposes <sup>w</sup>. The Bristles are also employed in various Ways, and in different Manufactures. The Dung of Swine is reputed next in Value to that of Sheep, and is of excellent Use in Vineyards, and as a Manure in general to Fruit Trees <sup>x</sup>. It is from this succinct Representation of Particulars, that the Value of Swine must be rendered very conspicuous to every intelligent Reader; and to what Height this Value arises, might be rendered equally evident, if we could come at any exact Calculation of the Consumption. But though this is by no Means in our Power, yet it is sufficiently known to be very great here at Home; and for the Encouragement of Exportation there is a Bounty allowed of Five Shillings on each Barrel of salted Pork <sup>y</sup>.

AFTER speaking succinctly to such Animals as supply us with Subsistence, Cloathing, and are otherwise of Use, we come next to those which, though not in these, are serviceable in Carriage, Draught, and in many other Respects. The HORSE claims the first Place amongst those for his Spirit, Strength, and Sagacity, all which in a Variety of Ways render this Creature

very small Matters: But small as they are, Labour, Skill, and Industry raise them into such a Value as furnishes Subsistence to Numbers, and thereby creates Circulation. What, except in a greater Degree, can the richest Commodities do more? These Appurtenances have been computed at Ten Shillings; if so, these small Matters even in this Town will produce in a Year Seventy thousand Pounds.

<sup>w</sup> The firm Fat before melted is much used in the Kitchen, though not near so much as in France. So also is the Lard, which is also of Use in Physick, and in various Manufactures; the softer is employed by Woolcombers, &c. Of the Skin they make Collars for large Dogs and Sieves; and of the Boars Skin, with the Hair on, Covers for Trunks. Of the Bristles, which the French call *Soye de Porc*, are made several different Kinds of Brushes, as also some Sorts of Pencils. They are likewise used by Sadlers, Shoemakers, &c. in sewing their Work.

<sup>x</sup> Mr. Worlidge (*Survey of Husbandry*, p. 172) proposes that Swine should be turned into a Close, well paled, and planted with Greens, Pulse, and Roots, on which they may feed, and by their trampling and their Dung raise a great Quantity of excellent Soil. Mr. Mortimer assures us (*Art of Husbandry*, vol. i. p. 117.) that some, on poor light shallow Land in Staffordshire, sow a small white Pea, which they never reap, but turn in so many Hogs to eat them as they think they will fat, and there they lie Day and Night, and their Dung will so enrich the Land, that it will bring a good Sward upon it, and will graze many Years afterwards. Our old Husbandmen had an ill Opinion of this Dung, as supposing it bred Weeds, which any Dung will do that abounds in Salts. In some Places they wash with Hogs Dung for want of Soap, which answers tolerably well, if the Linnen hangs long enough in the Air to become thoroughly sweet.

<sup>y</sup> It is exceedingly difficult to come at any competent Knowledge of the Number of Hogs spent in London in a Year. Yet without this no distinct Notion can be formed on a Subject so much laboured. After comparing carefully several Accounts taken in different Methods, it seems certain that there are at least One hundred and Fifty thousand Hogs brought annually hither, about Fifty thousand more in Bacon, and upwards of Sixty thousand Pigs,

infinitely



infinitely useful to Men. The Ancients have given us very copious and accurate, as well as most elegant Descriptions of this Animal, and entered very amply into the proper Methods of managing Horses according to the several Ways in which they were then employed<sup>2</sup>. The Moderns also, since the Revival of true Science, have written very largely on the same Subject, and many of them with great Skill and Judgment, as on a Matter of much Importance, and of the most extensive Use<sup>a</sup>. Some Persons of distinguished Rank have likewise in different Ages treated of Horses and their Management with equal Science and Perspicuity<sup>b</sup>. The generous STEED, to say the Truth, is so peculiarly adapted to the Occasions of the Rich and Great, and so useful to them especially, both for Service and Sport, that we need not at all wonder at his becoming the particular Object of their Attention.

THE Horse in his Nature is as gentle and docile, as in Appearance he is a noble, majestic, and well-proportioned Animal, but his peculiar Excellencies are determined by the Service for which he is designed<sup>c</sup>. A Stonehorse intended for the Covering of Mares is called a STALLION, and is chosen for that Reason with great Caution, as perfect in all Respects as possible, and may serve for this Purpose from Three or Four to Seventeen or

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. vi. cap. 22. Var. de Re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. 7. Virgil. Georg. lib. iii. Columel. de Re Rustica, lib. vi. cap. 27—35. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 43. Camdeni Britan. p. 26. 524. Verulam. Hist. Vitæ et Mortis Art. iii. § 7. Gesner Quadrup. 132. Raii Quadr. 62. Sibbaldi Prodrom. Nat. Hist. Scotiæ, P. ii. lib. iii. § ii. cap. 6. Meretti Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum, p. 166. Linnæi System. Naturæ, vol. i. p. 73.

<sup>a</sup> Libro de Albeyteria; por Francisco de la Reyna, en Salamanca; A. D. 1580, 4to. Della Agricoltura, di M. Africo Clemente Padouano, lib. v. cap. viii. p. 344. Crescenzi dell' Agricoltura, lib. ix. cap. 1—57. L'Arte di ben conoscere, e distinguere le qualita de Cavalli, di introdurre, e conservare una razza nobile, e di risanare il cavallo da mali, a'quali soggiace, studiata da Marino Garzoni Senatore Veneto, 1757, 8vo. Maison Rustique, liv. i. ch. 28. Instruction du Roi en l'Exercise, de Monter a Cheval, par M. A. de Pluvinel. Le parfait Maréchal, par M. Solleyfel, 1762, 4to. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 524—575. Ecole de la Cavaliere par M. de la Gueriniere, 1733, fol. Le Nouveau parfait Maréchal, par M. de Garfaut, 1746, 4to. Dictionnaire de Commerce tom. i. col. 838. 859. La Nouvelle Maison Rustique, P. i. liv. iii. chap. 1, 2. P. iv. liv. ii. chap. 3. Art. iv. Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 592—613. Beaufofre Introduction a l'Etude de la Politique, des Finances, et du Commerce, tom. i. § xxi. p. 64, 65.

<sup>b</sup> Among the Ancients, Xenophon, one of the greatest Generals, one of the most learned Scholars, and one of the most elegant Writers of Greece, hath left Two Books on the Hippiatric Art, which have been ever in high and just Esteem. William Cavendish, Marquis and Earl, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, published a new Art of Horsemanship, in which he appears both as an Author and Inventor with universal Applause. The present Earl of Pembroke hath also given the Public an instructive Treatise on this Subject.

<sup>c</sup> We have already seen, in treating of Oxen, that the Ancients used those Cattle, and not Horses, for the Plough. These last were reserved for the Saddle, the Chariot, and the Race. The Descriptions therefore of Varro, Virgil, and Columella, though accurate and admirable in themselves, belong only to a particular Kind of Horse. We require Horses for various Purposes, and to suit these they must have various Properties, indeed so various, that what are regarded as Excellencies in some would be Defects in others.

even to Twenty Years old <sup>d</sup>. The MARE is also a very beautiful Creature, and may breed from Three to Ten or more Years of Age. She carries her Young Eleven Months, and foals in the Twelfth. Such Horses as are not intended to propagate are commonly castrated when they are very young, though it may be performed when they are older, though not with equal Safety <sup>e</sup>. As to the Age of these Animals, the Moderns mention very positively Thirty, the Ancients, and amongst them Aristotle, perhaps with more Truth, Fifty Years, as the utmost Period of their Lives <sup>f</sup>. Their Food, if we except Grass and Hay, is different in different Climates. In Southern Countries they feed them with Barley, esteeming it to have a cooling Quality, whereas in Northern Regions, besides Hay and Straw, they give them Oats, Beans, Peas, &c. <sup>g</sup>. Yet after all, the Excellency and the Utility of this most valuable Creature, as it contributes to the Service, so it arises from the Skill, Industry, and Address of Men, in nothing more conspicuous than in the Management of these Animals. It is very probable, that with the many and great Advantages derived from thence, it may subject Horses to more

<sup>d</sup> It hath been the constant Practice (since we have shewn a just Attention to this Matter) to form Stud's, for raising with the greatest Care and at no small Expence a regular Succession of what are stiled Bred Horses. In this there is great Sagacity, deep Judgment, and much Application requisite; and we have in this, as in most other Pursuits depending on Knowledge, Method, and Perseverance, succeeded in the Opinion, and by the Testimony of Foreigners, beyond any other Nation in Europe. But there being still much of Accident and Incertainty in this Business many young Horses prove unfit for the Race, which yet are very valuable as Hunters, Saddle Horses, remounting our Cavalry, and when past Service in these are destined to many other Uses, so that for all Purposes we have a constant and regular Supply of excellent Cattle.

<sup>e</sup> It is allowed this Operation diminishes their Spirit, Strength, and Courage, but it renders them more gentle, docile, and manageable. Pliny says, lib. xi. cap. 37. they did not lose their Sucking, or as we call them, Foal Teeth, which shews the Ancients castrated early. It is a Practice not used in the East, except in China. We have always had a Reputation for this Kind of Horses. Sir Thomas Chaloner, in the Reign of Henry VIII. carried a Number of them through France over the Pirenees into Spain, where they arrived fresh, sound, and fit for Service.

<sup>f</sup> The first Speculation in respect to the Duration of the Lives of Animals, was its being in Proportion to the Time of their Gestation. When this appeared inconsistent with Facts, in this Instance particularly, it was then said to be Seven Times the Space of their Growth. Lord Verulam says a Horse grows to Six, and may (though it seldom happens) live to Forty. The French Philosophers fix his Growth to Four, and reduce his Age to Thirty. Pliny says (Aristotle had heard the same) it was reported a Horse had lived to Seventy-five. But the Term he assigns them is Fifty, and this from his own Knowledge. At Twenty, he says, a Horse quitted the Circus, served as a Stallion to Thirty-three, and was then dismissed. In the Islands of Shetland, Horses of Forty are not at all uncommon. Dr. Plot found Three of this Age or above in Oxfordshire only. Upon a strict Inquiry no doubt as many might be found in several other Counties.

<sup>g</sup> We have a great Superiority over our Neighbours, as they themselves confess, in the prodigious Plenty and excellent Qualities of our Green and dry Provender. No Pastures are more kindly luxuriant, or better diversified than ours, no where more or finer Hay, sweeter Oats, fairer Beans and Peas, fresher Straw, Chaff, and Bran, all occasionally necessary for the Support of these Creatures. It is true, that at sometimes, and in some Places, their Keeping is dear; but this is commonly in Proportion to their Labour, and consequently repaid by it.

Diseases than any other Creature, the human Species only excepted<sup>h</sup>. An Observation as old, perhaps older than the Days of Aristotle.

WHOEVER were the first Inhabitants of this Island, and from whatever Country they came, it was very natural for them to bring over with them, or to procure as soon as they could, the most useful Animals, and amongst these we may very well suppose Horses might be included<sup>i</sup>. But this happily does not, though it might very well rest upon Supposition. The Fact is, that when Julius Cæsar came over hither he found the People not only well provided with Horses, but, which is very remarkable, these Horses were so excellently well-disciplined as to excite both the Terror and the Admiration of the Romans<sup>k</sup>. When they became the peaceable Possessors of this Country, we find, that among other Precautions taken for securing it, they had many Posts of Cavalry in different Parts, especially on the Coasts; nor is it at all improbable, that for maintaining these they brought over not only foreign Troops but foreign Horses. The Saxons also had them in great Numbers, and esteemed them very much, as evidently ap-

<sup>h</sup> Mr. Fitzherbert says, that in his Time there were Three principal Dealers in Horses. 1. The Horse Master, who bought wild unbacked Horses, of which he broke and sold some, and some he sold as he bought them. 2. Horse Coursers, who dealt only in such as were trained, broken, or fitted for some Kind of Service. 3. The Horse Leche, or, as we now stile him, the Farrier, who undertook the Cure of their Diseases of all Kinds. To these, says he, if you add an Apothecary, you will have Four, the best of whom it would be hard to trust.

<sup>i</sup> Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry, p. 52—67. The Art of Riding, by Thomas Blundevill, 4to. Googe's Whole Art of Husbandry, fol. 107—117. Harison's Description of Brittain, Book ii. chap. 8. Fuller's Worthies of England, Yorkshire, p. 187. Drayton's Polyolbion, Song iii. at the Beginning, Song vi. at the Close. Markham's Master Piece, the first Edition, A. D. 1599. After this he continued to add and alter upwards of Fifty Years. His Cheap and Good Husbandry, Book i. p. 1—70. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 73. De Grey's Compleat Horseman, A. D. 1656, 4to. Methode et Invention Nouvelle, de Dresser les Chevaux, par Guillaume Marquis et Comte de Newcastle. A Anvers, A. D. 1658, Folio. Snape's Anatomy of a Horse, 1686, Folio. The Compleat Horseman, by Sir William Hope, A. D. 1696, Folio, which is a Translation from Soleysel, with a Supplement. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, Book vi. chap. 2. Gibbon's New Treatise of the Diseases of Horses, A. D. 1754, 2 vol. 8vo. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 223—238. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 288. Hill's History of Animals, p. 570. A Method of breaking Horses, and teaching Soldiers to ride, by Henry Earl of Pembroke, A. D. 1762. Rules for bad Horsemen, by Charles Thompson, Esq; A. D. 1765.

<sup>k</sup> Cæsar. de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 24. 29. lib. v. cap. 8. 11. 15. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. Hist. lib. v. p. 209. Strab. Geog. lib. iv. p. 200. P. Meta de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 6. Tacit. vit Jul. Agricole, cap. 12. With these Chariots they drove up and down steep Hills, charged their Enemies with great Impetuosity, threw their Darts amongst them, and if they made any Impression leaped down and fought on Foot. They had them also in great Numbers; for Cassibellanus, when he dismissed his Army, retained Four thousand of these Chariots to harass the Romans whenever they attempted to forage. Does not this, together with their Dexterity in running out on the Shafts, and if overpowered retiring to those Chariots posted at a proper Distance to receive them, demonstrate they had Plenty of Horses, must have had them long, and knew very well how to train them?

appears from their Laws<sup>1</sup>. The Danes likewise employed Numbers of light Cavalry in their Incurfions<sup>2</sup>.

BUT after the Norman Conquests, the Value of our own Horses seems to have declined, which may be reasonably ascribed to the Difficulty found in transporting them, at least in Numbers, for Service in their Wars upon the Continent; which Circumstance made it cheaper to purchase Horses bred for the Wars in those, or in the adjacent Countries, whence ours were very seldom trained, but were left for domestic Uses. The Saddle Horses, in those Days stiled Palfreys, were chiefly used for Grandeur and Parade. As for the Rest, though they answered common Occasions very well, yet, as well as the former, they were much inferior in Price to foreign Steeds kept by our Princes and Nobility<sup>3</sup>. Henry the Seventh, who had very just Notions of whatever might contribute in any Degree to the improving his Dominions, made the first Laws that are to be found on this Head in our Statute Books; in which he was followed by his Successors<sup>4</sup>. These Laws had chiefly

Two

<sup>1</sup> In King Ethelstan's Reign, as we read in Bromton, a Law was made to prevent sending Horses abroad for Sale. In the Senatus Consulta de Monticulis, in the Time of King Ethelred, A. D. 1002, if a Horse be lost, the Compensation must be Thirty Shillings, for a Mare or Colt of a Year old Twenty Shillings, a Mule or young Ass Twelve Shillings, an Ox Thirty Pence, a Cow Twenty-four Pence, a Swine Eight Pence, a Man One Pound. This shews the relative Value of Things in those Days; but then we must remember this was Saxon Money, of which Forty-eight Shilling made a Pound, and Five Pence a Shilling. According to this Valuation, an Horse was worth Five Oxen, and a Cow worth Three Swine. It may not be amiss to add, a Sheep was then valued at a Shilling, and a Goat at Eleven Pence; that is, Two Shillings and a Penny.

<sup>2</sup> The Danes did not fight on Horseback, but made use of these Creatures to drag their Vessel against the Stream, in conveying Plunder to their Ships, but more especially for expedition Marches, which enabled them to come upon their Enemies, by Surprize, whom, fresh and untired, they boldly attacked on Foot. When they had but few of their own, they compelled the Peasants where ever they came to furnish them with Horses. This perhaps is as early an Instance of Dragoon Service as is to be found in History. For this the Danish Horses are still famous, being tight, stout, spirited, well moulded, and very hardy. In the Army of the Allies at the Beginning of the current Century they served with much Reputation. The Sale of Horses is indeed a principal Article of the Commerce of Judland.

<sup>3</sup> William I. won the decisive Battle of Hastings by the Superiority of his Cavalry, which he brought over with him. It is also to be considered, that our Norman Monarchs had Dominions on the Continent, where these Horses might be easily procured, and conveniently kept and maintained. In the Reign of Edward I. his Son, afterwards Edward II. bought against a Tournament of some Italian Merchants Nineteen Horses, which cost him 489 l. 2s. 8d. Yet Mathew Paris tells us, p. 1051, that the Abbot of St. Albans going a Journey with Six Pages, hired for them Six strong handsome Horses, on Condition that if any of them died they should be paid for at the Rate of Ten Shillings an Horse. This was A. D. 1232. In A. D. 1425, a prime Horse for the Prior of Burcester's Stable was purchased at One Pound Six Shillings, and Eight Pence.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Snape, in his Dedication of his Anatomy of a Horse to Charles II. says, that some or other of his Family had been Farriers to the Crown for the Space of Two hundred Years, which carries this Office as high as the Reign of Henry VII. As this Monarch had great Knowledge of the World, he was desirous for many Reasons of raising here at Home a good Breed of Horses; and in order to

this,

Two Points in View, the mending the Breed, by raising the Size of our Horses, and preventing their being sent into foreign Countries. These Statutes did not effectually answer the Purposes for which they were intended, since we are told, that One of the principal Motives which instigated the Spanish Invasion in the Reign of his Grand-daughter, was the Knowledge they had of our Weakness in respect to Cavalry. In regard to this, when they made the Attempt, the Arrangements made by Authority, for resisting them, put the Truth of their Intelligence beyond all Dispute.

THE Horses on board their Armada, when it was defeated and dispersed, came on Shore on Galloway and in other Parts of Scotland, by which their Breed was very much improved. It is not at all improbable that some of these Spanish Horses were carried into the Northern Counties of England, for in them it appears they first began to shew a proper Attention to this Matter, and their Application therein was no doubt encouraged by their finding it attended with extraordinary Profit. The civil Wars shewed

this he forbid the sending Stallions abroad without License, but permitted the free Exportation of Mares when more than Two Years of Age, and under the Value of Six Shillings and Eight Pence. If the Mare was above that Price she might be exported by a special License, paying Six Shillings and Eight Pence Custom. Any Man however who made Oath that he carried over his Horse purely for his own Riding, and not for Sale, might do it notwithstanding, to prevent probably his laying out his Money on a foreign Beast. Stat. 11 Hen. VII. cap. 13.

Henry VIII. made more than One severe Law against allowing Stallions in some Places under Fourteen, in others Fifteen hands high, and above Two Years old, to run in any Forest, Moor, or Common, where there were Mares. Magistrates were likewise commanded to drive such Forests, &c. about Michaelmas; and if any Mares were found unlikely to bear Foals of a good Size, or any Geldings or Foals they judged would not prove serviceable, they were impowered and required to put them to Death. But the Northern Counties were exempted, which shews that they had at this Time no remarkable Breed of Horses. It was also enacted, that in every Park wherein there were Deer, there should be kept a certain Number of breeding Mares Thirteen Hands high at least.

The best informed Statesmen in that critical Year could not, after the strictest Inquiry, rely on more than Three thousand fit for Service. A Thing by no Means so strange, as at first sight it appears. Our Nobility, though rich and potent, were thin in Number, and yet they must have been collected from their Stables, and those of a few of the Prime of our Gentry, by whom a still Probability they were also mounted. With this Defect in Horses, some French Politicians reproached us long after, as if it had been a national and incurable Blémish. Mr. R. Child, the Author of that Epistle which makes the best Part of Hartlib's Legacy, takes Notice of this at the Distance of Half a Century after that memorable Event, as an Error not even in his Time wholly corrected, though he wrote at the End of the Civil War.

We do not perceive that Racing, though not unknown, was at all in Fashion in the Time of Elizabeth. It seems to have followed King James out of Scotland. It was introduced by the Spirit and Swiftness of their Galloways. Yet in Ten Years Time, as we learn from the ingenious Drayton, it had travelled as far as Wiltshire, where he says they began to lay as high Bets as the Scots, whom in this Respect he taxes with Prodiguity. Before the Close of this Reign (see Scots Acts, vol. i. p. 974. 975) a Law was made in that Kingdom, that if any Person won the Space of a Day more than a Hundred Marks, the Overplus should be given to the Poor. Edw.

shewed the Use of a superior Race of Horses, and put Men upon contriving how to procure them, and on inquiring into the State and Management of these Animals in other Countries. The peaceable Times that followed gave many Opportunities for, and afforded at the same Time much Assistance to, the compleating such Enquiries; and the speedy Progress of numerous Improvements, most of which occasioned new Demands for Horses, contributed not a little to quicken Peoples Attention in this Respect, by opening an extensive Market<sup>s</sup>.

But though in general this is as just an Account as in so narrow a Compass we could give, yet it may, and indeed must admit of some Exceptions, in regard to a few of our ancient Nobility, who by bringing in foreign, and more especially Spanish Horses, sought to raise an excellent Breed here for the Purposes of War and Hunting<sup>t</sup>. It is also true, that at the very Entrance of the last Century our Gentry had some Notions of Racing. Yet this did not extend far, and was at the same Time attended with such an Expence as put it out of the Reach of Imitation. A little before the Restoration, we begun to have clearer and more enlarged Ideas, as to many Points of domestic Oeconomy, which after that Event influenced our public Conduct, as appears by the permitting our Horses to be exported, though under very high Duties, and the giving Plates to encourage Races<sup>u</sup>. As our

is said in the Text, the Breeding the best Horses was quickly transferred to the Northern Counties in England, especially Yorkshire, as Fuller tells us, and where indeed many of the most celebrated of our Horses have been bred.

<sup>t</sup> These, though more placid, proved more potent Inducements to the mending our Breed of Horses than the severe Law, 32 Hen. VIII.<sup>o</sup> cap. 13. which was altered from Fifteen to Thirteen Hands in the Isle Ely and the Fens, by Stat. 8 Eliz. cap. 8. § 2, 3. and was totally repealed as to Cornwall, by Stat. 21 Jac. I. cap. 28. § 12. By which, as the worthy Cornish Antiquary Borlase informs us, a most valuable Race of small Horses, called, from an extensive Moor in which they pasture, Gunhillies, and are exactly suited to the Roads and Labours of that County, were preserved. Laws made to controul Nature, or even old Customs, operate very slowly, if at all. But if Laws favour the Interests or go along with the Inclinations of the People, they meet with an implicit Obedience, and are sure to make a very speedy and very extensive Progress.

<sup>u</sup> There is a Tradition, that Arundel in Suffex received its Name from a favourite Steed of Bevis Earl of Southampton. Roger Earl of Shrewsbury is reported to have brought over some Spanish Horses into Montgomeryshire. Italy, and especially Naples, was for a long series of Years the grand School for Horsemanship. Henry VIII. brought over Two famous Masters from thence. Mr. Thomas Blundevill was the first who in our Language published a Treatise on the Art of Riding. This much enlarged he republished in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, and dedicated it to Robert Earl of Leicester, whom he highly commends for bringing over Claudio Corte, who was his riding Master, and at the same Time deeply deploras the miserable State of Horses and Incapacity of Horsemen in this Country. He professedly copied Grisoni an Italian Author; and Markham, De Grey, and others have copied him.

<sup>v</sup> As it was well understood, that for various Purposes, and more especially for Stallions, it was requisite to import foreign Horses; these, by Stat. 12 Car. II. cap. 4. were rated at Ten Pounds, and the Duty fixed at One Pound Eighteen Shillings and Six Pence. But though our Horses were  
allowed

our Horses grew, in consequence of these Measures, both numerous and valuable, a very worthy and intelligent Patriot suggested, that a free Exportation would be very advantageous, and bring large Sums of Money into this from other Countries. The Proposal seemed so reasonable, that it was in a short Space adopted, and the Sum paid on Exportation is reduced, as to become rather a Register than a Duty<sup>w</sup>. This was very quickly attended with very good Effects, fine Studs were established in most Parts of the Kingdom, which supplied bred Horses, not only for the Course, but for the Mounting of our Cavalry, and the Saddle, and this too in Plenty.

As this singular Improvement was chiefly accomplished by the Interposition of Persons of superior Rank and Fortune, no Expence was spared in procuring Stallions from the most distant Countries, and such Pains were taken in all other Respects, as had quickly very visible Effects, and thereby attracted the Notice, and gradually raised the Reputation of our Horses with all our Neighbours<sup>x</sup>. As a Spirit of Emulation is natural to the Inhabitants of this Island, so in the same Proportion that this first Rate Race of Horses grew better in their Kind, other Sorts of Horses were likewise improved with great, if not equal Affiduity<sup>y</sup>. The Advantages attending

allowed to be exported, the Rates gave little Encouragement; a Stone Horse was rated at 66l. 13s. 4d. a Gelding at 20 l. to the Plantations at 10 l. and a Mare at 120l. 13s. 4d. The Royal Plates at Newmarket in Cambridgeshire, and at Black Hambleton in Yorkshire, were given with an Intention, and under such Regulations, as might promote an Emulation amongst Persons of Rank and Fortune in breeding fine Horses, which it was foreseen would become a national Advantage, as, notwithstanding some Inconveniencies attending this Practice, it has certainly been.

\* The Patriot referred to in the Text is Mr. Samuel Fortrey, who, A. D. 1663, addressed to King Charles II. a small Treatise, intituled, "England's Interest considered in the Advancement of the Trade of this Kingdom." In p. 22, he says, "There is not any One of so great Profit as the Exportation of Horses, which of all Commodities is raised at the least Charge at Home, and is of the greatest Value Abroad." He also very fairly states, and fully answers Objections. In consequence of this the Law before mentioned was altered; and, by Stat. 22. Car. II. cap. 13. § 8. every Person may export into any Country in Amity with Great Britain any Horse, Mare, or Gelding, paying the Sum only of Five Shillings. This Liberty took Place at Midsummer, A. D. 1670, and in Twelve Years after we exported, viz. A. D. 1682, Twenty-one Horses, as appears by the Custom House Books.

\* It is evident, the true or standard Value of our Horses is best collected from their Prices when bought by Strangers, who we may be sure will not give more than they are worth. It is true, that from our old Laws forbidding Exportation, it should seem there was a Demand for our Horses before these Improvements. Whence could this arise? Not from their Excellency; for in spite of those for retaining, and the Laws for improving their Size, we were indisputably very low in this Respect in the Days of Elizabeth; but plainly for their Cheapness, and indeed they were too cheap for us to get any Thing by selling them. But since our Improvements, we no longer sell cheap but fine Horses, and these at a high Price, which must be very beneficial to this Country, as a Horse costs nothing but the Keeping, and in that Respect a worthless Horse costs very near as much as the best.

† It is to this emulating Spirit, joined to the Sagacity and Perseverance of the middling Rank of People, that we are to attribute those stately and valuable Teams, we see not only in the Neighbourhood of London, but in some of the most distant Counties. Our Waggons carry immense



tending so general a Regard to these Animals were so many, and withal so manifest, that in Conjunction with the Amendment of our Roads, which might also be esteemed a Consequence, have in a Manner entirely changed the Appearance, and perhaps it will be no trespass on Truth to say the Circumstances also, of the better Part of this Island. It is therefore by no Means surprizing, that this being so evidently the Case, these Creatures should become both much more numerous, and much more valuable<sup>a</sup>. Neither ought it to be esteemed extraordinary, that as the natural Consequence of this, our Exportation should gradually increase, or that both these should in the Judgment of many be looked upon as national Advantages<sup>a</sup>. Yet so it is, that Doubts have of late arisen, and much hath been very seriously advanced, to shew, that taking all Things into our View, it may very possibly appear, that we have already too many of these Animals, and that for the Sake of the publick Welfare, and out of Regard more especially to the Poor, some Means ought to be employed rather to diminish than to increase them. This no Question, if it can be clearly and effectually made out to the Satisfaction of the Legislature, by the Light of Evidence as well as Force of Arguments, will meet with that Attention which, when thus maturely and impartially considered, it shall be found to deserve<sup>b</sup>.

THOSE

Loads by the amazing Strength of their Horses. The Pack Horses move singly each under a prodigious Burthen, and this through the worst Roads. Millers Horses carry yet heavier Loads. All Kinds of Work that require Horses find them here of a fit Age and Size, and find them with Certainty and Ease; Hunters, Road, and Post Horses, such as no Country besides can boast for Steadiness, Strength, and Spirit. As to the quick Draught, from the Chaise to the heaviest Coach or Berlin, our Horses are no where excelled, either for Shew or Speed.

<sup>a</sup> It is extremely difficult to form any near, or so much as probable, much less certain or exact, Computation of the Horses in South Britain. Mr. King, whose Calculations are most esteemed, judged they amounted at the Close of the last Century to One Million Two hundred Thousand, and supposing them worth one with another Two Pounds Ten Shillings a Horse, fixes their Value at the Sum of Three Millions. There is no doubt they are much increased both in Number and Value since that Time, but then there is no final Reason to question the Certainty of this Computation. In the Time of the last War, the Number of Horses within the Bills of Mortality were found to be between Twenty-three and Twenty-five thousand, about a Fifth Part of this Sum. But suppose we have now a Million, and these worth Five Pounds one with another, this is a vast Article in our national Account.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Davenant, from whom we have Mr. King's Account, to which he gave entire Credit, was so far from being alarmed thereby, that he wishes we could breed double the Number, for the Sake of Exportation. At this Time, which shews how highly and universally they are esteemed, we export Horses to Denmark, Norway, the East Country, Flanders, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Madeiras, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Guernsey, Jersey, and our American Colonies on the Continent and the Islands. In the Year 1766, the Total was One thousand Nine hundred Sixty-seven, and in the Year 1767 (both in profound Peace) One thousand Six hundred Sixty-three. Very considerable no Doubt, but much inferior to what hath been published by common Report. It shews indeed, that the System formed for amending our Breed hath operated very extensively as well as effectually.

<sup>b</sup> It is with a View to facilitate this that so much Pains have been taken with the present Article. We have endeavoured to point out the Period in which, and to trace out the Cause whereby,



THOSE who espouse these Sentiments maintain them by many Reasons, which seem to borrow no small Weight, from their declaring the sole Object of their Endeavours to be the promoting publick Good. They exclaim against Horse Races, as the most destructive Species of Gaming, productive only of pernicious Consequences, attended with immense Charges, and which serve no other Purpose than to raise a Breed of Horses that are confessed to be too good for Use. Positions which can hardly be controverted; and therefore, as they conceive, this ought to be esteemed a Practice, that instead of being at all countenanced, should be discouraged and suppressed <sup>c</sup>. They insist on the prodigious Increase of Chaises, Coaches, and Saddle Horses, as so many glaring Instances of the most enormous Luxury, and which ought therefore no longer to be indulged <sup>d</sup>. They represent the Expence of maintaining these Creatures as prodigious in itself, far exceeding their real Utility, and of course an unnecessary Diminution of

by, our Horses were depreciated. The Fact is fairly stated in the Preamble to Henry VII Statute; but it was then ascribed to the sending Abroad our best Horses, for which the proper Cure no Doubt was a Prohibition to export. This not answering, his Son made coercive Laws, which, except displeasing the People, had no Effect. At length it was perceived, that the true Remedy consisted in following the Custom of other Nations, and that bringing over foreign Stallions, attending to the Breed, allowing all Ranks of Men entire Liberty in this Respect, encouraging a Love for and a Pride in good Cattle, were the only Means. Whether we may not go too far in so pleasant a Road is a new Question, and hard to be discussed. We see how strangely our Ancestors mistook the Road when they attempted to raise a Breed, and by what Steps, when once in the right Path, they, from being inferior to most, came in this Respect to be superior to all other Nations. But we cannot look with the same Certainty into Futurity, or decide on the Consequences that may attend the giving a Check to this Spirit.

<sup>e</sup> That Races are Sources of many and great Inconveniencies must be allowed. That however, the Passion for this Sport, wisely managed, gave us a Breed of Horses of which we were in the greatest Want is not to be denied. It serves also, and is perhaps indispensably necessary, to maintain it. We know likewise, it keeps up the Reputation of our Horses Abroad. It may be, that these were amongst the Considerations which induced the Legislature to repeal Stat. 13 Geo. II. cap. 19. which enacted no Races should be run but at Newmarket or Black Hambledon, by Stat. 18 Geo. II. cap. 34. § 11. which allows the running them any where (under the Regulations in the former Act) provided the Prize be of the Value of Fifty Pounds or upwards. It cannot be doubted, this Matter, thus canvassed, shewed the true State of Things, and that some Inconveniencies had arisen from that Restraint, which was now removed. It should be remembered too, that this is a Sport peculiar to this Country, retains many who are addicted to it at Home, is eminently serviceable to very many Places, and that all the Money won or lost at Races still remains here.

<sup>f</sup> There are Persons however who see this in a different Light. They think, that Industry should be encouraged to acquire, and then, what Men have acquired, they should have Liberty to spend. They observe, that these opulent and luxurious People only keep, but do not make or drive Coaches, neither do they harness, dress, or feed their Horses, but have all these done for them; so that how luxurious soever they may be, they are certainly the Paymasters, if Patrons should be thought too good a Word, of Labour and Industry in other Men. These, thus maintained, spend in excisable Commodities what brings to the Revenue Five Times as much as would arise from taxing Horses; and therefore, so far as such a Tax operated in suppressing Luxury, just so far would it go in turning honest, industrious, hard working-People out of their Livings.

the national Stock <sup>c</sup>. They attribute to this unseasonable, and therefore needless Multiplication of these Animals, the present high Rent of Grass Farms, which might have been otherwise employed to Purposes more useful, that is, more beneficial in respect to the Community <sup>f</sup>.

They assign to the same Cause the Decrease of Black Cattle, and the great Scarcity and Dearness of all Kinds of Animal Provisions, so severely felt by all Ranks of People, and more especially grievous to the Poor <sup>a</sup>. They are dissatisfied likewise with Exportation, as it serves apparently to assist Strangers with better Horses than their own Countries can produce, may in some Degree promote their Industry in Time of Peace, and in case of a War serve to remount the Cavalry of our most inveterate Enemies <sup>b</sup>. All which,

<sup>e</sup> All the World are not in this Sentiment, otherwise there would be no need of a Tax to check the breeding Horses. The Feeding them would be a Tax heavy enough to produce that Effect. They are kept in great Cities for Profit, or for Pomp; if the former, their keeping (though certainly expensive) is paid for by their Labour, or they would not be kept; if the latter, there is no more Hurt done to the Community than in buying Pictures, Plate, or China. In the Country it is quite another Case. For Mr. Lisle who was too observing a Farmer to be deceived, and a Gentleman of too much Veracity (especially speaking from his own Experience) not to be believed, says expressly, that a Brace of Saddle Geldings, which would cost Fifty Pounds keeping in London, may be kept by a Gentleman in the Country, having Land in his own Hands, for Nothing, and this he proves. Observations in Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 230.

<sup>d</sup> In respect to Grass Land, great Improvements have certainly been made in them of late Years, with regard to the Increase of their Produce. Upon this Account, it is highly probable their Rents have risen, and this is not only natural but reasonable. Horses no Doubt eat Grass and Hay, which constitute Part of the Produce, and by so doing give Value to both. But it may be well supposed, that their giving this Value was no small Inducement to the making these Improvements; and if an Increase of Horses hath occasioned an Increase of that Produce on which they subsist, they are clearly beneficial even in this Respect: More especially if what Mr. Lisle says be true, that a Horse in the Country, by his Dung (independent of Labour) pays not only for the Grass and Hay, but for the Corn also that he consumes.

<sup>e</sup> In the Northern Counties, where they breed the most and best Horses, they also breed the largest Horn Cattle. In these Counties they do not plough with Oxen, because, as they think, it stunts them in their Growth. About Thirty Years ago Maitland speaks of the Increase of Horses, and yet complains of the Cheapness of Provisions in London, which shews their Consistence with each other possible. When the Markets were highest the Commissioners of the Victualling Office found no Difficulty in completing their Contracts, and this too at reasonable Prices. In some Places, particularly in Yorkshire, the Country in some Parts is extremely fit for breeding Horses, and in others equally proper for feeding Cattle. The Inhabitants avail themselves of both, being left to judge of their own Interest; and this free Choice, with the Ability of pursuing it, is, as Experience shews, the surest Source of universal Plenty.

<sup>f</sup> The Superiority of our Horses arises from the Use of foreign Stallions, the Plenty and Excellence of our green and dry Provender, and the Judgment of our Breeders. That they have a Superiority appears by Strangers giving a high Price for a perishable Commodity. But this is no more than both they and we do, in regard to Horses of still greater Value. All Nations on Earth, even the Arabs, who have the best Horses, and are the fondest of their Horses, will part with them notwithstanding if you come up to their Price. Ours are bought for the Saddle, principally for Hunting, many of them Geldings, and are quickly worn out. As for Dragoon Horses, the French use their own, and remount their Horse from Germany, and are furnished with Baggage and Draught

which, as they farther alledge, only contributes to fill the Pockets of a Race of Men, who have in every Age been reproached with attending solely to their own Interest, and who are negligent of any Consequences of their Transactions in this Trade, provided they find a Way to accumulate Wealth to themselves <sup>i</sup>. It will however require some Consideration, whether these Suggestions, though strongly urged, should not be very strictly examined, before any Step whatever be taken to diminish, or even to discredit the keeping or breeding of Horses, which makes so valuable a Part of our national Property, more especially if there is any Appearance that this Reduction may probably be brought about gradually, and in the natural Course of Things <sup>k</sup>, without the Introduction of a new Tax, which certainly ought not to be imposed without a clear and incontestible Necessity.

THE Importance of this Article, which hath often employed the Wisdom and Attention of the Legislature, made it requisite to insist upon it more fully, and to enter into a larger Detail, than in speaking of some other Animals. Yet many Things remain unsaid which might have been mentioned upon so copious a Subject, and of such extensive Consequence <sup>l</sup>. But before

Draught Horses from Switzerland. In a Word, all Nations breed, and all Nations sell, as well as we. In the Countries of Holstein, East Friesland, Oldenburgh, Hanover, Wurtemburgh, Anspach, Pamburg, and Wurtzburgh, they breed for Sale, and draw vast Profits from this Trade without any Fear of ill Consequences. The Dutch pursue the same Practice, and our declining this Commerce would only raise their Prices.

<sup>i</sup> We may however have leave to say in Favour of these, that they are not the only Dealers who consult their own Interest without regarding Consequences. But whatever they may be, they are most certainly British Subjects, a numerous Race of Men, who maintain themselves and their Families by what hath been hitherto looked on as a very useful Employment. But it is not these only who will be afflicted, but the Inhabitants also of all the Counties in which Horses are bred, and those who breed them. It will fall upon the Fairs and Marts, which for a Century past have been subsisted by the regular Resort of Persons to buy or sell these Creatures. It will be felt by all the Towns on the Roads, great or small, and Influence all Kind of Land-Carriage, so essential to, or rather which is the sole Instrument of, the internal Commerce and Correspondence through the Island.

<sup>k</sup> The great Increase of Horses of late Years hath been owing to the Increase of Demands. Such as furnishing our Cavalry abroad during the War, the Growth and Extension of our domestic Trade, the amazing Enlargement of this Capital, and other Causes. But as some of these were temporary, they have ceased to act, and others may do the same. The very Outcry against these Animals, and Propositions for restraining them, will have this Effect. So must the Reviving the old Custom of Ploughing and Drawing with Oxen, if by Example and Encouragement it can be brought about. But more speedily and effectually, by the great Spirit shewn in making Communications by Water, which by reducing the Price of Carriage, and facilitating that of bulky Commodities, will, as in Holland and in China, very quickly gain the Preference of Carts and Waggon.

<sup>l</sup> In the Course of this Article the principal Point in View hath been to exhibit to the Reader Facts for his Information, and such Notices as might stimulate his own Inquiries into a Matter always held to be a great national Concern. It seemed for this Reason necessary to state, as clearly as might be, the Suggestions on both Sides, leaving him on Reflection to form his own Judgment.

before we conclude, it may not be improper to remark, that the Horse after spending his Life in the Service of Man is not totally useless to him after Death, though not in the same Degree with some other Creatures. For not to mention physical Uses, which are now little considered <sup>m</sup>, we shall take Notice of his Hair, particularly that of the Mane and Tail, which is applied to a great Variety of Uses, especially of late Years, gives Employment, and of Course affords Subsistence to many, and is upon the Whole of no inconsiderable Value. The other Hair, when taken from the Skins, is mixed with that of Cows, and used for the same Purposes <sup>n</sup>. The Skins are also tanned and dressed, chiefly for the Service of the Sadlers; but when Leather is dear and scarce, is made to answer other Ends, and is therefore subjected to a Duty <sup>o</sup>.

It may be however not amiss to add, that the ablest Persons in this Nation, A. D. 1588, were under the most serious Apprehensions, from our confessed Deficiency in Horse; and that we have most effectually redressed that Evil, our Cavalry being at this Time confessedly the best in Europe. In case of any new Invasion in future, our Resources (under the Protection of the ALMIGHTY) are the Numbers of Horse fit for Service, our Regulars and Militia, together with our Fleet.

<sup>m</sup> The Ancients were by no Means so nice or squeamish as we are in the Choice of their Medicines, and it may be also a little too credulous. Notwithstanding this, the most nauseous and disgusting Remedy taken from this Animal is almost the only One that is ever used. This is the expressed Juice of fresh Stone Horse Dung, in Pleurisies and Inflammations, and in Obstructions of the Breast. It hath also (if we may believe Quincy) relieved in Asthmas and Difficulties in Breathing, when cleaner and more costly Prescriptions have failed. It is then exhibited in Decoction made with Hyssop and Penny-royal Waters strained. Mares Milk was formerly esteemed a sovereign Remedy in a Consumption, and though now no longer in high Repute, will be found to have lost nothing of its Efficacy, by such as have Occasion, and at the same Time an Opportunity of using it.

<sup>n</sup> In France this Article is used by Traders of different Occupations, who do not interfere with each other. But still larger Quantities are consumed here, and in full as great a Variety of Manufactures. Thus it is made into Fishing-lines, Springes, and Snarcs, by those who deal in that Kind of Tackle. Musical Instrument-makers employ it in the Bows for their Fiddles. In the Toy-shops we meet with it in Comb-brushes and many other Things. In the Turners we find Hair-lines, &c. When prepared, it comes into the Hands of the Peruke-makers. But all this is trifling in Comparison of what is used in the Bottoms of Sieves, wrought up into Buttons, and wove into Cloths, of which Upholsterers make Seats for Chairs, Settees, &c. and of which they have made Waistcoats, and are contriving daily to make it answer other Purposes. This Hair-cloth may be exported free, whereas Horse-hair unmanufactured is rated at Six Pounds an Hundred-weight, and pays Six Shillings on Exportation. On the other Hand there is a Duty of somewhat more than Seven Pence a Pound-weight on this Article when imported. The French procure great Quantities from Ireland.

<sup>o</sup> It is not here only that the Skins of Horses are made into Leather. For by the Two Acts of Queen Anne, which have been so frequently cited, these Hides, if imported tanned, pay Three Pence Half-penny a Pound-weight, and Two Shillings and Five-pence for every Hide; if tawed, Two Shillings an Hide, and besides a Duty of Four Shillings and Nine Pence in every Twenty Shillings Value. The same Acts regulate the Excise on Horses Hides tanned or tawed at Home. In other Countries and perhaps in this, some trifling Things, such as Spectacle Rings are made out of the Hoofs. In France the Enamellers use an Oil made from the Fat of Horses which affords a clear strong Light with very little Smoke.

**THE Ass**, like all other Animals, came originally from the East, where it is still very highly esteemed, more especially in Arabia, Persia, and Egypt, where these Animals are larger, better shaped, and more active than with us. It is believed they came from Egypt into Greece, where they were very common, but the Breed of Arcadia was the most esteemed. The Romans also made great Use of them, infomuch that an Ass was sometimes sold at a very high Price; and, which must appear very strange to us, they accounted the Flesh of a young Ass Colt a very great Delicacy. At present Spain is celebrated for having the finest Breed of these Animals in Europe, and from thence they are carried to other Countries, though procured with Difficulty, and purchased at a very dear Rate. They are said to bear Cold worse than any other Beast; to which is ascribed their becoming smaller in Northern Countries. But this deserves to be strictly examined before it is received as a Thing certain.

**THE Ass** was undoubtedly common, and much employed in very early Times in this Country, though it seems to have been disused, if not lost, in the Days of Elizabeth. At present this Creature is too well known to need a particular Description. It is less in Size than a Horse, but stronger in Proportion to that Size; slow in its Pace, but very sure footed; patient, hardy, indefatigable; equally fit for Carriage and for Draught, as far as his Strength will allow, living on Thistles, Leaves, and any Sort of coarse Grass, requiring little or no Care in Dressing, and alike free from Diseases and Vermin.  
Asses

\* Varro de Re Rustica, lib. ii. cap. 6. 8. Virg. Georg. lib. i. v. 273. Columel. de Re Rustica, lib. vii. cap. i. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 30. 43. xi. 33. Raj. quad. 63. Gouge's Whole Art of Husbandry, fol. 117. b. 118. Harison's Description of Britaine, B. iii. chap. 8. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 95. Mortimer's Art of Husbandry, B. vi. chap. 3. Lisle's Observations in Husbandry, vol. ii. p. 258. Essays in Husbandry, i. p. 98. Hasselquist's Travels, p. 52, 53. 125. Hill's History of Animals, p. 570. Crescenzi dell' Agricoltura, lib. ix. cap. 59. Dictionnaire Oeconomique, tom. i. col. 189. Le Spectacle de la Nature, tom. i. p. 353. La Nouvelle Maison Rustique, i. Part. liv. iii. chap. 4. L'Agronome, tom. i. p. 31. Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 126—130.

\* Pliny tells us, that Q. Axius, a Senator, gave Four hundred Thousand Sesterces for an Ass. In the East, and in Persia particularly, a wild Ass Colt was esteemed a Royal Dainty. It was no less admired in Italy, till Mecenas preferred the Flesh of the tame Ass Colt, which however maintained a Superiority at great Tables no longer than he lived. Those who have tasted it say it is very insipid, and some of the best ancient Physicians censured it as unwholesome.

\* In Spain the Roads are very indifferent, and it is this makes Asses and Mules so much esteemed in a Country where they have or might have the finest Horses in Europe. As they are thus esteemed, they are better fed and better treated than in other Places; in consequence of which they are more gentle, active, and docile than with us. A large stout He-Ass, though a heavy, dull, ill-looking Creature, will sell for Sixty Guineas on the Spot; and if to be carried out of the Country will be parted with for nothing less than One hundred.

\* All these good Qualities are universally allowed them, and this being the Case, it ought to procure them more Attention and better Usage. This seems all that is requisite to our having as beautiful and as spirited Asses as in Spain, or even in the East. In Auvergne, where the Cold is

Asses are very long-lived, and breed as long as they live, though very seldom having more than One Foal at a Time. It is surprizing, that this Animal already so useful, and which might be made in so many other Ways useful, is notwithstanding so very little considered<sup>t</sup>. This seems still the more extraordinary, when we reflect that their Milk retains its Credit. The Ancients were well acquainted with its salubrious Qualities, and availed themselves of them much more than we do, by taking great Care to maintain their Milch Asses with proper Food, and directing their Milk to be taken in large Quantities, rather as a Diet than by Doses, its Operations becoming thereby more speedy and more effectual<sup>u</sup>. They ascribed medicinal Virtues to several Parts of this Creature, which are now with Propriety disregarded. The Skin is sometimes so tanned, as to counterfeit Shagreen, the true being made from the Skin of the Wild Ass<sup>w</sup>.

THE MULE is a spurious Animal produced between the Horse and the Ass. But though Mules are of different Sexes, they are incapable of Procreation. Of these Creatures there are Two Sorts, one from the He-As and the Mare, the other from the Horse and the She-Ass. We call them indifferently Mules, but the Romans distinguished them by proper Appel-

felt as much as in any Province of France, they have large and high-priced Asses. In all Parts of this Island they thrive as well, work as hard, and live as long as in any other Country whatever, and would in all Respects do as well with proper Management.

<sup>t</sup> The Causes of this seem to be the Goodness of our Roads, and the Plenty we have of all Sorts of Horses, so that we want the Spur of Necessity. But perhaps a little Attention might discover Purposes for which they are peculiarly proper; such as their travelling over High and stony Mountains, in passing through narrow winding Paths in Mines, in the Working of Machines, for which their natural Steadiness seems a favourable Quality. In light sandy Soils, as in Malta, they are commonly used to draw the Plough.

<sup>u</sup> In Support of this, it is sufficient to say, that Hippocrates directed a Congius, that is, Seven Pints of our Measure, of Asses Milk to be taken in a Day. On which Dr. Arbuthnot remarks (Tables of ancient Coins, &c. p. 292) "I have often thought that our prescribing Asses Milk in such small Quantities is injudicious; for undoubtedly with such as it agrees with, it would perform much greater and quicker Effects in greater Quantities. I take it for granted, that the Patients who drink such great Quantities took no other Food." The judicious Mr. Robert Boyle (see his Works, vol. iv. p. 327) was precisely of the same Opinion. Indeed nothing can be more agreeable to common Sense and to Experience, than the giving plentifully, and without Mixture, Medicines that are equally gentle, pleasant, and efficacious.

<sup>w</sup> The curious Kind of Leather which we call Shagreen, and the French Chagrin or Chagraine, from the oriental Term Saggi, is made from the hinder Part of the Skin of the Wild Ass, that is what covers the Rump and Partocks. The Skin is prepared as soon as flayed, sprinkled with Mustard Seed, then put for some Time into a Press, and after the Points are raised, taken out and exposed to Sale. The Sell is made in Turkey, and comes to us from Constantinople. The Skin of the Ass is also used in Sicily; made into Parchment, it serves for the Heads of Drums; and properly prepared, is employed in the Manner of Veilom for Pocket-Books. When simply tanned, it makes a Leather, come to hand, our beyond all other Leather stout and durable. It is by no Means possible, that more farther Improvements can be made in the Management of these Skins in Parchment or Leather.

lations\*. The first Kind are the best and most esteemed, as being larger, stronger, and having least of the Ass in their Temper. The largest and stoutest Asses, and the fairest and finest Mares, are chosen in those Countries where these Creatures are most in Use, as in Spain, Italy, and Flanders. In the last, especially, they succeeded in having very stately Mules, from the Size of their Mares, some of them Sixteen and some Seventeen Hands high, which were very serviceable as Sumpter Mules in the Army. But since the Low Countries are no longer under the Dominion of Spain, the Flemings breed fewer Mules†. These Creatures are very much commended for their being stronger, surer footed, going easier, being more cheaply maintained, and lasting much longer than Horses. They are commonly of a black Brown or quite Black, with that shining List along the Back and cross the Shoulders which distinguishes Asses:

It is certain they were much more common in this Country in former Times than they are at present, being often brought over hither in the Days of Popery by the Italian Prelates. They continued longest in the Service of Millers, and are yet in Use among them in some Places, on account of the great Loads they are able to carry. As they are capable of being trained for Riding, bearing Burthens, and for Draught, there is no Doubt that they might be usefully employed in many different Services‡.

\* The Name in Latin of the Animal produced by an Horse with an Ass is *Hinnus*; when a Foal, *Hinnulus*; when very small in its Kind, *Hinniculus*. The other Sort was called *Mulus* or *Mula*. Our Ancestors in like manner called the former a *Neyard*, and the latter a *Molle*. One of these Terms is utterly obsolete, and the other softened into *Mule*. In the Three last Chapters of his Sixth Book; *Columella* treats this Subject at large, and most of the modern Writers have only copied him. *Mago* the Carthaginian had written before him, and Mules were common in Africa. It is not improbable the Romans had them originally from Egypt; as it is likely was the Case long before with the Hebrews, who, though forbidden to breed, *Levit. xix. 19.* notwithstanding used them; for *David* directed that *Solomon* when proclaimed should be set on his own Mule.

† The Spaniards have long had a Predilection for Mules, which they employ equally for the Saddle, Carriage, and Draught. This hath raised the Price of He-Asses to a high Degree, and produced an absolute Prohibition of Exportation. It hath also lessened their Regard and Attention to Horses. The Studs in Andalusia, formerly esteemed the finest in Europe, have lost their Credit, and future Ages will scarce believe what hath been only said of Spanish Horses. The Government, aware of this, have more than once thought of restraining the Use of Mules to Ecclesiasticks and Women. In France, *Lewis XIV.* who was intent on raising a good Breed of Horses, found it necessary for that Purpose to forbid, by an express Ordinance, the breeding Mules from Mares above a certain Size.

‡ We have more than once ascribed the little Use made of Asses and Mules to our having such Numbers, and to many different Sorts of Horses. This indeed seems to be the genuine Cause, for notwithstanding what is said as to their high Price, there are enough every where to be had of an inferior Kind at a low Rate. When they drive Forks and Commons (pursuant to the Statute) many are sold from Five Shillings to Five Pounds. Again, in regard to Powers, our Pack-Horses in our very worst Roads carry more than Four Hundred-weight. Our Millers Horses (performing shorter Journeys) will carry more than double that Weight. For removing Furniture, and conveying Baggage and Provisions here at Home, we have convenient Carriages. For foreign Service, his late Royal Highness the D. of Cumberland, had as noble a Train of Sumpter Mules, in point of Strength and Stature as any in Europe.

But they are commonly found to be vicious, stubborn, and obstinate to a Proverb; which whether it occasions, or is produced by, the ill Usage they meet with, is a Point not easily settled. Whatever may be the Case of Asses, it is allowed that Mules are larger, fairer, and more serviceable in mild than in warm Climates. In our American Colonies, both on the Continent and in the Islands, but especially in the latter, they are much used and esteemed; so that they are frequently sent to them from hence, suffer less in the Passage, and die much seldomer than Horses, and commonly yield when they arrive no inconsiderable Profit.

We have already spoken in general of the Excellence of our Dogs<sup>a</sup>, we mean here to be a little, and but a little, more particular, that it may appear the Superiority we enjoy in this Respect, is not a fanciful but a real national Advantage. Dogs are a Kind of Animals connected with Man (if we may so speak) by a reciprocal Communication of Benefits. We feed and keep them, they in return contribute to our Safety, our Support, and our Amusement. They guard our Houses, our Gardens, our Flocks, and our Herds in the Fields with Spirit and Vigilance. We avail ourselves of their Strength and Courage, in the hunting and subduing wild Beasts; we serve ourselves of their Scent and Speed, in pursuing and taking all the different Species of Venison and Game for our Subsistence; and we likewise employ their Help to defend and to free us from all noxious Vermin<sup>b</sup>. We distinguish, and we improve their natural Qualities of Sagacity, Docility, and Swiftness for our own Emolument, and these grateful Creatures repay that Attention with the firmest Fidelity, and the tenderest Affection. If these their many and known Services should not be sufficient to establish a Sense of their Utility, let us consider the Consequences that would attend the striking them out of the Chain of Beings, and what an irreparable Loss this would be found to Mankind<sup>c</sup>.

BUT

<sup>a</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 58, 59. where the Reader will also find the proper Authorities cited in Support of this Assertion. Add to these, that some very learned Critics have maintained, that the Procurator of the Cynepium Ventense was an Officer who had the Care of the imperial Kennel at Winchester, and furnished Dogs, more especially Mastiffs, for the Amphitheatre; whence, as their Poets shew, they were so well known, and so universally admired at Rome.

<sup>b</sup> In reference to Scent, the Blood-Hound is a most surprizing Instance, concerning which see Boyle's Works, vol. iii. p. 332. The Swiftness of the Grey-Hound or Grey-Hound, is amazing, as is the Steadiness and Perseverance of other Hounds and Beagles, the Boldness of Terriers in unearthing Foxes, &c. the Sagacity of Pointers and Setting Dogs, taught a Language of Signs, as intelligible to Sportsmen as Speech, and the invincible Spirit of a Bull-dog to be quelled only by Death.

<sup>c</sup> The Sovereignty of Man over other Animals, is in a great Degree acquired and maintained by the Assistance his superior Skill enables him to derive from Animals themselves, especially the Horse and the Dog. By the Help of the latter, he takes not only Beasts but Birds, and pursues his Game not barely over Land, but also through the Waters. In some Northern Countries these Animals



BUT if they have every where such various Merits to recommend them, we may truly affirm, that no Country in the World can boast either of having more different Sorts, or finer in every Sort than this, for which Britain hath been famous, ever since Britain was known to other Countries, and this Fame she still retains <sup>d</sup>. Indeed it may be truly stiled a natural Prerogative of this Island, since we know that almost every Kind of our Dogs degenerate in a short Space, when removed from hence; which however is not observed, in respect to foreign Animals of the same Species brought hither, if the Breed be preserved unmixed <sup>e</sup>. The Female hath Ten Paps, Four of which are on the Breast. She carries her Young Sixty-three Days, and brings from Four to Eight at a Litter. The Male Puppies usually resembling their Sire, and the Females their Dam. Dogs are subject to many Diseases, but more especially to Madness, from whence the most dreadful and dangerous Consequences follow; and this, together with the Humour of keeping too great Numbers of these Animals of the most useles Kind, hath occasioned very general and just Complaints, and for which it would be well if an adequate Remedy was provided <sup>f</sup>.

## THE

Animals serve to draw Sleds, and are also employed to carry Burthens. It is from a contemplative View of their respective Services, from the Shepherd's Dog down to the Turnspit, that we are to collect a just Notion of the Utility of the canine Species, and not from the Multitude of yelping useles Cins that disgrace the Streets of Cities and great Towns, through the Folly and Carelessness of those who brought them thither.

<sup>d</sup> All the Nations in Europe do Justice to our Dogs, adopt our Terms and Names into their Languages, receive them thankfully as Presents, and when they have an Opportunity purchase them at a dear Rate: More especially our Hounds, and in particular that stately and noble Animal, now grown very scarce even with us, the Irish Wolf Dog, or, as it is called from its Shape by the learned Ray, the Irish Grey-Hound, and by him declared to be the highest Dog he ever saw.

<sup>e</sup> As appears from Danes, Spaniels, and many others that might be mentioned. The different Natures of our Dogs, the Dexterity of those who make or train them, and the great Variety of our Game find abundant Entertainment for our numerous Sportsmen, that is, Gentlemen who spend much of their Time in the Country for the Sake of the Diversions it affords, and such as, though they spend most of their Time in arduous Pursuits, occasionally visit them, and share in their Amusements. Speculative Persons, partial to their Occupations, often treat such People with Contempt. But Politicians see Things in another Light, and knowing they live at Home, encourage Hospitality, consume Manufactures, promote inland Trade, and spend their Estates amongst their Neighbours, consider them as good Citizens.

<sup>f</sup> The foregoing Note, it is hoped, may serve as a full Apology for the Pains taken in this Article, as it clearly shews that it properly falls within our Province. The Physicians of the last Age, and especially the Germans, recommended many Remedies taken from Dogs, besides the Album Graecum. In several Parts of Africa, in China, and by our Negroes in the West Indies, they are eaten and esteemed excellent Food. So they were by the Romans, and long before them by the Greeks, as we learn from several Treatises of Hippocrates. In the present Times their Skins, dressed with the Hair on, are used in Muffs, made into a Kind of Butkin for Persons in the Gout, and for other Purposes. Prepared in another Way they are used for Ladies Gloves, and the Linings of Masks, being held to render their Skins peculiarly white and smooth. The French import many of these Skins from Scotland under a small Duty. Here, when tanned, they serve for Upper-leathers for neat Pumps. Dog skins dressed, which shews they are an Object in Commerce, are exported

under.

Island, particularly in Northamptonshire, that little Animal called the **ÉR-MINE**, which yields a delicate and valuable white Fur. This Creature is of the Weasel Kind, and when of a brown red Colour is called the **Stoat** <sup>n</sup>. The **Fox** is much more common than any of these, and much more noxious; for this Reason he is not only pursued by Dogs for Sport, but destroyed every where and by every Method that can be devised. He hath a very rank fetid Smell; and yet for this very Reason some of them are spared and kept tame. The Skin is a very good Fur, and when brought from other Countries sells very dear <sup>o</sup>. The **MARTIN** is the most elegant, sprightly, and cleanly of all our wild Animals, having a pleasant musky Smell. It is however very destructive; and though harmless and inoffensive when taken young, can but very seldom be rendered thoroughly tame. It meets therefore with little or no Favour, and its Fur being of some Value, makes it more an Object of Discovery and Chace. The **Yellow or Wood Martin** is common in North Britain, and sometimes found in Wales; is of a smaller Size; and has a richer Fur <sup>p</sup>.

**THE OTTER**, though in some Respects it resembles, is notwithstanding of a different Species from, the **Beaver**, of which, if our Books give us true Information, there were some formerly in Wales. The most remarkable Difference between these Two Creatures is, that the **Otter** hath **Web Feet** both before and behind, and yet is not amphibious like the **Beaver**. The former is so cruel and so voracious, as to destroy many more Fish than it can devour, which excites an extraordinary Diligence in searching for and destroying it, wherever this can be done; notwithstanding which the Species

<sup>n</sup> It is called by the **Italians** *Armillino*, by the **French** *Hermine*; it is, though a small Animal, bigger than a **Weasel**, and therefore improperly called *Mustela Candida*, being a different Species. It lurks in **Hedges**, in **Meadows**, and by **River Sides**, where it feeds on **Rats**, **Mice**, and **Moles**. It is common in **Russia**, **Norway**, and other **Northern Countries**, and in **Armenia**, whence it derives its Name. It is all over a **snovy White** except, (which is the Characteristick of the Animal) the **Tip of the Tail**, and that is a deep shining **Black**.

<sup>o</sup> They distinguish **Three Kinds of Foxes** The **Grey-hound Fox** the tallest, the **Mastiff Fox** the strongest, and the **Cur Fox** the commonest. They lodge themselves under **Ground** like the **Badger**. They feed on **Lambs**, **Hares**, **Rabbits**, **Poultry**, **Birds**, and, in case they cannot get these, **Rats**, **Mice**, or **Roots**. Their strong Scent is thought to be a Preservative against contagious Distempers. The **Black Fox Skin**, which is rare in the **Northern Countries**, and of which there are a few in **Canada**, is esteemed One of the richest Furs.

<sup>p</sup> In different Parts of **Britain** this Creature hath different Names. It is of the Size of a **Cat**, longer in the **Body**, but with shorter **Legs**. It lives chiefly in **Woods**, makes its **Bed or Nest** in hollow **Trees**. They feed on **Birds** chiefly, but will also eat **Rats**, **Mice**, or **Moles**. The larger **Martin** it is said hath been tamed, and kept in the **House** like any other domestick Animal. In **North Britain**, they say the **White** frequents the **Beech**, and the **Yellow** the **Fir Woods**. In the **Western Isles of Scotland** it is called the **Mertrick**, and its Fur is very fine. These Skins under the Name of **Marts** are imported from **Russia**, and many more from **Canada**, and by the **Hudsons-Bay Company**. These Furs are not consumed here, but sent into other Countries, principally into the **Levant**, where they fetch a large Price.

is far enough from being exterminated. In Popish Countries the Flesh of them is permitted to be eaten on Fish Days; but whatever might be the Case in the Days of our Ancestors, certain it is, that Nobody will now taste them here. Indeed, where they are eaten they are said to be unfavoury and unwholesome Meat. The Skin, but especially the Fur of the Otter, is of some, and might be of more Use, if, as some affirm, the latter is very near as fit as that of the Beaver for making Hats; which however seems to be very problematical<sup>9</sup>. Several other Instances might possibly be added to these, if on this Head we had not already said enough; in the Opinion of some of our Readers it may be too much. Let it however be observed, that little Articles claim a Place in every Inventory, as well as great ones. It is indeed very true, that what arises from all these Instances will amount to very small Profit, yet when considered in another Point of View this will appear a great one. For how comes it to be very small? From the Decay and Destruction of these noxious Animals; which shews how much better this Country is cultivated than many others, especially those from which, in the Shape of Furs and Peltry, the Spoils of these Creatures are received; or even than this Country formerly was, when Authority interposed, to excite a Spirit of lessening their Numbers<sup>r</sup>. But small as the Profit may be, it operates, in Conjunction with the Pleasures of the Chace, to the prosecuting their Destruction. Besides it fully illustrates and proves the Truth of what has been before said of Dogs, for by their Assistance Beasts of Prey have been brought thus low, and they are still in some Degree necessary to keep them in their present depressed State.

WE are next to treat, though but very succinctly, of the feathered Race that naturally belong, or have been gradually introduced and rendered Inhabitants of this Country. In regard to tame or domestick Fowl, which

<sup>9</sup> Besides the Difference in the Feet mentioned in the Text, the Otter is distinguished from the Beaver by its Tail, which is longer and covered all over with Hair; whereas that of the Beaver is shaped like a Racket, and covered with a Kind of Scales. Otters discover great Subtily in taking their Prey, and in the framing their Holes, but fall much short of the Beaver in both, and indeed in their whole Oeconomy, that is, in their natural State. But the Otter may be tamed, and rendered as subservient to his Master in taking Fish as a Dog in catching Game. This, though long practised in Sweden, was in other Countries regarded as fabulous, till Mr. John Lots, a Member of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, published A. D. 1755, the Method of training them, which is equally circumstantial and curious.

<sup>r</sup> It is commonly understood, that our famous Saxon Monarch Edgar, by his Law for receiving their Heads at a Price in Payment of Fines and Taxes, ridded the Nation of Wolves. But this is not precisely true. He certainly pointed out the proper Method of doing it. In the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century they made such Destruction in the Western Counties, that Edward III. issued his Writ, directing a general Hunting, and exhorting the Use of all possible Methods for their Extirpation. According to these Examples, a Law passed in Scotland in the Reign of James I. directing all Gentlemen and their Tenants to chase the Wolf Four Times every Year. This was enforced by a new Law so late as the Reign of James VI. In Ireland the Depredations by Wolves were not omitted in Presentations by Grand Juries till A. D. 1710, or thereabouts.

we commonly distinguish by the Appellation of Poultry, we have them in as much Plenty, in as great Variety, and in as full Perfection as any other in Europe. As the Management of these makes no small Part of the Farmer's Care, so they likewise turn to a Part, and no inconsiderable Part likewise, of his Profit. It is very visible, that of late Years, that is, within the Space of Memory, as in every other, so in this Branch of rural Oeconomy, many and singular Improvements have been made, not only in the increasing of our Stock, but, which is of more Importance, rendering every Species of these Fowl better in their Kind, and of course more valuable. It may however merit some Consideration, whether by some small Alteration in the Management it may not be so ordered as to become of more general Utility, which of course would occasion a more extensive Consumption, and thereby on the Whole a larger national Advantage in this Article. A Circumstance of so much the more Consequence, as, if it could be effected, it would contribute likewise to the Support of many Families, or at least to their better Support, by an Increase of INDUSTRY'S.

WE do not wait for the Death of these Creatures to find our Account in keeping them; for, on the contrary, they yield continually some Compensation for the Pains and Expence bestowed upon them. In the first Place, their BREED deserve Notice, for their Young become very quickly saleable, or contribute as speedily, if that is found more eligible, to augment, and thereby increase the Advantages arising from, the Stock. In the next Place, by their EGGS, of which there is a necessary, constant, and very large Consumption; which however trifling it may appear in Detail, accumulates to an immense Value, and which is therefore an Object by no Means unworthy of our Regard. In Lincolnshire, and possibly in other Counties, they

\* It is a general Complaint, that since the Enlargement of Farms, Poultry, except for the Use of their own Families, is very little the Farmers Concern, and that from thence Fowls are become scarce and dear at almost every Market. It may be, a Cottager with Four or Five Acres of Land might be able to maintain his little Household by breeding Fowls, keeping Bees, and raising a few useful Roots and Vegetables in his Garden. It might at least prove an additional Support to an Husbandman's Family, find them Employment, and by rendering their Condition comfortable, encourage Matrimony, and thereby promote, what is the greatest Blessing any Country can enjoy, the propagating a Race of healthy, hardy, and honest People. In itself the Thing is certainly practicable; and amongst other salutary Effects that would attend it, we may be sure of this, that it would diminish (where they are most felt) our Poor Rates, and that by the most desirable Method, lessening the Number of our Poor.

† Eggs are not only destined to a Multitude of Uses in the Kitchen, which occasions a vast Consumption daily, but are also employed in Medicine, in various Manufactures, in the Fining of Liquors, in many Trades, and in most of these great Numbers are used at once. It is this occasions so great an Importation, which of course creates a very large Expence. In the Book of Rates framed soon after the Restoration, Eggs are valued at Twenty Pence an Hundred (containing Six Score) and the Duty is about a Groat. It is difficult to come at a probable, impossible to procure an exact Account of the Number of Eggs and their Value annually consumed in this Nation. Yet I have seen a Calculation, which appeared to be within Bounds, that at Six for a Penny made it amount to Four hundred Thousand Pounds.

pluck

pluck their Geese once, and sometimes twice in a Season for the Sake of their Down, and are also considerable Gainers by their QUILLS, which from their cheap Manner of feeding prodigious Numbers of these Fowls on their very extensive Commons, produce considerable Sums, so that this also is an Article of much more Consequence than it is generally esteemed <sup>u</sup>. The FEATHERS have likewise their Value, and that, considered in the Light of a Commodity, by no means despicable. For these, as well as for the Two former Articles, there is such a constant, continual, and increasing Demand, that we are obliged to supply it by a large Importation, and that under no very light Duty, which might with due Attention be prevented, or at least greatly reduced <sup>w</sup>. Besides what are commonly called Feathers, there is a softer, finer, more delicate, and of course more costly Substance plucked from the Necks and Breasts of these Fowls, particularly of Geese and Swans, which is stiled Down, and of which also, without any real Necessity, we import very considerable Quantities; though even the EIDER DOWN, which of all others, and deservedly, is most esteemed, might be had, as we have before shewn, from most of the small Isles from Barra to the Island of LEWIS, and other Places, without any other Trouble than the collecting it, and this to what Amount we please <sup>x</sup>. Add to all these, what is indeed the primary Object in feeding and breeding domestic Fowl, their Utility as Food,

<sup>u</sup> There are many Sorts of Quills in Use for making Pens, such as Swan, Goose, Turkey, Raven, and Crow Quills, but the principal Consumption is of Goose Quills, and this, as may be very easily conceived, is very large. Holland was and still is the principal Market, not because they have the most Quills of their own, but that in this as in many other Things they employ much Pains, and are exceedingly dextrous in the Management of them. It is true, their Method hath been introduced both here and in France; but the Terms used in both, viz. *Dutch Quills* and *Hollandees*, shew sufficiently who were our Masters. We import great Quantities from Hudson's Bay and from the Northern Parts of Europe, under a Duty of about Four Pence Halfpenny a Thousand. Swan Quills are used for Faucets in tacking Wines, for Fishing-floats, and other Purposes; and those of the Ravens for the stopping Spinnets, which raises their Price.

<sup>w</sup> It is chiefly from our common Poultry that the Feathers used for Beds, Bolsters, and Pillows are taken; and as their Value arises from their being carefully picked, sorted, and dried, which last is a very nice Operation, and is best performed without Fire, so many common People in the Country, either not liking the Trouble or not understanding the Manner of doing it, or, which is more frequently the Case, not knowing where to vend them, throw them on the Dunghill. But if they knew that Feathers in good Order would fetch so much a Pound as here in London, from Ten Pence to Half a Crown, this would be quickly corrected. As to Feathers imported, the Duty is One Pound Three Shillings an Hundred-weight (112 lb.) and a Feather Bed, whether old or new, Seven Shillings and Eight Pence.

<sup>x</sup> Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 22.) complains loudly of the Luxury then lately introduced of Down Beds. We learn from him they plucked it from their Geese, that the best came from Germany, and was worth Five Denarii or Three Shillings and Three Pence a Pound. That taken from Ducks is least esteemed. The pulling it is no Hurt to the Fowl, for they are careful not to pull it till ripe and ready to fall of itself, because it forced from the Skin with the Blood at the Roots, it speedily corrupts and spoils. Even that which is pulled after the Fowl is dead is in Comparison of the other of little Value. The Eider Duck or Colk, as they call it in North Britain, bath in Proportion to its Size more than any other Fowl, and finer, as it is pulled by the Bird for its Nest. Down imported pays a Duty of somewhat more than Four Pence a Pound.

making at all Times and in all Seasons a Part of our PROVISIONS, for which we never want a Market. There is yet wanting to compleat the Account of our Profits, what from its Utility deserves to be exempted from Silence, their DUNG  $\gamma$ , which hath the same Title to Value with other Things, since when sold it fetches a Price, and that not arising from Fancy, but flowing from Experience.

As of tame or domestick, so likewise of wild and water Fowl, we have almost infinite Variety, as well as very great Abundance. The Plenty of tame Fowl may be considered as the Effects of Industry, but the Numbers of our wild and water Fowl are the absolute Gifts of Providence. These are, generally speaking, the Inhabitants of Places, which in other Respects are of little Benefit to Mankind, such as Heaths, Mountains, Thickets, Moors, Marshes, and Fens, each having its peculiar feathered Tribe, either as constant Inmates, or as annual Visitants in their regular and proper Seasons  $\gamma$ . In rude, remote, and less cultivated Places, the taking of them is the Employment and Support of Numbers, and in many of our Islands is not only a laborious but a dangerous Occupation. In other Parts, where Nature and Culture have introduced Opulence, these Fowls, or at least many Kinds of them, are esteemed Delicacies, and are in this Light, as far as may be, preserved and protected  $\alpha$  for Sport and Amusement, the Modes of which, like all other Modes, have varied very much in different Ages, and thereby given Occasion to many singular and ingenious Inventions. In some of these, the Assistance of Animals of different Kinds have been used in several Ways

$\gamma$  This Experience shews to be a great Instrument of Fertility in all Countries, and as such of great Value. The small Isle of Foulney on the Coast of Lancashire is a Proof of this. Pigeons Dung hath the Preference, and is commonly sold by the Bushel. Hens Dung is cooler, but lasts longer. Goose Dung is allowed to be a good Medicine in the Jaundice, but hath been held to burn the Grass. Mr. Mortimer vindicates it fully from this Imputation by a Number of Instances. From the due Consideration of these Articles taken collectively, the intelligent Reader will form a competent Idea of the real and substantial Advantages we derive from our Poultry, and be from thence disposed to think Mr. King did not exaggerate in valuing our tame Fowl at Four hundred and Sixty thousand Pounds.

$\alpha$  Wild and Water Fowl have not in general Men for their Protectors, but rather the contrary; they are intrusted therefore by the All-Wise Author of Nature to provide for themselves. Food and Safety, especially when Breeding, are their Objects; where both these are to be found they constantly remain; when either is wanting, they retire. If this happens to them in other Countries they come hither, and if it befalls them here, as, in respect to the latter particularly, is often the Case, they remove elsewhere.

$\gamma$  The Game Laws, so far as they tend to preserve the Stock of Wild Fowl, by preventing the killing them but in proper Season, and protecting their Eggs from being wantonly destroyed, seem calculated for public Benefit, inasmuch as these are to be considered as belonging to the Publick, which hath an Interest in providing that they shall not be exterminated. By a late Law, Partridges are not to be killed between the First of February and the First of September, or Pheasants from the First of February to the First of October.

that

that do Honour to the Skill and Industry of Man <sup>b</sup>. In one of these especially we see this converted into a Species of Oeconomy, and so employed as to turn to no inconsiderable Account <sup>c</sup>.

YET after all it must be allowed, that the Profits arising from these are by no Means to be compared with those that, as we have already shewn, are derived from the former Class. A few, and but a few of their Eggs are esteemed delicious Meat, but most of them are only eaten from absolute Necessity. The Feathers of the far greatest Part of Water Fowl are, from their unctuous Quality, the Provision made by Nature for their Ease and Safety in that Element in which they live, unfit for those Uses to which the Feathers of other Fowl are applied. The very same Thing may be said in general of their Quills, of which we make little or no Advantage. Upon the Whole therefore, exclusive of their Utility in the universal Oeconomy of Nature, by their feeding on and destroying Insects, the principal Benefit they produce to Man is from their Flesh, which furnishes in many Instances

<sup>b</sup> It was observed, that there were Birds as well as Beasts of Prey. Upon this Principle Hawks of several Kinds were taken into the Service of Men, and Falconry, or the Method of Training these Fowl, and Herons, which were also used in the same Way, became an Art, and the Practice of it, in its full Extent, an Occupation. After Shooting came into Use, an old Horse was so disciplined as to assist the Sportsman, by concealing him from, and amusing the Game till he could take Aim conveniently. This Creature is called a Stalking Horse, and Cows and Deer have been trained to the same Service. Dogs of different Sorts are broke, as it is phrased, to assist the Sportsman when he uses either Gun or Net, and a Dog completely taught is very valuable. But the Performances of the Setting Dog or Land Spaniel, though truly admirable, are yet in the Judgment of Connoisseurs inferior to those of the Water Spaniel. In this Animal is required a wider Measure of Comprehension, with as perfect an Obedience to the Looks and Gestures, as well as the short Words of Command from his Master. But it may be every Thing of this Kind is outdone by the London Bird-catchers, though their Object is no more than taking the poor little Songsters that fill our Cages. These Artists have a large Apparatus of what are called Clap-nets, which in Autumn are spread in the Dawn of the Morning, and the Birds are allured into them by Gold-finches, Linnets, Wood-larks, &c. stiled Call-birds, most artfully and wonderfully instructed in this numerous Business.

<sup>c</sup> This Improvement consists in what are called DECOYS, of which there are several in Lincolnshire, as also in Somersetshire, and may be in any marshy Country; a Decoy is a pretty large Pond, made in some remote Place, shaded with Trees; from the Pond there run Five or more Channels, growing closer by Degrees, their Banks planted with Trees, over which is thrown a Net which forms an Arch, and at the Extremity there is a Purse-net. The Keeper of the Decoy hath a convenient Stock of Ducks, trained from the Egg, well fed, and rendered familiar. These Decoy Ducks flying abroad, bring with them Multitudes of Wild Fowl at their Return to their Quarters. When the Master of the Decoy, at the Close of the Evening, sees the open Pond well covered with Fowl, he posts himself behind a Reed Hedge at the Angle of a Channel so as not to be seen, where he gives a Whistle, and throws Grain or Hempseed over the Hedge into the Water; on this Signal, the Decoys lead the Strangers into the Channel; and being advanced therein, a little Dog, trained also, makes its Appearance through Holes in the Hedges made for that Purpose, running silently about without taking Notice of the Fowl; but if as the Channel grows narrower they attempt to return, he barks and drives them on till taken in the Purse-Net. The Decoys by diving commonly recover the Pond, but if taken, are preserved, caressed, and abundantly fed for their good Service.



a pleasant and wholesome Food <sup>d</sup>, and the various Diversions that the Taking them for this Purpose continually affords <sup>e</sup>.

BEES have been through a Series of Ages carefully cherished and much esteemed by the Inhabitants of these Islands, whenever their Circumstances allowed them to cultivate the Arts of Peace. In this they followed the Example of the wisest and politest Nations of Antiquity, who though they had very dark and erroneous Notions in Reference to their natural History, were very skilful and assiduous in the Management of them <sup>f</sup>. They bestowed on them also very liberal Commendations, in which they have been followed by our best Writers on rural Oeconomy. From Facts, as well as from their Authority, it may be asserted, that these industrious Insects, though they cost little, and are very easily provided for, are notwithstanding very profitable; and, which ought to make them still more our Care, are not a local Improvement, but may be universally introduced where-ever Industry and Attention are to be found <sup>g</sup>. It was a very old, though a very harsh and injurious

<sup>d</sup> Amongst the vast Variety of our wild Fowl, the most esteemed are these: The black Game or moor Fowl, which by a late Law are not to be killed from the First of January to the Twentieth of August. The red Game or Growse, protected by the same Law, between the First of December and the Twenty-fifth of July. The white Game or Ptarmigan in the Highlands of Scotland. The Bustard in Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, &c. The Dottrel in Cambridge, Derby, and Lincoln Shires on the Moors. The Godwit common in the Fens. The Knot in Lincolnshire, said by Fuller to be brought hither from Denmark by King Canutus or Knut. Partridges, Puffins, in the Isle of Man, &c. Quails in several Parts of the Island, but in no great Plenty. Rail or Land Rail in Anglesea and in Somersethire, common in North Britain and Ireland, by the Name of the Corn Creek. Ruffs and Reeves, the latter being the Hen, in Lincolnshire and the Fens. The Wheat-ear, by some siled the English Ortolan, in vast Numbers in Sussex. The Woodcock, which like the former is a Bird of Passage, coming in the Autumn, and leaving us very early in the Spring.

<sup>e</sup> It will be evident from this very succinct Detail, that no accurate Estimate can possibly be made upon this Head. Mr. King however hath adventured to guess, that the whole Stock of wild Fowl in his Time, which is Seventy Years ago, might be about Twelve thousand Pounds. In proportion as a Country becomes more cultivated, the Quantity of such Fowl will decline; and yet one may be induced to believe from Circumstances, that our present Stock is still of greater Value, since a few Years past it was computed, that the wild Ducks sold that Season amounted to Ten thousand Pounds. The Curious and Judicious Reader who would be more fully informed on this Subject, may satisfy himself by consulting an excellent and entertaining Work just published, entitled, BRITISH ZOOLOGY.

<sup>f</sup> There is no Subject respecting Oeconomy on which the Ancients have more fully spoken than this of Bees. Aristotle, Varro, Virgil, Columella, and Pliny have all treated of them at large. They had very just Notions of their Utility and of the Value of their Labours, and therefore shewed all the Attention possible to their Support; so that in truth there is but little (with regard to Management) in the Writings of the Moderns, which is not to be found in some or other of them. The Egyptians especially were perfect Masters of this Matter, and removed their Hives on Boats upon the Nile for the Conveniency of Feeding. This is still practised by the Help of proper Carriages in Germany and in France on the same Principle, that the Bees may have the greater Plenty and Variety of Pasture.

<sup>g</sup> Mr. Fitzherbert observes, that he who hath Sheep, Swine, and Bees will thrive while he sleeps. Googe gives some curious Practices of his own upon this Subject. The ingenious and judicious



injurious Custom to destroy these laborious Animals, at the same Time that we despoiled them of the Treasures they had acquired. A Thing no way requisite, and which in some Countries where they prospered best was never practised<sup>b</sup>. In Process of Time, and after repeated Efforts, a Method hath been found out and perfected of obtaining the best Part of the Fruit of their Labours without destroying these useful Creatures; for the Encouragement of which a Premium hath been given, which hath been also attended with some Effect, so that in Time we may hope to see this barbarous Usage utterly abolished. The Quantities of Honey, and the much greater Quantities of Wax, imported hither from different Parts of the World, clearly shew that there is abundant Room for extending this easy, cheap, and at the same Time lucrative Species of Improvement<sup>i</sup>. It is more than probable, that to the opulent Farmer this may be no striking Object, but to many others it may be useful, and to the poor Cottager espe-

Mr. Wolridge hath taken much Pains on this Head, and deserves the more Praise, as he hath given us a very fair Detection of several fanciful, and at the same Time fallacious Improvements proposed by other Authors, deserving the more Credit, as he ingenuously relates several fruitless Attempts and unsuccessful Experiments of his own. At the same Time he acknowledges, that managed in the common Manner, they prove, with due Care, exceedingly advantageous. Instead of mentioning our other Writers on this curious and interesting Subject, who are very numerous, it may be sufficient to refer the inquisitive Reader to a very succinct, perspicuous, and methodical Treatise, very lately published, intitled, "An Essay on the Management of Bees, by John Mills, F. R. S."

<sup>b</sup> We have already mentioned how well the Ancients understood the Conduct of Bees. Whoever peruses the Ninth Book of Columella, will be convinced of it. It is commonly believed that Virgil drew his Lights from Aristotle. But besides Virgil, Columella made use of Hyginus and Celsus, who had wrote large Works on this Subject in Prose. In general, the Ancients used Smoke as well as we in driving out the Bees; but they were sensible of the Inconveniencies attending this Method, and therefore valued highly unsmoked Honey. This they had from Mount Hymettus, Three Miles from Athens, supposed to be the Birth Place of Bees, and where there is still the finest Honey in the World. The Combs are taken there, at what Time and in what Quantities they please, without Prejudice to the Inhabitants of the Hive. Of this we are informed by our Countryman Sir George Wheeler, who in his Travels, p. 412, hath given a Plate, by which the Method, the most easy and simple, is so clearly explained as to be conceived at Sight. Of this our Neighbours the French have prudently availed themselves, see Mills's Essay, p. 77—86. But they have not followed him exactly, which is very practicable, and might be introduced here without Trouble or Expence.

<sup>i</sup> The Profit derived from Bees arises from Honey and Wax. It is probable the former might be more valuable before the Introduction of Sugar. However the Consumption in Food, in Metheglin, and in Medicine, is still so great, as to exceed our Produce. Honey from Candia, Narbonne, and Minorca is in high Esteem. The Duty on this Commodity is Seven Shillings and Eight Pence a Barrel, containing Forty-two Gallons. A. D. 1767, we imported Thirty-two Barrels. Wax is an Article of more Importance; for besides the Quantities used by the Wax-Chandlers and Apothecaries, which is very considerable, it is employed in a Variety of Trades and Manufactures. The Duty upon it is Nine Shillings per Hundred; and in the same Year we imported One thousand Four hundred and Thirty seven Hundred-weight. If therefore, in consequence of attending to Bees, we could not only supply ourselves, but, as the other Northern Nations do, and is certainly in our Power, could come to export this Commodity, we need be in no Fear of a Market, as France imports at least Seven Times as much as we do.

cially, it may prove a very practicable and no inconsiderable Relief<sup>k</sup>. But there may be still more in this Matter to be done. In very many, and particularly in our smaller remote Islands, Bees were never seen; and yet perhaps there are very few of them in which they would not thrive with very little Attention better than in any other Situation<sup>l</sup>. For these little Creatures naturally delight in a Salt Air and in Salt Water, and for this very Reason are observed to succeed best in the Neighbourhood of the Sea. It is possible, that to many this will appear a Thing of little Consequence; but to such as shall consider that nothing hath been said that arises from Fancy or Speculation, but, on the contrary, rests entirely upon Facts, it must surely wear another Face; and one may venture to promise, that where-ever it is attended to, it will speak by its Effects for itself, and thereby justify the publick Spirit of those who shall make the first Attempt.

IN regard to FISH, no Countries can be more, and indeed there are very few that are so commodiously situated as the Islands of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND; and if any could enter into Competition with them on this Head, it must be some of the larger ISLANDS that are dependant upon them. This will incontestably appear, if we reflect upon what has been before said, as to the Sinuosities of our respective Shores, the Number of our Lakes and Pools, the much greater Number of our Rivers and Rivulets, the Plenty of the finny Tribes they contain, the Conveniency of our Bays, and the Seas surrounding us abounding with all the different Sorts that either Epicurism or Avarice could demand. But it is and hath been long a Complaint, that these natural and obvious Benefits are and have been for a Series of Years shamefully neglected; that the Fishing Towns on our Coasts are very many of them decayed; that we are at no Pains to restore them; and that Foreigners extract annually immense Treasures from our Seas with Impunity.

<sup>k</sup> It hath been already suggested, that a Cottager, with four Acres of indifferent Land, might be very useful to himself, his Family, and the Publick in raising Poultry; and this would be not only augmented but facilitated by his keeping Bees. A small Orchard or Garden properly disposed and managed to this Purpose would help to support them; and an Acre sown with Buck-wheat, which will grow on any Soil, would supply all Defects; and the Grain fattens Poultry more than any other. Such poor People, if industrious, would be very attentive to whatever would better their Condition; and having but few Things to mind, and being confined to narrow Bounds, and these few Things being continually under their Eyes, they would exert all their Faculties to improve them; which Observation and Experience would speedily put in their Power.

<sup>l</sup> These Islands, though thinly inhabited, have large Tracts of Land; and the most uncultivated of these would furnish Bees with very acceptable Nourishment. For, wild as they are, they abound with Heath, Broom, and Multitudes of flowering Herbs; and every Cottage having a Kitchen Garden, though a poor one, they could never be at all distressed for Subsistence. If any Objections arise from the Consideration of Climate, these will admit of Two Answers. The first is, that none, even of our remotest Northern Isles, are so cold as from their Situation might be expected: And next, that in Countries more to the North, and confessedly much colder, there are prodigious Quantities of Honey and Wax made; which, the last especially, brings in vast Sums from Southern Regions, where that Commodity is consumed.

Complaints which it must be owned are not totally without Foundation. But it may be, if we look closely into the principal Cause of this, we shall find that it arises from our eating much less Fish than formerly; and without a large, indeed a very large and very constant domestic Consumption, great Numbers of fishing Towns cannot be supported, at least in a flourishing Condition<sup>m</sup>. In another Point of View possibly the Consequences of this may seem less alarming. For the smaller Quantity of Fish that is eaten the more Flesh must come to Market, and to supply this more Stock must be reared, of course more Land must be cultivated, and more People employed, and employed to better Account. This is not an artificial Apology for our Indolence or Negligence, but an actual Detail of Facts. Our Disregard to Fish, the Progress of Agriculture, and the Increase of Industry and Manufactures, were all of them the happy Effects of the Reformation; since which we have been in all these Respects a growing and prosperous Nation.

YET it ought to be considered and confessed, that on the other Hand, though we eat less we still eat Fish, of which there is every where a considerable Home Consumption, and many Towns subsist thereby at this Day; neither are our Fisheries so few or of so small Consequence as we sometimes find them represented. We have a Pilchard Fishery on the Coasts of Cornwall, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire, and of these Fish we send yearly great Quantities to Spain, Italy, and the Levant. The taking Mackrel annually on our own Coasts employs a great Number of Hands, and at the same Time supplies many Mouths, though little is sent Abroad<sup>n</sup>. The Oyster

<sup>m</sup> This Change in our Food had very important Consequences. In the Popish Times (including Lent) the People lived One third of the Year upon Fish, or, which is the same Thing, Fish and not Flesh made One third of their Provision. On this Account they eat Porpoises, Seals, and other Kinds of Food, which no Body will now touch, and this at the best Tables. In consequence of this, all Kinds of Meat were cheap. Lent had still a farther Effect, for few Cattle being then killed, the rising Stock was preserved. It was the Consideration of this that produced long after the Reformation Proclamations for keeping Lent, but Habit prevailed over Policy, and Fish was no longer eaten but from Necessity or Choice. It happened very fortunately for the Dutch; they increased, as we relaxed in Attention to Herring, concerning which we had made many Laws: They acted very wisely, for they not only conformed their Manner of Living to this Fishery, but even moulded it into their Religion and Constitution, making publick Prayers for its Prosperity, and affording it continually all possible Encouragement and Protection. That true Patriot and consummate Statesman John de Witt, says, the Manufacturers live chiefly on Herrings, Manufactures employ the Merchants, Merchants promote Commerce, and the Commerce and Fisheries are Sources of Navigation and naval Power, the principal Supports of a maritime State. He says this to shew how the several Interests of the Subjects of that Republick are interwoven, and how by this Means the Success of the several Parts contribute to the Welfare and Security of the Whole.

<sup>n</sup> The Mackrel come sometimes on our Coasts in such prodigious Quantities, that it is said in the West they have dunged their Grounds with them. It is to be, and indeed hath been long regretted, that a Method hath not hitherto been found for preserving and exporting them. The French have Two Ways of doing this, they cram the Belly of the Fish with Salt, and then lay them in the Barrel,

Oyster Fishery is in that Respect much more considerable, is carried on in different Parts of the British Territories, and due Attention hath been paid thereto. We have also a Fishery of flat Fish, particularly on the Coast of Suffolk, and Endeavours have been used to secure to us the Turbot Fishery, which probably will in Time be attended with Effect, as this is a Thing visibly in our Power. Lobsters are caught all along our Coasts, so that every Part of our Islands may be supplied with them in Plenty, and that without going so far to seek them as the Coasts of Norway.

BESIDES our important Fishery at Newfoundland and on the adjacent Banks, we catch much Cod and Ling in our own Seas by Vessels from all the Three Kingdoms, and might catch many more, the promoting of which would essentially benefit the Public. The Salmon Fishery is an Object of great Consequence, particularly to Great Britain and Ireland, from whence there is a constant and no inconsiderable Exportation. The Herring likewise pay no small annual Tribute to all the Members of the British Empire. It is a fortunate Circumstance in respect to these our several Fisheries, that most of them in Point of Time follow each other regularly and in Succession, so that many pass from one to another, and find thereby constant Employment, which breeds a great Number of active and robust Hands for the

strowing Salt over them, then another Layer of Fish with Salt upon them, and so on till the Barrel is full, or they pickle them in a strong Brine, in which they remain Twelve Days, then take them out, pack them as before, except the Salt between, press them down very tight, with a Layer of Salt on the Top. A Barrel contains about Three hundred Fish, or if the Fish be very large it may be fewer. The Sale however is not very considerable, and mostly in the inland Provinces of the Kingdom. It might be expedient to inquire into the Method of curing Tunny, to which in its Flesh the Mackerel hath great Resemblance, for certainly if we could succeed in preserving them, it would render this Fishery of much more Importance.

• It is allowed, that though most maritime Countries have Oysters, yet none have been in all Ages more famous for them than Britain. Their Plenty is no less remarkable than their Excellence, for we have them on both Sides, indeed in all Parts of the Island. Colchester is distinguished for the green finned (History of the Royal Society, p. 307) Oysters; they imitate these at Dieppe and in the Marshes of Xaintonge, but the French themselves admit that ours are better. At Faversham, in Kent, the Dutch send annually many Vessels to load with Oysters. Portsmouth, Pool, the Isle of Wight, and many other Places, are celebrated for them. This Fishery is under the Direction of Courts of Admiralty intrusted with great Powers for regulating whatever concerns it. In May the Oysters cast their Spawn, or Spat as it is called, which sticks to Stones, Pieces of rotten Timber, &c. called Culch; the Persons who in that Month drag these out of the Sea are called Dredgers; the Culch is thrown back, the Spat deposited in proper Beds, where, though the young Fry acquire Shells in Twenty-four Hours, they do not become saleable in less than Two or Three Years. After Spatting, the Oysters are sick in June and July, but recover in August: When of a good Sort well pickled, they are very delicate; but it would be more advantageous if we could retrieve the Art of the Roman Epicure Apicius, who is said to have sent the Emperor Trajan Oysters from Italy into Persia, which when eaten there were as fresh as the Day that they were taken. It may not perhaps be amiss to remark, before we dismiss this Subject, that their Shells calcined to Whiteness in the Sun, and powdered, is found by Experience a better Medicine than Pearls, Corals, or other costly Drugs

Service of our Navy. The Encouragement and Protection afforded to our Whale Fishing hath been likewise attended with Success. Upon the Whole therefore, comparing the present with past Times, it will appear that we have gradually wrought ourselves, in respect to this important Concern, into a better Situation; and though we make but small Account of them when we look upon them singly, yet we cannot but acknowledge, that when taken together, these Fisheries are of no light Value, and would seem to us very considerable, if in the Hands of any other Nation.

THIS Subject however deserves, and to speak the Truth demands, some further Discussion. For whatever the Profits of our Fisheries may or might be, the Nation hath always entertained an Idea, that they could be rendered much more extensive, and of course much more advantageous. An Idea not either lately or lightly taken up, but warmly and uniformly maintained, especially since the Union of the Two Crowns, by the ablest and most public-spirited Writers. This they demonstrated from Facts so plainly, and shewed the public Interest therein so incontestibly, that in different Periods different Attempts were made to vindicate the Right of the Nation to the Fisheries in her own Seas, and to put her in Possession of all the Profits that could be drawn from them. It is indeed too true, that not one of these Attempts was attended with Success, but as all of them failed for Want of Perseverance, they were so far from injuring this Notion, that

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¶ It would be a very difficult, and after all a very precarious Undertaking, to calculate the Value of these Fisheries, which depend upon Seasons and other Accidents. But with respect to what is said in the Text, some great Authorities may be produced to support it. Mr. John Collins, who wrote a Discourse on Salt, and was thoroughly Master of the Subject, the famous Dr. Davenant, and the ingenious Mr. Houghton, all agree that we take full as much Fish as the Dutch. Indeed, if we consider the Extent of our Coasts, the Number of our Inhabitants, and of the Vessels and Men employed in this Service, it will leave us no Room to doubt. But then, if we contemplate the Territory of the Seven Provinces, the People who live in them, and the Proportion of those dependant on Fishing bears to the Whole, it will enable us to see this Matter in its true Light. We shall then discern, that though the Totals should be equal, yet with them the Fisheries employ and maintain One Fifth of their People, with us perhaps not near a Twentieth; which, in a political View, makes the Fisheries of infinite Importance to them, and at once explains and justifies what De Witt and other Authors have said on this Subject.

¶ The ingenious Mr. Houghton, taking Occasion from what some have asserted, that Fish to the Value of Eleven Millions in One Year had been caught by Foreigners in our Seas, though he pretends not to vouch the Certainty of the Fact, undertakes however to shew the Possibility of it, and this by Calculation. He assumes from Dr. Heylin, that the Extent of the Coast of Britain is 1836 Miles. Supposing then the Fishing only Ten Miles over, though it is vastly more, this makes 18,360 square Miles. In a square Mile there are 640 square Acres, and if in the Course of Twelve Months Twenty Shillings worth of Fish may be taken out of a square Acre of Sea, which, its Depth considered, is no unreasonable Position, this will amount to 11,750,400 *l.* In this Computation Ireland and all our other Islands are excluded; these however are more indented by the Sea, and consequently have in Proportion to their Size a more extensive Line of Sea Coast than Britain. If therefore we apply this Mode of Reasoning to them, it will afford us a new and

in the Sentiments of the best Judges they confirmed it<sup>r</sup>. Reason and Experience seem now to prove, that the most secure and the least expensive Method of effecting this desirable End, would be by putting the Fisheries into the Hands of the Inhabitants of our Western and Northern Islands. For by this, we shall gain at once, all and even more than all the natural Advantages that the Dutch possess, and in virtue of which they at first acquired and so long preserved the Fishery.

THE celebrated John de Witt makes it a great Prerogative of Holland, that it is so situated, as that its Inhabitants may draw a great Part of their Subsistence out of the Sea. But our Islands are seated in the Sea. He mentions as a Circumstance of great Weight the Numbers who live on Fish. Our Islanders eat little else. The Dutch Frugality is taught our People by their Necessity. He says that they make all the Implements and Utensils proper for this Business, such as Lines, Nets, Cordage, Sail Cloth, and Calks. So may our Islanders, for they have it full as much in their Power. He adds, that they build their own Vessels likewise. It must be allowed that our Islanders want Timber for this Purpose, but so do the Dutch, and the former can have it as easily and as cheap as the latter. Besides all this, the Dutch make their own Salt, and so may our People with equal Facility. With all their natural Advantages, and with all their Encouragements and wise Regulations, the Dutch must come to these very Islands for their Fish, which may be caught by our People at their own Doors. They take our Herring once a Year, so do we; and all the Year long we can take white Fish, flat Fish, Sharks, Seals, Porpoises, and Whales of different Sizes in our own Seas<sup>s</sup>. If the Question should be put, Where are we to find Markets

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an intelligible Method of Measuring their Consequence, and thereby provoke us to attain at least a Part of those Treasures which Industry may extract from them.

<sup>r</sup> The first of these Attempts was by James I. before his Accession to the Throne of England, and as we have shewn, was overset by the Ferocity of the Natives, or rather of their Chiefs. The next was by Charles I. upon sound Principles; and in consequence of proper Inquiries, Store-houses for Salt, and all other Requisites for Fishing, were to be erected in several Places, and the Natives employed by a Company of English Merchants. The Civil War put an End to this; but the Ruins still remaining, shew their Stations were judiciously chosen, and the Magazines very substantial and stately Works. The third was in the Reign of Charles II. by the Company of the Royal Fishery of England they were very successful in taking and curing their Fish, so as to sell at a superior Price in foreign Markets: But as Houghton tells us, Collections vol. iii. 321. the French in Time of War, mistaking their Doggers with many Seamen of that Nation on board for Dutch, destroyed their Fleet. Martin. History of the Western Isles, p. 341. says, the King withdrew his Money, which disabling the Merchants, brought on the Downfall of that Company, and the Design for which it was incorporated.

<sup>s</sup> In what Manner and by what Means this may be effected, the Fishery for ever secured as well as retrieved, many Thousands, who are now scarce connected, rendered useful and beneficial Subjects to Britain, hath been, at least to the best of my Power, in its proper Place very fully explained. It might indeed have been referred to without going at all into the Subject here, but then the Ac-

count

kets for all this Fish? The Answer will not be difficult or hard to comprehend; the Herring we may sell where the Foreigners now sell theirs, which they still annually catch in these Seas, and also in our Colonies. The white Fish in the Mediterranean, and the Oil here at Home. This therefore will be an additional Commerce no way interfering with the Fisheries that we now have, the Profits of which will arise from other Nations, and be expended for Necessaries and Conveniencies, as they ought to be, in our own.

THE bringing useful Animals into an Island, and taking all possible Care of them when brought, is a Precaution that, as we have already observed, must necessarily occur to those who settled it for their own Subsistence and Convenience. The great Attention of the primitive Inhabitants of our Islands, as it stands recorded in the earliest Accounts we have of them, deserves our Gratitude as well as our serious Consideration †. It is highly probable that large Improvements were made, and various Novelties introduced by the Romans in this as well as other Respects. The Prudence of their Successors is also to be commended in rooting out such noxious Creatures (however they came here) as were prejudicial to domestic Oeconomy. A Task

not

count of our Fish might have seemed lame and imperfect. As it is, I have avoided all Repetition as much as it is possible; and I the rather hope the Reader's Indulgence, because, though this Matter hath been for more than a Century past considered as of very high Importance, it is become much more so now, as the great Accession of Territory we have acquired in America, makes it indispensibly necessary to use every Method possible towards augmenting the Force, increasing the Commerce, and promoting the naval Power of this Island, which is the Centre of our Empire.

† It is no easy Matter to penetrate so far through the Gloom of Antiquity, as to discern any Thing distinctly on this Head. Cæsar when he came hither (*De Bel. Gal. v. 10.*) found Black Cattle, Sheep, and Horses in Abundance, as also Hares, domestic Fowls, and Geese, which they carefully nourished, though they abstained from eating them. As the Phœnicians and Carthaginians had a regular Intercourse here long before his Time, might we not have some of these from them? In particular, might they not bring us Sheep from Spain, where the Carthaginians were settled? As to their breeding Creatures they did not eat, might it not be a political Maxim not to slaughter any Animals till the Country was fully stocked with them? Howel Dda, Prince of all Wales, near a Thousand Years after Cæsar, published a Law for the Protection and Preservation of that useful Animal the Cat (*Leges Wallicæ, p. 247.*) which from the Tenor of it plainly shews this Creature was then but lately introduced into his Dominions.

‡ We had unquestionably several Sorts of wild Beasts in this Island; which as well as Wolves were exterminated by our Ancestors. There were Bears in Caledonia and in Wales. Bisons in the Woods of Scotland, white, with flowing Manes, in other Respects resembling Bulls, exceedingly furious. If any of this Kind still remain in any Part of Europe, it is in Lithuania. The wild Boar was in Wales before, and in England after, the Conquest, as the Laws in both Countries shew, and was accounted Game. Boethius speaks of Blue Sheep in the Island of Roma, but they and the very Memory of them have been long ago lost, if in Truth they were ever there. He also tells us of a still stranger Kind of Sheep in Hirta, which is the Island now called St. Kilda. These he says were taller than Goats, and had Horns as big as those of Oxen. We must remember, that our Author lived in a Country where the Horns of their Black Cattle are but small. Such a Kind of Sheep is still found in Tartary and in Siberia. But which is more to the Purpose, the Sheep



not easily done in, and not to be effectually accomplished but in an Island. The continuing to enrich this Country, by bringing over what might contribute thereto from others, and even from the most distant Regions, hath been wisely and successfully practised in later Times, though but superficially, and often not very correctly mentioned in our Histories, where however many Things are to be found that do us far less Credit. Whether in regard to Animals, any Thing may yet be left in our Power, is a Point that Experience only can determine.

IN some of our large Islands where there is much marshy Land, a Trial might possibly be made of Buffaloes, which are known to thrive much better than Black Cattle in such Places. It is more probable that a Breed of Cattle from Jutland might be advantageously, as well as easily introduced into North Britain. An Experiment might with Facility be attempted of bringing the Dutch Sheep, so famous for their Fertility, into some of our Isles; and though with more Difficulty, the like might be also found practicable in reference to the Angora and Chamois Goats<sup>w</sup>. Most of these Instances have been already mentioned, and are therefore barely recapitulated here, as the Subject seems to require it. In respect to Fowls, since the Secret hath been found of keeping their Eggs, and consequently of bringing them from any Distance, nothing can be easier wherever it shall be thought expedient. As to Lake Fish, we have shewn that there is no Difficulty in having any Sort that can be desired for Profit or Pleasure. We have also hinted the Possibility of having Salt as well as fresh Water Ponds, which might prove of

now in St. Kilda have very large Horns, and many of them Four Horns, which shews we had these Animals anciently of different Kinds from different Countries. Let me add still further, the St. Kilda Sheep are very prolifick. A late very accurate Observer informs us, that in Thirteen Months One Sheep added to the Flock Nine, yeaving herself twice Three, and her first Three, bringing each of them a Lamb in that Space. But these Sheep are small, and their Wool coarse. The Dutch Texel Sheep (originally as is said from the East Indies) are very large, and their Wool so fine as to be sold for English, bringing also commonly Two Lambs at once. Might not these be tried in One of the small Islands dependant on St. Kilda, with a reasonable Expectation they would preserve both their Fertility and their Fleece?

<sup>w</sup> Where-ever any Thing of this Kind hath been proposed, the Reasons have been given which induced such Proposals, and the Advantages that might be expected from them. But it may be proper to mention here the Motives for recommending these Experiments to be made in some or other of our numerous Islands; and they were principally these: First, that in their present Condition they seem to stand most in need of such Improvements, if they should prove successful. Next, that of all Places they are such as would bring the Experiment to the Test; because, in any of them any Kind of Animals might be kept separate till their Value and Increase were certainly known. Lastly, in case upon Trial any Inconvenience appeared, it might be both easily and effectually removed without Possibility of its spreading or reviving. To this I may add, that if one fortunate Attempt was made, it would bid fair for improving all the Rest, by kindling the Fire of public Spirit from this Spark of private Success.

singular



singular Utility. But the public Attention being now thoroughly awakened to this Point, there is no Reason to doubt that Posterity will see many, and these too more important Improvements, than our slender Abilities will enable us to suggest.

WE have now concluded a short and very imperfect Inventory of the Fossil, Vegetable, and Animal Riches of these Islands, with some Observations intended to illustrate their Nature and Importance. A Task so difficult and yet so necessary, that an Attempt to execute it, if it does not amount to a Degree of Merit, affords at least a Claim to Indulgence.

SUCH as it is, it most certainly proves, that our Commodities and Manufactures are very numerous, substantial, and of great Value, equally necessary to other Countries, and permanent as well as apparent Sources of Industry in our own. So that we may with great Justice assume, even in our present State, a Claim to national Independency, as having all Things requisite, not only to Ease and Convenience, but also to Strength, to Wealth, and to Power, either immediately within our Reach, or which furnish us amply with the Means of obtaining them. A very great Part of this, though always through the Bounty of Providence, in our own Hands, hath been, as is likewise fully shewn, by a gradual Exercise of Skill and Labour, brought into our actual Possession, and very much still left to be as certainly acquired by the same Methods. For after all our numberless Discoveries and Improvements, we have no just Grounds to affirm, that any One of our many national Advantages hath been absolutely exhausted or carried to the utmost Point of Perfection of which it is capable. On the contrary, it very visibly appears, that our Posterity, by their Industry and Application, assisted by the Lights received from us, and which from the future Progress of Science they may strike out for themselves, may be very well able to leave us as far behind as we have done our Ancestors\*. It is admitted, that if we look back on past Times, the Progress made seems to be prodigious, but if we carry our Views forward, the Prospect becomes bound-

\* In order to frame an Idea of the gradual Improvements made in this Country in general, we may compare and consider Carew's Survey of Cornwall, Camden's Account of that County, Mordey's Description of it, the Bishop of Winchester's Additions to Camden, and Borlase's excellent Works so frequently cited. If we had the like successive Relations of other Shires, they would shew in a greater or less Degree the same Thing. At the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Customs yielded but Thirty-six thousand Pounds per Annum. Sir Walter Raleigh asserts, that in the Twelfth Year of her Reign, the Navy consisted of Thirteen Sail, and our Ships employed in Trade were One hundred and Thirty-six. How strange does this appear to us? How much more wonderful, not to say incredible (supposing it could have been predicted) would our present Situation have appeared to them? What then is there absurd in believing, that with so wide and firm a Foundation, such a Multiplication of Powers, and such Accession of Wealth, Posterity should prosperously proceed in the same Track, and then, according to the common Course of Things, all that we expect may be accomplished.

less, and we see plainly an Infinity of Materials that may in Time be converted to Use and Profit.

WE have drawn the far greater Part of our Instances from South Britain, not only because therein they are most conspicuous, but as there and there alone they have been properly recorded. But North Britain and Ireland are likewise improved, very considerably improved <sup>y</sup> to what they formerly were, and are possibly at this Day not in a worse State than England was in a Century past, and both Countries may very probably be raised to a Situation not inferior to that in which she now stands, and even when that shall happen, find themselves as far behind her as they are at present. The numerous natural Advantages which from the Bounty of Nature she possesses, as well as her being the Seat of Government, will ever preserve the Superiority to South Britain, not barely without Prejudice, but with eminent Benefit to them. In some Respects there may be a signal Facility of improving visible in one or other of them, and then it ought to be cherished and supported for the common Good. This was clearly the Case in reference to England's encouraging the Linnen Manufacture in Ireland, that Industry might flourish there. North Britain very prudently desisted from the Woollen Manufacture, in which she had made some Progress on the Union of the Two Kingdoms, from a Conviction that it might be better, cheaper, and more for the general Advantage carried on here. The Parliament of Great Britain have assisted the Linnen Manufactory and the Fisheries in that Country, and will no doubt continue to aid, to regulate, and to protect them <sup>z</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> In reference to North Britain, as she hath obtained many Advantages by the Union, so she hath undoubtedly availed herself of them in a very great Degree, though possibly not to the Extent she might have done. The Face of the Country, the Condition of the People, shew this. Their Lands are better cultivated, many Improvements have been introduced, Industry and Manufactures are increased; in consequence of all which, Things are grown dearer, Rents are raised, and Lands sell now at twice the Price they then did. These are no equivocal Marks of a Country's Thriving. All this, but in a higher Degree, may be affirmed of Ireland, of which the Reader may be convinced by reading the Treatises written by Sir William Petty, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Dobbs, Men of great Abilities, and perfectly acquainted with the Subject. Indeed no Country hath been more happy than this in breeding true Patriots, Men who studied the real Interests, and pointed out the most effectual Means of cultivating and improving their Lands, their Manufactures, and their Commerce, in which their laudable Views have been effectually seconded by the Legislature and the Dublin Society.

<sup>z</sup> The Superiority of South Britain arises from the wide Extent and great fertility of the Country, the Number of its navigable Rivers, the Excellency of its Situation, the Value and Variety of its native Commodities, and the Number, Skill, and Industry of the Inhabitants. These Sources of her Opulence enable her to sustain the numerous Impositions of different Kinds which compose the publick Revenue, this supports the Civil, Military, and naval Establishments requisite to maintain the Dignity and Power of Government, the Influence of which invigorates our whole Dominions. Every Province therefore of the British Empire, however distant or remote, hath Reason to rejoice in her Prosperity, as their own arises from and depends upon her Protection.

AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE in its utmost Extent is the common Interest of both Islands, and must contribute to their common Felicity, by securing Plenty, and augmenting the Number of their Inhabitants. Manufactures and Commerce rest safely, and can only rest safely upon this Basis, and must be always extensive and advantageous when Provisions of all Kinds and in all Places are cheap. The Efforts of Industry must be regulated for the common Profit by the public Policy. The natural Disposition of our Commodities being the surest Rule; the rewarding Knowledge and Labour, the stigmatizing Ignorance and Idleness, the most effectual Means; and so directing these as to make the Welfare of the Empire the continual Object of our combined Endeavours.

By this Method the noble Spirit of Improvement proceeding from its proper Center, and diffusing itself on every Side, Industry finding through all the wide Extent of the British Territories perpetual Materials for its Operations, must by Degrees act upon the Whole, and being directed by this excellent Principle, all the Efforts of Individuals, will by the wise Conduct of Government, terminate in the general Happiness of its Subjects. For Mr. Houghton's Maxim will for ever hold true, that a triple League amongst our Three Kingdoms, is the only One of which we stand in need, the Security, Stability, and Prosperity of this great State, requiring, under the Protection of Divine Providence, no other Support than a firm Junction of its Parts; and when thoroughly understood, it will be found that their separate Interests afford the strongest Motives to this Union.

## C H A P. V.

The artificial Advantages in respect to different Kinds of Improvements, that are at present in our Power, enumerated, and their Consequences explained.

*ARTIFICIAL Expedients, for facilitating the Progress of national Improvements, of infinite Utility. The Invention of these, though difficult, yet is generally found to be much less so than the bringing them into common Use. The legal Dissolution of the old Tenures, the great Basis of modern Improvements. Establishing private Property in full Security, another Point of the greatest Consequence. The regulating the Interest of Money, shewn to be of the utmost Importance, in respect to the public Welfare. This fully evinced from the Consideration of the Consequences that have followed it. The History of the Difficulties that occurred in the Introduction of foreign Exchange, set in its true Light. The Deliverance of the State from foreign Loans, and the*

*Birth of public Credit, due to Sir Richard and Sir Thomas Gresham. A Detail of the numerous Train of public Advantages, that have been gradually derived from thence. The Wisdom of the Legislature in rendering this the Source of amazing Abundance. The Bank of England, of infinite Utility in many Respects to the Public. The great Conveniency arising from the giving a legal Support to private Credit. Circulation promotes Industry, the Fruits of which are real and permanent Riches. This, notwithstanding its apparent good Consequences, hath been thought liable to many Objections. The first Objection, that it facilitates the Exportation of our Coin, considered. The Second, that it contributes to render Things dearer, examined and refuted. The Third, that it is the Cause of a Variety of Frauds and Forgeries, shewn to be much exaggerated, and of little Consequence in comparison of the Benefits derived from it. The Nature of Bounties, and the Advantages arising from them to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce. This Point farther illustrated, and the Expediency of them fully vindicated. Drawbacks shewn to be of much Utility, and of absolute Necessity in many Cases. The Effects of these well-contrived Expedients, not only proves their Utility, but lead themselves to farther Advantages. Great Improvements have been made in all the different Sorts of Communication, such as Causeways, Roads, Bridges, &c. The Conveniency of public Posts, hath been prodigiously extended in our Times. Numbers of Rivers have been made Navigable to the great Advantage of Trade; as well as of the landed Interest. Still higher Benefits are expected from the inland Navigations that are now executing. Numerous Methods and Machines have been invented for facilitating these, and which of course will prove useful in other public Undertakings. The Quantities of waste Land have been very much lessened within this last Century. The Fens, Morasses, and Mosses, in different Parts of these Islands, have been much improved within the same Period. Immense Tracts of Common have been in the same Space inclosed and brought into Cultivation. The constant Readiness of the Legislature to amend or repeal old Laws, and to enact new Ones for the Furthering and Support of every Species of Improvement, is a great national Advantage. Practical Remarks on the Conclusion of this Chapter and Book.*

**T**HE real Value and natural Excellence of any Country, depends, as we have frequently observed, on the Favour of Providence, on the Gifts bestowed thereby, and which can be no otherwise acquired. But the Improvement of these, must flow from the Sagacity and from the Labour of its Inhabitants. The former is employed in procuring the Means, and the latter in applying them with Effect. These when united can accomplish almost every Thing, but their Force is much weakened if divided. The Truth is, that these artificial Means or Instruments of Improvement, are of infinite

infinite Consequence; they must be discovered by Wisdom, prosecuted with Caution, perfected by Perseverance, and maintained and supported in that State, by an assiduous and unremitted Attention<sup>a</sup>. It was owing to the Want of these, that the ample Materials which our noble Islands furnish, and would have always furnished, were in a great Measure suffered to remain, some of them wholly unemployed, others imperfectly, and all of them in a Degree much inferior to that Capacity of contributing to our Happiness which they derived from Nature<sup>b</sup>. This Want of artificial Means, this Indigence in respect to the necessary Instruments for Melioration, was very early discerned, and the Use of them warmly recommended by those publick spirited Authors, who shewed at once their own Penetration and laudable Zeal for national Prosperity, by pointing out such of them as they thought requisite, representing their Nature and Tendency, and displaying the Effects that had been produced by them in other Places, as an Encouragement to the introducing them here<sup>c</sup>.

BUT, though there is undoubtedly great Merit in discerning and demonstrating to the Publick the Rectitude and Efficacy of such Measures, yet this is much more easy than the bringing them, when thus discovered, into

<sup>a</sup> The different Degrees of Civilization amongst Nations arises from their having many or few of these Means of Improvement. Next to the Materials, which are the natural Stock of a Country, these Instruments of Art are the most necessary to its Inhabitants. The Earth sown and tilled produces Grain of several Sorts. This Grain produces Flour or Malt. Flour makes Bread and other Things; Malt is brewed into Drink, and this is sometimes distilled into Spirits. Of these, when we have a Redundance, we export and sell to People inhabiting other Countries. The Means used to improve our Soil so as to increase its Products, the Methods employed for their Preservation, the Skill shewn in Manufacturing them, are Arts, some of them of late Invention, and all of them gradually improved. The same may be said with equal Truth of many other Things, the favourable Alterations, as to which, were all of them brought about by a due Distribution of small Canals from those great Streams that are mentioned as flowing from the noble Source of publick Spirit in the Course of this Chapter.

<sup>b</sup> Silver might have been at all Times smelted from our Lead, and what an Advantage this would have been we have stated already. See the Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 340. Our Mines might have been more numerous, and incomparably more advantageous, if we had adopted right Notions earlier. Our Ancestors need not have been exposed to frequent famines, if our Husbandry had been better, and our Laws wiser than they were. Our Woollen Manufacture, and indeed all our Manufactures, might have been sooner improved, if those employed in them had been left more at their Liberty. Our Black Cattle might have been always of the same Size they now are. Our Horses were ever capable of being, what in this Century we have seen them. But the Means, more especially Security, Encouragement, and Attention, were wanting.

<sup>c</sup> There were Treatises of Husbandry, or as they were then styled, Books of Gainage, as old as the Reign of Edward II. or older, which are long since lost, and except that they taught and recommended the Use of Manure, we know not what they contained. Fitzherbert shewed the Utility of inclosing, and points out many Things that were not attended to in haste. Tusser's old Rhimes, which however uncouth to us, were well suited to the Age in which he lived, contained much good Matter. Sir Thomas Chaloner, in his Poem de Republica Anglorum Instauranda, hath many judicious suggestions; so hath Blundevile, Googe, Sir Hugh Plat, Mr. Gabriel Plattes, and other ancient Writers, which shew they had very clear Ideas of some that are esteemed modern Inventions.

rendered certain, and every Species of Possession was clearly and intelligibly defined, it gave Spirit and Courage to improve, which could not reasonably be expected, and which indeed had never appeared before. In consequence of this, Lands very quickly increased in their Value, not from any partial Conceit, but because being now capable of various Methods of Cultivation, they were really become of more Worth. It was in effect an Acquisition of Territory, or even something better, as no new Supply of People was required, and of course those who possessed them, lived more at their Ease and became rich<sup>1</sup>. Besides, Improvements multiplied as well as increased, for it was rationally concluded, though every Kind of Land would not produce all Things, yet most Lands, when the Nature of them was thoroughly understood, might through the Effects of Skill and Labour be made to produce something for Use and Profit, which with the Certainty of a quiet Possession, made an Object sufficient to excite Endeavours, the Success of which propagated a Spirit of Industry. This Abolition therefore of Feudal Tenures, and all their Consequences, may be regarded as the corner Stone of our Improvements<sup>m</sup>, as to which, if any Doubts could arise, the History already given of the Progress of those Improvements of every Kind must be fully sufficient to remove them, and place this Point in its proper Light.

THE Cultivation of our Lands producing Materials, these in Process of Time brought in a Variety of Manufactures, for the Support of which it grew absolutely requisite to give by Law the most ample Security to every

Reign; and Sir Edward Coke hath preserved (iv Inst. ch. xxxv.) the Heads of the Plan then in Contemplation, to which he was an ardent Well-wisher. But though it miscarried at that Time, yet the Sentiments of the wisest Men continued still the same, till, by Stat. 12 Car. II. cap. xxiv. the whole System was completely abolished.

<sup>1</sup> At the Time this Law was enacted, a general Spirit of Improvement prevailed. Men saw from Experience, that War served only to impoverish and to destroy, while the Country remained in many Parts waste, ill peopled and worse cultivated. Agriculture began to be considered as a Science. Foreign Grasses were introduced, and many other Improvements were attempted, though not till long afterwards brought to any tolerable Degree of Perfection. These however shewed the Temper and Disposition of that Age, and with how much Alacrity they embraced this Deliverance. In consequence of this, and of the Hopes excited, many excellent Treatises were published, to shew what natural Sources of Wealth this Country afforded, such as Webster's History of Metals, Evelyn's Sylva, Worldidge's Systema Agriculturæ, and many others.

<sup>m</sup> The former Qualifications of these feudal Tenures, had been only partial and imperfect Remedies, and yet to these, such as they were, many beneficial Consequences were owing. But now all the remaining, and those too much the heaviest Evils, such as Wards, Liveries, premier Seisins, &c. were taken away effectually, and for ever. As the Crown relinquished these Rights that bore hard upon those who held Lands immediately therefrom, so the same Powers which they exercised over their Tenants were in like Manner extinguished. By this Means all the Owners of Lands and their Families were set at full Liberty, and left to act as they judged most expedient for their own Interests, without any Apprehension of having any of their own Conveyances questioned, or Fear of their Settlements or Devises being set aside.

Species of private Property, which, from the apparent Expediency of the Thing, was gradually and effectually done. This was another great Instrument in promoting Industry and encouraging Application. In earlier Times there were numerous Obstacles to the introducing new Employments, the Exercise of Mechanic Trades was very much embarrassed, the Recovery of Debts had many Difficulties, and several other Points there were in a State of Incertainty, which are Things rarely considered by the Legislature, except in a commercial State, such as every Island ought to be<sup>n</sup>. These have in this Country, been so well, so wisely, and so precisely regulated, that in ordinary Cases every Man knows his Right, knows how to secure it, and knows also how to vindicate or to recover it in case he is dispossessed of it. By these Laws respecting Property, Mankind were placed so much upon a Level as to be equally free from Fraud and Oppression, at least with Impunity; all these Laws having, as they ought to have, a free Course in their Operations, without respect of Persons, which is far from being the Case in many other Nations<sup>o</sup>. The Security of the Subject resting on so firm and permanent a Basis, hath very naturally introduced a Degree of Confidence, exceedingly beneficial in all Kinds of Transactions, more especially in what regards Trade and Manufactures, which are therefore carried on with the utmost Spirit and Alacrity, which nothing but this could inspire<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> This Necessity of encouraging new Establishments, providing Remedies for all Infringements of Justice, and removing those Obstacles that stood in the Way, proved the Source of that Multiplicity of Laws, of which, without considering this Necessity, there might seem just Reason to complain. But in whatever Way Men acquire Property, it is the Interest of the State it should be secured, and this our Constitution could only do by Laws. These therefore became requisite, to facilitate the Opening and Working of Mines, the raising, supporting, and regulating Manufactures and Manufacturers; the providing due Wages for Labourers and Servants; the taking Measures for promoting Industry; the assigning a proper and constant Relief for the Poor; and a Multitude of other Objects, which increasing People, and their increasing Occupations, were continually demanding.

<sup>o</sup> It hath been the great Object of this Work to shew, that the principal Prerogative of this potent Monarchy consists in being composed of Two spacious Islands, which are inhabited by One People, who have but One Interest, viz. the preserving a strict Union, and thereby maintaining our free and happy Constitution. This as it now stands we apparently owe to a Spirit of Industry and Commerce. These produced so many excellent Laws, and those so calculated as though each hath its particular Object, yet all of them concur in the compleating that rational and universal Liberty, without which Industry and Commerce, in that Extent we enjoy them, could not exist. This Liberty being thus plainly the Result and Effect of Laws, must be sustained by Laws, and can never be destroyed but by our falling into Anarchy or sinking under Despotism.

<sup>p</sup> As the Effects of Industry of every Kind are equally beneficial and obvious, it is surprizing that this useful and salutary Quality should not be every where alike esteemed. But we see it is not, and with a very little Attention we may discern the Consequences. In some Countries Trade is thought dishonourable; and in these, those who exercise it are in a low, dependent, and contemptible Condition. In others, a watchful Eye is kept over them, that their Taxes may be raised in Proportion as they thrive. This in Effect is an Imposition on Trade, and keeps it always depressed. With us, Heaven be praised, it is otherwise; and it is to the Respect which waits on Industry in every Profession, to the Farmer as well as the Tradesman, the Mechanic as well as the Merchant, that we owe that noble Ardour which distinguishes every Rank amongst us in Comparison with those in other Countries.



Hence arises the constant Diligence, the laudable Assiduity, the indefatigable Perseverance in those engaged in Occupations that respect the collecting and vending the Commodities and Manufactures of this Country, in which they are amongst the most useful Citizens, as they enrich the Publick by that very Attention which is exerted in acquiring Fortunes for themselves and their Families. To this what stronger, what more certain Inducement, than that they are firmly persuaded they shall freely enjoy the Fruits of their Industry while living, and dispose as freely of them to their Posterity, or having none, according to their Inclinations at their Demise? Circumstances that excite, and at the same Time support, a Disposition to Improvements of all Sorts, which insensibly diffuse the like Spirit on every Side, and wherever they come carry Invention, Penetration, and Emulation with them.

THE innumerable Advantages flowing from the Improvement of Land, and the Increase of Industry even in their earliest State, and when they were but proceeding to that Degree of Perfection which they have since gained, produced an Increase of Specie, and this made Way for regulating Interest, a Thing of the last Importance to the publick Welfare. It was a long Time before this Matter was even tolerably understood. The Jews first, and the Lombards after them, lent Money at a most exorbitant Rate, and their Practice was but too much followed, though vehemently censured by

¶ These solid and incontestible Benefits, which are exactly suited to the sound Sense and steady Temper of the English Nation, produces that Application and Perseverance by which great and difficult Undertakings are brought to Perfection. They know that Independence is a Kind of natural Nobility, to which Industry is the surest Road. To this therefore they generally aspire, rather than follow those Phantoms that delude People of warmer Imaginations. Hence it happens, that ample Fortunes raised by Commerce, lift their Possessors in a few Successions to Titles, and hence the younger Branches of noble Families often embark in Commerce. These Instances serve to preserve and support that Esteem for those Occupations, which contribute to establish private Men in easy Circumstances, and to increase national Opulence at the same Time, and by the same Means.

† In the Law of Moses, Exod. xxii. 25. and indeed in other Places, Usury was expressly forbidden to the Israelites, that is, they were not to exact it from each other, and from hence many zealous Divines insisted it was directly prohibited by the Law of GOD. This no Doubt it was to this Nation in their own Country, for which the political Code of Moses was calculated. Usury was repugnant to its Principles, every Man had such an indefeasible Right to his Lands, as prevented Mortgages, and they were precluded from Commerce, as tending to an Intercourse with Idolaters. But from Strangers, having the Sanction of another express Statute, they might and did take Usury, understanding their own Law in this Sense. The Romans, and other wise Governments put it under the Restriction of Laws, to which their Christian Subjects, as well as others, submitted, without any Scruple, even in the earliest and purest Times.

‡ According to the whole Stream of our ancient Laws, from the Time of Edward the Confessor, Usury was not only branded with the foulest Epithets, but punished with the most grievous Penalties, as may be seen in Coke's iii Inst. chap. lxx. which Laws he highly commends. But the Jews were suffered to practise it from the Reign of William I. to the Beginning of Edward I. for conniving at which our Monarchs exacted from them large Sums; in the last Seven Years Four hundred



Divines as a Thing directly repugnant to the Principles of Religion, and this more especially after the Reformation. Infomuch, that in the Reign of Edward the Sixth, a Statute, which had been passed in the Time of his Father, allowing Ten per Cent. to be taken, was repealed, and all Usury forbidden under the severest Penalties. But this did much more Harm than Good; for as no Law could be made that would take away Necessity, such as were constrained to borrow paid afterwards Twenty and Thirty per Cent. with an Addition of other Inconveniencies<sup>t</sup>. At length it was found requisite to relax in this Point, and to follow the Example of the wise Emperor Justinian, who could find no Remedy so effectual for suppressing Usury, as allowing those who had Money to lend it to those who could employ it, at moderate Interest. The Consequences shewed the Propriety of this Measure; which however, like all other Steps tending to publick Utility, had been very warinly controverted.

BUT when those Altercations subsided, and the Practice was firmly established, its Effects demonstrated the Rectitude of the Principle; for in consequence of this Method of obtaining Money on moderate Terms, the Value of Lands was raised, Agriculture was encouraged, Manufactures were promoted, Commerce extended, and every Species of Industry was enlivened and supported. If any Doubt could have remained in reasonable Minds, it must have been removed by the like Consequences in a still higher Degree, following on repeated Reductions, which shewed there could be no

hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds. At length they were totally banished on a great Tumult raised from their taking more than their accustomed Rate of Two Pence for the Loan of Twenty Shillings for a Week. But the Expulsion of the Jews did not put an End to Usury, the Italians here made Profit of their Money; but they acted with more Address, and the Convenience of Borrowing brought others, though it was still loudly and universally decried, into the same Practice.

<sup>t</sup> In the Roman Empire, as able Critics allow, Twelve per Cent. was the common Interest, which was somewhat lessened by Justinian. This made a real Distinction, for what was beyond this, was, in Construction of Law and Reason, oppressive and usurious. Our Neighbours saw sooner than we the Rectitude of this Distinction, and that the Rate of Money was, in Truth, rather a political than a theological Question. At length, by Stat. 37 Henry VIII. cap. ix. Interest was fixed at Ten per Cent. Usury declared unlawful, and punished with very severe Penalties. Our Reformers in their great Zeal (contrary to the Sentiments of Calvin) procured this Law to be repealed by Stat. 5 Ed. VI. cap. xx. which absolutely forbids the taking any Profit for the Loan of Money. Dr. Wilson, Master of Requests, and afterwards Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, published, A. D. 1572, a very elaborate Treatise in support of this Notion, though he owns that instead of Ten, People paid Twenty and Thirty per Cent. However, by Stat. 13 Elizabeth, cap. viii. the Statute of Edward VI. is repealed, and that of Henry VIII. revived, which did not put an End to the Dispute. The warm Clergy continued to maintain, and quoted this very Act of Parliament to prove it, that all Usury was directly contrary to the Law of GOD, and therefore sinful and detestable. It was necessary to treat this Point so largely, that it might appear with how much Difficulty pernicious Notions (especially supported by the Pretence of Religion) are overcome, though the removing them is ever so manifestly for the publick Good.

Error in respect to the First Cause<sup>u</sup>. It must however be acknowledged that we only copied the good Example set us by our Neighbours the Dutch, who had long enjoyed the beneficial Fruits of so judicious and so beneficial a Policy, to which they had Recourse in the very Dawn of the Republick, and to which they have ever steadily adhered<sup>w</sup>. Those who understand this Matter best, who have considered it most maturely, and who have reflected, that the Party who from Self-interest opposed it, were strongly seconded by deep-rooted and vulgar Prejudices<sup>x</sup>, I say, those who have duly weighed all this, cannot but contemplate our Acquisition of this powerful Instrument of national Prosperity, with equal Wonder and Pleasure.

As Money became more plenty, fell into more Hands, and passed frequently from one to another, this furnished more Employment to those who made the procuring this necessary Medium in all Transactions their particular Business. At first these were the Italians, who exercising the same Occupation in different Parts of Europe, facilitated thereby foreign Exchanges, till by slow Degrees our own Countrymen gained both Wealth and Skill enough to manage this Traffick, and to extend it<sup>y</sup>. Hence arose  
Goldsmiths

<sup>u</sup> The shortest Method of explaining and confirming what is said in the Text, is to set down the different Rates settled by Law, and the Times at which they commenced. The First legal Interest was fixed at Ten per Cent. by Henry VIII. January 31, 1545. Repealed by Edward VI. 1549. Revived by Queen Elizabeth 25 June 1571. Reduced to Eight per Cent. by James I. 24 June 1625. Reduced to Six per Cent. by Charles II. 29 September 1660. (It had been actually reduced Nine Years before to that Rate, by an Ordinance of Parliament, September 29 1651). Reduced to Five per Cent. by Queen Anne, 29 September 1714, at which it still remains. There is besides the legal, a natural Interest which at present is lower; for, upon undoubted Security for the Principal, and punctual Payment of Interest, Money may be borrowed at Four.

<sup>w</sup> The Dutch, though Protestants as well as ourselves, never embraced those rigid Principles in regard to Usury. Their Divines considering Deut. xxiii. 20. as a Proof, that the prohibitory Law of Moses on this Head was judicial and not moral. In Grotius's Time, their legal Interest was Eight per Cent. But their extensive Commerce, Scarcity, and Dearth of Land, Frugality in Living, and great Plenty of ready Money, kept the Rate of Interest continually falling, without the Intervention of Law. This gave them prodigious Advantages in the Building of Ships, in the Purchase of Commodities, in carrying on extensive and expensive Manufactures, keeping Goods in Warehouses, waiting the Rise of Markets, and lending, as they did here in the Reign of Charles II. immense Sums at Six per Cent. which they could borrow at home for Three.

<sup>x</sup> It hath been said with great Truth in the Text, that an established Rate of Interest was the surest Method of preventing Usury. It was common and excessive, when the severest Laws subsisted against it. Men would be paid for the Hazards they ran, and the Shifts they used, as well as the Loan of their Money, and therefore Usurers never throve better than during the Suspension of the Law of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas Colepeper observing the good Effects of that Law, wrote, A. D. 1620, a Treatise to shew the Expediency of a farther Reduction, which took Place. His Son of the same Name wrote warmly against Mr. Manly and others, who disliked the Reduction to Six per Cent. It is observable the last Reduction was at the Close of an expensive War, and that Interest was reduced from Ten to Five per Cent. in less than the Space of a Century.

<sup>y</sup> Abundance of Accidents concurred to throw and to keep the Business in the Hands of the Italians. The Pope drew anciently a large Revenue from hence, and for this he had his Collectors,  
who

Goldsmiths and Bankers, who by their Negotiations became exceedingly useful in whatever regarded the making Payments requisite in a commercial Intercourse with the most distant Places. This, however salutary, was a Work that proceeded very gradually, as being incumbered with many Difficulties. In old Times, an express Licence from the Crown was required for remitting Money by Exchange, to discharge a private Debt contracted in foreign Parts<sup>z</sup>. When the Publick had Occasion for Loans, these were supplied on very hard Terms by Foreigners, grown opulent by this very Species of Commerce, before it was introduced here, in consequence of their falling earlier into a Knowledge of those Methods of circulating Money, which, by Dint of Observation, Experience, and paying frequently and dearly for their Assistance, we were enabled to adopt at last.

IN respect to this Alteration, which hath produced such signal Advantages to this Country, we stand chiefly indebted to the distinguished Abilities and laudable publick Spirit of Two private Gentlemen of the same Family, the First of these was Sir Richard Gresham, who was the King's Merchant and Agent at Antwerp in the Reign of Henry the Eighth; who merited so much from him by his Services, and with whom he had so great Credit, as to convince him that it was equally detrimental to the Publick, to suffer the important Business of Exchange to be ingrossed by the Italians, which was the former Method; or to be, as was the next Expedient, monopolized by the King's Merchant, which Place he then held; or to be granted to particular Persons by Patent, as was the Mode at that Time; and which, for the Ease and Benefit of Commerce, ought to be entirely free<sup>a</sup>. Upon his Motion it was accordingly declared so by Proclamation. He

who were most rapacious Usurers. Fuller's Church History, B. iii. p. 59—61. The Longobards had their Dwelling in the City, in what from them is called Lombard Street, and there the Merchants met till Sir Thomas Gresham built the Royal Exchange. The Guelphs or Pope's Party, being many of them driven out of Italy, settled at Avignon and other Places, which facilitated their holding a general Correspondence, more especially after the Italian Republicks became commercial States; and, as with the other Northern Nations in Europe, grew to have a considerable Traffick here, which was managed chiefly by themselves on both Sides the Water.

<sup>z</sup> It is certainly strange in Appearance, and yet it is incontestibly a Fact, that for several Ages most of our staple Commodities were exported by the Merchants of the Steel Yard, and our Money Affairs transacted by the Italians, and afterwards by the Flemings, as we have more than once had Occasion to remark. But in the Reign of King Henry VII. when the Commons began to acquire Property, they began also to look into Manufactures, and to aspire to the carrying on their own Commerce. But this was not easily or hastily to be effected. They proceeded to make long Voyages, the Merchant Adventurers increased their Numbers, and extended their Trade. Add to all this, that the King's Agents in foreign Parts looked assiduously into the Management of Mercantile and Money Affairs, in order that by the Lights they acquired Abroad they might on their Return be serviceable at Home.

<sup>a</sup> This Affair of Exchange, which Sir Richard Gresham in his Memorial to Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Keeper, affirmed was as necessary to Merchants as Water for the Navigation of Ships,

He likewise projected the Royal Exchange for the daily Meeting of Merchants, that therein they might regulate their own Remittances, so that no new Monopoly might ever take Place.

THE other was his Son, the justly celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham, who was the Crown Agent at Antwerp for Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, where he managed the troublesome Affairs of liquidating old Debts, negotiating new Loans, and discharging Interest as it became due upon both, with Fidelity, Dexterity, and Success<sup>b</sup>. At his Return home, besides many other important Services, he undertook and executed, though not without the utmost Difficulty, the arduous Task of Borrowing, for the Use of Queen Elizabeth, a Sum of Money from our own Merchants<sup>c</sup>; and, by repeated Instances of the same Kind, at length convinced them how much more honourable, as well as how much more profitable, these domestic Loans were, both for the Prince and People<sup>d</sup>. This gave a new  
Face

was not then or indeed for a Century after generally understood. But this no Way impeaches the Rectitude of this Gentleman's Proposition, from which, on specious Pretences, though there were some temporary Departures, yet by Experience they were constantly driven back to it again. It does him therefore great Credit to have emancipated this Branch of Commerce, so intimately connected with all the Rest, by pointing out the only effectual Means of redressing those Mischiefs, which really happened from Mismanagement in this Business, and which had been only aggravated by pretended Remedies.

<sup>b</sup> At the Time he became King Edward's Agent, the Interest paid by that Monarch amounted to Forty thousand Pounds a Year. This Interest, when lowest, was Ten per Cent. and if through Want of Money the King was desirous of continuing, besides the Interest, he was constrained to buy Jewels at a high Price. Besides, through the Pressure of this Debt and Interest, the Exchange sunk to Sixteen Shillings Flemish for a Pound Sterling. In the Space of Two Years, Sir Thomas resided at Antwerp, he gradually discharged the whole Debt, and brought up the Exchange to Twenty-two Shillings. Whereas, if Things had gone on in the old Way, as he told Queen Mary in a Memorial from which these Facts were taken, she might have found herself in the Beginning of her Reign involved in a foreign Debt of One Million and an Half.

<sup>c</sup> Queen Elizabeth, like her Predecessors, was obliged to borrow large Sums abroad at high Interest and with unpleasing Circumstances. In A. D. 1569. Sir Thomas prevailed on Secretary Cecil to let him try the rich Company of Merchant Adventurers, and accordingly proposed a small Loan to the principal Persons amongst them, who for their own Security moved the Matter in Common Hall, where it met with a flat Negative. The Privy Council wrote them a most sensible and judicious Letter upon it (Stowe's Survey, Book i. p. 287.) which had so good an Effect, that Fourteen of them agreed to lend Sixteen thousand Pounds for Six Months at Six per Cent. for which they had separate Bonds, and a general One to indemnify them from the Statute of Usury (repealed Two Years after) which Bonds when due were continued for Six Months more at the same Rate.

<sup>d</sup> The Greshams, Father and Son, had this very long in their Minds, as knowing the Circumstances of the Merchants, the Condition of our Trade, and the Mischiefs attending these foreign Loans, much better than Ministers could do. But they could not prevail to alter the established Method; however, what Reason could scarce have persuaded, Accident quickly effected. The Duke of Alva prohibited all Intercourse between England and the Low Countries. No more Money consequently could be then borrowed at Antwerp or Brussels. Sir Thomas, seconded by Necessity, was heard, and by his Mode of raising Money the Honour of the Crown and  
Nation

Face to Affairs, raised the Credit of the Crown and Nation with all Europe, and demonstrated that we had acquired an absolute Independency in a Point of such high Consequence to the public Welfare. He also executed his Father's great Design, by building at his own Expence the ROYAL EXCHANGE, which he left a noble Monument to his own Glory, and that of his Country<sup>e</sup>.

ON this broad and firm Foundation, publick and private Credit advanced, and gradually expanded in a Manner totally unknown before; and in the long Period of Peace which followed the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, rendered the Country flourishing, and wonderfully extended Commerce, in comparison of the State of both in former Ages. The Progress was indeed not a little impeded by the Civil War; but the Seed of our Improvements had previously taken such deep Root, that as soon as this Check was removed, they recovered and quickly produced fresh Signs of Vigour. After the Restoration, the Goldsmiths assisted the Government with very large Sums, till an End was put to all Confidence therein by the infamous Transaction of shutting up the Exchequer on the breaking out of the Second Dutch War<sup>f</sup>.

THIS however did not hinder our able Statesmen from perceiving, that the greatest Benefit might result to the Publick, by attracting the Confidence

Nation was rescued from the humiliating Method of Pawning the Credit of the City of London, as well as of the Sovereign, to a foreign Banker, an enormous Expence in Premiums, Interest, Continuations, &c. wholly saved, the Loss by Exchange prevented, the Merchants (which was a great Thing at the Time) provided with a safe Means of making Interest, Circulation considerably increased, and our political and commercial Concerns so interwoven, as that Ministers were compelled to be alike attentive to both. Prodigious Benefits arising from one Man's Prudence and Sagacity!

\* It is by looking back to past Times, and comparing them with the present, that we come to form true Notions of both. It must appear strange to us, that a great Nation should ever have been embarrassed for such small Sums. It ought however to appear still stranger, that a Nation thus embarrassed should perform such great Things. But in good Roads, and under the Conduct of able Guides, publick and private Affairs advance apace. In less than Twenty Years, the City of London was so sensible of the Benefits derived from this Attention of Government, that, in A. D. 1588, they not only listened to that Queen's Request, but even granted her double the Assistance she demanded. A Fact that does equal Honour to their Loyalty and her Administration.

<sup>f</sup> According to the Earl of Clarendon, this Method of raising Money was, from his own Experience in Holland, suggested to Charles II. by Sir George Downing, and was exceedingly disliked by that wise Minister, who probably foresaw its Consequences. The Bankers (who before borrowed at Four) now to acquire large Sums gave Six per Cent. and lent to the Crown at Eight, Ten, and Twelve. In the Beginning of A. D. 1672, the King stopped the Payments on these Loans at the Exchequer, by which upwards of One million Three hundred thousand Pounds of the Subjects Money was detained; and though afterwards Six per Cent. Interest was allowed, the Capital remained unpaid, and after the Revolution was considered and settled (though with some Modifications) as a Debt due from the Publick.

of the Subject, and thereby drawing from the Coffers of Individuals, such Supplies, however large, as were requisite for the Support of national Measures. This great Undertaking was accomplished soon after the Revolution by the Interposition of the Legislature; and Parliament thereby acquired a Power of raising such immense Sums as have defrayed several expensive Wars, which have terminated equally to the Glory and Advantage of GREAT BRITAIN. Sums far beyond the Conception of our Ancestors, and at which the latest Posterity will be astonished<sup>b</sup>. The Blessing of Divine Providence on our Councils, and the strict and punctual Observance of publick Faith, have atchieved this political Miracle, in the Performance of which, some Instruments were necessarily employed; which, besides facilitating that great End, have been in other Respects extremely advantageous to the Community.

AMONGST these there was one which contributed particularly to this Intention, and hath indeed promoted, what we very properly and emphatically call CIRCULATION, in a very wonderful Degree, and this to the inexpressible Ease and Benefit of the Publick. This is the Company of the BANK OF ENGLAND, which, in point of Stability, Regularity, and universal Credit, is inferior to none; in point of general Utility superior to any. Yet was this great Establishment fixed at the Beginning with Difficulty<sup>i</sup>,  
and

<sup>g</sup> It is evident that Breach of Faith ruined this Scheme in the First Instance, and while subject to such Mischances would have ruined it for ever: But even this heavy Misfortune shewed how much the Circumstances of the Nation were changed, how much Wealth was in private Hands, and the Possibility there was of the Publick's availing itself of this Alteration. Upon these Grounds, the Condition of publick Affairs also requiring it, this Mode of raising Money by Loans was again adopted; but in a better Method, and on a much more solid Foundation. New Funds were assigned for the Security of those who lent their Money, and instead of the Promise of the Prince, the publick Faith became plighted to such as trusted their Property in the Hands of the Publick, together with other Circumstances of Advantage.

<sup>h</sup> Sir Josiah Child saw and disapproved the Conduct of the Bankers in lending at such high Interest to Charles II. chiefly because he thought it hindered a farther legal Reduction of the Rate of Interest, giving it as his Opinion, that whenever legal Interest fell to Four, Government might be able to borrow at Six. His Notion was confirmed by the high Rates at which Money was borrowed after the Revolution, and the high Premiums given to procure it even at these high Rates. But we have seen an exact Observance of Terms, and a punctual Payment of Interest, operate in such a Manner as to raise the Credit of publick above that of private Securities. This hath been done by bringing immense Sums into Circulation, which otherwise being hoarded up, would produce an apparent Scarcity of Money, and of Course an high Rate of Interest.

<sup>i</sup> The Company of the Bank of England was instituted A. D. 1694, their Capital was 1,200,000 *l.* at Eight per Cent. and 4000 *l.* for Charges of Management, that is a clear Annuity of 100,000 *l.* in the Whole. This shews the State of publick Credit at that Time. The Bank, through the wise and steady Conduct of their Directors, weathered many Difficulties; and, as they gathered Strength, rendered from time to time fresh Services to, and in consequence of these received fresh Marks of Favour and Support from the Legislature down to 1764, when upon Conditions advantageous to the Publick their Term was prolonged, so as not to determine but on

and hath attained to its present flourishing Condition, purely by a steady and uniform Course of cautious and prudent Management, by which the Company hath equally conciliated the Favour of the State and of the Subject <sup>k</sup>, and have in several critical Conjunctures rendered the highest Service to both.

IN the same Proportion this Circulation extended, the good Effects of it were seen, felt, and confessed, which at length made Way for a Regulation in respect to private Credit, which had been long desired, because the beneficial Consequences of it were foreseen, and their being confirmed by Experience in another Country, left no Room to doubt that, whenever introduced, they would be attended with the like Success here <sup>l</sup>. This was no more than giving a legal Right for the assigning Promissory Notes, and putting them on the same Foot with Inland Bills of Exchange, which though it could not bestow, enabled them to acquire a Currency that is exceedingly commodious, and in a great Measure takes away the Inconvenience of long Credit, which is ever detrimental to Trade, by enhancing the Price of Commodities <sup>m</sup>. The Benefits arising from this universal Circulation are much

One Year's Notice after First of August 1787. In the Course of the last expensive War the Bank did every Thing that could be expected to maintain the Credit of this Nation, and by their Prudence and Firmness supported that of all Europe after the Peace.

<sup>k</sup> In many of the great Cities of Europe there are Banks, as at Venice, which is allowed Precedence as being the eldest, at Genoa the Bank of St. George, at Nurembergh, at Hamburg, and elsewhere, but especially at Amsterdam, which is supposed to be the richest of any. But whoever shall consider the Constitution and Regulations of these Banks, and compares them with those of our own, will be convinced, that it is infinitely preferable. By this I mean, it is much better adapted to our Constitution and Circumstances, and hath thereby operated regularly and successfully for the Benefit of the Community, and is indeed the great Wheel which gives and preserves that equal and Ready Motion to our extensive Circulation, which renders it the Source of Industry, the Support of Manufactures, the Life of domestick Trade, and the very Soul of foreign Commerce.

<sup>l</sup> In Countries where they have few staple Commodities, and where Traders live chiefly by Freight, Fishing, Manufactures, &c. Necessity pointed out early to them Methods of assisting by such Transactions as these the Progress of Commerce, and the State well knowing the great Importance of Traffic, gave readily their Sanction to all such Inventions as soon as desired. By a Variety of such artificial Expedients, they qualified natural Deficiencies, and came to be more conspicuous, and indeed more able and dextrous in their Dealings, than their Neighbours, and acquired deservedly an high Character for mercantile Abilities. These Methods, when practised, were however obvious, and this, particularly with all its advantageous Consequences, was clearly stated and strenuously recommended Half a Century at least before it was adopted here.

<sup>m</sup> There were Notes of Hand given long before the Law which made them of such general Utility as they now are. But they were not negotiable, and no Action could be maintained on them as they were not Specialties. By the Statutes of the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne, this being recited, they, for the Benefit of Trade, are made as assignable and valid as Inland Bills of Exchange, subject in point of Time to the Statute of Limitation; and upon Experience of its good Effects, this Law was made perpetual by another Statute of the Seventh of the same Reign. This hath been of inexpressible Advantage in the Light mentioned in the Text, by giving a Currency to the



much more easily conceived than expressed; because those who are acquainted with them, have a Sense of them superior to any Conviction, that even the strongest Arguments could produce; whereas, such as from their Situation in Life (which are now however but very few in comparison of what they were formerly) find it very difficult to apprehend, though ever so clearly explained, the Fruits of an Expedient they have never tried, and the Operations of which have never fallen within the Sphere of their Observation<sup>n</sup>. But to Men of Penetration and Attention, its great Utility will be even in a theoretic Light, by no Means a Thing inexplicable, and much less unintelligible.

WE have frequently asserted, and we hope in the Course of this Work have very fully shewn, that the Fruits of Industry constitute the true and permanent Riches of a Nation; whatever therefore excites, promotes, and facilitates Industry, must necessarily contribute to render a Nation opulent. A quick and constant Circulation of Credit produces, and, which is more, supports Industry with better, and even greater Effect than Money; because the Tendernefs of Credit requires an unremitting Assiduity and Application, as on the Success which these produce its future Existence must depend<sup>o</sup>. But besides this there are other, which, though not more conclusive, may prove as intelligible Arguments of the same Thing. We see, that where this Circulation is most extensive there is most Industry, and

the Bills of private Men of known Probity and Punctuality, and thereby rendering extensive Undertakings practicable by Persons of small Fortunes.

<sup>a</sup> We find this Observation fully justified, by the Repugnancy shewn for so long a Time to so easy and so expeditious a Means of converting a heavy, and in most Respects a dead Credit, into a transferable Security, nearly as servicable (in the Course of Trade especially) as ready Money. Yet all this was judiciously explained, and every popular Objection to it answered, by so great a Man as Sir Josiah Child, soon after the Restoration. This Neglect of a Thing of such Utility could only proceed from its not being attended to, and of Course not being clearly understood by such as had the Power of carrying it into Execution. But the Loss of the Nation by this Delay must have been very great, as it fell out in that Juncture when our rising Manufactures stood in most Need of it.

<sup>o</sup> This is a Point that deserves to be well considered. When Men once embark their Credit, not only their Fortune but their Characters are at Stake, and this in every Transaction in which they are concerned. This Situation makes them cautious, attentive, indefatigable. Hence more immense Estates have been acquired by Men who began with small, than by those who at setting out were possessed of middling or even of great Fortunes. Those Qualities which Necessity produced, strengthened by Experience into Habits, and these were confirmed by Success. Such Men, in their Beginnings particularly, are exceedingly solicitous that their Goods should be well made, that they may have a certain and a speedy Sale, to secure which, in order to comply with their Engagements, they sell at small Profit. These are very considerable Advantages to Trade if viewed in a national Light. Add to this, that through the Experience gained by such as are bred under these Manufacturers and Dealers, they become enabled to pursue the same Plan, and by calling Assiduity, Frugality, and a strict Regard to Reputation, to the Assistance of a small Capital, procure not only a comfortable Subsistence for themselves and Families, but afford Employment and Bread to many others.

that



that where it is unknown there is little or no Industry at all. Where it can be introduced, it enlivens the smallest Sparks of Industry, and this once done, they thrive and encrease together, which is apparently the Case in other Countries as well as our own. In past Times, when we had very little of it, our Industry was much confined; as it expanded, that was enlarged <sup>P</sup>. All this was foreseen and foretold, and therefore the Existence of the Fact demonstrates the Certainty of the Principle. We may therefore justly conclude, that on this Point we have all the Evidence that in a Matter of this Nature can be reasonably fought or desired.

BUT it may be said, that in spite of all these Arguments this Benefit from Paper Credit hath been, and still is very warmly disputed by some. What is there so certain that some Men will not dispute? Let us however hear and impartially consider their most material Objections. It is said, that in consequence of this continual Circulation, our Gold and Silver Specie are imperceptibly exported, which occasions a great Scarcity of what those who make this Objection are pleased to call true Riches <sup>Q</sup>. This Charge however admits, what is undoubtedly true, that Circulation answers in many Respects the Ends, and supplies the Defects of Specie. But it by no Means shews, that it hath any Thing to do with what is the proper Object of this Complaint, the Exportation of our Gold and Silver. The Truth of the Matter is, that in Time of War, Gold, for the Sake of its lying in a narrow Compass, is sometimes sent abroad to answer Military and other necessary Expences. But our Silver more commonly leaves us

<sup>P</sup> It may seem a fanciful, but upon Reflection it will be found a just Position, that a Sense of Want is the Source of Plenty. As soon as Industry was produced by Choice, instead of being compelled by Power, and Men were inclined to labour from a Prospect of its Fruits, it became practicable to work upon their Opinions, and this rendered it possible to engage them to exert their Industry, not only for actual Money, but for what in a reasonable Space would entitle them to Money. When this Step was once accomplished, and different Commodities and Manufactures were produced, those possessed of them found an Interest in parting with them for these Titles to Money, which raised their Estimation, and thus a Circulation of Credit grew and gathered Strength. But how did it operate as it grew and gathered Strength? By the still increasing Progress of Industry, produced through Emulation amongst different Degrees of People, who perceiving that Labour properly pursued, would secure Plenty, which was all they could promise themselves from Money, were content to receive another Medium, when convinced by Experience that it had the same Effect.

<sup>Q</sup> It must be acknowledged, that in the common Apprehension, Gold and Silver only are esteemed Wealth. And why? Because with them most Things may, and little can be obtained without them. A small Degree of Attention will shew, that what they purchase are Riches, and the Gold and Silver given for them no more (as we have often said) than the Measures of Riches. The common they are, but not the necessary or universal Measures. In some Countries Shells called Cowries, in others Cocoa Nuts, and in others Cakes of Salt have the same Effect. But are they therefore Riches? He who hath all he wants, is rich without Money; but with Heaps of Gold and Silver in a Country without Necessaries, a Man may be poor indeed. A Miser is that Man in every Country, not from the Want of Money, but from mistaking the Use of it, which however could never render him miserable if the common Apprehension was right.

from the thirst of Lucre, because its Value increases by its being converted into Bullion. All that Circulation does, is to make this Evil less felt, by preventing a Stagnation, till by the Course of our Commerce the Malady is removed <sup>r</sup>.

ANOTHER Objection arises from hence, that this Circulation (though but of Paper) hath the Effect of what are stiled real Riches, in raising the Price of Houses, Provisions, and Labour, which is in many Respects detrimental to the Community <sup>s</sup>. This Assertion again admits, that Circulation answers the same End with Specie. Yet, after all, there is, notwithstanding this seeming Similarity in their Effects, a very wide Difference between Circulation and Money. Circulation depends upon Credit, that Credit again rests upon Industry, for the Fruits of Industry are Things worth Money; and, in this Sense, Circulation may be said to produce them. But if, instead of this Circulation, which, managed with Caution and Discretion, maintains and ever will maintain its Credit, we had a like Quantity of Gold and Silver Coin current, it would certainly produce not Industry but Idleness, and this would continue till such Time as the Money was exported for the Payment, at first, of foreign Luxuries, after that Necessaries; for little would be done while it circulated, till at length it failed, and then perhaps our People might be again induced to labour <sup>t</sup>.

IT

<sup>r</sup> It may be farther urged, and urged with Truth in answer to this Objection, that so far is Circulation from contributing to the lessening in any Manner our Stock of Gold and Silver, that in that Instance in which they have the best Right to be considered as real Riches, viz. as valuable Commodities, it hath actually increased and preserved them. It is certain, these precious Metals wear less in Plate than in Coin, and it is no less certain that we have much more Plate now, than while we had no Medium in Trade but Specie. This likewise shews, that what is advanced in the Text is the true Cause of the diminishing our Coin, because there is Gain in converting it into Bullion, whereas the Fashion secures Plate, which it would not, indeed could not do if the general Balance of Trade was against us. But farther still, it not only preserves Plate but even Coin from Exportation. Since all who issue Notes payable on Demand, keep and are obliged to keep very large Sums in Cash, which so long as it remains in their Hands (which is more than it would do if circulated) is safe from Melting and Exportation.

<sup>s</sup> This of all others is the Argument most relied on by those Writers on this and on the other Side the Water, who question the Utility of Paper Credit. This, say they, without affording the solid Support of Silver and Gold alike valued in all Countries, exposes us to the only Evil too great a Plenty of Money can create, the advancing the Price of all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life. But is this the Fact? May not Two Things exist at the same Time without one being either the Cause or Effect of the other? In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Houses, Lands, &c. rose considerably in Value, though Paper was not then introduced. May not the same which operated at that Time, and not Paper Credit, be the Cause now? If we look closely into Matters, perhaps we may find that so it really is, as in the next Note we shall endeavour at least to prove.

<sup>t</sup> In the Reign of Elizabeth, from a Variety of Causes which have been already explained, Trade began to spread, Manufactures to increase, and many new Branches of foreign Commerce

were

It hath been farther objected, that, by Means of this boasted Circulation, many have suffered by their Credulity, and that this Paper Credit gives daily great Occasion to Forgeries and Frauds. It may give Occasion, but it certainly does not give Birth to them, for both were practised long before we had any such Thing, and, if attended with such Inconveniencies, they arise to a very inconsiderable Amount, are by no means peculiar to this Kind of Credit, and, after all, affect Individuals only; so that though the Fact cannot be absolutely denied, the Consequences may be with Truth so much extenuated as to render them scarce discernible, in comparison of the apparent and innumerable Advantages that flow from it, and that daily recommend it, where-ever Industry is recently introduced, and where, when firmly established, it is found to be essentially requisite to its Support<sup>u</sup>.

ALL Undertakings, in respect either to mercantile Enterprizes, or in the Establishment of Manufactures, are weak and feeble in their Beginnings, and, if unsuccessful, either sink intirely, or at least are seldom revived in the same Age. Accidents of this Nature are not only destructive to private Persons, but exceedingly detrimental to the publick Interest. On this Principle, more especially since Trade, for which Providence designed us, hath been attended to, such Attempts have been thought deserving, and have been frequently favoured with Publick Support. This in former Times usually flowed from the Crown, in the Form of Letters Patent, Charters, or other Grants of Privileges, which, however requisite they might be,

were opened. In consequence of this, Numbers of Families grew into Ease and Independence. This caused a greater Consumption of Things necessary, and augmented the Desire of Conveniencies. A constant and growing Demand raised the Price. Trade being more flourishing, Manufactures more numerous, Commerce much farther extended, Things are become still dearer from the same natural Cause. For if the Fruits of Industry increase, however that may be effected, the Consumers will be more numerous, the Consumption larger, and the Prices of many Things higher. But the People, by living better, will not grow the poorer. As the Fact, so the Knowledge of this Truth is as old as the Days of Elizabeth, when they did not conceive that Money was the only Property, but were wise enough to comprehend, that he who possessed such Things as were worth Money, was really worth as much as those Things would fetch. A Truth obvious then, and which, remaining a Truth, will ever appear so upon a little Reflection, and yet the overlooking it is the sole Cause of this heavy Charge on Paper Credit.

<sup>u</sup> It is so far from being peculiar to this Species of Money-Security, that they are liable to Imposition, that on the contrary even Money is more so, for it may be light, debased, or counterfeited. Securities of a more solemn Kind, such as Mortgages, Deeds, and Bonds, are equally subject to Forgery, and not to so speedy Detection. In reference to the legal Sanctions for the preventing such Dangers, Stat. 2. Geo. II. cap. 25, §. 1, makes forging, procuring, or assisting in forging promissory Notes, or publishing them knowing them to be forged, Felony without Benefit of Clergy. As to Impositions from Credulity, the same Prudence and Circumspection requisite to guard a Person in the other Occurrences of Business, will defend him here, since Notes can have no Credit but from free Acceptance, and that generally hath and should be always founded on knowledge.

were notwithstanding very frequently Objects of Censure<sup>w</sup>. If such as obtained them failed in their Endeavours, they were reputed Projectors. If, on the other Hand, they succeeded, they were considered as Monopolizers. In later Times, and in Concerns of Moment, a much better Method hath been adopted, as often as it hath been found practicable, by rejecting private or particular Interest, and proposing the designed Advantages to such as should perform the Stipulations on which they are granted. These BOUNTIES, as they are paid by the Public, so they are solely calculated for the Benefit of the Public. They are sometimes given to encourage Industry and Application in raising a necessary Commodity, which was intended by the Bounty on exporting Corn<sup>x</sup>. Sometimes for promoting Manufactures, as in the Case of those made of Silk<sup>y</sup>. Sometimes, to support a new Manufacture, against Foreigners already in Possession of it, as in making Linen and Sail-cloth<sup>z</sup>. Such Assurances, however, are never bestowed

<sup>w</sup> Corporations, which imply the uniting certain Individuals into a Body, that they may thereby become more useful to the Community, are created by the Crown. Many of these were formed for promoting Trade, and, according to the old System of our Government, were necessary and useful. On the same Principle Privileges were granted to private Persons, on a Suggestion that what was immediately of Use to them, would terminate in public Utility. These also did Good in bringing in many Arts and Manufactures, though in some Cases, tending to private Interest more than publick Emolument, they were liable to legal Correction. At present, Letters Patent are usually granted for short Terms, in favour of new Inventions, or for securing established Property.

<sup>x</sup> We have stated in the Text the true Intention of this Bounty, which was, to encourage Agriculture, by procuring for the Farmer a certain and a constant Market. Let us see how this hath operated in regard to Wheat. We now grow more than twice as much as we did at the Establishment of the Bounty; we even consume twice as much in Bread, as we then grew; yet in A. D. 1697 we exported a fifteenth Part of what we grew, of late Years about a twenty-ninth Part only. The Bounty on this twenty-ninth Part amounted to somewhat more than Fifty thousand, and the Produce to more than Four hundred thousand Pounds. It is evident that all this is so much clear Gain to this Nation. But this is far from being all that we have annually gained. For if our Cultivation is doubled, as indeed it is, then the Rent of Lands, the Subsistence of Working Hands, the Profits of the Tradesmen supplying them with Utensils, Cloaths, the Value of Horses employed, &c. must all be taken into the Account. Besides this, we must add the Freight (amounting to Half the Bounty) to make the Idea of the Advantages complete.

<sup>y</sup> The Reader may find, in our Statute Books, many Laws in favour of the Silk Manufacture, made with great Wisdom and Propriety for the Encouragement and Support of many Thousands of industrious Persons employed therein. By Stat. 8 Geo I. cap. 15. §. 1. a Bounty was given on the due Exportation of Ribbons and Stuffs, of Silk only, of Three Shillings upon a Pound Weight; Silks, and Ribbons of Silk mixed with Gold and Silver, Four Shillings a Pound; on Silk Gloves, Silk Stockings, Silk Fringes, Silk Laces, and Sewing Silk, One Shilling and Three Pence a Pound; on Stuffs of Silk and Grogram Yarn, Eight Pence a Pound; on Silks mixed with Inle or Cotton, One Shilling; on Stuffs of Silk mixed with Worsted, Six Pence a Pound for Three Years; and, from Experience of their Utility, these were continued by subsequent Statutes.

<sup>z</sup> The promoting the Manufacture of British Sail-cloth was undoubtedly a very important national Object, as the Consumption was very large, and of course the Purchase of it from Foreigners an heavy Expence on the Publick. Many Methods were therefore devised, and countenanced by Law, both here and in Ireland, for introducing and encouraging our own, in preference:

bestowed but upon mature Deliberation, in virtue of strong Proofs, and with a moral Certainty of national Benefit. The great Intention of Bounties is, to place the British Trader on such Ground, as to render his Commerce beneficial to his Country. In order to this, some Profit must accrue to himself, otherwise he would not embark therein; but this, whatever it be, must prove inconsiderable in comparison of what results to the Publick. For if, by the Help of such a Bounty, one or many Traders export to the Value of a Thousand, Ten thousand, or a Hundred thousand Pounds worth of Commodities or Manufactures, whatever his or their Profit or Loss (for the latter, through Avidity and overloading the Market, sometimes happens) may be, the Nation gains the Thousand, Ten thousand, or Hundred thousand Pounds, which was the Object of the Legislature in granting the Bounty<sup>a</sup>.

It is indeed true, that on whatever Account, or to whatever Amount, this Reward is given, the Publick seem to pay, and private Persons seem to receive. But these private Persons receive it as the Hire from the Publick, for performing a Service which otherwise they would not perform, the Benefit of which accrues to the Publick; that can therefore very well afford to pay that Reward in reality, which, as we have stated it, she only seems to do. For, looking a little closer, we cannot help discerning, that the Bounty is paid to Individuals, who, as such, make a Part of the Publick. But the Commodities or Manufactures exported are sold to Foreigners, and the whole Produce of them, be it what it will, comes into the Purse of the Publick, in one Corner of which the original Bounty was left, and in another will lie the Merchants Profit<sup>b</sup>. It was necessary to state this Point

ference to that of Strangers, more especially in the Royal Navy. By Stat. 12 Annæ, Cap. 16. §. 2. a Bounty was given of One Penny per Ell on all that was exported for a Term, and continued by subsequent Statutes. By 4 Geo. II. Cap. 27. §. 4. an additional Bounty of another Penny an Ell is granted. These Bounties were to be paid out of an additional Duty on imported Sail-cloth. By the same Statute, every Ship built in Great Britain or in the Plantations is under the Penalty of Fifty Pounds, to be furnished with a complete Suit of Sails of British Manufacture. The Amount of these Bounties mark the Progress of the Manufacture, which is also assisted by the Fund on which the Payment is assigned.

<sup>a</sup> Upon this Consideration, that the intire Produce of what is exported accrues to the Nation, the Legislature, when an Alteration of Circumstances required it, have made no Scruple of augmenting a Bounty, as in the Case of refined Sugar exported, from Three to Nine Shillings per Hundred Weight. In like Manner, the original Bounty of One Pound per Ton, in Favour of Vessels employed in the Whale Fishing, hath been doubled, and many new Regulations made, in order to render this Fishery more advantageous to the Publick. As a Bounty is given on Malt, when allowed to be exported, so an Equivalent of Thirty Shillings per Ton hath been granted on all British-made Malt Spirits when exported, which is a common Benefit to Land, Manufacture, and Commerce.

<sup>b</sup> On a due Attention to this self-evident Doctrine, every reasonable, every publick-spirited Man will be reconciled to Bounties, especially if at the same time he reflects, how much sooner many

Point at large, because many Mistakes have been made about it; to obviate which for the future, let these Three Circumstances be continually borne in Mind, in respect to this Mode of assisting Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce *c*. First, that no Bounty can be desired, but on the Plea of national Utility, which always deserves Notice, and cannot easily be mistaken. It must be likewise alledged and proved, that this is the only Means by which the national Benefit can be obtained. In the Second Place, the Sums issued on this Account not only shew the clear Expence of the Bounty, but also indicate the Profit gained by the Publick; for, as the one cannot exist without the other, that Amount must be the incontestable Index of both. Lastly, let it be remembered (and of this too some Instances might be given) if Bounties should be improperly bestowed, they will of course prove ineffectual, and, after a few fruitless Trials, will remain unclaimed, consequently produce no Expence *d*. To these Remarks we may add, that Bounties are usually granted but for a limited Time, and then expire, are always liable to be suspended, and of course can never be the Cause of any great national Loss *e*.

IN

many of our capital Manufactures might have been acquired, if this Method had been in earlier Use, and how many valuable Acquisitions may still be made by their Assistance. Amongst these, we may reckon Timber, Hemp, Flax, Madder, and upon good Grounds I will venture to add Silk, all which, by national Bounties, wisely proportioned and steadily applied, might be gradually introduced, and without Question in Great Britain, Ireland, and our other Isles, there is Land sufficient for them all. We may also add, that if these Lands were thus employed, there need not be an idle Hand in all our Dominions.

*c* We have occasionally given various Instances of the open, generous, and liberal Spirit of the British Legislature, and this is in nothing more conspicuous than in the Point of Bounties, by which not only the Fish and Linen of North Britain have been promoted, but also an express Bounty of Twenty Shillings a Ton given for all Timber fit for Masts, Yards, or Bowsprits imported from thence into South Britain. In like Manner Attention hath been shewn to more distant Provinces of the British Empire, by giving Bounties on the same Things, as also upon other naval Stores, such as Hemp, Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine, likewise Silk, Indigo, &c. of the Growth of our American Plantations, to support a Spirit of Industry amongst the People there, and to strengthen the Connection and Correspondence between the British Colonies and their Parent Country.

*d* It is true, that besides the Objection we have endeavoured to refute in the Text, there is another often urged against Bounties. This is grounded upon the Frauds to which they are supposed to be liable, and particularly the re-landing the Goods on which the Bounty hath been paid, and thereby deceiving and cheating the Publick. But whoever peruses the Laws made on this Head, and attentively considers the numerous Precautions taken to fix every Circumstance relative to the obtaining the Bounty, the Checks on the shipping the Goods, the Securities taken for their due Exportation, the Certificates required to ascertain their being actually delivered and sold in a foreign Market, to discharge those Securities, and the heavy Penalties on the Detection of any Fraud; whoever, I say, that reflects on these, will be convinced that such a Thing is at least extremely difficult, if not altogether impracticable.

*e* There is no doubt that, exclusive of Frauds, the immoderate Thirst of Gain may tempt interested Men to aim at converting what was calculated for publick Benefit to its Detriment, for their private Advantage. Thus, on a Prospect of short Crops in other Countries, Men may take

Measures

IN like Manner, DRAWBACKS are useful in many Respects, especially in preserving our Commodities and Manufactures from lying on our Hands, in consequence of the Duties the Legislature may have found it requisite to impose upon them for the Support of publick Measures. In several Instances, it would be absolutely impossible to export them thus incumbered, and therefore the Load is very prudently removed, or, as the Term implies, the Duty drawn back. But in some Cases this Ease is given only in Part, where Necessity makes it practicable to vend them with a proportionable Weight of the Duties *f.* Indeed, Impositions of all Kinds, though frequently injurious, may under certain Circumstances be rendered salutary and useful. As for Example, in repressing an unreasonable Appetite for foreign Luxuries, by obliging such as will gratify their Humour in this Respect to pay roundly for such Indulgence, by which the Nation draws a Benefit that could not be obtained from an absolute Prohibition *g.* These Ex-

pedients

Measures within the Letter, but directly against the Spirit of the Law, to send so much of our Corn abroad, as to endanger Famine at home. For this the Wisdom of Parliament provides, not barely by suspending the Bounty, but by prohibiting Exportation, and opening the Ports for foreign Supplies, and from our own Colonies. We cannot with any Shadow of Justice ascribe Scarcity to the Bounty or the Exportation. If this was the Case, Suspensions would be frequent, whereas there have been but Five in a Course of Seventy Years. If the Bounty had any Share, the larger the Exportation, the greater would be the Scarcity. In A. D. 1750 we exported more than One-fifth of our Growth of Wheat, which was notwithstanding but at Four Shillings a Bushel, whereas a Century before, A. D. 1650, when we had not either Bounty or Exportation, Wheat was at Nine Shillings and Six Pence a Bushel. What then is the Cause of Scarcity? Unkindly Seasons, which though human Policy cannot prevent, yet their sad Effects have been evidently lessened, by our increased Growth, since the taking place of Bounty and Exportation.

*f.* All that is intended in the Text, is, to give a general Idea of these Mitigations of Duties, their Utility, and the beneficial Consequences that attend them. We have already had Occasion to mention many of them, and have not Room to run over the rest here. It may not however be improper, having this Opportunity, to remark, that in Reference to these, Time and Accidents have great and singular Operations. As for Instance, the Demand for Leather and Manufactures made of Leather is at present so great and growing, that perhaps it is requisite to change our Measures, however prudent when adopted, and not only to discontinue the Drawbacks on Exportation, but also to take off the Duties, or perhaps even to give a Bounty, on the Importation of raw Hides, at least from Ireland. In order to judge the better in a Matter of such Importance, I have inquired as to the Amount of both, and upon a Medium of Ten Years (as I am informed) the annual Amount of the Drawback on the Exportation of Leather hath been 10,560*l.* and the Duty on raw Hides imported 1482*l.*

*g.* Absolute Prohibitions are not agreeable to the Temper of a free, and by no means suitable to the Notions of a commercial People. For this Reason (how heavy soever the Penalties) they can hardly be carried into Execution. Besides, as the Superfluities of one Country are in another considered as Luxuries, it is a Kind of Breach of the Law of Nations, produces counter Prohibitions, and gradually raises a Spirit of Rancour, equally repugnant to sound Reason and true Religion. But high Duties, strictly levied, prevent a dangerous Excess, and at the same time furnish an unenvied Revenue. In no Country hath this Resource been practised with more Address than in our own, where it would not be difficult to mention, if it was not easier to

*make*



pedients for alleviating Difficulties, and procuring Advantages in respect to foreign Commerce, contribute ultimately to the augmenting the Value of our Lands, for out of them those Commodities arise, and from what they yield the Manufactures are produced which we export. This though it was always the Fact, yet hath not been always so well understood as it is at present. From hence it comes, that of late Years so many Statutes have been made for promoting the joint Interests of both, and thereby eradicating that groundless Notion, that there was a real Difference between them <sup>b</sup>. We might add to these, many other Instances of a similar Nature, such as Companies of Assurance, which, by diminishing the Risque, support a Spirit of Industry, encourage Enterprize, by securing to Men the Fruits of their Skill and Labour, against such Accidents as Prudence could not foresee, or Diligence avoid <sup>i</sup>. The general Tendency of these, and of all other Contrivances of the like Kind, though they seem primarily calculated for the Benefit of Individuals, and thereby to prevent their suffering from their honest Endeavours to improve their Property, yet terminate finally in the Welfare of Society, to which the Endeavours of Individuals, and the Profits arising from them, must ever redound <sup>k</sup>. On this Account they become the proper

guests, the Indulgence of a prevailing Taste, hath supplied a productive Tax, which, without murmuring, could have been obtained no other Way.

<sup>h</sup> We know from Experience, that its being absurd is not always a Bar to an Opinion's gaining Credit. If it had, the distinction between the *landed* and *trading* Interest had never been mentioned. Wise and discerning Men easily saw and clearly demonstrated the Falshood of this Notion upon the Principles of Reason. We have also shewn, in the Course of the Work, nearly the same Thing from the Evidence of Facts. As Land was better cultivated, Trade improved, and as the Profits of Trade increased, it supplied both the Lights and the Means by which Cultivation hath been exceedingly diversified and extended. Before we conclude this Chapter (which indeed led to this Remark) we shall have Occasion to shew this in a still stronger Point of View, from the amazing Improvements of Land for the Purposes of Commerce only.

<sup>i</sup> The Practice of Insuring is of great Antiquity, and appears to have been in Use here in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; but does not seem to have been carried to any great Extent till towards the End of the last, and Beginning of the current Century, when several Societies were formed for insuring Houses, Goods, Merchandizes, &c. against the Danger of Fire, and these still subsist in full Esteem and Credit. The Royal Exchange and London Assurance Companies were each of them established by Two Royal Charters, the first in June 1720, empowering them to insure Ships, Goods, and Merchandize, against the Danger of the Seas, and to lend Money at Bottomry; the Second in April A. D. 1721, allowing them also to assure Lives; which Charters the Crown was empowered to grant by Act of Parliament. Besides, private Persons insure likewise, by underwriting of Policies. This, leaving so much Liberty, keeps them all in a State of Emulation, prevents raising the Premium to an exorbitant Height, and affords at the same Time a large Field for Application and Industry. In consequence of this, though Insurances are well known in other Countries, ours are superior in Credit to any in Europe.

<sup>k</sup> All Methods that can be devised for giving Ease and Security to Individuals, by diminishing Hazard, or removing Apprehensions, operate for the publick Benefit by encouraging Industry. Where this is upon the Principle either of publick Spirit, as is the Case of Hospitals and Infirmarys supported by Subscription, or from a Prospect of very moderate Gains, with which many Societies, whose Managers serve gratis, are well enough content, there is no Need of obtruding Authority.



proper Object of the Legislature's Attention, and very justly merit its Sanction for their Stability and Support. In truth, no Laws can be more deserving of Praise in their Intention, because none in their Operations respecting the Publick can be more beneficial.

THESE accumulated Advantages, in a short Period of Time, made great Alterations not only in the Appearance of the Country, and in the Circumstances of the People, but also, as was very natural, in their Temper and Manners, which Alteration was productive of still more salutary Changes. When Men saw, or rather felt, as hath been already observed, the genuine Effects of Industry, were convinced that Science and Application would certainly lead to Ease and Independence, and that whatever a Man acquired by these he might securely enjoy, it quickened their Apprehensions, and led them to look out for new Means of exercising their Talents for Improvements. Impelled by this generous Spirit, they applied themselves freely to Works of visible publick Utility, and in which private Emolument was only a secondary Consideration. These Undertakings were such as could not have been attempted while our Lands yielded little, and our Manufactures were not far advanced; and which never would have been executed, if Experience had not pointed out their Necessity, in order to carry both to the highest Degree of Perfection<sup>1</sup>. The Sense of this was sufficient to awaken the Spirit of the Nation; and Success manifestly attending their first Endeavours, excited a Resolution of prosecuting them with Steadiness and Vigour. We have said enough to explain in general the Nature of these extensive Enterprizes, and will now descend into some Particulars, from which it must appear, that we have truly described them, and that though they may be already, indeed are in themselves, of very great Utility and Importance, yet they are still likely to become much more considerable in their Consequences.

Authority. But where ever it does interfere, the Confidence reposed in Authority should never be deceived. In this Light, the Satisfaction given to the Sufferers by the Charitable Corporation, and the regulating the Concerns of the Mercers Company in respect to their Annuitants, were noble Instances of national Equity.

<sup>1</sup> There is a visible Progression in Improvements; Industry, like Fame, gathers Strength by Motion, and, having gained one Advantage, grasps immediately at another. The Cause of this is, that every Acquisition brings with it a Sense of fresh Wants, and this stimulates to farther Efforts. By degrees, after many Benefits gradually gained, an intelligent Nation extends its Views, and, perceiving that still greater Things not only remain unattained, but lie also beyond their Reach, through the Defect of Means, they then suspend their Endeavours, till either Accident, that is, some unforeseen Change of Circumstances, or, which is the catholick Instrument in all national Improvements, an Augmentation of Wealth, removes the Defect, and, reviving their former Intentions, puts also the successful Prosecution of them in their Power.

THE commodious Communication between the several Parts of a Country by means of publick Roads, Causeways where necessary, and Bridges over intervening Rivers, is of general Convenience to the Inhabitants, a constant Source of Opulence, and a signal Proof of sound Policy. The Romans were distinguished by their Attention to the Straitness, Solidity, and admirable Disposition of their larger and their lesser Roads, which, though used for other Purposes, were chiefly intended for military Ways; and this wise Oeconomy of theirs was carried through all the Provinces of their extensive Empire <sup>m</sup>. It is however remarkable, that scarce in any of the Countries they possessed there are still remaining more authentic Monuments of these useful and stupendous Works than in Great Britain, which with indefatigable Pains and most extensive Learning have been studiously traced, accurately described, and the Stations on them with as much Certainty as might be pointed out by our industrious and laborious Antiquaries <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> The Roman Roads, while yet in a great Measure intire, appeared of such amazing Grandeur and Solidity, manifested such a wonderful Sagacity in the Design, and such prodigious Labour and Expence in the Execution, that it is no Wonder, in the barbarous Ages succeeding the Ruin of that Empire, we find these noble and stately Works confidently ascribed to Giants and Art magic. The Intention of these military Ways was worthy of the Genius, and expressive of the Policy, of that wise and potent People. They were so many Links or Lincs uniting the Provinces to the Seat of Empire. They extended therefore from ROME to the Limits (however remote) of her Dominions. To form some Idea of them, the shortest and surest Method is to consult the Pentingerian Tables. It is evident from hence, that they were very numerous, and the Certainty of this is confirmed by the Remains which are still to be seen in many Countries. In our own, as Camden observes, they are most visible, or, in other Words, best preserved, and the Manner of their Construction (by which they have lasted more than Twelve Centuries) most apparent in wild Heaths, over which they were carried, because near Towns and Villages they were pulled to Pieces for the Materials. In the Itinerary ascribed to Antoninus there are Fifteen Roads, with the Stations marked upon them, and the Distances between them in Miles, which, taken all together, make a Total of Two thousand Five hundred and Seventy-nine Miles, the Construction of which must have necessarily consumed much Time, required much Toil, and demanded immense Treasures.

<sup>n</sup> Jeffery of Monmouth who translated, and those who give any Credit to the old British History, ascribe these Roads to the Kings Molmutius and Beliaus, who governed here some Ages (as they say) before the Coming of J. Cæsar. But our most ancient and authentick Authors, such as Gildas and Beda, affirm, that they were made by the Romans, and they have been very justly followed by the Learned. Ranulph Higden gives us an Account of the Four great Roads, which are also mentioned in our old Chronicles in Verse as well as Prose. Richard of Cirencester, a Monk of Westminster, who died about A. D. 1400, though his Work hath been but lately published, gave another and more copious Itinerary, in which he removes the Castra Alata from Edinburgh to Inverness, which gives a Colour to the old Notion, that a Roman Road once went from Cornwall to Caithness. Our ablest Authors on our Antiquities, viz. Leland, Camden, Somner, &c. have incidentally treated this Subject. Others have written express Commentaries on the Itinerary of Antoninus, as Robert Talbot, William Burton, Dr. Thomas Gale, Dean of York, and Salmon's New Survey of England is a Book of the same Nature. The Itinerary was first printed at Florence A. D. 1519, 8vo. So much as regards Britain was published by Harrifon at the Close of his Description of Britain, A. D. 1587. from MSS. and upon this Edition Burton wrote his Commentary A. D. 1658. F. Jerom Surita published his correct Edition of the whole Itinerary, with his learned Annotations thereon. Col. Agrip. A. D. 1600. 8vo.

The Saxons, when they became Masters of the Southern Parts of this Isle, shewed very great Respect to these ancient Roads, as plainly appears by the Names they bestowed upon them, and which are indeed the only Names that they are now known by to us, and very probably they were not themselves wanting, in their flourishing State, in providing in this respect for the publick Convenience<sup>o</sup>. But the Inroads of the Danes, which occasioned such general Desolation, had no doubt dreadful Effects on these. After that, the Norman Conquest seems to have been attended with no more favourable Consequences in respect to the Trade, than with regard to the Agriculture of this Country. It may be, however, that even down to this Period some of the principal Roads were in tolerable Condition, which might make the People less anxious about repairing them, or providing new. But the long Continuance of our Civil Wars were attended with still more fatal Effects; and when the Nation had Time to breathe, we find some Laws were made respecting a Point at all Times of such apparent Utility, and which at that Period were become of indispensable Necessity<sup>p</sup>.

WHEN the interior Peace of this Country was restored, and, in consequence of that, some Attention shewn to the Encouragement of Industry, the Parent of our domestick Trade, as this began to extend, it from thence became requisite to take more stable Methods for a constant and regular Communication, and this at length produced, in respect to Roads, a Kind of System, which hath been altered in many Particulars, as the Changes in the Times and in the Circumstances of the People rendered it necessary<sup>q</sup>. Yet this System and these Changes by no means answering the  
Ends

<sup>o</sup> The Law De Pace Quatuor Cheminorum, and the Appellation still in Use, of the King's Highways, shew how much they were anciently respected. The Four great Roads were, the Fosse, Watling-street, Erming or Ermin, called also Beling-street, and Ikeneld, Ryknild, or Rykeneld-street. As to the Etymology, Extent, and Direction of all which, the Learned are in Sentiments much divided. In their Wars with the Britons, the Saxons commonly occupied Roman camps. When they had subdued the Country, in building their Towns they made Choice of Roman Stations. This of course preserved the Roads. These and the Camps also were in like Manner used by the Danes, both adding to or altering a little, as their Fields of Battle plainly shew, which, when particularly mentioned, appear to have been on or near some of the Roman Roads.

<sup>p</sup> By the Statute of Winchester, in the Reign of Edward I. some Provision is made for the Security of Highways, by suffering no Wood to grow within Two hundred Feet on one Side or other, that Passengers might not be surpris'd by Thieves. In the Time of Henry VIII. some Laws were enacted for preserving and amending Causeways, and for facilitating the making new and more commodious Roads, by the giving to such as made them legally through their own Lands the Property of the Soil and in the Materials of the old ones. As to the lesser Roads between Town and Town, they were left to the Protection of the common Law (Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, ap. x. Script. col. 1356, 1357.) to which the prescriptive Right of Regulation still remains, where not expressly altered by Statute.

<sup>q</sup> The Origin of this System may be found in Stat. 2. & 3. Phil. & Mar. cap. 8. The Proamble declares, that the Roads were tedious and noisome to travel in, and dangerous to Passengers

Ends of a growing Commerce, a new Mode was introduced towards the Middle of the last Century, which hath been generally followed in this, by applying to the Legislature to establish Tolls for amending old and making new Roads, so that by a gradual Extension of these, which are called **TURNPIKE WAYS**, the whole Kingdom is become much more pervious than it was in former Times; an Advantage flowing chiefly from these Taxes, imposed indeed by Parliament, but imposed on a just Foresight of the Benefits they would produce at the Solicitation of those by whom they were to be paid <sup>r</sup>. It was in consequence of this judicious, tho' expensive Arrangement, that our Roads became safe, spacious, and have generally speaking been kept in good Order; and by the persisting in this Mode, thus recommended by its good Effects, the **LAND-CARRIAGE** of this Country corresponds at present in a great Degree with its Commerce, and as Plenty obeys the Call of Industry, we find both spread by this means into almost every Corner of the Island. The Benefits arising from these Improvements are equally numerous and obvious, though more admired perhaps, at least more considered, by Foreigners than by ourselves. For to say nothing of the Appearance of the Country, to which these beautiful and commodious Roads add no small Elegance as well as Convenience, Land-Carriage, which arises solely from them, is a Matter of prodigious Importance, if we consider the Amount of the Sums it costs, and at the same time advert to the Circumstances connected with it<sup>s</sup>. Let us, for Example,

gers and Carriages. For the Remedy of this, it is enacted, that in every Parish, Surveyors of the Highways shall be annually chosen, and the Inhabitants obliged, according to their respective Properties, to find Labourers and Carriages, for a certain Number of Days, to work thereon. This Law was in almost every subsequent Reign reviewed, altered, varied, added to, or amended, that, to form a just Notion of the Subject, required no small Time, Patience, and Application, as the Reader will perceive, who consults the Title of *Highways* in Burn's Justice. But all these Acts, for the Ease and Benefit of the Nation, are repealed, and the Substance of them all reduced into a single Statute.

<sup>r</sup> As the great Object of the Romans, in their stupendous Roads and Causeways, was the safe and speedy March of their Armies, and preserving a certain and constant Communication between their Stations, so the principal End of ours is, the promoting Trade, and both I presume to be equally well calculated for the obtaining their respective Ends. If the System, which hath been stated in the former Note, had answered, there had been no Need of Turnpikes, and it is only from the good Effects that they have produced we have seen them spread. The Attention shewn by the Legislature, in regulating the Commissioners and other Officers; the Size, Extent, and other Circumstances of the Roads, the Number of Horses, the Weight of Carriages, the Breadth of Wheels, as well as the Rate of Tolls, with a Multitude of other Particulars, proves an Intention of approaching at least to Perfection in the Plan. If this is less visible in the Execution, it is to be imputed to the common Frailties of Men. Be this as it will, the comparative Excellence of these Roads, and the continual Advantages flowing from them, incontrovertibly prove the Fruct of what has been advanced in the Text.

\* That the Produce of Land Carriage, constant and extensive as it is, must amount in the Whole to a prodigious Sum, is as easy to comprehend as it would be difficult to calculate. But it is nevertheless certain, and which is of more Consequence to the Community, is continually increasing.

Example, contemplate the Size and Burthen of those numerous BRITISH CARAVANS, if the Expression may be permitted, I mean our STAGE WAGGONS, which are in constant, continual, and regular Motion from one great Town to another, and from all of them to the Metropolis. These are Machines of considerable Price, and are attended with almost daily Expence in regard to Repairs. Let us likewise take into View the valuable CATTLE by which they are drawn, and which are also maintained with Care and Cost, supplying from their Employment a very comfortable Subsistence to Multitudes of honest and industrious Families <sup>t</sup>. Let us to these join the numerous, commodious, I had almost said magnificent INNS, on all these spacious well-frequented Roads, which we may truly say peculiarly distinguish this Country, and which at the same time maintain and support Numbers in different Stations <sup>u</sup>. To these let us add those great TOWNS that are become so either purely or principally from their Situation on, and the Benefits which they derive from, the Roads that pass hard-by or directly through them <sup>w</sup>. Neither must we forget the Rise of Arts, from the increased

increasing. As Convenience directs, they in some Places employ Pack-horses, some of which carry near a Quarter of a Ton; in others, Carts. Stage-Coaches, exclusive of Passengers, carry a great deal, so do many new-invented Machines for carrying Fish, &c. Our Stage Waggon<sup>s</sup> are restrained by Law to Six Horses, and to a Lading of Three Tons, which shews they could carry more. Of all these Conveyances near Sixteen hundred set out from, and of course return to London, some Six Times, some Three, many Twice, and almost all of them Once a Week. All this, or at least the far greatest Part of this regular and beneficial Intercourse between the most distant Parts of this Island, has arisen within the Compass of a Century.

<sup>t</sup> In Cases of this Nature, Instances only can make Things plain. On this Head, Two honourable Persons have obligingly put it in my Power to give the following authentick Particulars. A strong complete Stage Waggon (Wood and Iron Work included) may cost from Fifty to Seventy Pounds. The annual Repairs of such a Waggon may amount from Fourteen to Twenty Pounds. The first Cost of Eight Horses, One hundred and Sixty Pounds; One and sometimes Two die in a Year. Harness for these Horses from Sixteen to Twenty Pounds. Annual Repairs at least Three Pounds. A Waggon, that is, the Bed or Body of it, may last some Years; if in constant Work the Expence in Shoeing, Feeding, Inns, Turnpikes, and Drivers Wages, come to Twenty Pounds a Week. It will be evident, from the Consideration of these Circumstances, that all which hath been said in the Text is well founded, and that Land Carriage encourages Industry, promotes Circulation, and gives Bread to many Thousands.

<sup>u</sup> It is a just Observation, that nothing can afford a clearer Indication of the true State of a Country and its Inhabitants, than the publick INNS. In some of the chief Cities in Germany and the Low Countries they are highly commended; passable in France, celebrated at Lyons, plentiful and cheap in Switzerland, indifferent in Italy, worse in Spain, and still worse in Poland. In this Country they were not formerly what they now are. Business and Pleasure support them, and constant Emulation hath made them, in most, commodious, in some Places splendid. In London some Inns are a Sort of Magazines and Warehouses, where Commodities and Manufactures are deposited till sold. In both Town and Country they are large costly Buildings, pay high Rents, and, besides their Owners and their Families, maintain a very large Number of Servants and Dependents.

<sup>w</sup> The Advantages arising from spacious and well-ordered Roads produced an Application for Turnpikes, the very Expence of which is an incontestable Proof of their real and permanent Utility.

creased Cultivation of Lands, rendered easy as well as requisite by their Means, as the different Condition in which they now are, to that in which they actually were a Century past, sufficiently and incontestably prove \*. All these Circumstances, duly weighed and maturely meditated upon, fully demonstrate the Rectitude of that Principle on which these stupendous Improvements were undertaken, and which do so much Honour to the Activity, Vigour, and Steadiness, with which in so short a Space of Time they have been and are still carried on, with such evident Advantages to Individuals and such general Credit to the Nation.

AMONGST the almost innumerable Benefits that have arisen to us from the great and gradual Improvement of our publick Roads, there is one that deserves more distinct and deliberate Notice, which is the prodigious Convenience it affords, for the constant and regular, as well as quick and certain Correspondence by the Post †. This Manner of conveying Intelligence

lity. The constant Facility of Carriage hath produced Manufactures where there were none before, or probably ever would have been, but from this Circumstance. By this and other Benefits several Villages have, even within our Memory, grown into substantial Towns. Most of the larger Towns are likewise increased, as is evident from new Houses and additional Buildings. A regular Communication always effects this; we see it in the Territories of the United Provinces; and the Accounts we have of China will seem less wonderful, if we reflect that in England and Wales we have some Hundreds of Towns on our great Roads.

† The Facts asserted in the foregoing Note will scarce be disputed, but the Inference in the Text possibly may. Many think the great Increase of Towns, and the reigning Inclination of People to reside in them, hath a visible Tendency to depopulate the Country, and thereby lessen its Produce. But whence does this Desire of living in Towns proceed? Because Industry enables People in Towns to live better. Numbers living better, must create an increased Consumption. But of what? Most clearly of the Produce of the Country. If therefore the Consumption be enlarged, the Cultivation must be augmented in proportion, and those employed therein be consequently benefited thereby? The Voice of Reason seems loud, but the Language of Facts is still louder. All the Lands in the Neighbourhood of these Towns, from which Lands, the Inhabitants, occasional Visitants, and Passengers, are supplied with Milk, Butter, Cheese, Lamb, Mutton, Veal, and Beef, are much raised in their Value, and not a little improved by Plenty of Manure, which Towns constantly supply. It may be said, this regards only Pasturage. It would be said with Truth, if these People ate no Bread. But by the Help of their Turnpike Roads they may receive Corn and Flour from even distant Markets.

‡ We find the Invention of Posts attributed by Herodotus to Cyrus the Great; and his Successors in the Empire of Persia appointed One hundred and Eleven Royal Stations or Post-houses, to convey their Edicts from, and Intelligence to their capital City of Suza. The Greeks and Romans adopted this Persian Institution. The noble Roads of the latter enabled them to give this useful Design the most regular Establishment. They had Inns at proper Distances, and intermediate Stages for Horses, and afterwards Carriages. Charlemagne settled Posts as Emperor thro' all his Dominions. Lewis XI. revived them in France. All these were chiefly, if not wholly, for the Service of the Prince, and not calculated for publick Benefit. It was so when first introduced here, and the Use made of Post-houses was only to furnish Horses, the Rate of which were in the Reign of Edward VI. fixed at One Penny a Mile. In Queen Elizabeth's Time, Mr. Randolph was chief Post-master. The foreign Merchants, however, chose their own, till falling out amongst themselves, the City desired that Queen to appoint one. For some time after the Management

gence was adopted many Ages ago in other Countries, and even in our own, but in a very rude and imperfect State, till the Long Parliament in the Reign of Charles the First reduced into some Order what had been before a Thing of little Consequence, and, by giving it a regular and uniform Establishment, may be said to have struck out the Rudiments of what it now is <sup>z</sup>. This was much improved and legally settled by Parliament soon after the Restoration; and the several Branches of it, foreign as well as domestick, very judiciously regulated, and the Rates of Postage adjusted on moderate Terms. This Method was attended with such beneficial Consequences, that in the Reign of Queen Anne this Plan, with a few Alterations, was very prudently extended to all the British Dominions in America as well as Europe, the Authority of the Post-master General in directing the Operations of so vast a Correspondence, according to the Directions of that Law, being judged essential to the Unity of the British Empire, and is considered, in that Light, as one of the most memorable Acts in our Statute Book <sup>a</sup>.

IN virtue of this well-considered and judicious Establishment, the Object of this important Instrument of publick Utility was so effectually promoted, that it received continual Augmentations, especially by the Introduction of Cross Posts; and by a Law in his present Majesty's Reign some new Regulations were made for rendering the Carriage of Letters cheaper.

nagement of Correspondence was in the Hands of private Persons, who carried it on at their own Expence, and for their own Advantage.

<sup>z</sup> In the Reign of Charles I. this Point came to be considered in a proper Light, as a Thing that might be rendered beneficial to the Crown, and of infinite Utility to the Nation. A. D. 1635 he published a Proclamation (Fœdera, xix. p. 649.) regulating the Rates of Postage, forbidding private Posts, and pointing out what we stile the North and West Roads, so that probably if the Troubles had not broke out soon after, the Post-Office might have been gradually brought into good Order. A. D. 1644. the Parliament, having this Matter under their Consideration, bestowed the Foreign Office on the Earl of Warwick, and the Inland on Edmund Prideaux, Esquire, an eminent Lawyer, who made great Savings, and introduced a regular and excellent Establishment. About Nine Years afterwards it was farmed to Mr. John Manly, and when Cromwell was Protector he made his Secretary John Thurloe Post-master.

<sup>a</sup> By Statute 12th Car. II. Cap. 35. the Post-Office is completely and most distinctly regulated in reference to the Rates as well of Foreign as Inland Letters, the Revenue arising from it given to the King, and all private Posts (except the Letter-Carriers to the Universities) absolutely suppressed. By Stat. 15 Car. II. Cap. 14. the Wine-Licence and Post-Office are both settled on James Duke of York. By Stat. 9 Annæ, Cap. 10. the former Laws in reference to Posts are all of them repealed, and a new System established through the whole Extent of the British Empire. This is put under a Post-Master General, who is authorized to appoint Post-Masters at Edinburgh, Dublin, New York, &c. and through all the Provinces on the Continent, and in all the British Isles in America. Rates are settled for Letters Foreign and Inland; and in all Parts of Scotland, Ireland, and America, and by Authority of the Parliament of Great Britain, the same Powers requisite to the Execution of his Office in England are vested in him and his Deputies in all these Countries.

and



## The POLITICAL SURVEY

and more commodious, the Prudence of which has been visible in its Consequences, and in the amazing Increase of Correspondence <sup>b</sup>. The Revenue arising from the Post, the Consideration of which is not our present Concern, though in itself very considerable, is of all others the most cheerfully paid, on account of the singular Benefits that attend it. The Amount of this Revenue serves as an Index to those prodigious Advantages that from it are derived to the Community, and is an incontestable Demonstration of the otherwise inconceivable Intercourse carried on with the utmost Facility, Celerity, and Security, through the wide Expanse of the British Dominions <sup>c</sup>. By this also, which is an additional Emolument to Society, a very large Number of Persons in very different Situations of Life find full Employment, and, according to their different Stations, derive from thence a constant and suitable Subsistence. We may also from the State of the Post Office in several Periods, which we can easily and certainly know, collect a tolerable Notion of the comparative Progress of our Industry and Commerce <sup>d</sup>. A Thing of singular Utility in itself, and which perhaps, with

<sup>b</sup> By Stat. 3 Geo. I. Cap. 7. a Clause in the last-mentioned Act, directing Seven hundred Pounds a Week to be paid every Tuesday out of the Post-Office Revenue into the Exchequer, for Thirty-two Years, is made perpetual, and carried to the General Fund. The Privilege of franking, or exempting their Letters from the Charge of Postage, had been allowed to Members of both Houses of Parliament, from the legal Establishment of the Post-Office by Warrants from the Crown; but was allowed, and put under proper Regulations, by Stat. 4. Geo. III. Cap. 24. In the succeeding Year this important Establishment was again reviewed, and improved by Stat. 5 Geo. III. Cap. 25. This Act, proceeding on the Basis of Queen Anne's Law, extends the Bounds of the Post-Office in America, reduces and regulates anew the Rates of Postage, provides for the Security of all Letters and Packets intrusted to this Conveyance, and makes many necessary and proper Amendments.

<sup>c</sup> The Romans, improving on the Persian Model, not only looked upon their Capital as Mistress of the World, to the very Limits of which (according to their Apprehensions) their Roads had been stretched. They went yet farther; they held their whole Dominions to be an Extension only of their City, and these prodigious military Ways, no more than so many lengthened Streets of Rome. With at least equal Propriety may this Idea be adapted to our own Country. By the Valour of our People, the Wisdom of our Counsels, and the Blessing of PROVIDENCE on both, our Empire is as extensive as we need wish, through which the Directions of Government and the Applications of Subjects circulate with regular Facility; the Correspondence of all who are concerned in Commerce is carried on with uniform Freedom and Certainty; and, whenever disposed to return from her most distant Dominions, the Mother Country communicates to her Children all the Rights of Citizens. Britain therefore is truly, in respect to her Provinces, the Seat of Empire, the Center of Commerce, and the Haven of Repose.

<sup>d</sup> The Convenience of a regular Correspondence was absolutely requisite to Trade, and from thence the Condition of the one indicates in a great Degree the State of the other. Some Hints on this Head shall be given; but the Accounts of the Post-Office, which would set the Point in a clear Light, are not in a private Person's Power. When Mr. Edmund Prideaux was Inland Postmaster, A. D. 1644. he was supposed to collect about Five thousand Pounds per Annum. The Parliament farmed the Posts, A. D. 1654. to Mr. Manley (Scobell. 358.) at 10,000 l. After the Restauration, A. D. 1664. Daniel O'Neale, Esq; farmed them (Stat. 15 Car. II. Cap. 14.) at Twenty-one thousand Five hundred Pounds. In A. D. 1674 they were let (Chamberlayne's Present



with the same Clearness of Evidence, can scarce be accomplished any other Way.

As safe and spacious Roads by Land are in many respects highly commodious, so those Conveyances, which the Chinese call emphatically WATER-WAYS, are of equal Utility and Convenience, and are even superior in Point of Cheapness and Facility. The Three famous navigable Rivers in South Britain, Thames, Severn, and Trent, afforded in all Ages such apparent Proofs of this, and the Benefits derived from them were so numerous and so obvious, that thro' a long Series of Years they were considered as absolutely perfect in their natural State, so that no farther Attention was paid to them, than was requisite to keep them free from Incumbrances, and for the Preservation of their Fish. But when the Eyes of the Nation came to be gradually opened in respect to Commerce, it was discerned that, fine, pleasant, and profitable as these Rivers were, they might be made still more so by the removing some Defects. This being done with Success, occasioned a serious Consideration of the Condition which other Rivers were in, from Shallows in some Places, the Rising of their Beds from injudicious Cuts, their being incumbered with Rocks, Stones, or Rubbish, and other natural or accidental Impediments, by which they were rendered unfit for Navigation.

THE Consequence of this was, the forming many Projects for removing these Inconveniencies, as manifestly appears by various Concessions from

Present State) at Forty-three thousand Pounds. At the Accession of King James, A. D. 1685, the Posts were estimated (Stat. 1 Jac. II. Cap. 12.) at Sixty-five thousand Pounds. All these seem to be the net Produce. At the Revolution, A. D. 1688, the gross Amount was Seventy-six thousand Three hundred and Eighteen Pounds. In A. D. 1697 it was, according to Dr. Davenant, Ninety thousand Five hundred and Five Pounds. In A. D. 1710 the Stat. 9 Annæ says they were One hundred and Eleven thousand Four hundred and Sixty-one Pounds. In A. D. 1715 the gross Amount of the Inland Office came to One hundred and Forty-five thousand Two hundred and Twenty-seven Pounds. In A. D. 1744 the same amounted to One hundred and Ninety eight thousand Two hundred and Twenty-six Pounds. But the total gross Amount of both Inland and Foreign Offices (which can alone demonstrate the Extension of our Correspondence) was that Year Two hundred and Thirty-five thousand Four hundred and Ninety-two Pounds; and Twenty Years after, viz. A. D. 1764, the gross Amount was Four hundred and Thirty-two thousand and Forty-eight Pounds.

\* In order to set this in a proper Light, it will be sufficient to remark, the noble River of Thames was navigable from Lechlade to Oxford; and from Bercot, Seven Miles below Oxford, to London. In the Time of James I. the removing this Stop in the Navigation from Oxford to Bercot, which the growing Communication by the River rendered very troublesome, came to be considered as a Thing of Importance. After much Deliberation on the Means, a Law was obtained for this Purpose, which however was not carried into Execution. But the great Utility of the Measure remaining as obvious as ever, the Attempt was renewed, and the Navigation of these Seven Miles gained in virtue of the Powers granted by Stat. 21 Jac. I. Cap. 32. which hath proved highly beneficial, by bringing the Produce of several Counties to this Metropolis, and making them Returns of various Necessaries from hence.

the Crown, in order to facilitate such Designs; which however, from a Variety of Causes, were attended in general with little Effect <sup>f</sup>. In Process of Time Applications of the same Sort (for the Idea of their Expediency still subsisted) were made to the Legislature, and several Laws passed, and large Powers were given, for this excellent Purpose. But even these were attended with rather less Success than might have been expected, from a Concurrence of sinister Accidents, to some or other of which many of these well-intended Undertakings were found in their Progress to be unluckily exposed <sup>g</sup>. But however some of them happily succeeded, which, by the local Advantages they produced, abundantly proved the wonderful Utility of such Endeavours, and were in many other respects attended with the most beneficial Effects <sup>h</sup>. As, upon reviewing them, it seems highly probable that several Attempts of this Kind miscarried, from their being prematurely undertaken, before there was a sufficient Fund of Wealth for the Support of such expensive Improvements, the Profits of which were in some Degree contingent, and perhaps also before domestick Correspondence

<sup>f</sup> There are many Instances of these in the 19th Tome of Rymer's *Fœdera*, particularly one in p. 686, empowering Commissioners to render the River Wey navigable to its Fall into the Thames. It is evident from the Commission, that this River had been navigable in former Times (which might be the Case with others) but was grown foul and choaked at this time, which Impediments the Commissioners were directed to remove. This was effectually done thro' the Care and Industry of that eminent and worthy Patriot Sir Richard Weston of Sutton Place, whom we have already celebrated for his excellent Treatise on Brabant Husbandry, which Samuel Hartlib published. This hath been exceedingly beneficial to Surry, and to some Parts of the adjacent Counties, but more especially to the ancient Town of Guildford, and this contributed to keep up the Desire of improving Rivers, notwithstanding some Attempts failed.

<sup>g</sup> We may collect this from various renewed Acts, and others for enlarging the Powers formerly granted. Indeed nothing can be more difficult than to calculate the Expence which may be requisite in such Undertakings, in proportion to which the Duty or Tonnage paid the Proprietor or Proprietors is fixed. The Construction of Locks is troublesome, and at the same time chargeable, subject to continual Repairs, and, from a Variety of Causes, often uncertain. From hence it hath sometimes happened, that, after an Act obtained, it hath been many Years before the Works have been commenced for carrying it into Execution. In the Case of Worsley Brook in Lancashire, for making which navigable an Act passed 10 Geo. II. Cap. 9. nothing was done at all till the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal was undertaken, and then this Circumstance being stated in the Preamble of the Act, Powers are granted for applying the Water of this and some other Brooks for making and supporting his Grace's then intended Canal from Worsley to Salford.

<sup>h</sup> In the First Place, we ought to name the River Lea, commonly called Ware River, which falls into the Thames at Blackwall, and in this Point of Light was the first River distinguished by the Care of the Legislature. See Stat. 13 Eliz. Cap. 18. Besides this, there are Twelve other navigable Streams that swell this noble River, and it may be half as many more, which Art and Expence might also render navigable. Instances of the same Kind occur in other Parts of the Kingdom, as of the Avon in the South, which falls into the Sea at Christ Church in Hampshire. The Lugg and Wye in the West, which fall into the Severn. The Aire and Calder in the North, which, after their Junction, fall into the Ouse, and with it into the Humber, by which Rivers (since they were rendered navigable) the Manufactures of Leeds, Wakefield, &c. find a speedy, safe, and short Passage to the Port of Hull.

had acquired such a Consistency, as to make Plans of this Nature appear evidently of such Importance as they really were. It is therefore not at all unlikely that several of them may be again resumed and carried into Execution, more especially if we reflect how much better these Things are now understood, and how many new-invented Methods have been of late Years introduced, which may be applied to bring them to Perfection, or at least to that Degree of Perfection of which they are capable.

BUT, besides these, there are other Conveyances by Water, that in the Light in which they are here considered certainly deserve Notice. It hath been frequently and very truly observed, that South Britain may be so interfectured in Seven or perhaps more Places, by the Junction of Rivers, as to produce a regular inland navigable Correspondence between the Ports upon the East and West Seas. A Thing of such visible Importance and Utility, and at the same time so apparently practicable, that we may justly wonder it hath continued so long in Contemplation, without being carried into Execution <sup>i</sup>. In North Britain, since this Work hath been in the Press, the Junction of the Clyde and Forth is actually and effectually undertaken; and the Interfection of that Part of the Island between Inverlochry and Inverness is so apparently feasible, that, as hath been already shewn, it might with little Labour and at no great Expence be at any time accomplished <sup>k</sup>. In

<sup>i</sup> The Correspondence between London and Bristol being very expensive by Land, and tedious by Sea, it was natural to endeavour at finding some Means of lessening at least, if not removing these Inconveniencies. In order to this, it was proposed to make use of the Avon which runs to Bristol, and the Kennet which falls into the Thames; but it does not appear this ever went farther than Speculation. In the Reign of Charles II. a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, to unite, by a new Cut from Lechlade, the Thames with the Avon that passes through Bath. Captain Narranton proposed the same Thing, by uniting the Thames by the Charwell, to the Avon by the Stour, and so to the Severn, with only Eight Miles of Land Carriage. It seem'd necessary to mention these, because it may become requisite to review and fix on some one of them, in a future Season, when, in consequence of a Method to be hereafter explained, a Communication shall be accomplished between Hull, Liverpool, and Bristol. For, in that Case, some such Communication by Water will be necessary to maintain that Intercourse between the midland Counties and the Capital, which is of so great Consequence to both.

<sup>k</sup> It is not to be doubted that these direct Canals between the Two Seas will be of great and general Use. That which is now carrying on between the Forth and Clyde will, in its Progress, as well as when finished, evince this. The Number of People employed in the Work must occasion a great Consumption, and of course encourage the raising Provisions, to the no small Emolument of the Landholders. They will receive a Consideration for cutting through their Lands; in other Words, a Premium for suffering their Estates to be improved. By the very Cutting, the various Strata will be made known, and probably several valuable Fossils discovered that otherwise would never have been disclosed. Many who come as Labourers, will settle there and become Inhabitants; and the Sums of Money which this great Work will cost must be spent in and gradually circulate through this Country, which will have a very visible as well as beneficial Effect on the Lands and the People by that time it is finished. A Circumstance of prodigious Consequence considered in a national Light, as it will put it immediately and effectually in their Power to improve all the local Advantages this Canal must necessarily produce.

reference to artificial Canals, there have been several, and those too very considerable in this Country, made at different Times, for different Purposes, and by different Nations. As for Instance, Cardike or Caer Dike by the Romans; most probably in the Days of Agricola, Forty Miles in Extent, connecting the Rivers Nyne and Witham, which the Remains of it, still visible, shew to have been Twenty Yards in Breadth, and which served for conveying Corn and other Provisions between their Stations in Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire<sup>1</sup>. Offdike or Offa's Dike, made by the Saxons from Bristol to Chester, of which there are also some Remains, generally supposed to have been for Defence against the Britons, but which possibly might serve for other Purposes also. Fossdike, cut in the Reign of Henry the First (if in truth it was not Part of the Cardike) for the opening a Communication between Lincoln and York, by the Trent and Humber, which Canal, now stiled a River, is about Seven Miles in Extent<sup>m</sup>.

ADD to these, as we may very justly, the more modern Navigations through the Fens, which are large, commodious, and extensive, of the same Kind with those in Holland, of some Canals in France, and even of those in China, though inferior more especially to the last, the greatest Part of the Traffick of that mighty Empire being carried on, and that too with much Facility and Safety, by these WATER ROADS<sup>n</sup>. If therefore we have

<sup>1</sup> What is said of this noble Canal, which does so much Honour to the Romans, in the Text, is from Moreton's Natural History of Northamptonshire, p. 513—515. But the very ingenious Dr. Stukeley, in his Medallie History of Carausius, p. 123, 125, 138, 149, 160, 168, 188, 198, 202, gives a much larger, and which seems to be no improbable, Account of this Roman Canal, which he thinks derives its Name from Carausius, not from his making, but repairing, scouring, and enlarging it. According to this Gentleman, he founded the City of Granta, out of which Cambridge arose, and, beginning a Canal from thence, joined it to this, and brought down thereby prodigious Quantities of Grain, from the fertile Corn Counties, for supplying the Garisons. He also maintains, that he continued it on from Lincoln to York, where falling into the Trent, the Navigation was carried to the very Extremity of the Roman Province. Though the greatest Part of this Canal be either filled or grown up, yet in some Places it is still visible and full of Water, the raised Road running by it is also very apparent. This Affair, to which our old Antiquaries were Strangers, deserves to be more exactly inquired into.

<sup>m</sup> It did not seem necessary to take Notice, in the Text, of those artificial Creeks made by Cuts into Rivers, as at Beverley in Yorkshire, because of this we have already spoken, Vol. I. p. 174, 175. or of that at Chichester, which is exceedingly convenient to this small neat City, which carries on a very great Trade in Grain, and in some Years hath exported Thirty thousand Quarters. I will take this Opportunity of adding, that a Proposition was once made to the City of York, of restoring its ancient Honour as a Sea Port, by cutting a strait and capacious Canal into the Humber, through which Vessels of considerable Size might have come up from the Sea directly, which must have been highly advantageous in many respects to this ancient, famous, and well-seated City, which certainly deserves to be embellished and improved, as well as respected and admired.

<sup>n</sup> As our great Roads over all Europe came in the Place of military Ways made by the Romans, so their Canals served as Models for Ours. Suetonius (in Claudio, Cap. i.) speaks in Admiration

have been later in more generally adopting this Mode, it may be ascribed to a Variety of Causes; such as our having many other Ways of Communication, less adapted to those Regions, our Country being not of so large Extent as to render this Method indispensably necessary, and the cutting such Passages through the Lands of private Persons being less agreeable to the Nature and Spirit of our Government. But when, through an Alteration in the State of our Trade, our Manufactures, and our Circumstances, such Communications appeared to be really necessary, there could no reasonable Doubt be entertained of their being found exceedingly practicable, as very few Improvements have been made in other Parts of Europe, which, under proper Management, supported by steady Perseverance, we have not been able to introduce here, and this very often with superior Advantages to those which were our Models. A Circumstance that ought to be ever remembered as a just and rational Encouragement to new Undertakings of every Kind, provided they are of national Utility °.

THESE Observations are exceedingly material to the forming distinct and accurate Notions of our latest Improvements, which can never be obtained

miration of the Canal made by Drusus, which diverted the Waters of the Rhine into the Yssel. The Junction of the Meuse and Rhine, by a Canal Twenty-three Miles in Length, was made by Corbulo (Tacit. *Annal.* Lib. xi.) to avoid a Passage by Sea, and at the same time to employ the Troops. Hence these Water Communications have been so much esteemed and practised in the Low Countries and the United Provinces, where the Making and Management of them is perfectly well understood. In France the Canal of Briare unites the Loire and the Seine. It is Thirty-three Miles in Extent, and is of great Utility in facilitating the Correspondence of the Capital with the Provinces, to their mutual Benefit. It was begun in the Reign of Henry IV. and finished under the Direction of Cardinal Richelieu. It hath Forty-two Locks, for passing each of which the Proprietors receive a small Duty, which is doubled or even trebled in Exigencies of State, and the advanced Duties let to Farm for the Benefit of the Crown. The Canal of Orleans joins the same Rivers, but it is shorter, and hath only Twenty Locks. Almost every City and great Town in China, not immediately seated on a Lake, a River, or a Canal, hath a navigable Cut into one or other of them, by which they are plentifully supplied with Fish and all Kinds of Water Fowl, and have a cheap and constant Communication with their Neighbours. The grand Canal which passes from Canton to Pekin in a straight Line is upwards of Eight hundred Miles in Length, having Seventy-five Locks, and Forty-one fine Cities on its Banks. The Emperor hath near Ten thousand Vessels thereon, for transporting Provisions, Manufactures, and the Tributes of the Provinces to his Courts. *Kircheri Chin. Illustr.* lib. v. Navaret. lib. i. cap. 19. *Le Comte*, tom. i. p. 150. *Gemelli Carreri*, lib. i. c. 5. *Du Halde*, tom. ii. p. 186.

° Innumerable Instances might be produced in Support of this Proposition. In respect to Minerals, a Premium brought to Light Cobalt, which, without a Premium, hath been also discovered in North Britain. It was a Reproach cast on this Country, that it would not produce Hops or Corn in Plenty. Experience shews, without Cause. It was said a Century and an Half ago, that we could have no good Horses; we have now as fine a Breed as any in Europe. In the former Note we have enumerated most Sorts of Water Communication, and in the Course of this Chapter it will manifestly appear that we have already many, and may have them all, so far as is expedient for the Size and Condition of this Country. It is indeed true, that Canals for carrying on Inland Navigation are new and lately introduced, so as not to warrant great Commendations, but the Prospect is fair, and why should we not enjoy it?

but by considering maturely the Natures of them respectively, the Time wherein, and the Circumstances under which, they were entered upon or accomplished; for these will set many Things in a clear and true Point of Light, which must have been otherwise left in Obscurity, for want of Room to enter into long Discussions, by this means rendered unnecessary, because every Reader's own Reflection will point out such Causes as must effectually answer that End *r.* The Superiority of Water over Land Carriage, where the former is intirely free and perfect in its Nature, is so great, that it was never disputed; and to the Advantages arising from this alone, several Places owe that flourishing State in which they are and have been for Ages, the Use of this Navigation being at all times self-evident. But the transferring these Benefits, though in somewhat an inferior Degree, to Rivers not navigable in a State of Nature, could be no otherwise effected than by the Interposition of Art, invited thereto from the Views of Utility and Profit *q.* The Fen Navigations were in a great measure the Result of Situation, and perhaps from that Circumstance held to be impracticable in any other. We have however of late seen, as hath happened indeed in other Cases, that this was not a well-founded Conclusion *r.*

*P* It hath been already remarked, that one Kind of Industry, and one Species of Improvement, makes Way for another. When Property was rendered secure, Agriculture became an Art, which was a Drudgery before. When Interest took Place of Usury, Trade reared its Head. As the Rate of Interest was reduced, it began to expand. As Wealth diffused, Manufactures were every-where introduced; but they continued only to creep, till Credit gave them Wings. Commerce spread abroad, Plantations were settled, Britain took the Lead. She defended the Liberties of Europe, the Nations confided in her publick Faith; her Empire grew, her Traffick extended with it. Industry increasing, required fresh Aids. New Ports were opened, old ones improved, these demanded new Roads; and national Vigour still swelling, Inland Navigations are become necessary to promote universal Connection through the System.

*q* These cannot be always intimately and effectually united. When a River is rendered so far navigable, as that Vessels laden can pass through it, and the Freight and Lock Duties are considerably inferior in their Amount to Land Carriage, Proprietors seldom incline to spend more Money to render the Passage (even where that is practicable) still more commodious, which would be nevertheless advantageous to the Publick. This, as Things stand at present, is an Evil that scarce admits of Remedy. On the other Side, publick Benefit is so much the Object of the Legislature, that the Duties are often so limited, as to constrain the Proprietor not to carry his Improvements beyond what those Duties will bear, and from one or other of these many of those Defects arise, which are, though very unjustly, charged in general upon River Navigations.

*r* In China they have a Tradition, that in very early Ages their whole Country was overflowed, drained by Dint of Labour, a great Part of the Water either confined to Lakes, or carried into the Sea, and the rest disposed in the Canals which intersect that Empire. In the United Provinces the same Cause hath produced the same Effects, in respect to Dikes and Canals. In Ireland they also have a Tradition, that the Marshes arose there from an Extravasation of Rivers, which renders Improvements of this Kind very easy in that Island. This being visibly the Case likewise in our Fens, might very well establish an Opinion, that only such a Soil was capable of such Communications; and this once prevailing, prevented any Attempts in our Inland Counties to procure Conveniences, of the Want of which their Inhabitants were however sufficiently sensible.

A NOBLEMAN of the First Rank formed a Design of making a Canal from Worsley Bridge to Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, for the carrying thither his Coals; which not being barely for his own, but also for the publick Benefit, an Act of Parliament passed in Anno Domini 1759, to enable him to undertake this Work, with all the proper Clauses for securing the Advantages that had been proposed to the Community. After the Canal was actually begun, it was thought practicable to carry it over the River Irwell upon Arches, and so over Trafford Moss to Longford Bridge, which made another Act necessary; and such a Law being obtained, this stupendous Work was carried into effectual Execution<sup>s</sup>. The Value of this Mode of Navigation came from thence to be better understood, and the very extensive Uses to which it might be applied were more clearly comprehended. In consequence of these Discoveries it was determined to carry the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal over the Rivers Mersey and Bolland, and to continue it to that Part of the River Mersey, over-against the Hemp Stones, in the County of Chester, where that River is naturally navigable, and the Passage consequently open to Liverpool. The Powers requisite for the Performance of this made a Third Act necessary, which, upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Country through which the proposed Canal was to pass, and who were to be benefited by it, was likewise obtained, the Duke taking upon himself the whole Expence, and this without demanding any Augmentation of Tonage<sup>t</sup>.

THIS

<sup>s</sup> We owe many of our national Benefits to happy Experiments, and the Consequences that have unexpectedly followed them; and we might have owed more, if all our Artists had been endowed with Mr. Brindley's Sagacity, and their Patrons with the Perseverance and publick Spirit of the Duke of Bridgewater. The original Scheme of the Canal was, to carry it from Worsley to Salford near Manchester, both on the same Side of the River Irwell, as the First Act of Parliament shews. But when this Design was changed, and the Second Act obtained for carrying the Canal over the River by Barton Bridge, which implied a Necessity of raising the low Ground to preserve the Level, and to carry the Canal over Roads, and in a Variety of Directions, it was by the People in the Country generally concluded impracticable. But when, by Resources equally singular and extraordinary, this was effected, and the Canal proceeded in spite of all Obstructions, they changed their Sentiments, and rightly concluded, that by a due Application of Skill, Labour, and Expence, a Canal might be carried on through every Kind of Soil, to any Extent, and without Danger of meeting any insurmountable Obstacle.

<sup>t</sup> Upon perusing this Act, it will appear, that, in granting Powers to his Grace, the Legislature kept publick Utility in View, and provided that all the Benefits proposed by this new Navigation should be effectually secured. Strict Regard is paid to private Property, proper Means assigned for speedy Decision in case of any Disputes, and, which deserves particular Notice, the Completion of the Work is limited to a short Term. It is asserted, that Two thousand Ton of Goods went annually by Land Carriage from Liverpool to Manchester, at the Rate of between Thirty and Forty Shillings per Ton, that is, to the Amount of at least Three thousand Pounds per Annum. On the Duke's Canal they must be carried for Six Shillings, Freight and Tonage included, that is, the Whole for Six hundred Pounds. The First Bend of this Canal passing in the Neighbourhood of Altrincham in Cheshire, saves the Carriage of Coals and other heavy Goods Thirteen Miles by Land through very bad Roads. By the Act, all Manure for Lands, and all

Materials



through which they are to pass, and not barely one or two, but several Counties that are to share the Benefit of them, with this remarkable Circumstance in their Favour, that in no Part of this noble Island could such a Communication be of more Use, the Number considered of large, and many of them manufacturing Towns, in its Vicinity. All Kinds of Provisions, but more especially Grain, will by their means be rendered cheaper, and kept to a more equal Price. For by furnishing Manure from great Distances at a low Rate, and giving a quick Carriage even to remote Markets, the Canal will excite an active Spirit of Cultivation, and the Certainty of obtaining a speedy Supply at a small Expence will render an unreasonable Rise of Corn, where it has been in Times past frequently and fatally experienced, for the future in a great measure impracticable. Many bulky, but at the same time very useful Commodities, such as Flint, Free, Lime, Mill, Grinding, and Paving Stones, Marl, Slate, Coals of different Kinds, Marble, Alabaster, Iron Ore, will find a much easier and cheaper Passage, and of course reach many more and those too better Markets, than they can be carried to, circumstanced as they are at present.

**FREQUENT** Additions will probably be made to these natural Riches from the Discoveries that must arise from the cutting through a Variety of Soils in the Progress of this great Work, some Instances of which have occurred already. Besides, the Staples of these several Counties may be carried farther, in greater Quantities, and be notwithstanding afforded at lower Rates, such as Timber from different Parts of Lancashire, the Salt and Cheese

either End foremost. As to Equipage, a Man, a Boy, and a Horse, are to belong to each Boat; and as the Canal will be supplied only with Water sufficient for the Navigation, held up by Locks, and without Stream, the Horse will without Difficulty draw a Boat, and occasionally Two or Three of them. From this Account, the real Advantages which will attend this new Mode of Conveyance, more especially for heavy, cumbrous, and yet cheap Commodities, is sufficiently apparent.

The Account of these Canals in the Text will not convey a proper Idea of their Utility, without taking in the Feasibility and Facility of their Extension, upon which it in a great measure depends. In order to comprehend this clearly, we must recollect the grand Canal of China, the noblest Model of Inland Navigation in the World. The primary Object of that is, connecting Canton with the Capital; but what renders it of universal Benefit are, the Cuts made into it from every City and great Town. Our Canals, as described in the Text, shew that their primary Object of opening an inland navigable Communication between Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull, so long wished and so little expected but Forty Years ago, will, when they shall be completed, be absolutely attained. A Thing no doubt of very signal and national Importance, which will, notwithstanding, be in its Value very much enhanced by the Canals joining these from numerous trading and manufacturing Towns, some of which are mentioned above, all of them standing in need of such a Conveyance to one or more of these Ports, and which must receive infinite Benefit by so cheap, so easy, so commodious, so certain, and so regular a Correspondence with each other. With great Reason, therefore, have the Gentlemen of Staffordshire called their Canal **THE TRUNK**, in Allusion to the numerous Branches that are expected to spring from it. But, besides these, may we not, without pretending to see far into Futurity, conjecture that this Spirit of improving by Inland Canals will spread into several other Parts of this Island?



of Cheshire, Earthen-ware from Staffordshire, numerous Articles from Birmingham, and all the various Manufactures from Manchester and other Places, will be relieved from a Variety of Impediments under which they have hitherto laboured. Raw Materials of every Sort will be conveyed with much more Ease and Expedition to the several Towns where they are wrought up, and, when manufactured, will with like Facility be carried to the Ports from which they are usually shipped, either Coast-ways to different Parts of this, or into other Countries. Thus Agriculture, Manufactures, domestic Trade, foreign Commerce, and every Species of Industry subservient to all these, will be evidently and in a high Degree promoted by this Inland Navigation, to say nothing of the Numbers who will live and be comfortably subsisted by it. It must however be acknowledged, that some Objections have been made against, and some Suspicions suggested, as to Inconveniencies with which it may be attended<sup>z</sup>. It is but Justice to observe, that these are in their Nature far more uncertain, and at the same time of much less Consequence, than the Benefits that have been before stated, nor would it be at all impossible to find Remedies for them even if they should happen.

IN the Prosecution of those numerous Improvements that have been made in the Two last Centuries, new Instruments and a vast Variety of Machines became necessary, and many such have been invented which have

<sup>z</sup> A short View of the most considerable of these Objections, and the Answers given to them, seem requisite to the setting this important Object in a proper Point of Light. It is said, that cutting these Canals, and thereby dividing cultivated Lands, as well as in other respects, is an Injury to private Property. To this it might be answered, that under all Governments private Interest must give Way to publick Utility. But more satisfactory Answers in this Case may be given. Private Interest is here consulted in the very Measure pursued for promoting publick Utility. A Sense of this produced the Petitions on which it is founded, and the Subscriptions by which it must be promoted. Men are not apt to mistake their own Interests, and never concur deliberately in hurting them. Besides, Compensations are provided, and every Limitation on the Powers inserted in the Acts, that could be devised, to prevent Grievances in this Particular. It is alleged, that by this very Cutting much Land is wasted and destroyed. Let us see how far this is founded. A Mile of Canal takes up an Acre and an Half; a Canal of an Hundred Miles, One hundred and Fifty Acres, which is less than a Quarter of a Mile square. It is believed it will very much diminish Land Carriage. To those who think the Nation suffers by our keeping too many Horses, this will appear an Advantage; those who think otherwise, may doubt as to the fact. They will own, that, in the First Instance, Land Carriage between Places seated on Canals will be diminished; but as the Trade of these Places will be increased, the Land Carriage from those to Places not seated on Canals must increase with it; in what Proportion, Time only can determine. It is suggested, it may interfere with River Navigation. But this can happen but seldom, and only by being cheaper, which is an Advantage to the Publick. It is not however impossible that Means may be found to improve some of these River Navigations, so as to prevent this Inconvenience. Lastly, it is apprehended these Inland Navigations may hurt the Coast Trade. The Event may prove the very reverse, because by them greater Quantities of Commodities will be conveyed to the Sea-Ports, and of course they must be sent to foreign Countries, which will increase our Commerce, or Coast-wise to different Parts of our own.

been here and elsewhere employed with so much Success, as to raise the Character of our Artists to the greatest Height over all Europe. Our Implements in Agriculture are not more ingenious in their Construction, than strong, neat, and accurate in their Execution, so as to be admired and imitated by Foreigners, where-ever that Science, of such general Utility, is encouraged and esteemed <sup>a</sup>. What is now stiled the new Husbandry, and which has exercised the Thoughts and Pens of the ablest Authors abroad, was the Invention of a practical Farmer here. In regard to Carriages also, we at least equal other Nations in the Beauty, Lightness, and Convenience of some, in the Strength, Utility, and skilful Contrivance of others, suited for all the Purposes in which they can be used either for Pleasure or Profit. In regard to those Machines which act by circular Motion, it is thought the Dutch excel in some Kind of Wind Mills; but in reference to those moved by Water, for preparing Metals which are to be used in different Manufactures, as well as in such as are used in those Manufactures of different Sorts, we succeed better than most of our Neighbours by their own Confession <sup>b</sup>. In the several curious and arduous Contrivances requisite in the Management of Mines, we have little Reason to envy them, though these are allowed to be Things in their own Nature of the utmost Difficulty, and where there is the greatest Necessity for abridging Labour, which

<sup>a</sup> As there are a great Variety of Soils in this Country, so very different Ploughs have been invented, suited to this Difference in Soils, which hath been of general Utility in Husbandry, and is one great Reason why, in proportion to its Extent, we have in this Kingdom more cultivated Land than in any other Part of Europe. On this Account, several of them derive their Names from the Places where they are most in Use, such as the Colchester, Lincolnshire, and Sussex Ploughs, as also the Caxton or Trenching Plough drawn by Twenty Horses. But the most common are the Dray, Single and Double-wheeled Ploughs, and the Four-Coultured Plough, accurately described and highly commended by the celebrated Tull. The same may be said of our Harrows, Hoes, Spades for several Uses, &c. Yet are we still much short of absolute Perfection, since the worthy Author of the Essays on Husbandry gives Descriptions and Figures of several Instruments which might be introduced from other Countries, and some old ones, which, having been inadvertently disused, deserve therefore to be revived. The ingenious Mr. Young, in his excellent Farmers Letters, delivers his Thoughts on the same Subject with equal Intelligence and publick Spirit.

<sup>b</sup> As Metals are amongst the Staple Commodities of this Country, no Skill or Pains have been spared in contriving and improving Machines for reducing them into Forms fit for Sale and Use. Of these we may reckon the Stamping Mill for Tin Ore, the Forging Mills for making large Iron Bars, the Slitting Mills for dividing these; Brass Battery Works; Plate and Flatting Mills for the finer Metals; Gold and Silver and other Wire Mills, and many more. Yet these great, these ingenious; these expensive Pieces of Mechanism, are only preparatory to Manufactures of different Kinds, in every one of which very many and very curious Machines are employed with such Effect, that not only the finest and most useful Things are made, but are also made in so short a Space, with such Facility, and in such Quantities, as render them at the First Hand exceedingly cheap, which gives and secures Subsistence to Multitudes of industrious and laborious Workmen.

in most other Cases is unpopular with us. The Dexterity shewn in adapting Machines to a Variety of Intentions, which have been introduced in many new Undertakings, that might otherwise have proved impracticable, does great Honour as well to this Country, as to the present Age.

IN nothing hath this been more conspicuous, than in the last-mentioned of our Improvements, that is, the navigable Canals, which have been chiefly conducted by one original Genius, so fertile in Resources, that hitherto no Obstacles, however formidable, have put a Stop to his Designs. He was prepared for his Operations above, by his Knowledge in conducting those under Ground, in the Coal Mines at Worsley, so that the Difficulties which occurred in the Progress of the Canal, though they appeared new, or rather were so in the Sight of others; were not beheld in the same Light by him; for his Acquaintance with the Mechanic Powers, and what Experience had taught him of their Effects, produced a Confidence which was held for Temerity till the Event shewed it was well founded<sup>d</sup>. But his Works being publickly carried on, their Principles were quickly understood, his Resources became known, and he readily contributing both his

<sup>c</sup> The Profit of Mines depends in a great measure on the Expence of working them, in proportion to the Value of the Metal. If no Engines were in Use, more Men must be employed; but then, from the great Charge attending this, a few, and those only the richest, could be wrought. But, as Things now stand, Engines diminishing much of the Labour, many more Mines are worked, and of course more People subsist by them. For the raising Ores out of the Pits, Windlasses, Cranes, and Horse Engines are employed. For raising and carrying off Water, they have in the Tin Mines in Cornwall (see Borlase's Natural History, p. 169—175) abundance of Contrivances, the Whim, the Ragg and Chain, the Water Wheel and Bobbs; but the best, most effectual, and therefore used in Mines of every Kind, is the Steam or Fire Engine. This, by continual Improvements, is now brought to such Perfection, that, though a very complicated Machine, it in a great measure regulates itself. It would be tedious, if not endless, to mention the several Inventions to answer different Purposes, and to remedy particular Inconveniences which are to be met with in almost every considerable Mine in these Kingdoms.

<sup>d</sup> In the Coal Mines which extend very far under the Hills at Worsley, he had practised many of these Methods afterwards transferred to the Canal. For after bringing the Coals from the Places where they were hewn in little Waggons, carrying a Ton each, easily pushed by a Man down an inclined Plain to a flat Stage, he causes them to be shot from thence into Boats, on a subterranean Canal of Water raised out of the Mine, with a Rail on each Hand, by the Help of which a Man draws Five, Six, or more of them, each of the Burthen of Seven Tons, more than a Mile to the Mouth of the Mine, and, being there received into a capacious Stone Reservoir, from thence is conveyed, carrying the Boats with it, into the open Canal that goes to Manchester. The vaulted Roof of this subterraneous Canal is supported in some Places by a Brick Arch, but is in most sustained by the natural Rock through which it is cut. In the several Operations requisite to the cutting and extracting the Coals, this great Disciple of Nature hath shewn his Sagacity in a Multitude of new invented or much improved Machines, such as portable Cranes for removing of Stones, an Overshot Mill which gives Motion to a Wheel Eight Yards in Circumference, which, besides driving Three Pair of Stones for grinding Corn, and a Boulting Mill of curious Construction, serves also for making Mortar. Add to all this, his having taught a new Method of making a Fire Engine, by which Two Thirds of the Expence is diminished (usually Five hundred Pounds) by making Cylinders of Deal instead of Cast Metal, and Chains of Wood, which are found to answer better than those of Iron.

Advice and his Assistance, we see them extended under his Direction with equal Spirit and Success. There is little Doubt to be made, that whenever these great Works shall be completed, and their Consequences evidently displayed, they will be imitated in many Places. As little Reason is there to question, that though this, like most new Undertakings, appeared singular and surprizing, yet, when thoroughly investigated, it may be discovered, that these Water Conveyances<sup>e</sup>, or at least some of the new Machines employed about them, are capable of being applied to other advantageous Ends, especially in so inquisitive and enterprising an Age as this, when every Attempt to promote publick Utility is not only sure of meeting with favourable Notice, but likewise, in proportion as it appears to be practicable, of Encouragement and Support.

WITH all these pregnant Advantages, there cannot surely be the least Doubt made, that we have from the Commencement of the present Century rendered this noble Country much better than it was, and brought large Quantities of Land, which is the best Proof of national Improvement, into Cultivation. At that Period, if we may credit the best Judges, it was computed that One Quarter of it was almost absolutely waste, and near Half as much more but in a little better Condition<sup>f</sup>. If this Kingdom was then in that State, the other two were certainly in a much worse, though all of them, even then, in a State of Improvement, in comparison to what they had been in the Course of the preceding Century, during which however considerable Efforts had been made. Of the Truth of all this, there wanted not sufficient Evidence to convince any candid and considerate Inquirer. From the same Kind of Evidence, that is, from the Income and

<sup>e</sup> It is not improbable, that by the Help of such Canals running on the Sides of Hills, and thereby intercepting the Waters of Springs which discharge on the lower Grounds, considerable Tracts of marshy Lands might be converted into fine Meadows. By diverting such Springs, and taking some inconsiderable Streams into such Canals, possibly a Remedy might be found for that Deficiency of Water, which is the chief Cause of the Difficulties occurring in Rivers rendered navigable by Art, or at least the Number of Locks in them might by this means be diminished. The Junction of navigable Rivers by the Intervention of such Canals hath been long esteemed practicable, and one may with a Degree of Probability conjecture, that in no great Space of Time something of this Kind will be undertaken, for the Expediency of which many Reasons might be offered.

<sup>f</sup> In the Computations by Mr. King, referred to in the Text, the Number of Acres in England is fixed at Thirty-nine Millions, and no more than Twenty-one Millions allowed for both Arable and Pasture Lands. Half a Million is assigned for High Roads, Foot-paths, and useless Wastes; Ten Millions for Heaths, Moors, and barren Lands, valued at Twelve Pence an Acre; and Three Millions more for Forests, Parks, and Commons. This Gentleman had great Opportunities of making and of correcting his Calculations, by having recourse to the publick Accounts of Hearth Money and other Taxes, which now no longer subsist. Dr. Davenant, and other political Writers, reason upon his Computations, and declare them, as far as they could discern, to be very consistent and exact; but this must be understood with a Degree of Latitude, as precise Exactness is not to be hoped for in such Computations.

Produce of Estates, the general Face of the Country, the apparent Condition and Circumstances of all Ranks of People, together with the Income and Expences of the Publick, it is incontestable that numerous and great Improvements have been made, though it would be no easy Matter to bring these under any satisfactory Form of Calculation &c.

•BUT this wonderful Improvement hath been effected in different Ways, for of what was then cultivated there was much capable of Melioration; there were more Forests, Woods, Coppices, than there are now, besides wide Tracts of Land that have been brought to yield both Grass and Corn, which were then understood to be usefess and barren. The same, though in a less Degree, hath unquestionably happened in North Britain and Ireland, as the Marks before-mentioned appear visibly in both Countries, and those Marks are such as cannot possibly deceive us<sup>b</sup>. It no-way derogates from the Truth of this Assertion, that there are still very large and considerable Spaces of wild and waste Grounds, and several Hills, Mountains, and Moors, that are very susceptible of Cultivation; for these, whatever their Extent, are but the Remains of what formerly were much more frequent, and serve to put us in Mind of what must have been the Case when even this best cultivated Part of the Island was in the State before-mentioned<sup>c</sup>,  
These

<sup>c</sup> The ingenious Author of the Essays on Husbandry, P. i. p. 85. computes, that (exclusive of Scotland and Wales) England contains Thirty-four Millions of Acres, and of these he conceives there may be Fifteen Millions of Arable Land, and thinks we cannot hope to bring above One Million of Acres more into Cultivation. But if, throwing Wales into the Calculation, we have actually Fifteen Millions of Arable Land, we should in proportion have Twenty Millions of Meadows and Pastures, for surely our Oxen, Sheep, and Horses are evidently increased as much as the Produce of our Arable Land, and, if so, we should not have Five Millions of unimproved Acres in all England and Wales. But whoever considers the Forests, Heaths, Moors, Commons, and Mountains, still visible in different Parts of the Country, will probably think they amount to more. These Differences may be very well accounted for, if, instead of estimated or common, we have recourse to square Statute Miles and Acres, for, according to Dr. Nehemiah Grew's Calculation (see Vol. II. p. 6.) there are of such Acres upwards of Forty-six Millions in South Britain. After all, there will be much of Conjecture in Things of this Nature; yet from Facts, our having made very large Improvements, as is asserted in the Text, is not at all less certain.

<sup>b</sup> In reference to North Britain, we need only to look into the Interest of Scotland considered, which was written by Mr. Lindsay, Provost of Edinburgh (particularly p. 45. 46. 47.) to be informed of the almost invincible Bars to the Improvement of Agriculture in that Country in former Times, and the Causes of that Dilatoriness which appeared in Cultivation, even when those Causes were happily removed. In regard to Ireland, consult, A Collection of Tracts relating to the present State of that Island, printed for T. Woodward, A. D. 1729, 8vo. In these may be seen how this Country recovered from a deplorable State of Poverty and Indolence, and with what Vigour and Success Improvements of every Kind were pursued. See also the Histories of several Counties in Ireland, that have been published. Improvements began there A. D. 1690, in North Britain, about the Commencement of the current Century.

<sup>a</sup> To form some distinct Notion of this Matter, let us for a Moment consider a particular Instance. The Weald, that is, the Wild, Forest, or Chace, extended from Winchelsea in Suffex to Rivers

These Remains serve likewise to encourage that active Spirit of Industry which produces publick Emolument, by shewing that there is still abundant Room for its Exertion. It may not be amiss to remark, that at this Juncture these unpleasent Scenes strike us more forcibly from the Consideration of the highly cultivated Lands in their Vicinity, which not a little deepen the Gloominess of the Prospect, by seeming to reproach our Indolence<sup>k</sup>. I say seeming, because all Things cannot be done at once; and that, notwithstanding this, Things are really in that improved State which we have asserted them to be, will admit of some farther Testimonies, which it may be proper therefore to produce.

THERE are Two Sorts of Lands, that appear particularly to have been within this Period rendered in a superior Degree beneficial to the Community, from the singular Attention that hath been shewn to their Improvement. The First Sort are such as have been either wholly or in Part overwhelmed by salt or by fresh Waters, so as to be more or less unprofitable till by Art and Industry recovered. The latter, such as from their Situation and Circumstances had for a long Series of Years been in a less advantageous State of Cultivation than that of which they were naturally capable,

Rivers Hill in Kent, a vast Tract of Land above One hundred Miles in Length, and about Thirty in Breadth, comprehending nearly Two Millions of Acres. This the Britons called, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, *Andrede*, i. e. Marvellous; or *Coide Andrede*, i. e. The Mighty Wood, and the Saxons the *Wyeld*. It was a rude, uncultivated Waste, overgrown with Wood; for reclaiming which, the Saxons laid Parcels of it to the Farms in the Neighbourhood, for feeding their Tenants Hogs, being esteemed unfit either for Arable or Pasture. Many of these Divisions, being Vallies, they stiled *Denes*, and those who brought them into some Cultivation gave them their own Names, as *Halden*, *Tentden*, *Malden*, &c. In Process of Time, and in consequence of the Custom of Gavelkind, these *Denes* are become by Division and Subdivision very small, in comparison of what they were. The Soil of this whole Tract is much of the same Nature, and hath been chiefly improved by Marl, of which they have several Kinds, and of different Colours. The inquisitive Reader may find full Information, in regard to this Subject, in a Treatise, intituled, "The Enrichment of the Weald of Kent," published, but not written, by the famous Gervase Markham.

<sup>k</sup> As rich, beautiful, and fertile as many of the Lands about this Metropolis at present are, the County of Middlesex was formerly over-run with Heath and Wood. Of this, there want not pregnant Proofs at this Day. On the East lies Epping or Waltham Forest; in the Reign of Henry VII. Hackney was in the Forest. Stepney, or Stebonheath, shews in its Name what once it was. If we cross the River Lea, we come to Tottenham and Edmonton, Places detached from that great Waste, of which Enfield Chace is the Remains. Cane Wood, Hornsey, Highgate, and Finchley Common, stretch towards the Woods of Northaw and Southaw, and shew what they once were, even in their present Condition. The West Side of the County is composed of the Hundreds of Elthorn and Spelthorn; in the former of these lie the Parishes of Northolt and Southolt, in the Saxon Language North and South Woods; the latter comprehends Hounslow Heath, and the Warren of Staines. In the Time of Henry V. St. Giles's Fields were a Wood, in which the Lollards assembled. These Facts, at the same time they explain and justify what is advanced in the Text, may also serve to convince us, that in Process of Time all these Heaths, Woods, and Wastes now left, will gradually fall into some Kind or other of Cultivation,

and to which within this Space of Time they have been happily restored, as hath been demonstrated from the Consequences attending the Change in their Condition. Of both these we shall treat succinctly, as they are direct and pregnant Instances of the Truth of what we have asserted<sup>l</sup>. The former are such as we usually distinguish by the Name of Fens, Marshes, Bogs, &c. of which there are considerable Quantities both in Great Britain and Ireland. Romney Marsh forms, as we have already shewn, and therefore we shall not insist upon it here, a very considerable and a very profitable Tract of Meadow and Pasture<sup>m</sup>. The wide-spread Fens in the Counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and the Isle of Ely, make a very large District. Those in Somersetshire, of which we have likewise spoken already<sup>n</sup>, when added to these, may be truly said, more especially if we take in lesser Spots of the same Kind in different Parts of the Kingdom, to be equal in Extent to one of our midling Shires, which renders them in the strictest Sense a national Object.

<sup>l</sup> These are the most distinct, and at the same time the most incontestible Kinds of Improvement, affording, if the Expression may be allowed, ocular Demonstration of the Advantages they produce. The draining Ten Acres of Fen, or reclaiming Ten Acres of Bog, removes a Nuisance, and adds so much Land to the publick Territory. In this Light, it may be considered as the Donation of Industry, and as real an Acquisition as if obtained by Conquest. The Produce, and consequently the Value of Land, raised in a considerable Degree by the mere Alteration of the Mode of Culture, is a real Acquisition also, and may be regarded as the Present of Oeconomy. By Methods like these a Country may be extended and improved; but it is by such Methods only that an Island can ever be extended and improved, Nature having assigned us Bounds that we can pass no other Way; Bounds, however, by which we are not imprisoned, but defended.

<sup>m</sup> See Political Survey of Great Britain, Vol. I. p. 404, 405. Romney Marsh differs from the Fens in this, that it was not recovered but wrested from the Sea, and both is and must be defended against it by strong Banks, and at great Expence. This Difference in their Nature is the Reason that, notwithstanding by Stat. 15 Car. II. Cap. 17. §. 15. all the Laws of Romney Marsh, universally allowed to be very wisely and judiciously settled, are declared to be incorporated with those of Bedford Level; yet that Corporation could never avail itself of so much as One of them. We have declared against this Manner of Gaining, or, as the old Term is, Winning Land from the Sea, but we as freely own, that Fifty thousand Acres of fine Feeding Lands, and this Marsh does not amount to less, is an Acquisition, and an Acquisition of very great Value, and not only so, but as the Lands continually improve, and the Climate grows better, their Value is daily increasing.

<sup>n</sup> We have spoken of these Somersetshire Fens, Vol. I. p. 331, 332, 333, and have mentioned the numerous Advantages that would arise from draining them, as well as the Probability there is that they might be drained with Facility. As to lesser Quantities of these wet Grounds, there are more or less in the several Counties of Derby, Essex, Gloucester, Kent, Middlesex, Nottingham, Surry, Sussex, and York, as appears in Sir William Dugdale's History of Imbanking. Many of these have been of late Years recovered, and others much improved by Cultivation. Such Grounds, when once brought into a State of bearing Hemp, become highly valuable, and not only yield good Rents, but contribute also to employ, and consequently to maintain, great Numbers of industrious Persons of both Sexes and all Ages, as we have occasionally shewn in the Course of this Work.



It is in this Light that the middle District, that is, the Morasses in Northamptonshire, &c. usually stiled THE FENS, have been considered from the Time of their original Draining under the Auspice of Government°. The Direction and Superintendence of this important Work has been especially committed to a Corporation, who have had the Powers given them by the Crown confirmed, and all their Concerns regulated, as to them seem most expedient, and at their own Request, by Authority of Parliament. This publick Attention hath within these few Years been extended to an entire Review of their System, making the requisite Alterations therein, conciliating the proper Methods for Draining and Navigation, which was a Point of equal Difficulty and Importance; giving them Powers to borrow Money, for making their Improvements, to a certain Amount, and with singular Advantages; assigning the necessary Funds for discharging those Loans, and in all respects affording them whatever Helps and Assistances they thought fit to demand. By these Means, and their constant Confidence

\* These Fens are frequently mentioned by our antient Civil and Ecclesiastical Historians. It should seem, from their Accounts, that they were maintained in tolerable good Order under the Direction and Patronage of the Clergy and Monks. For in those Days they had many rich and potent religious Houses scattered through them, such as Peterborough, Ely, Ramsey, Croyland, Thorney, &c. But after these were dissolved, the Estates belonging to them coming into private Hands, the Dikes and Drains fell into Decay, and the Country consequently was overflowed, and reduced gradually into a wretched Condition. It seemed then necessary that the Legislature should interpose, as at length it did by Stat. 43. Eliz. Cap. xi. in the Title of which it is said, some Hundred thousand Acres were its Object; this however was not carried into Execution, many, and amongst them some sensible Persons, such as Camden, Britan. p. 361. thinking they ought to be left as they were. King James I. who passed Two Laws in favour of Draining, manifested however his good Intentions in this respect, but proceeded no farther. Charles I. by his Charter dated 10th May, in the 13th Year of his Reign, incorporated the Undertakers for draining the Great Level, with Francis Earl of Bedford at their Head. The Troubles having interrupted this good Work, when there were Thoughts of resuming it, A. D. 1653, the Opposition, which was never silent, alledged, that the Fens produced as much in Reeds and Sedge as by expensive Draining. In Answer to this, an Account was taken that Year, by which it appeared, that Wheat, Barley, Oats, Hemp, Flax, &c. on 28,000 Acres of drained Land, yielded 113,600 l. After the Restoration, the Corporation for draining Bedford Level was legally settled by the wise and well-weighed Statute 15 Car. II. Cap. 17. on which solid Basis this important Undertaking hath rested ever since. By Stat. 20 Car. II. Cap. 8. the Manner of taxing Lands for the Maintenance of the Works is fixed in the most equitable Manner. The Mischiefs occasioned by dividing Commons was remedied by Stat. 1 Jac. II.

† The Distinction of North, South, and Middle Levels seems to have been introduced, with no bad Intention, at the Close of the last Century, viz. A. D. 1697, but in Process of Time was productive of great Inconveniencies. A Debt was contracted of near 50,000 l. which bore particularly hard on the North Level, which owed near 19,000 l. to the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lincoln. By Stat. 27 Geo. II. Cap. 19. the Duke and Earl generously consenting, the Debt due to them was remitted, the other Debts liquidated, the North Level exempted from the Debts of the Two others, and they from those of the North Level. By Stat. 27 Geo. II. Cap. the Navigation through the Fens to Peterborough and Lynn is settled, which is a fair Precedent in regard to the other Navigations. By Stat. 29 Geo. II. Cap. 9. a Fund is settled for discharging

the



fidence in the Protection of the Legislature, their Affairs within this Period have been brought into a very thriving and flourishing Condition. In Proof of this we may safely appeal to the advanced Income of their Lands, the Growth and Improvement of their Towns, the considerable Increase of their People, the Augmentation of Trade, and the repairing old and making new Roads and other publick Conveniences. Evidences conclusive in all Cases, but particularly so in this, as the Contrast between their past and present Condition is not only very conspicuous, but, which does not always happen, is within Memory likewise. We may add to these, the several Applications made within these few Years to Parliament, and Acts procured thereby for separate Drainings, which shews the increasing Vigour of this generous Spirit, and a Resolution in private Persons to risque very large Sums for prosecuting such Improvements, by which many Thousand Acres have been, and many more will be, rendered firm Land and fit for Cultivation <sup>q</sup>. It cannot be doubted but this Success will excite other Applications of a like Kind in reference to the Morasses scattered through the rest of this Kingdom <sup>r</sup>.

IN North Britain, from the Extravafation of Rivers, Overflowing of Lochs, the Redundance of Springs, and other Causes, there are many Marshes, or, as they usually stile them, Mosses, in almost every Part of

Debts of the South and Middle Levels, amounting to 27,440 l. Bonds given are to be assigned without Stamps. Credit restrained for the future to 5000 l. for the North Level, and 32,000 l. for the other Two.

<sup>q</sup> It is of Importance, to shew the Truth of what is said in the Text, to remark, that the Great Level of the Fens contains Six hundred thousand Acres; that a very large Quantity of these have been drained and rendered firm and dry Land, to the great Benefit of their respective Owners, and that there are (sometimes intermixed with these) considerable Tracts not yet so completely drained as they might be. The Owners of these, seeing the Regard shewn to the Corporation, have applied to Parliament for the Powers requisite for Draining at their own Expence. In the Sessions in the 29th Year of his late Majesty's Reign, Two such Acts were obtained, in the 30th Four, in the 31st Two, in the 32d One, and in the 33d One, by which many Thousand Acres were to be recovered and preserved. This manifestly proves, that the Improvements in this Way are very great; that they are increasing; and that in the midst of an expensive War our People had Spirit and Fortune to pursue them.

<sup>r</sup> It may not be improper to remark, that though, from the great Extent and Consequence of the Fens in the Great Level, they occupied so much of the publick Concern, other Places in a like State were by no means neglected. This appears not only from Sir William Dogdale's elaborate Treatise, but also from several Statutes, such as 37 Hen. VIII. Cap. 11. 7 Jac. I. Cap. 20. 16 & 17 Car. II. Cap. 11. 10 & 11 W. III. Cap. 26. 11 Geo. II. Cap. 39. This demonstrates the Continuance and Extent of this improving Spirit, so singularly beneficial to Individuals and to the Publick. As to smaller Parcels of wet and marshy Grounds, of which there formerly were considerable Quantities in almost every County, the greatest Part of them (except where reserved for Peat, which in some Places turns to great Profit) have been rendered dry and improved by their Owners, which also are so many Acquisitions to the Community, and very important too, if, as some have computed, every Ten thousand Acres of Land completely drained adds a Million to the common Stock.

the Country, which, since a laudable Attention to the augmenting natural Advantages and removing natural Defects hath prevailed, have in a great Variety of Instances been drained, or otherwise turned to beneficial Purposes. As this noble and publick-spirited Disposition visibly increases, we may reasonably hope that a continual Progress will be made in so salutary a Work<sup>s</sup>. In our Sister Isle of Ireland, through the frequent Calamities of Civil and Foreign Wars, by which Industry through a Series of Ages was repeatedly interrupted, joined to the natural Causes that have been before-mentioned, this Country hath been more obnoxious to these Evils than almost any other. Such Morasses, Mosses, or Bogs, are there not only common, but also of large Extent, consequently detrimental, so as to become the standing Reproach of One of the finest Islands in Europe. Yet since publick Tranquility hath been effectually restored, the Number of Inhabitants increased, and Industry and Science began to flourish as they do now, the People in general have every-where more or less applied to Draining; and this with such Success, as to change many of these miry Plains into as rich and fertile Meadows as are any-where to be seen<sup>t</sup>. It must however be confessed, that, notwithstanding these successful Attempts, there are yet remaining very considerable Tracts of unprofitable Marshes. But the Means of reclaiming them are now so well understood, the Advantages from Draining so generally known, the Circumstances of the Nation so happily altered for the better, the Value of Lands so much raised,

<sup>s</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup> 330. contains the Earl of Cromarty's curious Account of the Origin and Growth of Inland Heath and Peat Mosses in Scotland; and no doubt in other Countries, where they abound, they were produced the same Way. Stagnating Waters cause them likewise, and these are apt to extend their Bounds. Locher Moss, Ten Miles long, and of considerable Breadth, contains many Thousand Acres near Solway Firth, was caused as the Fens were in Lincolnshire, by the Sea throwing up Land to such a Height, as, impeding the Passage of the fresh Waters, forced them to settle on the Land, and, by corrupting all Kinds of Vegetables, generated this Moss. Many Circumstances formerly concurred to their being suffered to remain in that State. There was no Want of Land, Peat was a cheap useful Fuel, Draining was little understood, it was expensive, and Money was scarce. But since Property is become secure, and Manufactures and Trade flourish, a new System prevails. Land bears an high Price, Coals are easily had, the Method of Draining is well known, the Gentry have a Turn to Improvements, and these have answered so well, that their Fortunes are enlarged, and of course this Disposition daily extends.

<sup>t</sup> Sir William Petty, than whom no Man knew Ireland better, reckoned 1,500,000 Acres of coarse Land, usually stiled unprofitable, and as much more which (a Century past) he held to be absolutely such. The greatest Part of this was Marsh, Fen, or Bog. Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin, in the Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup> 190, hath given an excellent Account of their Nature, and the Methods by which they might be recovered, justified by Experiment. Since the Time he wrote, this laudable Work hath been assiduously pursued, and with such Success, that it is thought One million of Acres or more have been reclaimed, to the inexpressible Benefit of the Country. There is no Doubt that the Premiums given by the Dublin Society have contributed exceedingly to this, for they very wisely propose Gold Medals to Gentlemen, and offer ready Money to Farmers; and this they have done, and done it with constant Success, for many Years past.

and the publick Encouragement to these noble and necessary Undertakings so judiciously given and so constantly applied, that without being sanguine we may venture to predict, that all these fenny Bogs will be gradually recovered in every Place, to the Ornament, Honour, and Profit of that spacious, beautiful, and fertile Island.

In respect to the Second Sort of Lands, which, though in themselves never totally useless or absolutely uncultivated, were notwithstanding generally esteemed to be in a great measure unprofitable, as well with respect to Individuals as to the Community, though the Benefits derived from bringing them into perfect Order may not have been larger than those arising from the former Class, yet the Quantities of Ground thus improved have been certainly more conspicuous<sup>u</sup>. For through the Course of the current Century it may be affirmed, that there hath seldom been a Session of Parliament in which one or more Laws have not passed for the Dividing and Inclosing of Commons, and this in almost every Part of the Kingdom. The Method of obtaining such Acts of the Legislature, when that is necessary, is by Petition from the far greater Part of the Persons interested, representing that what they desire is for the publick Benefit, as well as for their private Advantage<sup>w</sup>. The Act, when it is obtained, provides that the Division shall be made with general Consent, by Commissioners conversant in the Nature and Value of the Lands, who are empowered to give a Remittance suitable to the Claim of every Individual who hath any Property

<sup>u</sup> As to the Origin of Commons, Opinions differ; and as, in all Things of high Antiquity, Conjecture comes to have a great Share in all that is said about it, there is nothing improbable in supposing (though there is no Appearance of it now) that Commons were anciently Woods, which their Lords assigned to their Tenants, reserving certain Services or Quit Rents, and that the Nature of their Possession arose from their clearing it in common, which gave them Property in regard to Strangers, and a Community in this Property amongst themselves. But though this gives a general Idea of a Common, and the Property of those to whom it belongs, it by no means accounts for many Circumstances attending Commons, which arise from local Customs and ancient Usage. These, wherever they are, prove binding alike on all, no Individual having any Power to interfere with them. It is sufficiently clear, that Property thus restrained, of which a Man hath no Direction, and consequently can make no Improvement, must from thence be exposed to many Inconveniences, and of course it need excite no Wonder, that Persons sensible of these Inconveniences, should be desirous of being relieved from them.

<sup>w</sup> It is proper to mention, that an Act of Parliament is not necessary where all Parties are agreed; for, in that Case, a Deed of Agreement amongst the Proprietors, confirmed by the Court of Chancery, is sufficient. Where this general Consent is not to be attained, the Assent of those who hold Four Fifths of the Property is supposed to warrant an Application to Parliament. In the Number of these must be included the Lord of the Manor, and the Impropiator or the Clergyman intitled to Tythes, these being considered as the leading and permanent Interests. In case of an Impropiator, he either receives Tythes after Inclosure as before, or a proportionable Sum in Money. In the latter Case, the Clergyman who is interested in Tythes hath a Compensation, equivalent to their Value, assigned him in Land, and of course the rest of the Lands inclosed remain thenceforward Tythe-free.

in the Commons intended to be thus inclosed. As all these Transactions are in themselves of the most publick Nature, it should seem that every possible Precaution is taken to prevent Surprize in the First Instance, and to guard against any Fraud or private Injustice in the succeeding Steps, as well as any Imposition on the Legislature \*. Yet it cannot be dissembled that very loud, and, what is more to be regarded, some very serious and in Appearance weighty Objections have been made to these Proceedings, tending to question their Consistency with the Maxims of sound Policy, and that Reverence which should be always paid to the publick Good. The chief of these Suggestions are, that Inclosing of Commons occasions Depopulation; that it also lessens Tillage, which is the principal Support of the State; and that in many respects it bears exceedingly hard on the indigent and at the same time industrious Part of the People. If these Points, or indeed any One of them, could be clearly proved, it would be decisive; but being alledged only as simple Suggestions, many apprehend they have received satisfactory Answers †.

\* The Disadvantages arising to the Publick from common Fields are said to be, that simply from their Condition their Produce is small in Quantity, and of an inferior Quality; that the Creatures bred upon them, Horses, Cows, and Sheep, are stunted in their Size, lean, half starved, of very little Value; and that the Commoners themselves live meanly, and are taught to consider Idleness and Indigence as Independency. In respect to Individuals, that of Necessity such Lands are ill cultivated, and this too at a great Expence; that they are more liable to be trespassed on than any other; that this makes the Attendance on Cattle in them very troublesome and chargeable; that the Necessity of general Agreement, where the Proprietors are numerous, renders all Alterations and Improvements in a great measure impracticable; that Commons, when small, are of little Consequence; and in proportion to their Increase in Extent, all these Inconveniences, with which they are attended, increase likewise. For these Evils no Remedy hath been or indeed can be devised, except Dividing and Inclosing; and, as a Proof of this, we find it uniformly recommended by all our eminent Authors on Husbandry, from Fitzherbert down to Worlidge. A Circumstance well deserving Attention.

† As to the popular Clamours formerly against Inclosures, they might have some Foundation, as Tillage was then neglected, we had few Manufactures and little Commerce, so that the common People had few Resources. But this hath little to do with the present State of Things. The Answers given to the Objections made in the Text, are briefly these: By Depopulation must be meant a local, not a national Loss of People, which however would be difficult to prove, since the Villages and Towns in the Vicinity of these inclosed Commons are as well or better inhabited than ever. As to the Nation, the Consumption and Price of Provisions shew, our People in general do not decrease. In truth, this Spirit of Inclosing proves it. For the Intent of Inclosing is, to increase the Quantity of Provisions; and nothing could excite, or at least nothing could sustain this, but an increased Demand. In respect to decreasing Tillage, this also is hardly to be proved. It is certain the Produce of arable Lands in general is greatly augmented, that the Tillage of Commons was inconsiderable, and a great Part of it Beans. In respect to the Poor (to whom the greatest Regard is due) they only change the Kind of Labour, and this not to their Disadvantage, for Wages are higher, and Employment, in inclosed Countries, more easily obtained.

WHAT seems more conclusive on this Head than any Answer, is the Continuance of the Practice for so long a Course of Time, and after being so frequently canvassed in successive Parliaments, to the Notice of which such flagrant, such fatal, and such evident Evils as those before-mentioned, had they really existed, must have come, and would certainly not have been overlooked. It may be, that an accurate Enquiry by Authority into the Consequences which have actually attended the Division of Commons in one or more Counties, might set this Matter in such a Light, as wholly to remove these Suspicions, which however, with those with whom in reason they ought to have had the most, have had evidently very little Weight<sup>2</sup>. At all Events, taking Things as they stand at present, Commons inclosed being on all Hands allowed to increase in the Profits arising from their Produce, fall manifestly under this Arrangement of Improvements. Indeed if it was otherwise, or Experience did not put the Fact beyond all Dispute, there would be no Inducement whatever to inclose; and the very aiming at Improving in this Way, had the Error been but once clearly detected, Applications of this Sort would have been long ago discontinued. In North Britain, as anciently the Customs of both Countries were much the same, they had and still have many Commons, which are used in the same Manner as here, and have been found liable to the same Inconveniencies. To obviate these, a Law passed not long after the Revolution, by which any Person, who hath a Right to the Enjoyment of a Common, may, by a short legal Process, compel the Assignment to him of an Equivalent for such his Right in Severalty<sup>3</sup>. In Ireland they have likewise Commons, which they consider as waste Grounds, incapable of being ren-

<sup>2</sup> If visible ill Consequences attended dividing and inclosing Commons, so great a Proportion of Proprietors in them, as are requisite to concur in the Petitions for Inclosing, could not be obtained, because a small temporary Advantage would be no Equivalent for bringing such Evils on the Neighbourhood. But, supposing them to be from Self Interest capable of this, would not the other Proprietors represent these Mischiefs, and undertake the Proof of them, in Justification of their own Conduct? Or would not such as maintain this Doctrine adduce Facts in its Support, which is the more incumbent upon them, as It can be supported no other Way? If nothing of this Kind hath appeared to publick View, and such Petitions continue to be every Sessions presented, is not the Presumption in favour of the Practice, and is it not highly probable that both Individuals find their Account, and that the Publick is also benefited, by bringing such Lands into thorough Cultivation?

<sup>3</sup> M'Douall's Institutes of the Law of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 682. where the Reader may find the ancient Law of that Country upon this Subject. As also, p. 219. where it appears, that before the Statute mentioned in the Text, there was no Method of Dividing, which occasioned much Uncertainty and many Inconveniencies, for the Remedy of which the Law was made. Scots Acts, Vol. iii. p. 453. bearing Date 17 July 1695. directing Summons from the Party desiring a Division before the Lords of Session, who, for putting an End to all Discords about Commonities, are invested with full Powers, to call such as are interested before them, to hear, adjust, and to determine their respective Rights to direct Commissions where necessary, and to receive the Commissioners Reports. Where there are Mosses in Commons, which cannot be divided, free Ejects and Regrets to these Mosses to be preferred, to all who are interested in the Common.

dered of the least Utility, otherwise than from Inclosures, by which alone, and without any Cultivation, they are speedily brought into good Pasture.

WE come now to the last Head that enters into this Part of our Design, which in truth hath been the solid Foundation of most of the past, and must continue to be the perpetual Basis and Support of all future Improvements. This is the supreme Power and continual Protection of Parliament, to which in all Times the Nation hath stood alike indebted for her Welfare and her Safety<sup>b</sup>. The Authority of the one, and the Prosperity of the other, have constantly and uniformly advanced together. In more remote Times the Wisdom of Parliament, according to the then State of Things, was conspicuous in those Occurrences which were conducive to publick Benefit. In the Reigns after the Conquest, they were very careful of our native Commodities, and constantly struggled to preserve the Profits of them to the People of this Country; they repressed the Encroachments of the great Men; they frequently assisted Industry; they delivered those who exercised it from Oppression; and if Improvements were but few and weak, it was principally owing to them that we had any<sup>c</sup>. As Times mended, and Mankind grew more enlightened, we meet with stronger Proofs of their Attention and more visible Indications of their publick Spirit. The Constitution growing more perfect, these salutary Effects were more frequently felt, and became continually more and more conspicuous. When National Advantages were to be acquired, or Obstacles to publick Happiness were to be removed, we find them the great and indeed the

<sup>b</sup> The candid Reader will permit me to use the Word Parliament for National Councils, which have been in use with us ever since we were a Nation, and it is hoped will remain so as long as we continue a Nation, though this Name was not used before the Reign of Edward I. We speak of this great Council here, as superintending the general Oeconomy, and thereby preserving and promoting the publick Welfare. This, in Times preceding the last Century, would have been considered as mere Conjecture. But the Diligence of our judicious and laborious Antiquaries Lambard, Somner, Selden, &c. have put the Matter out of all Doubt, by rescuing from Dust and Oblivion very many of our ancient Laws, which justify very fully what hath been advanced in the Text, of which we shall have Occasion to say more, and to produce some Instances, to the Honour of our Ancestors, in the succeeding Book.

<sup>c</sup> It is generally agreed, that though the Laws after the Conquest, and yet prior to those in our Statute Books, seem to proceed solely from the Monarchs by whom they were made, yet in reality they were made by the Advice and with the Consent of the great Councils or Parliaments of those Times. As to the Laws immediately succeeding these, however uncouth, obscure, trivial, harsh, or even absurd most of them may appear to us, yet if we look back to the Customs and Usages of those Times, in other Countries as well as our own, which is with indefatigable Pains, as well as great Accuracy and Judgment, performed to our Hands (and a great publick Service it is) by the ingenious and learned Mr. Barrington, we shall certainly and upon good Grounds change our Minds, and admit such rough Statutes were suited to those rough Ages, and contributed to make Way for these smoother Times, in which we have the Happiness to live.

only effectual Instruments of such Measures d. The Interests of the Community, the Concerns of particular Bodies of Men, and even the Wants of Individuals, when any-way connected with publick Utility, were represented to them. The necessary Points of Information were generally, if not always, within their Reach, from their extensive Means of Inquiry, and the distinguishing Marks of Truth arising from the Freedom of Debate, in which the natural Diversity of Men's Sentiments, and sometimes of their Interests, making them exceedingly quick-sighted, became in a great measure certain, more especially from the Forms of their Proceeding, every thing being subject not to a single, but to several and repeated Discussions, against which Falshood or Fallacy are rarely Proof<sup>e</sup>. But if even in any Instance this should happen, or from Causes unobserved or unforeseen, or, which is still more frequently the Case, from the Vicissitudes to which all Events are liable, what was formerly well and wisely enacted comes to stand in a different Point of Light, our Laws are not or ever were immutable, but may be altered, and this too in a Variety of Methods, according to the Nature of the Case. For besides a direct Repeal, where from its Consequences a Statute is discerned to be either noxious or useless, it is perceived to be improper only in Part, or capable of being changed for the better; this, according to the Usage of our Legislature, may be done, what is injurious removed, and what is beneficial retained f.

## NEITHER

<sup>d</sup> After Henry the Seventh had settled himself on the Throne, he took every Measure in his Power to promote a more equal Distribution of Property than had prevailed before his Time. The Commons in Parliament from this Period became much more steady as well as more regular in their Proceedings, which gained them universal Reverence and Respect. In later Reigns, if more Business came before them, which brought on a Multiplicity of Laws, we must attribute this to the increasing Wealth and growing Industry of their Constituents, and the universal Confidence reposed in them by all Ranks and Degrees of People, not only at home, but abroad. This Regard for the Authority and Deference for the Decisions of Parliament is not only exceedingly honourable, but highly advantageous to this Country, and ought, if that was at all necessary, to be an additional Argument for our considering this as a peculiar and a transcendent Blessing to Britain.

<sup>e</sup> This unrestrained Freedom of examining Propositions for enacting new, or repealing or altering old Laws, hath been productive of the most beneficial Effects in regard to publick Utility. Truth is best discovered, and Certainty more easily found, from indulging Inquiries, and allowing every Man to speak his Sentiments. It is by this means we have detected Errors, not barely received, but respected by our Ancestors; that we have emancipated ourselves from those narrow Notions by which their Trade was, and that of other Nations is still confined; and that we have overcome those Prejudices, by which they were hindered from seeing their true Interests for Ages, and by which, but for this Remedy, we might have been likewise blinded. By this Mode of canvassing thoroughly Matters of publick Importance, we come to have enlarged Notions, to reason clearly from just Principles; to pay due Respect to Experience, and to shew a proper Regard in every Instance to the Authority of those who are best acquainted with and argue from it. Hence our Superiority in Husbandry, Manufactures, and Commerce, now not simply acknowledged, but knowingly copied by our most intelligent Neighbours.

<sup>f</sup> Besides those mentioned in the Text, there is yet another Method, which, because it will require some Discussion, we reserved for this Place. Human wisdom is so limited, and the political



NEITHER are these Applications for Assistance or for Redress, in our Days at least, at all difficult or dilatory. Petitions may be presented to the Parliament when sitting; and this in modern Times being annual, whatever can contribute to the Emolument or Ease of the Whole or any Part of the British Empire, more especially in regard to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, may be easily, speedily, and certainly brought to their Cognizance, and submitted to their Examination. In Matters of a very high Nature and very extensive Operation, Laws have been framed of a very comprehensive Nature, and these so well considered, and made with such consummate Prudence, as to regulate the most weighty Objects, for a long Series of Years, with very few if any Alterations, conciliating thereby universal Esteem and Respect &c. If, after weighing well all these Circumstances (as surely they well deserve) we at the same time advert to the Force and Plenitude of Parliamentary Authority, which extends to all Things, and to all Persons Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military, within the wide Limits of the British Dominions, and that ready and cheerful Submission which their Decisions and Regulations meet with, we cannot help discerning and being convinced, that the speculative Idea of living under the happiest political Establishment, that of an absolute Power, constantly directed by the

cal Views even of the best informed and best intentioned Senates so liable to fall short of the Purposes they were designed to reach, that scarce any Law can be framed with so great Prudence, or grounded on such solid Principles, as not from a Change of Circumstances to become the Source of at least temporary Inconveniences. For this, our Parliaments have a speedy, suitable, and effectual Remedy, by suspending such Clauses of a Law as create the Inconvenience, and this for the Space of Time this Inconvenience may be supposed to subsist. Thus in respect to Cochineal, many Suspensions of the Act of Navigation have taken place, on account of the Use of it in our Manufactures, that it might be imported (for a limited Time) from any Place, and on board Ships of any Nation. British-made Gunpowder, though to a certain Price exported with a Bounty, yet in virtue of Two Statutes may be at any Time prohibited by Royal Proclamation, or an Order in Council. In like Manner the Corn Law may be and hath been suspended, and Exportation for a time prohibited.

§ We have already mentioned many of these wise and well-considered Laws in the Course of this Chapter, and many more (if we had Room) might be mentioned, that come fully up to this Point, both as to the prudent Grounds on which they were made, and the beneficial Consequences with which they have been attended. Such as the Act of Navigation, which hath been justly esteemed, the maritime and commercial Charter of Great Britain. The Act of Tonage and Poundage, the Merits of which, in respect to Method and Perspicuity, are clearly pointed out by the ingenious Mr. Saxby, in his Preface to the British Customs. The Acts for recoining our Silver Money, by which the Nation was rescued from inevitable Ruin by the Wisdom, Steadiness, and Authority of Parliament, by which, in the Space of a Year, all those Obstacles were overcome which some very wise Men thought almost insurmountable. The Statutes of the Third and Fourth of Wm. and Mary, Chap. 8. and Eleventh and Twelfth of Wm. III. Chap. 20. freed many of our native Commodities and Manufactures from all Duties on Exportation; and this salutary Measure was farther promoted by that of the Eighth of Geo. I. Chap. 15. and by the same Act and a former of the Third and Fourth of Queen Anne, the Duties on many Drugs imported for Dyers Use (being duly entered) are taken away, to the great Benefit of many of our Manufac-  
tures.



Dictates of Wisdom, Moderation, and Justice, is, as far as human Contrivance can give it Consistence, visible in the British Constitution<sup>b</sup>, from which the Liberty; the Power, the Independency, the Splendour, and Prosperity, of all its Subjects are, and may they ever continue to be derived!

In the Three former Chapters of this second Book, a succinct Account hath been attempted, of the native Commodities, the copious Possessions, and genuine Funds of Wealth, which belong to the British Isles. In the Introduction to this Chapter, the Propriety, and even Necessity, of providing convenient and effectual Instruments for the rendering these profitable, at least in any considerable Degree, hath been fully explained. It hath likewise been shewn, that, through the Want of these for a long Series of Years, we were hindered from availing ourselves of our numerous natural Advantages, which, if the Expression may be allowed, kept us indigent in the Midst of unemployed Riches<sup>i</sup>. These Instruments, we have rendered it evident, were gradually and sometimes but very slowly introduced, because, however useful, they were not always, merely on account of their Novelty, pleasing or acceptable. It arose from hence that, till Prejudices could be overcome by Experience, their Course was much impeded, in comparison of that rapid Progress with which they proceeded when once, from a Sense of their beneficial Consequences, they were fully established. For, this being effected, they speedily made, as we have had frequent Occasion to

<sup>b</sup> As it is essential to Government that absolute Power should reside somewhere, so it is the peculiar Felicity of the British Constitution that it is placed in the Legislature. By this means every attainable Benefit is within the Nation's Reach, and the Redress of every Evil, where it is possible, may be obtained. In other Countries, and under other Forms of Rule, absolute Power may act quicker, and from thence appear more conspicuous, but not more effectually or more permanently. This appears plainly from the Instances given in this Chapter, for all the salutary Changes in our Oeconomy, by which Britain hath been rendered so great, and its People so happy, as to be at once revered and envied by all her Neighbours, have been devised by the Wisdom, and carried into Execution by the Authority of Parliament. Add to this, what may be looked upon as still more extraordinary, the publick Credit of this Country, by which she hath attracted the Confidence of her Neighbours, was originally established, and hath been in every Instance steadily and honourably maintained by Parliament. These are such Proofs of the wide Extent and great Utility of this supreme Puissance of the Legislature, as are generally known through the British Empire, and it is hoped will at once explain and justify what is ascribed thereto in the Text.

<sup>i</sup> In those Days we had many Commodities which were useless because unknown, and many more imperfectly known, and therefore imperfectly used, for we wanted that Source of national Abundance, Industry. This was not a natural or national Defect, that is, it did not proceed either from our Soil or Climate. The former was ever capable of gratefully repaying the Care and Labour that proper Culture required, and the latter through all our Isles was no where cold enough to chill, or hot enough to debilitate our Bodies, and thereby depress our Minds. But Encouragement was wanting. The greatest Part of the People, particularly those most useful to the Community, were in their Persons not free, in their Properties insecure, useful Knowledge at a very low Ebb, the Country almost always either impoverished by foreign, or harassed by civil Wars. In such a State, Improvements were not made, because they were plainly impracticable.

remark, a very perceptible Alteration in the Appearance of the Country, and in the Condition of its Inhabitants<sup>k</sup>.

THESE successive Improvements, by mutually assisting each other, enlarged on every Side, and spread their benign Influences where-ever they came. In consequence of this, the Produce of our Lands are become much superior to what they were heretofore, though our Soil and Climate remain nearly the same. Instead of exporting, as formerly we did, the greatest Part of our gross Commodities, to be wrought up by Foreigners, and sometimes re-imported when so wrought up, to be consumed by ourselves, we now reap from them, together with their intrinsic Value, the full Profit of all that our own Industry in manufacturing them can bestow, and, which is still more, we import immense Quantities of raw Materials from many different and some very distant Countries, which we also manufacture, and this not simply to serve ourselves, but also for the Supply of other Nations, of which, if it was at all necessary, innumerable Instances might be given<sup>l</sup>.

By

<sup>k</sup> We have, in the former Chapters, according to the Extent of our Abilities, and the best of our Informations, given the Reader a comparative View of our past and present Condition in many Instances, which it would be equally needless and tedious to recapitulate here. It may not however be improper to remark, that in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Cornwall had scarce any Resource but in her Tin Mines, we raised from them to the Value annually of Forty thousand Pounds at most, whereas we have raised for many Years past annually to Five Times that Value, though the County now hath several other and those too very considerable Resources. We have before had Occasion to mention a Record in the Exchequer, 28 E. 3. v. III. A. D. 1354. in which the Exports from this Country are computed at 294,088 l. 14 s. 8 d. which hath been held (the Difference of the Coin considered) to be equivalent to 737,021 l. 19 s. 11 d. of our present Money. It is true that Tin and Lead are omitted in this Account, which would have swelled it considerably higher. To this we shall oppose a single Article, of which we had then no Exportation, viz. Grain, and by this for Nineteen Years, that is, from A. D. 1746, to 1765, there was annually gained to this Nation, that is, exported and saved on the Home Consumption, after deducting the Bounty and the Price of all Corn imported within that Period, 947,954 l. 9 s. 7 d. which is a Proof not only of the Superiority of our present Circumstances to what they were Four hundred Years ago, but also, which is more to be considered, of the vast Importance of our Agriculture, of which this is a pregnant and indisputable Instance.

<sup>l</sup> To treat this Subject fully and fairly would require, as it most certainly deserves, an ample Volume, which would do equal Honour to our Commerce and our Manufactures. At present out of innumerable Articles, three only shall be recommended to the candid Reader's serious Consideration, viz. Flax, Cotton, and Silk. For the Numbers of useful Hands employed in, and the Profits thereby accruing from the first, we may refer to the Linen Manufactures in North Britain and Ireland, and to several Kinds of it also in South Britain, which, though less in publick Fame, might, upon Inspection, be found not inferior to either. The second we import in great Quantities from the East Indies, the Levant, and the West Indies. The Manufactures made from thence are very numerous and very valuable, giving full Employment to many Thousand industrious Persons of both Sexes. The same may be said with equal Truth of the Third, particularly visible at Canterbury and in Spital Fields. Besides, the Mixtures of them with each other and with Wool constitute a Variety of Manufactures, and are thereby the Support of several of our most populous and opulent Towns, too many indeed, and at the same time too well known,

By these happy Fruits of Skill and Industry, where-ever they reach, our Soil is highly cultivated, our Rents considerably raised, our People properly employed in a Variety of useful Occupations, our Trade increased, our Commerce extended, our Navigation and of course our Naval Strength augmented. These Facts we have not barely stated, but at the same time have supported them by Evidence, and illustrated them by Instances, that they might be rendered clearer and more satisfactory to the Reader.

LET us here then take a View of our present national Situation, and, as far as the Strength of human Penetration will permit, open our Eyes to the Prospect of what may be our future Condition, from the vigorous Pursuit of our true Interests with that Steadiness and Perseverance they deserve, and that Probability of Success which ought to encourage at the same time that it so visibly invites us. We have in our Hands all the rich Patrimony bestowed upon us by Providence, the singular Prerogatives belonging to these Islands, and the immense Treasures of our numerous natural Productions. We have likewise the several excellent Instruments invented by the Sagacity of our Ancestors, and, together with them, we have all their Acquisitions as well as their Example. But great as these are, and to the most capable Judges they will surely appear very great! these give us no Title to be idle. We must proceed if we intend to preserve, for we have not yet arrived any Thing near the possible Summit of our Grandeur. With all these mighty and manifold Improvements, we may find Means to meliorate, and that in a high Degree, what is thus so happily improved already; and we have still, it cannot be repeated too often, very large Tracts of Land utterly unimproved. These Islands are unquestionably capable of maintaining more than twice the Number of their present Inhabitants, and, which is more to the Purpose, the very flourishing Condition in which we are, demands, for this very Reason, the utmost Exertion of our Abilities<sup>m</sup>.

The

known, to be enumerated here. It might be thought an Omission, if, before we concluded this Note, we did not observe, that of the First Commodity we raise great Quantities, excellent in its Kind, in different Parts of both Islands. Of the last, as excellent to the full as in any Part of the World; in small Quantities it is true, but enough to shew that more might be raised with Ease and Certainty; the Second we chiefly import from our Territories abroad.

<sup>m</sup> All the great Empires the World hath seen have gradually grown to an unwieldy Bulk, and then as gradually declined, from internal Principles of Corruption. Most of the free Governments Histories record, though constituted with much Wisdom, and for a Time conducted with great Virtue and publick Spirit, have in the End been swallowed up by Despotism, or crumbled to pieces by Factions. Ours is become an extensive and puissant Empire, and is a free Government withal; and with this peculiar Privilege, that we have a permanent Principle of Preservation arising from our Power springing from Commerce, and this founded in various Species of Industry, which, duly cultivated and properly attended to, will support us for Ages yet to come. We have Grandeur and we have Wealth, but we are not arrived to such a Pitch, as that we may indulge ourselves in Luxury and Laziness; I mean as a Nation; for in every opulent free Country

try

The Powers of this Country, that is, of the Two British Isles, must be augmented in proportion to their additional Dominions, or, to express myself figuratively, to avoid much Circumlocution, but at the same time I hope not unintelligibly. The Density of the Center of our System must be so increased, that the Force of its Attraction may be equally felt through the wide Expanse of its Dependencies. The Means we have shewn to be clearly in our Possession; and the Capacity of using them will never decay, while the great political Principle of Motion, our excellent CONSTITUTION, continues inviolate.

try there will be many lazy and luxurious Men. But the Bulk of this Nation subsists, and must ever subsist, by a close and vigorous Application to Husbandry, Manufactures, and Trade; upon these our Plenty and our Power are founded, and by these our seemingly disjointed Dominions are firmly connected. It must be confessed, that, in comparison of former Times, all Ranks of People live incomparably better. What then? Shall we grudge them the Fruits of their Freedom and Industry. But will not this excite the Jealousy of our Neighbours? Yes, certainly. But it will keep us also upon our Guard, and consequently always in Safety. But, with all this Parade of Industry, and its glorious Effects, we have Multitudes of idle and indigent Persons amongst us, the Maintenance of whom is One of the heaviest of our Taxes. It may be so; but if it is, we from thence discern the Necessity and the Facility of breaking up fresh Lands, introducing new Manufactures, and thereby enlarging our Trade, that these People may maintain themselves and their Posterity without either disturbing or diminishing the Industry of others. I am sensible that I have touched some of these Points before, particularly at the Close of the former Volume. But, besides that the Importance of the Subject might atone in some Degree for the Repetition, I will very freely own, nothing affords me so much Pleasure as contemplating continually the Idea, that as its Limits are already, so the Duration also of the British Empire may extend to the same Period with the Globe.

THE  
POLITICAL SURVEY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Condition of this Country in the Time of the Britons,  
as well before as after the Coming of the Romans.

*THE Scope and Design of this Book stated and explained. The best Way of attaining a distinct Idea of the Constitution is, to trace the Progress of it from the earliest Times. Very different and even contrary Accounts have been given of the First Inhabitants of these Isles. The Truth in this, as in most other Cases, seems to lie between the Extremes. An Attempt to form a probable Account of the State Things were in before the Coming of Caesar. He found, at his Arrival, an established Form of Government amongst the Britons. They had a Religion, Priests, Ceremonies, and Sacrifices: As also a numerous Militia, strong Towns, and other Places of Defence. Probable;*

*bable, though not certain, that they had likewise a maritime Force. The Druids the sole Magistrates, Judges, and Philosophers amongst these People. No Proof that they were absolutely without Arts, because we find none of these mentioned by Cæsar. They had both a Domestic Trade amongst themselves, and a Commercial Intercourse with foreign Nations, at and before this Period. The Construction of their Fishing Vessels or small Craft very singular and ingenious. The Emperor Claudius first reduced Part of Britain into the Form of a Province. The Romans at great Pains to extend and to improve their Conquests. Found it necessary to extirpate the Druids, and in great Danger from a general Insurrection. Julius Agricola effectually established the Roman Power and the Roman Form of Government in Britain. Carried their Arms and Trophies of Victory farther than any of their succeeding Generals. The Britons adopt the Customs and Manners, and submit to the Laws, of the Romans. Become very serviceable to that Empire, and from thence are very highly considered. The Emperor Severus came over hither, and ended his Days at York. A succinct Account of Affairs here till the Time of Constantine the Great. This Account continued to the Reign of the Emperor Julian. Maximus assumes the Purple, and, in Support of his Title and Power, exhausts in a great measure the Force of Britain. The Romans, on the Decline of their Empire, at length abandon this Country. Some Remarks upon the foregoing History. The Benefits and Advantages derived to Britain from the Residence of the Romans here. Some Mischiefs and Inconveniences occasioned by their Dominion. The distressed and distracted Condition of the Britons at and after their Departure. Form of Government adopted by them after their Retreat into Wales. Conclusive Observations on the Contents of this Chapter.*

**T**HE proper Object of this Work was not by any means to add to the Number either of the Descriptions or Histories of the British Dominions, but to apply such Materials as could be found in them, or in our Laws, to explain what hath been already, or what hereafter may be done, for the Improvement of these Isles, and the Emolument of their Inhabitants. In Prosecution of this Undertaking, we have had frequent Occasions of mentioning the very different Circumstances in which they have been in different Periods of Time, and sometimes to mention the Causes; but this hath been done as briefly as might be, intending to give in this Book, as succinctly as possible, an Account of the several Nations that have borne Rule in this Country, and the Policies they introduced<sup>a</sup>. This seemed to be indispensably necessary, to obviate what might otherwise

<sup>a</sup> It is by contemplating coolly the State and Condition of our Ancestors that we come to have liberal and enlarged Notions, and to extinguish those narrow and ill-founded Opinions which produce

otherwise be taken for Inconsistencies, to vindicate some Assertions that may appear but slightly grounded, and more especially to do that Justice it certainly merits, to our excellent Constitution, to which our past and present Happiness hath been owing, and upon which it must always depend. This, it is conceived, can never be so perspicuously performed, as by such a regular Deduction, from which the Spirit, Genius, and Manners of our respective Ancestors will be best discerned, the Influence of Government on the Temper and Condition of the People rendered evident, and from thence the various Vicissitudes these Countries have undergone, from better to worse and from worse to better again, may be so clearly accounted for, and so fully explained, as to give the candid Reader that Satisfaction which he must naturally wish to have in respect to so interesting and so important a Subject<sup>b</sup>.

It will appear from such a Deduction, that the Inhabitants of these Isles, even in the earliest Ages, when their Actions first furnished Materials for History, breathed a true Spirit of Freedom, had a just Notion of its Advantages, and of the Miseries attending Subjection to despotic Power. Upon this Principle, therefore, they always studied to acquire and to preserve the former, and never failed, when they were so unhappy as to fall under the latter, to continue struggling against, till the Yoke was removed. But at the same time they were zealous for Liberty, it was a rational, practicable, and profitable Liberty they fought. They judged rightly, that Form of Rule must be the best which enabled the greatest Number of People to live independently by their Industry, and to draw their Subsistence from the Fruits of their own Labour. They saw very clearly that this was not to be obtained,

produce national Prejudices. If there be any Thing in Nature certain, it is, that Mankind are descended from the same Stock; nor is there any Thing more uncertain, than the Origin of the Inhabitants of the several Countries of which the World consists. It is therefore to very little Purpose to examine what hath been written on so very obscure a Subject. But it is quite otherwise in respect to those Times, however early, of which any probable History can be had. In regard to our own, we can trace it for upwards of Two thousand Years, with at least as much Assurance of Truth as any Nation in Europe; and this is fully sufficient to answer all the Ends of useful Information, which is all we can expect or desire.

<sup>b</sup> It is a Matter out of all Doubt, that the Beauty and even the Fertility of Countries depend on the Policy, that is, on the Nature of the Government to which their Inhabitants are subject. The System of the Hebrew Republick rendered Palestine the most fruitful Region in the East, now thinly peopled, and, in comparison of what it was, a Desert. Spain, when inhabited by the Moors, was a perfect Garden, a great Part of which at this Day lies wild and waste. The French Refugees, settled under the Protection of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, raise on a small Spot more, and more valuable Productions, than are to be found in some Hundred Leagues on the adjacent Coasts of Africa. In China, wise Institutions make the Soil fruitful, and the Nation numerous; now become so populous, that they must keep up to this high State of Cultivation, or starve. Our own Island of Barbadoes (its Size considered) is wonderful, in the rich Crops it carries, all of them the Fruits of Skill, Industry, and Experience.



but from the Force of Laws, to which they were willingly obedient, and for the Preserving and Recovery of which they frequently and vigorously contended. Such a System, or rather a System of such Laws, is what we at this Day stile THE CONSTITUTION, and a most excellent one it is, as hath in some measure been demonstrated already, and the Steps by which it gradually arrived at this superior Excellence will be hereafter traced; for so solid, so superb a political Structure, required Time as well as Science, and a Concurrence of many able and experienced Statesmen and Patriots to construct, repair, and, by gradually improving every Opportunity, to bring it to that perfect State in which it must be our Duty, and that of our Posterity, to support and to maintain it c.

IN respect to the Britons, who were the first Inhabitants of this Island, there is a great Variety, and indeed great Discordance in Opinions, even amongst the most Learned of our Writers. Some, without troubling themselves about Authorities, treat these People as naked, miserable, illiterate Savages, without Cloaths, without Houses, except Hovels or hollow Trees, rude in their Manners, fierce in their Natures, without Arts, Civility, or Knowledge of any Kind. Others, following the British History, describe them as a martial, potent, numerous, learned, and polite Nation, well known through a great Part of the World, who sent powerful Armies abroad, equipped great Fleets, atchieved many Conquests in foreign Countries, erected stately Edifices, founded large Cities, instituted Seminaries of Learning here at home, attracting thereby the Esteem, and preserving the Respect, of their Neighbours d.

As

c It is exceedingly pleasant to consider the Rudiments of great Empires, to mark the Progress of their Power, to trace their political Improvements, to look into their Effects on the Manners of the People, and, in consequence of that, on the Condition of the Country; to contemplate the Reverses and Revolutions in their Affairs, and to distinguish those singular and unexpected Events which they produce. But when these Inquiries affect ourselves, and respect the Community of which we are Members, they become still more pleasing and more satisfactory, as they are from their Object more interesting and instructive, especially when such Inquiries are conducted without Prejudice or Partiality, and solely with a View of investigating and making known the Truth, as far as, from a serious Meditation on the best Materials we can procure, it may be discovered.}.

d The Translator and Publisher of this British History was Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bishop of St. Asaph, a Man of great Learning for those Times. He translated it for the Use of his Patron Robert Earl of Gloucester, natural Son to Henry I. His Credit was attacked by Two of his Contemporaries, G. Barry, commonly stiled Giraldus Cambrensis, and William Little, better known by the Appellation of Gulielmus Neubrigenis, who roundly charges him with inventing or forging a great Part at least of this History, which he pretended to translate out of the British, his native Language, into Latin. In this cruel Accusation he is followed by Polidore Virgil, and many others. But this (whatever may be thought of the Book) is a downright Calumny. The venerable Kentish Antiquary Lambard had a fair Copy of the British Original, older than the Time of Geoffrey. Mr. Lewis, who wrote the History of Britain (dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales) had also such a Copy. But, to put this past Dispute, there is a Copy, larger than that

which

As in most other Cases, and especially in such as relate to Matters of Antiquity, Truth generally lies between the Extremes, and the safest Way seems to be, the rejecting in a great measure both of these Notions, the former having in it as much of Prejudice, as there is of Partiality in the latter. The British History may have, and indeed probably hath, some small Ground of Truth; but this is so mixed with Fables, so blended with and obscured by idle Inventions, that there is no relying upon its Authority. But, waving this, and taking to our Assistance better Guides, viz. Reason and Experience, we may easily discern, that, though not a very potent or polite People, these ancient Britons, our primitive Ancestors, need not be degraded into absolute Savages, merely because the Greeks and Romans bestowed on them, as well as all other Strangers, the contemptuous Appellation of Barbarians.

The original Inhabitants of this Isle, even those who are stiled Aborigines, did not certainly spring up here out of the Earth, or fly hither over the Seas, but came from some other Country or Countries in Vessels of tolerable Size, bringing, as we have before had Occasion to mention, Animals and many other Things with them; and this being the Case, it cannot be doubted that they brought also the Manners, Customs, and in a certain Degree the Sciences, that had been introduced among the People they left. These Principles of Knowledge, they must have great and frequent Opportunities of exercising, in a Country overgrown with Wood, and which in that State could administer but little to their Subsistence, without the Application both of Skill and Labour; neither is it likely that these would have been found simply sufficient, without the Assistance from time to time of Supplies of different Kinds from their Parent and other neighbouring Countries. Thus far we have stated what seems to have

which Geoffrey used, still preserved in the Library of Jesus College in Oxford. But, notwithstanding it was thus decried, we find an Abridgment of it was made, for the Satisfaction of an Italian Lady of British Descent, by Ponticus Virrunius. We have also an English Translation of Geoffrey's British History, with a copious and very curious Preface by Mr. Aaron Thompson. The Distaste taken by critical Readers against this Work induced them to run down the Britons, of which a large Specimen may be found in Dr. Woodward's Letter to Sir Christopher Wren, printed by Mr. Heaune at the Close of the Eighth Volume of Leland's Itinerary.

\* If a great, it may be the greatest Part of the British History, though no Forgery, but, like other Histories of like early Times, composed from what in Wales they still call *Hen Whelley*, i. e. old Stories, should be thought too fabulous to merit Belief, and for this good Cause in a great measure exploded, why should we not try to substitute something in its Room that may be at least probable? This is what we have attempted in the Text, and to the candid Reader's Judgment thereon we readily submit. After laying down this, as what might have been supposed the Case, and then comparing it with Facts delivered by Authors of unsuspected Credit, we come to have rational Evidence that so Things really were. In respect to such remote Periods, we are not to look for absolute, if we can reach moral Certainty it is sufficient.

been probable, and therefore not very wide of Truth. Let us now see how far this corresponds with Matters of Fact related by the most authentic Historians.

BRITAIN was known to, and visited for the sake of her native Commodities, by the Phœnicians and other Nations, as we have already had Occasion to shew, in very early Times. The Greeks were acquainted with it by Name at least Two hundred Years, and the Romans also before the Days of Cæsar. There might therefore have been true Histories written of what passed within this Period, if there had been any Persons able to write them. <sup>f</sup> When Julius came hither, he found, as himself tells us (and there cannot be better Authority desired) an established System of Government, consisting in a Kind of princely Aristocracy, composed of many Sovereigns, who ruled their small Territories independently in Times of publick Tranquillity; but when Troubles arose, or <sup>g</sup> attacked by a superior Force, they confederated and chose a Commander in Chief to lead their united Armies. Upon Cæsar's Invasion, they invested Cassibelinus or Cassivellaunus, a Man every Way worthy of the Trust, with this supreme Authority, who by the other Princes, while the War lasted, was very punctually obeyed <sup>g</sup>.

THEY had a Religion full of Ceremonies, an Order of Priests, and several Places of publick Worship. These Priests were the Druids, who were also Senators, consulting together upon every critical Occasion, and in Effect directed all publick Affairs; and these Druids were their Magistrates likewise, deciding in that Quality all private Controversies, not arbitrarily but by settled Laws, which, though not committed to Writing, yet were well and publickly known, like what is stiled Common Law at this Day <sup>h</sup>.

THEY

<sup>f</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 343. 470. vol. ii. p. 38. where the Authorities from ancient Writers are cited. It may not be amiss to remark the following Passage, Ezck xxvii. 12. "Tarsish was thy Merchant, by reason of the Multitude of all Kind of Riches; with Silver, Iron, TIN, and Lead, they traded in thy Fairs." This is spoken of Tyre before its Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, which was more than Six hundred Years before the Coming of CHRIST. The Septuagint for Tarsish sets down Carthaginians, and all the Antients agree, that the Carthaginians carried Tin from hence. It follows, that this Country, or some Parts of it, were then inhabited; that these Inhabitants digged and sold or exchanged their TIN, for in those Times, and many Ages after, there was none known but what came from Britain.

<sup>g</sup> Cæsar de B. llo Gal. lib. iv. v. He speaks often of these British Princes or Chiefs conferring together, and taking Resolutions in what we should call Councils of War. It appears from the Measures they took to repel his First Invasion, they were not unskilled in military Operations; and though he covers it handsomely, yet it may be collected from his Relation, what was well known in his own Times to be the Fact, they obliged him to reembark.

<sup>h</sup> Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 13. He there gives it as his Sentiment, that the Gauls learned the religious and philosophic Institutions of the Druids from the Britons, and urges as a

THEY had too a regular and well-disciplined Militia, composed of Chariots and Infantry. In the former rode their Chiefs, each attended by his Train; and they are allowed to have fought, after their Manner, not only with great Courage and steady Resolution, but also with much military Skill and Address, availing themselves of every Advantage that could be taken, from the Situation of Ground and other Circumstances. Their Towns likewise, it seems, were fortified, which however must be understood according to the Manner of the Times, and the State that the Country was then in. They chose for this Purpose a convenient Spot of considerable Extent, in which they built their Dwellings such as they were; and, having done this, they encompassed them with a ~~Wall~~ <sup>Wall</sup>, and this was surrounded with a standing Grove, or with a Rampart of felled Wood; for in those Days they sought only natural Defences, which were fully sufficient against the Arms then in Use. Whenever these Towns, after a long Resistance, were forced, they provided Means for their Retreat; and if they found themselves too weak to keep the Field, they withdrew into Marshes and Fens, the Avenues to which they made as inaccessible as they could, regarding such Marshes in the Light that we do Fortresses <sup>i</sup>.

IN regard to naval Strength, whether they had any such Thing or not, is a Point of some Incertainty. The very learned and judicious Selden, than whom no Man was a better Judge, hath taken much Pains to establish the Affirmative, and conceives that the Reason why Cæsar was not opposed by Sea, was the total Destruction of the British Fleet sent to the Assistance of the Veneti, that is, in the Language of modern Times, the Inhabitants of the Diocese of Vannes in Bretagne; and he farther suggests, that it was their sending this Aid that principally induced Cæsar to invade this Island, which Positions he supports by a Number of Arguments, that render it at least highly probable; and if any Reliance could be made on our ancient Historians, independent of Geoffrey of Monmouth, there might be sufficient Authority brought to countenance his Opinion <sup>k</sup>.

As

Proof of this (indeed a very strong Proof it is) that they sent over hither their Youth to be instructed in these Mysteries, which were comprehended in Poems that these their Disciples learned to repeat; and says farther, that in this Course of Study they sometimes spent no less Time than Twenty Years.

<sup>i</sup> Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 11—19. Eutropii Breviar. lib. vi. cap. 14. J. Cæsi Comment. de Vita J. Cæsaribus, p. 73—87. He calls the British Monarch Casmellanus. He also says, that London, though at that time the strongest Place in the whole Island, surrendered to Cæsar, whom he makes to have been always victorious, but allows he was exposed to continual Toil, frequently in Danger, out of which he extricated himself by Fortitude and Perseverance, against an Enemy brave in the Field and subtle in their Conduct

<sup>k</sup> Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 18. Henr. Huntingd. Historiarum, lib. i. Seldeni Mare Clausum, l. ii. c. 2. Cæsar expressly says, that in all their Wars and Revolts against the Romans, the

As the Druids were Priests and Magistrates, so they were also, as Philosophers, the Masters and Instructors of these People, who received from them implicitly whatever Opinions they thought fit to divulge. By them they were taught firmly to believe the Immortality of the Soul, which was a rational and laudable Principle of vigorous and intrepid Courage. They likewise delivered the Doctrine of the Seasons, or that Kind of practical Astronomy by which they were enabled to prosecute their Labours in the Field, and to conduct the several Branches of their rural Oeconomy. That they practised various Superstitions, and, as some say, cruel and nefarious Ceremonies, and had recourse to many delusive Arts to captivate the Minds of the Populace, is not to be denied. By these they brought and retained them in the most exact and submissive Obedience, so that all were obliged to follow their respective Occupations assiduously, and contribute thereby, as far as they were able from their private Endeavours, to the publick Welfare<sup>l</sup>.

In consequence of this, we find they had sufficient Quantities of Corn for their own Support, and their Pastures were abundantly stocked with Sheep and Black Cattle. Besides Animals for Food, they bred Poultry, Geese, and Hares to please their Fancy. That they had Property, appears from the Druids deciding all Disputes about the Limits of Lands. It is likewise clear that they had a generous Breed of Horses, and knew very well how to break and manage them; and that they used Cavalry as well as Chariots, may be inferred from Caesar's Relation<sup>m</sup>. They painted them-

the Gauls were supported from Britain, but he says nothing of their naval Force. Henry Huntingdon tells us, that Lud, the Father of Cassibellinus, reduced several of the Islands lying near Britain, by a marine Armament. Mr. Selden, laying these and other Circumstances together, concludes the Britons, prior to the Coming of the Romans, were Sovereigns in their own Seas.

<sup>l</sup> Caesar de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 13. 15, 16. Strab. Geograph. lib. iv. Diod. Sicul. lib. vi. Pompon. Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 2. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. i. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 1. lib. xvi. cap. 44. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xv. Diogen. Laert. in prefat. ad lib. de Vit. Philosoph. Most of these Writers extol their Wisdom and Knowledge. As to their Crimes; in respect to Magick, they were infamous Impostors; and in offering human Sacrifices, barbarously as well as impiously cruel. But that they were mere Pretenders to Science, which is a modern Notion, and that they were as illiterate as they were superstitious, is by no means so certain. See upon this Head, which is very curious, Selden's *Analeceta Anglo-Britannica*; his *England's Epinomis*, and his Notes on the Ninth Song of Drayton's *Poljorbion*. Consult also Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, where p. 266. a Specimen may be found of their moral Odes, which they taught their Pupils. As to their political Talents, see what hath been already said (*Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 535) as to the Laws they established in the Isle of Man. The Emperor Claudius proscribed their Religion, but Christianity prevailing did it much more effectually, for it exposed their Impostures, and brought their barbarous Rites into just and general Abhorrence.

<sup>m</sup> De Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 11. *Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. ii. p. 191. It may be fairly presumed, that as they certainly imported the Animals, so they brought over also the Art of training them; and from their singular Expertness, and the great Numbers they brought into the Field, that they had long practised this Manner of Fighting.

elves with a blue Pigment made of Woad, as we have already explained at large<sup>n</sup>. Now this Plant, and the Art of preparing a Paste and Dye from it, they must have brought with them hither. The Discolouring of their Bodies with it, for whatever Purpose the Romans could not help observing, but it by no means follows that they had not any other Art or Manufacture amongst them, because no other is reported by Persons who invaded them as Enemies, stayed amongst them but a short time, and were very fully occupied by their own Affairs during the Time they remained here.

IN their Trade with each other, they used either Rings or small Plates of Iron tied together, in the Nature of Money, which concludes in favour of their Civility, since no barbarous Nation ever made use of any Medium in buying and selling<sup>o</sup>. That they had likewise foreign Commerce, is not barely probable, but certain, for the Inhabitants of Bretagne (as it is now called) traded hither in large Ships, and on this Trade, as Cæsar says expressly, founded a very formidable naval Strength. Yet their Merchants only were permitted free Access by the Britons, and none were allowed to penetrate into the Country, so apprehensive were they of a too great Resort of Strangers, and such was their Jealousy of their Freedom. Other Nations, as in different Parts of this Work hath been already shewn, carried on considerable Commerce in other Quarters of the Island, and the Ports of Ireland were much frequented, as well as generally known by foreign Merchants<sup>p</sup>.

IN reference to small Vessels, which is by no means a Proof that they had not any of a larger Size, those of their Construction were so ingenious and so commodious, that Cæsar acknowledges his Obligation to them for their Invention, of which he profited on another Occasion<sup>q</sup>; and which Vessels were made with such Facility, and were of such Utility, that the Use of them continued in some Corners of this Island almost within the Memory of Man<sup>r</sup>. If therefore we lay all these Circumstances together, and consider

<sup>n</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 116. It may be they had a ruder and so a shorter Way of preparing this Tincture, than that now in Use, but still there must be an Art in the Preparation.

<sup>o</sup> Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 10. He adds, that these passed by Weight, which is an additional Circumstance of Exactness and Justice in their Dealings.

<sup>p</sup> Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 18. Strab. Geogr. lib. iv. Tacit. in vit. J. Agric. c. 24. but on this Subject enough hath been occasionally said in other Places.

<sup>q</sup> De Bello Civili, lib. i. cap. 54. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iv. Solin. Polyhistor. cap. 35. The Keel and Ribs of these Vessels were of light Wood covered over with Leather.

<sup>r</sup> The Veneti used these Wicker Boats covered with Leather, and so did the Italian Veneti, a Colony from them, on the River Po, as Lucan observes. But for all this, the Veneti in Gaul had a stout Fleet of large Vessels built of Oak, with Leather Sails; and if so, why might not

sider them as brought in Aid of what Reason and Reflection suggests, in respect to the First Settlers of any Island, we may rationally conclude, that when the Romans came over hither, they did not find our Ancestors a Race of miserable ignorant Savages, but rather a People, though widely different from them in Temper, Customs, and Manner of Living, in Possession of all the Necessaries and some of the Conveniences of Life, and, which is still of greater Consequence, they were in general content with their own Condition.

UNDER the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, the Britons were left to themselves, lived subject to their own Kings, and were governed by their own Laws<sup>s</sup>. The Romans, however, still kept up a Claim to the Island, founded upon Caesar's Expedition; and the Britons, for the sake of their Commerce with Gaul, kept Measures with them, sending from time to time Presents to Rome, which were there received and accounted for Tributes<sup>t</sup>. Caligula appeared disposed to make a real Conquest, which however ended only in building a Light-house on the opposite Shore, and in a childish and ridiculous Triumph<sup>u</sup>. Claudius executed what Caligula made a Shew of doing, and, either by the Force or Terror of his Arms, made such an Impression here as at Rome was considered as a Conquest. He left behind him Aulus Plautius, whom he sent hither before he came in Person, to reduce his Acquisitions into the Form of a Province<sup>w</sup>.

It was from this Time that the Romans began to lead Colonies, to settle Magistrates, and establish Jurisdictions in this as in their other Provinces. They proceeded so speedily and so successfully in their Settlement, that in less than Twenty Years many Emporia or trading Cities were fixed in proper Places; a regular Correspondence being commenced with Rome, occasioned a prodigious Resort of Merchants; immense Sums were sent over and lent here at Interest; and in a Word, as we have before suggested, all the Marks appeared of a lucrative and extensive Commerce<sup>x</sup>.

the Britons have both Sorts of Vessels as well as they? The principal Advantages of these Wicker Boats were, the Simplicity of their Construction; their Lightness, so as to be as easily carried from one Place to another; and the Facility of turning them up, when by Accident they were at any time overset.

<sup>s</sup> Dio Hist. Rom. lib. liii. in vit. J. Agric. cap. 13. H. Huntingd. Hist. lib. i. Yet, as we learn from Horace, Carm. lib. iii. v. Augustus regarded Britain as Part of the Empire.

<sup>t</sup> Strab. Geog. lib. iv. Tacit. An. lib. ii. Viti Histor. Britan. lib. iv. p. 265, 266. Camden says, that during this Period Britain was neglected by the Romans.

<sup>u</sup> Tacit. in vit. Agricolaë, cap. 13. Sueton. in C. Calig. cap. 44. P. Oros. lib. vii. cap. v. Tacitus ascribes this Conduct to the Fickleness and Irresolution of Caligula's Temper.

<sup>w</sup> Dio Hist. Rom. lib. ix. Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 24. Eutrop. Breviar. lib. vii. cap. 3. Claudius gave his Son the Surname of Britannicus.

<sup>x</sup> Stillingfleet Origin. Britannicæ, p. 5. in which Work the Progress and Proceedings of the Romans in Britain are learnedly and perspicuously treated.

THE greatest Persons were the first in adopting Roman Manners, and Kings themselves stooped so low as to become the Instruments of enslaving those whom it was their Duty to defend. But the Druids, who saw with Regret their old Constitution expiring, and themselves despised, did all they could to revive the ancient Spirit of their Countrymen, and to render Plenty odious when purchased by Servility. This having some Effects, Suetonius Paulinus, who then governed here in the Time of Nero, resolved to extirpate them, and with this View marched to attack their great Sanctuary of Mona or Anglesey, of which Expedition we have spoken in its proper Place. But the Vices of the Romans themselves proved much more destructive to their Affairs than all the Efforts of the Druids. Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, having bequeathed to them, that is, to the Emperor, all his Riches, in Hopes of procuring their Protection for his Queen and Daughters, they behaved to them with equal Insolence, Indecency, and Inhumanity, which induced his Widow, the famous Boadicia, to excite a general Insurrection, which, but for the Courage and military Skill of Paulinus, who returned with great Celerity from Anglesey to London, had probably compelled the Romans once more to quit the Island.

SHE was overcome; but, notwithstanding this, the Britons continued their Struggle for Liberty many Years, till at length Julius Agricola was sent hither with a potent Army by Vespasian, who had himself served here, and had contributed as much as any of the Roman Officers to the Enlargement of the Province. By this wise and able General the greater Part of the Island was actually reduced; and what he won by Force of Arms, he also secured by his judicious Policy. By his disinterested and equitable Administration, he disposed the Britons to a real Submission, and a cordial Coalition with the Conquerors. He resumed and perfected the Reduction of Mona, and the Destruction or Expulsion (if any still remained) of the Druids. His Affability gained him the Affections of the People, whom he disposed to embrace the Roman Manners by flattering them with the Names and Privileges of Citizens, receiving them into his Armies, pro-

<sup>a</sup> Tacit. in Vit. Agricola, cap. 15. They wanted not many cogent Arguments to persuade the People to shake off a foreign, and at this Period an oppressive Yoke.

<sup>b</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 495, 497, where the History of this Expedition, drawn from the most authentick Writers, may be found.

<sup>c</sup> Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 31. et in Vit. Agric. cap. 15, where he declares the Britons meditated no less than a total Expulsion, which nothing but this quick March, and the hard-won Victory which followed it, could have prevented.

<sup>d</sup> Sueton. in Vespasian. cap. 4. Tacit. in Vit. Agric. cap. 13. Flavius under Claudius, and A. Plautius, where he fought many Battles, subdued Two Nations, and reduced the Isle of Wight. His Son Titus served under him as a Tribune with much Reputation, and bravely disengaged him from a Post in which he had been closely blocked up by the Britons, which shews they nobly defended their Freedom.



viding for the Education of their Youth, living amongst them with much Familiarity, and commending and rewarding their Valour, their Learning, and their Politeness.

IN a Word, this truly great Man was properly speaking at once the Conqueror, and in some Degree the Legislator, of Britain, of which he acquired a thorough Knowledge. He penetrated into Countries not known so much as by Name to his Predecessors, and, there are good Grounds to assert, even as far as the Frith of Murray, after defeating the whole Force of the Caledonians under the Command of their Monarch Galgacus; an Expedition unequalled by any of the succeeding Emperors, or their Generals<sup>d</sup>. The Roman Territory, thus enlarged, was in different Periods divided into different Provinces, in which the People lived intirely after the Roman Customs, spoke at least many of them the Latin Language, had Presidents over most of the Provinces, Magistrates in all the great Towns, who administered Justice according to the Roman Law<sup>e</sup>. The Temples, Palaces, Houses, Baths, and in a Word all Buildings, whether publick or private, were after the Roman Model: Facts not barely supported by History, but which the Remains of these ancient Edifices and Antiquities of every Kind, that have been and are daily digged up in a Multitude of Places, incontestably prove<sup>f</sup>.

THIS Change in the Manners and Disposition of the Inhabitants was so complete and so universal, that, considering themselves as Romans and their Country as a Part of the Empire, they made no Scruple of calling such of

<sup>c</sup> Tacit. in Vit. Agric. cap. 21, where he frankly acknowledges that the Britons, in adopting Roman Manners, only pressed forward into Servitude, and rivetted their own Chains.

<sup>d</sup> Richard of Cirencester, whose Map of Roman Britain Dr. Stukeley prefers to that of Camden, places the *Aræ Fiumis Imperii Romani*, the Altars erected on the Limits of the Roman Empire, near that Frith. Mr. James Frazer, Minister at Kirkhill near Inverness, having examined Beaulieu Frith, found that, though now an Arm of the Sea, it was once firm Land, and that great Works had been erected there. On opening a Cairn, or large Heap of Stones, Urns were found in the very Middle of the Frith. *Phil. Transf.* N<sup>o</sup> 254. p. 231. But to put out of Doubt this Point of the Romans being thus far North, at Castle Bean in the Heart of Murray (the Banatia of Ptolemy) there were found A. D. 1460 a Marble Vessel finely wrought, and full of Roman Coins. As to Richard of Cirencester (*Ricardus Corinensis*) he was a Monk of Westminster, who died about A. D. 1400, his MS. was discovered at Copenhagen, and afterwards printed there by Mr. Charles Bertram.

<sup>e</sup> As to the Provinces, they were, *Britannia Prima*, containing the Southern Part of England; *Britannia Secunda*, Wales; *Flavia Cæsariensis*, the middle Part of England; *Maxima Cæsariensis*, the Northern Part; and *Vespasiana*, all Agricola's Conquests in Scotland as far as Murray Frith. But these being soon lost, Theodosius, when he commanded here, recovered a Part, which he formed into a Province, and this he called *Valentia*, in Honour of the Emperor Valentinian.

<sup>f</sup> As to this Point, the Reader may find competent Satisfaction by consulting Camden, Battely, Masgrave, Hearne, Horsley, and the Transactions of the Royal Society.

their Countrymen, who still remained free, by the opprobrious Name of Barbarians; which they in some measure merited, by their continual Incurfions into a Country better cultivated, and of courfe much richer than their own *s.* To fecure them from thefe destructive Invaſions, their Governors, inſtead of acting offeniſively againſt the Northern Nations, had recourſe to well conſtructed and well fortified Intrenchments, which, according to their original Deſignation, we ſtile WALLS *b.* The great Tract of Country behind theſe was highly improved, fully inhabited, and in a moſt flouriſhing Condition; but theſe Inhabitants, though Natives, were Provincial Subjects, who had no Views or Interests, but thoſe of their Maſters, employing their Subſtance and their Swords for their Emolument, and for their Defence, and this according to their Directions *i.*

THESE Meaſures were not only acceptable to the Roman Officers of every Rank reſiding here, but were alſo in many Reſpects of the greateſt Utility to the Empire. Britain was on this Account much conſidered, and very carefully attended to, more eſpecially by the beſt and wiſeſt of their Emperors. Trajan particularly took care that the Roads in all Parts ſhould be completed, and put into the beſt Order poſſible, that the Correſpondence between all the Stations might be regular, ſafe, and commodious *k.* Adrian came over in Perſon, remained here ſome time, and provided effectually for the Security of the Frontier *l.* Antoninus, following his Example, made additional Proviſions for the Safety of the Iſland both by Land and

*\* In this Sketch of Britiſh Hiſtory, only ſuch Circumſtances are touched as may beſt ſerve to point out the Changes which their Condition made in the Manners of the People. Thoſe ſubject to the Romans were in Love with their Situation, and the Comforts attending it. The unreduced Britons, in the Miſt of their Indigence, boaſted their Freedom. Thus they had a reciprocal Contempt and Hatred for each other, which contributed to the Diſtreſs and Deſtruction of both. The Chain of Roman Troops, by permitting no Correſpondence, rendered impracticable any Accommodation.*

*<sup>b</sup> Theſe Walls, to give a ſuccinct Account of them, are, 1. That aſcribed to Agricola between the Friths of Forth and Clyde, A. D. 81. 2. Adrian's Wall, between Newcaſtle and Caſtille, i. e. between the Rivers Tyne and Eden, A. D. 121. 3. By Lollius Urbicus, under Antoninus, between Clyde and Forth, A. D. 138. 4. By the Emperor S. Severus, where Adrian's was A. D. 210. 5. By Carauſius, between Clyde and Forth, A. D. 290. 6. By Theodoſius, in the ſame Place, to cover his Province of Valentia, A. D. 367. 7. By the Command of Stilicho this Wall was repaired, A. D. 398. 8. Again repaired by the Britons with Turfs, A. D. 426. 9. Gallio Ravenna's ſtrong Stone Wall, between Timmouth and Solway Frith, A. D. 426.*

*<sup>i</sup> They conſidered themſelves as Part of the Empire, to the Intereſt and Glory of which they thought it their Duty to ſacrifice all other Conſiderations, and in this they perſiſted.*

*<sup>k</sup> Galen de Method. Medendi, lb. ix. cap. 8. Under Trajan the Empire attained to the Summit of Power, which by wiſe Conſtitutions he laboured to eſtabliſh and ſecure.*

*<sup>l</sup> Spartian. Vit. Adriani. His Coins ſhew how high he rated his Exploits here which intitled him to be regarded as the Reſtorer of Britain, in his own Time; though in ſucceeding Ages his Conduct hath been cenſured for leſſening the Roman Territory, and abandoning Fourſcore Mile of Country to the Caledonians.*

Sea, and his Successor was no less active and attentive to the Welfare of Britain <sup>m</sup>. Under Commodus, Helvius Pertinax commanded in this Island with great Reputation, which raised him after the Decease of Commodus to the Empire. He sent hither Clodius Albinus, who, during the Confusions which ensued on the Demise of Pertinax, assumed the Purple, and carried over a numerous Army of Britons into Gaul, to maintain his Title against Septimius Severus, where, after gaining a Victory, they were through his ill Conduct routed, and himself slain <sup>n</sup>.

To compose the Troubles, and to protect the Inhabitants in the Roman Provinces against their Enemies, Severus came over hither, and, from his glorious Exploits here, assumed the Surname of Britannicus Maximus. He died at York, where the famous Lawyer Papinian presided in the British Court of Justice. His Two Sons, Bassianus (afterwards stiled Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla) and Geta, took each of them the Name of Britannicus <sup>o</sup>. In the subsequent Troubles of the Empire, distracted and torn to Pieces by ambitious Men, Britain had a very large Share; and several of those who are stiled Tyrants in the Roman History assumed the Title of Emperors here, as many of their Coins in the Cabinets of the Curious plainly shew. When these destructive Disturbances were composed, the Emperor Probus permitted, as we have elsewhere observed, the Planting of Vines in Britain.

NEW Dissensions arising after his Demise, Carausius, who is said to have been a Native of St. David's, a Man of superior Abilities, and an excellent Officer both by Land and Sea, assumed the Imperial Title, and, as we have had occasion more than once to mention, held it for several Years, residing chiefly in Britain, though the Sea Coasts of Gaul made likewise a Part of his Dominions. He did many great Things, and was exceedingly careful in providing for the Safety and Prosperity of his Subjects, till he was slain, some say in Battle, others through Treachery, by Allectus <sup>p</sup>, who likewise stiled himself Emperor, and held that Title a little While. Against him came Constantius Chlorus, after reducing the Maritime Parts of Gaul with a great Fleet and Army, and Allectus being routed and killed, Constantius restored the Peace and Prosperity of Britain, where he had resided in his Youth with great Credit, and is said to have married a British Lady. He

<sup>m</sup> Jul. Capitol. in Vit. Antonin. In his Time, Scius Saturninus, under the Title of Archigubernus, commanded the Roman Fleet on the Coast of Britain.

<sup>n</sup> Spautian. in Vit. Severi. Xiphilin. Vit. Severi. Eutrop. Breviar. lib. viii. cap. 10. Almost the Whole of the Army of Albinus was massacred, which, as is said in the Text, consisted chiefly of Britons.

<sup>o</sup> Herodian. Hist. lib. ii. iii. Aurel. Victor. de Cesaribus. P. Orosii lib. vii. cap. 17. Rufi. Festi Breviar. Digest. lib. xxvii. Tit. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Zoner. Hist. Rom. P. Orosii lib. vii. cap. 25. Eutrop. Breviar. lib. ix. cap. 13, 14. Dr. Stukely published the Medallic History of Carausius in Two Volumes 4to.

breathed his laſt at York, having been ſome time before called to the Empire, and in that City his Son Conſtantine, afterwards ſurnamed the Great, being come to viſit his Father, was upon his Death ſaluted Emperor by the Army, and in conſequence of thoſe happy Events, no Province during their Reigns was more cheriſhed by them, or more celebrated by their Orators than Britain 9.

AT his Demiſe he bequeathed, amongſt other Provinces, Britain to his Son of the ſame Name, who quarrelling through Ambition with his Brother, loſt to him both Life and Empire. This Brother, whoſe Name was Conſtance, came over hither in the Winter, a Thing ſo unuſual that we find it mentioned in very high Terms in a Panegyrick on that Prince<sup>r</sup>. He was ſoon after ſucceeded by his other Brother Conſtantius, in whoſe Time Gratian, who was the Father of the Emperor Valentinian, commanded here. On his being recalled, Magnentius ſet up for himſelf, and for a few Years reigned with great good Fortune, but was at length ſubdued<sup>s</sup>. Julian, while he bore the Title of Cæſar, and commanded with much Reputation in Gaul, drew, as we have ſhewn in another Place, immenſe Supplies of Proviſions from this Iſland, for the Reception of which he conſtructed prodigious Granaries<sup>t</sup>. When he became Emperor, knowing the Importance of this Iſland, he ſent over conſiderable Forces to reſeſs the Incurſions of the Nations from the Northern Part of the Iſle.

UNDER Valentinian, Theodoſius, Father of the Emperor of the ſame Name, came hither, and by his Military Exploits gained great Reputation, following the Example of Agricola, acting offeniſely againſt the Enemy, and eſtabliſhing a new Province, compoſed of the Territory out of which he expelled them<sup>u</sup>. When afterwards the Son of this victorious

<sup>9</sup> Zofim. Hiſt. lib. ii. P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 27. Sext. Aurel. Victor de Cæſaribus. But he was cenſured for withdrawing the Legions from the Frontiers, for making many Alterations in the Military Eſtabliſhment, and for changing the Seat of Empire, by which the Weſtern Provinces were rendered leſs ſecure

<sup>r</sup> Zonar. Hiſt. lib. iii. Zofim. Hiſt. lib. ii. Eutrop. Breviar. lib. x. cap. 5. The Panegyriſt was Julius Firmicus. But Conſtans himſelf ſtruck a Medal to perpetuate the Memory of this Paſſage (Spanheim in Jul. Cæſar. p. 134.) with his Effigies on one Side, and on the Reverse an armed Man on Ship board, with an Image of Victory. The Inſcription, Bononia Ocean. which ſhews he embarked at Bologn. This Expedition was A. D. 343. It is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus lib. xx. c. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Zonar. Hiſt. lib. iii. Zofim. Hiſt. lib. ii. P. Oroſii lib. vii. cap. 29. The Deſeat of Magnentius, who, though born in Gaul, was the Son of a Briton, was accompanied with ſuch Slaughtering as exceedingly exhausted the Force of the Roman Empire.

<sup>t</sup> Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xx. Zofim. Hiſt. lib. iii. Eutropii Breviar. lib. x. cap. 7. He alſo ſent over Lupicinius hither to reſeſs the Northern Invaders.

<sup>u</sup> Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxviii. This new Province, according to Richard of Cirenceſter, was only a Part of Agricola's Veſpaſania, the Reſt was never recovered.

General was declared Emperor, it so disgusted Maximus, who was at the Head of the Army here, that he set up for himself, assumed the Purple, and carried into Gaul a numerous and potent Army composed chiefly of Britons, of whom few if any returned<sup>w</sup>. He was at first very successful, and possessing himself of Part of Germany, fixed his Capital at Triers: But marching afterwards into Italy, he was there defeated and slain. This Tyrant, as he is frequently stiled by the Latin Writers, contributed very much to extenuate the Roman Power in this Isle<sup>x</sup>.

AFTER his Death there followed such a Scene of Confusion, that it would require much more Room than we have to spare, should we attempt to discuss the discordant Accounts of the several Revolutions that with great Bloodshed and horrid Devastation happened here<sup>y</sup>. The Empire hastening to its Decline, was miserably harrassed on all Sides by the barbarous Nations, which was also the Fate of Britain; and the Inhabitants, having been hitherto protected by the Romans, looked continually to them for Relief, which they obtained so long as they were able to afford it. Gallio Ravennas was the last of their Generals who came hither, and who having with great Spirit and Success repelled the Scots and Picts, repaired and fortified the Wall, which he exhorted the Britons to defend, and so left them<sup>z</sup> after the Romans had held this Country Four hundred and Seventy-six Years, according to Camden's Computation, though others say more than Five hundred Years<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> Zonar. Hist. lib. iii. Zosim. Hist. lib. iv. P. Orosii lib. vii. cap. 34, 35. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 381. Nennius and Geoffrey's British History mention this, and the Fact seems unquestionable.

<sup>x</sup> Vir. Hist. Brit. lib. vi. Gildæ Hist. de excidio Britan. cap. 10. Galfrid. Monmuth. Hist. Brit. lib. v. cap. 10—16. He calls him Maximian, and makes him a near Relation to Constantine the Great by the Side of Helena his Mother. Zosimus says he was a Spaniard by Birth, though he had served with the Character of a good Officer in Britain, and covered the Sea with his Navy when he came from thence. The Poet Ausonius, however, calls him by no better Name than the Rhotupian Thief, which some think implies his being a Briton, which the Saxon Chronicle affirms.

<sup>y</sup> Zosim. Hist. lib. vi. P. Orosii lib. vii. cap. 40. 42. Pauli Diaconi lib. xiii. xiv. Gildæ Hist. de excidio Britan. Nennii Hist. Britonum. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. Galfrid. Monmuth. lib. vi. viii.

<sup>z</sup> It seems to be certain, that Aetius and not Agitius (as it is in Gildas) was the Consul to whom the Britons applied for Succour; and it appears no less certain, that the Romans were rather unable than unwilling to comply with their Request, for at this Time their western Provinces were daily falling into the Hands of those stiled by them barbarous Nations, which could never have happened if they had constantly kept up their Forces and Fleets in Britain.

<sup>a</sup> It seems probable the last Number comes nearest the Truth. The judicious Dr. E. Halley (Miscel. Curiosa vol. iii. p. 423) clearly proves that Julius Cæsar landed here August 26 A. A. U. C. 600 A. A. C. 55. according to Gildas compared with the Roman Histories, that Nation finally relinquished this Island about A. D. 444. and consequently, if we put these together, their Dominion lasted 499 Years. But if we reckon from Claudius's Expedition, they were not here so long; the Saxon Chronicle says 470 Years.

WHEN the provincial Britons found that they were thus deserted, it exceedingly depressed their Spirits, and they quickly discovered they were utterly unequal to the Task of defending themselves. We have no Reason to wonder at this, since all their hardy and bold spirited Youths had been gradually carried out of the Country, so that the far greater Part of those left behind were either old and infirm or loose, luxurious, profligate, and withal turbulent and seditious People, alike incapable of resisting their Enemies or of submitting for any Length of Time even to Governors of their own Choice <sup>b</sup>. In this sad Situation, being without any Order or Discipline, and attacked on all Sides by foreign Foes, they had Recourse through Infatuation and Despair to the very worst of all Expedients, in which however they only copied their old Masters <sup>c</sup>, that of calling in One barbarous Nation to drive out another, which brought them under a new and heavier Yoke. These are Facts fully attested by their own Historians Gildas and Nennius, who are indisputable Authorities, and whose Accounts are not simply Relations, but Pictures also of those truly miserable Times, drawn by Men who write as if they had been Eye Witnesses, and as if they spoke of what they saw and felt in a Language suitable to their Circumstances <sup>d</sup>.

It is the Remark of a very judicious and learned Prelate, that the great Source of the Misfortunes of the Britons was the Error committed by the Romans in not making an entire Conquest of the Island. This was plainly the Design of Julius Agricola, and the Cause of those dreadful Apprehensions of the Caledonians when they saw his Fleet steering for the Orkneys<sup>e</sup>. If Domitian had suffered him to have effected what he was so near accomplishing, there would have been no Need of Walls; and if the Romans had been obliged to quit this Country, they would have left all the Britons in general in the same Condition, and of course they would either have united under One Monarchy, or have recurred to their old Form of Government, and which ever had been their Choice, they would have had Strength enough, when free from intestine Divisions, to have repelled any foreign Invasion, as this could never have been made with such a Force as Cæsar

<sup>b</sup> P. Orosii lib. vii. cap. 40. Gilli. cap. 2, 3, 4. Nenni Hist. Briton. cap. 27. Gildas. Monumet. Hist. Brit. lib. vi. Gulielm. Malmesb. de gestis Regn. Angl. lib. i.

<sup>c</sup> Zosim. Hist. lib. iv. p. 760. who censures Gratian for his Propensity to the barbarous Nations. Some say that Gratian and Valentinian sent Part of their Fleet to transport the Picts in great Numbers into the Northern Parts of the Province in their War against Maximus, that they might oblige him to return into Britain out of Gaul; and not succeeding, employed the Huns and the Avars against him on the Continent. At least this was charged upon him by Maximus, and not denied by St. Ambrose, whom this Emperor employed to negotiate with Maximus.

<sup>d</sup> Both these Writers are to be found in Dr. Gale's Collection of our ancient Histories. Gildas, from his complaining Invektives, obtained the Surname of Quercelus.

<sup>e</sup> Tacit. in vit. Agricole, cap. 25. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa Classis obstafaciebat, tam quam aperto maris sui secreto ultimam victis peritugium clauderetur.

brought over, and with which, when in a worse Condition, they found themselves able to struggle with Success <sup>f</sup>.

OUR famous antiquary Camden observes, that if our Ancestors thought it so great an Honour to derive themselves from the Trojans, they might have done it from their Incorporation with the Romans, who valued themselves on the like Descent. But it may not be amiss to remark, that it was not barely the Romans, but all the Nations who were subject to them, and in consequence of that served in their Legions here, who intermixed with the Native Britons, and even numerous Colonies from distant Countries were transported hither, and had Lands given them to settle upon and cultivate here <sup>g</sup>. It is also highly probable that very many, if not most of these People, when they found Resistance vain, submitted to and intermixed with the Saxons.

IN so long a Series of Years as the Romans remained and ruled here, it cannot be doubted that they introduced many Usages which were highly advantageous to the Natives: They brought them from a rude and rough to a civil and orderly Manner of Life, and gradually to a Taste for Urbanity and Politeness. This was much facilitated by the Practice of those bodily Exercises to which the Romans were addicted, and still more by their Application to Letters and Sciences. They likewise made them acquainted with many useful Occupations, to which, from their different Mode of Living, they had been utter Strangers. They instructed them in a Multiplicity of mechanick Arts, some of more and some of less Importance; all of which contributed to that Ease, Affluence, and Splendour in which it is certain they lived in those Days <sup>h</sup>. Their Intercourse with foreign Nations, and of course their Commerce was extended through most Parts of the Empire. But the most permanent as well as the most prosperous of their Improvements consisted in bringing over and naturalizing

<sup>f</sup> Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. xxxix. Where he says plainly, that except the Glory of coming hither, Cæsar gained nothing either for himself or the Republick.

<sup>g</sup> It was the Policy of the Romans to form Corps of Horse (Alæ) and Foot (Cohortes) out of the Nations they subdued, and these they sent into distant Provinces, where from being Strangers, having different Customs, and not speaking the Language of the Country in which they were stationed, they were less likely to form Cabals. In this Island, as the Notitia Imperii, and many Inscriptions shew, besides Gauls, Spaniards, and Germans, we had Dalmatians, Sarmatians, and other Nations.

<sup>h</sup> The Roman Soldiers were most of them Artificers, which enabled them to instruct the People amongst whom they were stationed. That they actually did so here, appears from the Potteries, Founderies, and other Manufactories, the Relicts of which have been discovered in different Places. The immense Quantities of Utensils of divers Materials dug out of the Ruins of their Towns and Fortresses for a long Series of Ages, affords an additional Proof. To all this we may add, that the Emperors had an Officer here who was Director of the Looms.

to our Soil and Climate many Things which we had not before, and by this the Country itself was enriched as well as its Inhabitants. They likewise extended and improved our Agriculture, and thereby not only a much greater Number of People were maintained and supported, but maintained and supported also in a better Manner <sup>i</sup>.

• THEY likewise established Cities, Towns, and Fortresses, which were generally so properly disposed, and their Situation so well chosen, as to preserve their Credit through all succeeding Times<sup>k</sup>. These they connected, as we have already seen, by spacious and stately Roads, and in some Places by Canals for conveying sure and speedy Supplies to their remotest Garrisons. We may add to these, though calculated solely for their own Security, the Sagacity of their Establishments for the Protection of their Dominions, both by Land and Sea, against Invasions from the Northern Nations within the Island, and the piratical Depredations of the Saxons from the opposite Continent<sup>l</sup>; which Precautions of theirs have ever appeared most worthy of Admiration to those, who by examining them closely, have not barely observed Facts, but discovered also their Motives, and the true Principles of that sound Policy, by which they retained so wide an Empire, inhabited by so many different Nations, under such strict Obedience, through the Course of a long Series of Years. A Policy so complete and perfect, that if it had been steadily adhered to, might have subsisted much longer than it did. But the Lust of Power in private Men, joined to that Luxury attendant on Prosperity, unhappily excited such continual Convulsions, as at length brought on the Dissolution of that So-

<sup>i</sup> Bradley's Survey of Ancient Husbandry and Gardening, p. 104. 290. It is said in some of the Southern Counties several Roman Terms of Art are in use amongst Husbandmen at this Day. Their Mode of Cultivating was practically taught the Saxons by the People who submitted to them. It is also not at all improbable that some of the Writings of the Romans on Agriculture were preserved in the Monasteries; for we know that in those Days the Monks were not only the great Patrons of this Art, but the greatest Proficients in it.

<sup>k</sup> In Gildas and Nennius we have a List of Twenty-eight Cities that were here in the Time of the Romans, upon which we have an excellent Commentary by the learned Archbishop Usher. Richard of Cirencester tells us that there were Ninety-two, and that of these Thirty-three (the Names of which he hath given) were the most eminent. Camden and others have observed that the Saxons built upon the old Foundations. Speed says very justly, that the Roman Stations were the Seed Plot of our English Cities.

<sup>l</sup> At some Times there were four or more Legions here, but constantly Three. According to Constantine's Regulation the Comes Britannix commanded a small Force in the interior of the Roman Territories. The Dux Britanniarum commanded the Rest and all the fortified Posts along the Wall. But the Sea Ports and their Garrisons obeyed the Count of the Saxon Shore or Comes Tractus Maritimi. They had also a competent Sea Force to protect the Coasts, and a convenient Number of armed Vessels stationed in the Friths and upon great Rivers.



verignty which had triumphed over the best Part of what was then esteemed the habitable World<sup>m</sup>.

IT must on the other Hand be allowed, that there resulted from the Roman Government not a few Inconveniencies to the provincial Britons. Before they were totally subdued, prodigious Numbers were destroyed in making Causeways, cutting down Woods, draining Morasses, and erecting Fortifications. Labours so much the more grievous and galling, as they were at once the Instruments as well as the Badges of Subjection<sup>n</sup>. They were likewise exposed to much Rigour, Extortion, and Injustice of every Kind from the Avarice, and even Caprice of the Roman Governors, especially before they obtained the Benefit of the Laws which afforded them Protection, and even this they purchased at the Expence of Taxes and Tribute. They afterwards felt the Burthens, and experienced all the Distresses that arose from the Weakness of some and the Violence of other Presidents and inferior Magistrates. They paid largely for the Maintenance of a standing Army, composed chiefly of foreign Troops, the Military Establishment here being very high<sup>o</sup>, and the Naval also, though we have no distinct Account of it, was also considerable. The Youth were encouraged to affect a Military Life, enrolled and preferred in the Legions, and of course went abroad with them, especially when the Commanders inclined to set up for themselves, from a strange Persuasion, that by supporting these bold Adventurers they did Honour to Britain<sup>p</sup>. The Nation was besides exceedingly exhausted by sending con-

<sup>m</sup> The Seeds of civil Polity and the Principles of the Christian Religion were sown in all the Countries subject to the Roman Empire, and these were not so rooted out by the Irruptions of the barbarous Nations as never to spring up any more. On the contrary, the Countries which had been under their Dominion were earlier and more effectually civilized than those which never fell under their Power. This is very conspicuous in other Countries in Europe as well as these Islands, and is a Point worthy of being well considered.

<sup>n</sup> These Works, as they rendered the Country more open and more advantageous to the Romans, so it rendered it less serviceable, because less defensible to the Britons; it is no Wonder therefore they went about it unwillingly and by Compulsion. Tacitus therefore with equal Elegance and Propriety puts this Complaint into the Mouth of Galgacus Monarch of the Caledonians, *Corpora ipsa ac manus, Silvis ac Paludibus emuniendis, Verbera inter ac contumelias conturunt.* In vit. Agricol. cap. xxxi.

<sup>o</sup> Pancirolius computes the Number of Roman Troops stationed here at Nineteen thousand Two hundred Foot, and One thousand Two hundred Horse. Dr. Arbuthnot in his Tables of ancient Coins, p. 179, 180, rates the Pay of a Foot Soldier at Six Pence per Diem, and the Horse at One Shilling and Six Pence. According then to this Calculation the annual Estimate of the Roman Forces amounted to upwards of One hundred and Sixteen thousand Pounds, exclusive of Officers Pay, Military Stores, and other Contingencies.

<sup>p</sup> As unreasonable and absurd as this Notion was, it cannot be looked upon as unnatural, if we consider the Habit of a Soldier's Obedience, and the Share he takes in the Success and Glory of his General. But the Armies carried from hence in so short a Space of Years under Clodius Albinus, Carausius, Magnentius, Maximus, and Constantine, who was chosen by the Britons for the Sake of his Name, we may easily conceive must exhaust even a populous Country, more especially when joined with a Variety of other Causes.

tinual Recruits to keep those British Corps compleat that were dispersed in Garrisons all over the Empire, as the foreign Forces were here <sup>9</sup>. Add to all this the immense Supplies of Corn, which they were obliged to furnish for the Subsistence of the Legions in Gaul and in Germany, who could not otherwise be maintained there, as evidently appeared when the barbarous Nations, gaining Possession of the Coasts, interrupted that Correspondence, and thereby obliged the Romans to abandon those Provinces. But the worst of all Evils was the stifling all Sense of publick Spirit, by diverting to the Roman Empire that Disposition which should have rendered them zealous for the Interests of their own Country, and by which the Bulk of the Nation were rendered indolent and inactive; a Circumstance that, from the same destructive Policy, proved not only fatal to them, but to the Inhabitants also of all the other Provinces, and rendered them an easy Prey to their fierce and barbarous Enemies <sup>r</sup>.

As to those dark, perplexed, and doubtful Times that succeeded this Catastrophe, the Stories of them have baffled the Industry and Judgment even of our ablest Writers. But the Substance of what can with Certainty be collected is simply this: The Romans were no sooner withdrawn, and the unhappy Britons left to themselves, than their Weakness and Inability appeared <sup>s</sup>. The Scots and Picts penetrated the Wall; several Parts of which, that they might enter with the greater Freedom, they utterly ruined, sacking the Cities that were nearest it, spoiling the adjacent Lands, and by repeated Incurfions spreading such a general Desolation as produced a Famine <sup>t</sup>. Vortigern, who was then King, unable to resist his Enemies, and  
at

<sup>9</sup> It appears from the Notitia Imperii, and from Inscriptions, that there were at least Twelve distinct Corps of British Troops, some Horse and some Foot, not only in Italy, in Gaul, and in Spain, but in Illyria, Armenia, Egypt, and other remote Provinces, from whence few returned hither. Besides these there were no Doubt considerable Numbers that served on Board the Fleets which were withdrawn at the same Time with the Legions, so that the Country was stripped entirely of all her Strength both by Land and Sea.

<sup>r</sup> In the Time of the Emperor Valentinian III. the Romans quitted Britain, and in the same Reign the Franks seized the best Part of Gaul; the Burgundi too fixed themselves in those Countries which bear their Name; the Goths settled themselves in Spain; the Hunns occupied Pannonia, now called from them Hungary, and afterwards took and sacked Rome. The Provinces when the Legions, being their Protectors, were once withdrawn, having no Force or Spirit of their own, were with little or no Resistance over-run by these Inundations of the barbarous Nations.

<sup>s</sup> Fordun Scotichron. lib. iii. cap. 12. We have the Fact ascertained by Gildas, Nennius, and other Writers; but they are not at all clear in Relation to Time. However it appears from them to have been but a very short Space. Fordun generally took his Accounts from old Chronicles, which for the most Part he cites; and from him we may collect, that in the Space of Four or Five Years the Scots and Picts, whom Gallio with a single Legion had repelled (such hath been always the Superiority of regular Troops) renewed their Incurfions.

<sup>t</sup> Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, p. 301. This Wall, built by the Labour of the Britons, though under the Direction of the Romans, is a noble Monument of their Skill in Military Architecture;

at the same Time afraid to trust his own Subjects, had Recourse to the Saxons for Assistance. These on their first Coming repelled the Northern Invaders, but not thinking themselves properly rewarded for so great a Service, they compromised Matters with the Scots and Picts in order to turn their Arms upon the Britons. At that Time they were a fierce, cruel, and rapacious People, unrestrained by any Sense of Humanity or Principles of Religion; and being inflamed with an insatiable Thirst of Dominion, they plundered, burned, and ruined wherever they came without respect to the Consequences that must necessarily attend such horrid and wide-spread Devastations <sup>u</sup>.

THE Britons, constrained by Necessity to take up Arms, were often victorious, though their Success is so magnified in their own History, as not only to surpass all Credibility, but even to render the very Existence of those Heroes who commanded them in some Degree problematical. The Truth of the Matter however seems to be, that if they could have forborne their intestine Disputes, and united thoroughly in the Cause of their Country, they might have recovered and preserved it <sup>w</sup>. But this was a Lesson they could not be taught either from Prudence or Experience, insomuch, that whenever they had the least Respite from their foreign Enemies, they relapsed into civil Wars, by which their Strength was not barely exhausted, but they were likewise diverted from pursuing the Methods they might otherwise have taken to prevent the Return of their Enemies, or to have put themselves into a State of Security.

So far was their Conduct from this, that they suffered the Saxons to settle in different Parts of the Island, and thereby gave them an Oppor-

chite@ure; so well constructed, and the Forts for its Defence so properly disposed, as to render it, if well defended, impregnable; so strong, that when deserted, the Scots could not demolish it, or even Time and the Efforts of Men in so many Ages. Beda says it was Eight Feet broad and Twelve Feet high, which what still remains proves to be exactly true.

<sup>v</sup> Gild. cap. 24, 25. Bed. lib. iii. cap. 15. The British Historians and the Saxon agree exactly in their Accounts. They say that all the Cities, Towns, and Habitations were consumed from the East Sea to the West; Churches, and all other publick Edifices shared the same Fate; the People also who resisted were massacred without respect to Sex or Age: In a Word, the Destruction was so universal in order to compel the Britons every where to retire, that at length the Saxons found Subsistence so scarce, that Numbers of them were for the present forced to quit the Island.

<sup>w</sup> The great Kings or Chieftans of the Britons against the Saxons were Vortimer, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Arthur; but the chief Difficulty is as to the last: He is not mentioned by Gildas or the Saxon Chronicle; yet the British History makes him not only victorious over the Scots and Picts, but also over the Gauls, Romans, &c. which being manifestly false, created a Doubt with some whether such a Person ever existed. Leland and Sir John Price have contested this, and from them and Bishop Stillfleet the Sentiment delivered in the Text hath been adopted.

tunity of receiving continual Recruits from the Continent, by which Means they were at length overwhelmed by Numbers \*. In these Facts the British and Saxon Writers upon the Whole agree tolerably well, and it is of little Consequence, at least to our Purpose, to trouble the Reader with Circumstances in regard to which they do not agree at all. From this State of Things we see clearly, that on the One Side they fought to acquire, and on the other to preserve Territory. In the Course of this furious Contest, the Country in general was laid waste, the Cities and Towns depopulated and destroyed, Industry in a Manner totally extinguished, and, together with the numerous Monuments of the Magnificence and Grandeur of the Romans and their British Subjects, the very Memory of their Arts, Sciences, and Polity buried in Oblivion; and thus this Revolution left both the Territory and its Inhabitants in the most dreary and desolate Condition †.

At the very Beginning of these Troubles, as well as during the Continuance of them, besides those who submitted to the Saxons and the the Scots, great Numbers, to preserve their Lives and Freedom, transported themselves and their Effects into other Countries, more especially into Armorica, Bretagne or Brittany, in which District their Countrymen were settled before, though at what Time is a Point far from being clear.

Others

\* If we attempt to account for the Conduct of the Saxons in thus burning and destroying the Midland Country which they designed to inhabit, it may look at least somewhat like a Reason to say, that they meant to render it untenable by the ancient Inhabitants while their Countrymen were coming over daily and settling on the Sea Coasts. By this Policy they had Time to reinforce their new formed States, and by continual Accessions of Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, to press upon and to curtail the several Territories still in the Possessions of the Britons.

† The intelligent Reader, by contemplating this short Account, will gain a competent Idea of the Change wrought in this Country by its falling into the Hands of these new Masters. They destroyed at once in a Transport of barbarous Rage what the wisest and politest Nation in the World had been whole Ages in raising. The Romans knew the Value of this noble Isle, and spared no Pains to improve it. How far they succeeded we learn from their Historians, their Poets, and their Panegyrists, much more we should have known if their Works had come down to us entire, or had we any Authors of our own within that Period. That the Britons in those Days lived in Plenty, Ease, and Luxury, Gildas informs us, and as to the Riches, the Splendor, and Elegance of the Romans, the Treasures, Pavements, Altars, Statues, Moveables of all Sorts digged up for more than One thousand Two hundred Years, are so many striking and incontestable Proofs.

‡ Armorica in the Celtic and in the British Language signifies a Country on the Sea Coast. In all Times there was (as we have already mentioned) a close Connection between the Inhabitants of that Country and this. But it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish the Time, when from a Colony sent from hence, it came to be called *Britannia cismarina* and *Britannia minor*. Some say that Constantine the Great settled there the Invalids amongst the Troops he carried from hence. Others that it was a Colony composed of the Remains of the British Armies carried over by Magnentius and Maximus. Some believe that these Exiles who fled from the Saxons seized on and subdued this County, which is not barely improbable but impossible. History shews these

*transmarina.*

Others took Shelter in the mountainous Part of the North of England, and from the Strength of the Situation, and the occasional Assistance of some of their Neighbours, defended themselves for a considerable Space against all the Efforts of their Enemies. Many from the same Motives fixed themselves in Cornwall and Part of Devonshire, of which Region EXETER continued long the Capital; and this British independant Sovereignty subsisted for some Ages. But the most conspicuous and permanent Seat of their Power was in those Countries, anciently inhabited by the Silures, Dimetæ, and Ordovices, called by the Saxons WALES; and as Cornwall was inhabited by the same People, and lay next the Kingdom of the West Saxons, they bestowed upon that the Name of WEST WALES<sup>a</sup>.

IN these Times of Confusion, the Remains of our original Ancestors having scarce any Respite from War, lived without a regular System of Government, conforming in some Respects to their old Customs, and in others were directed by the Will and Wisdom of their Chiefs, and of their Clergy, who long adhered to the Principles of primitive Christianity uncorrupted by the Errors of the Church of Rome<sup>b</sup>. At length, when their Affairs were better settled, HOEL DDA, that is Howel the Good, who was in Possession of all Wales, by the Advice of the most knowing of his Subjects, and with the Consent of his Great Council, composed about A. D. 943. a compleat Body of Laws, in the Prefaces to which he says expressly, that they had none, or at least none that were fit to be observed before. These Laws in our Times have been carefully collected and published<sup>c</sup>. They are divided into Five Books; the First regards Ministers of

transmarine Britons were both a potent and martial Nation at this Time, to whom their Countrymen from hence resorted for Protection.

<sup>a</sup> The Saxons bestowed the Name of Wales on these Countries, and called the People Welshmen. But why? It is commonly said that *Walsh* in German means a *Stranger*, and that, as unlike their Conquerors in Speech and Customs, they were so stiled from thence. Others that the Saxons meant from their Conformity in Language and Manners to denominate them *Gauls*. But the judicious and very learned Sumner observes they did not call these People so till they had expelled them, that the Saxon Verb *weallan* signifies to *wander*, and that, by imposing this Appellation, they meant to stile them *Fugitives*.

<sup>b</sup> Gildas, who inveighs with equal Bitterness against the Vices of the Clergy and Laity, allows that the former, touched with so severe a Chastisement, gave sincere Testimonies of Repentance, and laboured to reform their Countrymen by Preaching and by Example. Selden, who was no Friend to their Order, highly extols the British Monks for their Piety, Charity, and Industry, cultivating their Grounds with their own Hands, by which themselves and their Lands were rendered beneficial to the Community.

<sup>c</sup> This Work, magnificently printed in Folio, and dedicated to his late Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales, is entitled, *CYFREITHJEU HYWEL DDA AC ERAILL*, seu *Leges Wallicæ Ecclesiasticæ et Civiles HOELI BONI, et aliorum Walliæ Principum, quas ex variis Codicibus Manuscriptis eruit, Interpretatione Latina, Notis et Glossario illustravit Gulielmus Wottonus, S. T. P. adjuvante Mose Gulielmio, A. M. R. S. Soc. qui et Appendicem adjecit. Londini MDCCXXX.*

State and principal Officers of the Household of the King and Queen, describes their Functions, and ascertains their Privileges and Emoluments. The Second respects civil Actions. The Third contains their criminal Law, together with many æconomical Regulations. These Three are authentic, and had the full Sanction of Authority. The Fourth comprehends the Elements of their Jurisprudence digested in a very peculiar Manner; and the Fifth consists of the Method of Proceeding in their Courts, with Decisions and Reports. Altogether they exhibit a singular and curious Plan of their political Institution, as well as a just Picture of the Customs and Manners of that People at that Period <sup>d</sup>.

THESE British Statutes intermix with their ancient Maxims many Things that have plainly a Connection with the Laws and Customs of their Neighbours. The Households of their Princes, for sometimes they had several, were numerous, and must have been burthensome upon the People. Their Lands, except such as were given to the Church, were subject to many Services. They were equally divided amongst the Heirs Male, and were not liable to Forfeitures. The Property, if it could be called so, of the common People was very precarious, and yet it is certain the Inhabitants of these Countries were numerous, had for those Times a considerable Share of foreign Commerce, and probably, if they had been less turbulent, might have become more potent, and have preserved themselves longer in a State of Freedom <sup>e</sup>.

IT may be not amiss to shew, as we have mentioned their several Retreats, the different Periods at which they were expelled or subdued. As to the Remnant of the British Nation that continued in the Northern Parts, they maintained themselves with great Spirit and Intrepidity for almost five hundred Years; but being then attacked by several Enemies, but especially the Danes, the greatest Part of them quitted their old Seats and came into North Wales, then under Prince Anarawd, who assigned them the Country between Chester and the River Conway, if they could

<sup>d</sup> To this splendid Edition of the Laws of Wales, there is prefixed a large and learned Preface by William Clarke, in which a curious and copious Account is given of the Contents of the Work, and of the Care and Accuracy employed to render it as perfect as possible. In this Work, lib. ii. cap. 19. p. 155. occurs a Law of Mulmutias Dunwallo with an Introduction plainly taken out of the British History, lib. ii. cap. 17. which Law in the Preface and in the Notes is acknowledged to be spurious.

<sup>e</sup> This Conduct, though manifestly impolitick, was by no Means unnatural, considering the Manners of the Times, the sharp Sense they had of their Misfortune in the Loss of their Country of which they had been deprived, and the unfriendly Disposition of these People towards them. We might perhaps understand these Matters more clearly if we had a better History of those Princes; but the British Writers are so attentive to Genealogies, that in respect to History and Chronology they are rather defective.

drive out the Saxons who had lately seized it. This they gallantly performed, and by his Assistance defeated them in a decisive Battle A. D. 880, and so seated themselves there<sup>f</sup>. Those who were settled in Cornwall held that Country somewhat longer, though continually harrassed therein by the West Saxons. To revenge this, without weighing the Consequences, they opened their Ports, afforded Subsistence to, and sometimes concurred with the Danes in their predatory Incurfions. This so provoked the Saxons, that after depriving them of Exeter, and that District of Devonshire which they had possessed, they made them tributary, till at length they were totally reduced by King Athelstan g.

IN Wales they continued, though in a State of Vassalage to the Saxon Monarchs, till they were themselves subdued first by the Danes, and afterwards by the Normans. The old British Custom of dividing and subdividing their Dominions, which, though usually ascribed to Roderic the Great<sup>h</sup>, who made his Three Sons Princes of North Wales, South Wales, and Powis Land, was certainly of a more ancient Date, and these Princes sometimes more in Number<sup>i</sup>, contributed greatly to their Decline, which proceeded very rapidly after the Norman Conquest, every One of our Kings seizing something; so that South Wales and Powisland being detached from their Dominions, North Wales, on the Death of Prince Lhwelin ap Gruffyth

<sup>f</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 83. Asser. vit. Alfredi, p. 27. Camden's Britannia, p. 802. where this Account is given from a judicious Antiquary, Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwyr. Bishop Gibson observes these Cumbrian Britons, called in the Saxon Chronicle Britons of Stræclækwælas, who were driven out A. D. 875. by the Danish King Halfden, did not derive that Name from their old (as many have imagined) but from their new Possession in the Ystrad Klwyd or Vale of Clwyd in North Wales.

<sup>g</sup> The People of Cornwall maintained a constant and close Correspondence with the Inhabitants of Brittany, and were assisted by them in all their Struggles against the Saxons. Their Loss deserves some Notice, as having a greater Reach of Policy than was common in those Times. They entered into a Confederacy formed against King Æthelstan by the Scots, Danes, Irish, &c. The Army and the Fleet of the Confederates were very formidable, and the Battle was fought at Brunanburhe, a Place not well ascertained, of which A. D. 937, there is a pompous Account in the Saxon Chronicle, and this drew him upon the Cornish, whom he subdued soon after.

<sup>h</sup> This Rodri Vaur or Roderic the Great had Three Sons, Mervin, Cadelh, and Anarawd. These were stiled the Three crowned Princes of Wales, because each of them wore a golden Band or Fillet about his Bonnet, which is properly a Diadem. His Son Anarawd submitted to King Alfred. The Son of Anarawd was Howell Dda the Legislator, in whom the Three Principalities were again united. See more upon this Subject in the Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 491, 492.

<sup>i</sup> Dr. Powell admits this, and indeed there are unquestionable Proofs of it. Gildas declaims against no fewer than Five British Princes as Monsters in Wickedness, and these were all cotemporaries reigning in different Districts. Roderic himself acquired Part of his Dominions by Marriage of an Heiress. Besides the Three crowned Princes he left Three others who were also stiled Princes, and submitted themselves to Alfred before Anarawd took that Resolution. Asser. Menevens. p. 49, 50.

was annexed to the Crown of England by that great and successful Monarch Edward the First, A. D. 1282, or thereabouts.

It was necessary to treat this Subject, which hath been hitherto but very slightly regarded, more at large, that the Observations thereupon might be the better understood. In the original State of this Island, the Tribes or Nations who possessed it, and of course their Rulers, Princes, or Kings were very numerous, and consequently less potent<sup>k</sup>. This had some favourable Effects, as it confined their Attentions to particular Districts, kept them upon their Guard, and obliged each of them to keep up such Forces, as when collected were considerable enough to prevent One from swallowing up another. How long this Constitution had lasted we cannot say; but much longer it might have lasted, if the Spirit of it had subsisted, and the Resentment of private Injuries had not tempted particular Chiefs to forget what was due from them to the Publick<sup>l</sup>.

THE Druids, who by interposing had often extinguished civil Wars, when these exasperated Chiefs had Recourse to the Romans, could apply no Remedy to that Evil, which proved the Ruin of this System. The Powers these Priests had over the Manners or rather the Temper of the People supported the Authority of their Princes when duly exerted, and when otherwise, served very frequently to restrain it. Thus the Bulk of the Nation were mere Engines in their Hands, and that Influence which Superstition gave them by distributing and directing their Labours, produced the same Effects that would have naturally flowed from Principles of Industry<sup>m</sup>. Under the Romans the common Sort of People were instructed how to exercise their Abilities, and were encouraged as well as permitted, after they became their Subjects, to exert them for their own Benefit. This

<sup>k</sup> In Camden we find Sixteen Nations in England, and Five more in Scotland. Marcianus Haracleotus says, that in Albion there were Thirty-three. But it is highly probable there were many more, or that numerous Tribes lived under different Chiefs, since Caesar names no fewer than Four in Kent; and if so many in One County, it is improbable that any Monarch ruled over Four or Five. There must have been at least a tolerable, though not an exact Equality, otherwise it is not easy to conceive how these Kentish Tetrarchs could have subsisted.

<sup>l</sup> The First Invasion by Julius Cæsar had amongst other Causes the Instigations of Androgeus or Mandrubatius, a British Prince who came over with him in that Expedition. Caligula was animated to his abortive Attempt by the Solicitations of Adminius the Son King of Cunobeline. In the Reign of Claudius the gallant Caractacus King of the Silures was after Nine Years War betrayed to the Romans by Cartimandua Queen of the Brigantes.

<sup>m</sup> Instead of thinking meanly of the Abilities or Knowledge of the Druids, we have more Reason to suspect them of that Want of Philanthropy which is but too common with Politicians. They were themselves free from all Services in Peace and War, living in Plenty and Ease. The Princes and Nobles they educated in manly and generous Sentiments. But indulging a Community of Women and other Sensualities to the Vulgar, disposed them thereby to implicit and boundless Obedience to their Dictates.



changed the Face of the Country, and made so favourable an Alteration in the Condition of the Bulk of its Inhabitants, that it is no Wonder they parted so reluctantly with such Masters<sup>n</sup>.

IN the general Wreck that followed there were few Principles of civil Oeconomy preserved, and the little that was preserved seems to have remained amongst those who submitted to the Conquerors, or who retired to put themselves under the Protection of their Neighbours. As to the Relicks of the British Nation who continued under their own Chiefs, they recurred in a great Measure to their old Constitution, which sprung up again with all its Defects. Their Princes had great Power and narrow Territories. The Gentry or Freeholders had indeed, as we have shewn, Inheritances, but these were encumbered with numerous Services<sup>o</sup>. The common People were in all Respects very little considered, which damped their Spirits and excluded Industry. No Regard was paid to the Change of Times and Alteration of Circumstances, though ever so apparent. When the Saxons were united, and they had their whole Power to combat, the British Princes still continued dividing their already too small Dominions, and thereby rendered that Resistance, which was before very difficult, altogether impracticable. If the fiercest Courage, or the most obstinate Intrepidity without the Assistance of milder Measures, or a more extensive Plan of Policy could have preserved them, they were certainly not deficient in either. Offa's Dike, a most stupendous Entrenchment, formed for the Defence of the Saxon Territory against the perpetual IncurSIONS of these martial People, is a direct and a full Proof of what we have advanced<sup>p</sup>. But in succeeding Times, as the Saxons grew in Power, they began to make Encroachments, the Britons in the

<sup>n</sup> This Matter is clearly and judiciously discussed in the valuable Preface to the Laws of Howell Dda. Speaking of the Condition of the British Nation when subject to the Romans, he says, "Legum suarum jacturam patienter ferre poterant, cum per hanc Antonini Constitutionem ad summos Ræpublicæ Honores patuit jam perviam et honestum iter: Nec amplius eorum animis ulla inessit veteres Disciplinæ cupiditas, quando in senatu, in exercitu, non togati solum, sed trabeati et purpurati inciderent."

<sup>o</sup> The candid and inquisitive Reader may find these enumerated and explained in Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, chap. x. where it is remarked that many of these had a close resemblance to the Customs of the old Irish, whence he concludes that they were Remnants of the old British Constitution. This agrees exactly with what Richard of Cirencester says, that when the Romans formed this Country into a Province, the Cangi and Brigantes went over to Ireland and settled themselves there.

<sup>p</sup> Offa King of Mercia, who, as Selden says, made himself Master of the greatest Part of England, to secure his Dominions from the IncurSIONS of that restless Nation, cut this Dike from Wye to Dee, which shews the Bounds of Wales, about the Middle of the Eighth Century. Two hundred Years after Harold, who gained great Victories over these People, made an Ordinance to keep them quiet, that if any Welch Man was found armed on this Side Offa's Dike, he should lose his Hand.

mean Time declining daily in Strength, and weakened even by their Victories. Instead of teaching them Prudence, their Distresses only heightened their Resentments, to gratify which they sometimes sided with the Danes; but they soon found to their Costs that these were worse Neighbours, and were like to prove worse Masters than the Saxons<sup>9</sup>. When their Affairs grew visibly irretrievable, Numbers quitted their Country to seek Safety in some other. Amongst these Princes Madoc, who, as we have already shewn, is supposed, not altogether without a Colour of Reason, to be in Fact the first Discoverer of America<sup>r</sup>.

INTO these Extremities they were apparently brought by the Means so often mentioned, the Division of their Dominions under so many Princes and Lords, their intestine Quarrels which put them upon pursuing different, and of course neglecting their common Interest, and the little Regard shewn in their political System to the Welfare of the common People, who living dependent on the Will of their Chiefs, followed them in their predatory Expeditions. By this Mode of Life War became their great and almost their sole Object, and they seem to have had no Idea that either Safety or Power could be otherwise obtained. This Contempt of the Arts of Peace was the Reason that they built few or no new Towns, but on the contrary suffered their old Ones to decay and fall to Ruin. In most Parts of their Country there were scattered Villages composed of small Huts intermixed with many little Churches and Chapels, Convents and Hermitages, which were the Retreats of such as were not disposed to Military Exploits<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> It seems just to attribute this rather to Resentment than Policy. If Wales had remained under One Sovereign, and his Subjects had been true to his Interests and their own, they might have maintained their own Independency, and have been courted by the Saxons for their Assistance. The Danes were Pagans, the most barbarous, and of all Invaders the most cruel, the Saxons Christians and civilized, so that the Welsh, to revenge old Injuries, paved the Way to new; and their Passion to sacrifice their Enemies was so strong as to hinder them from perceiving that they were also sacrificing themselves. This is a capital Instance to shew how much this Island suffered by being divided into different States, and of course how much its Power is increased by having all its Parts directed by One Government, and comprized under One Legislature.

<sup>r</sup> Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 492. To the Authorities there mentioned, we will take this Opportunity of adding, that a Person of unquestioned Veracity found many Words (See Wafer's Voyages, p. 186.) in the Language of the Darien Indians which resembled the Erie or Irish, but which are plainly much nearer the Welsh, and he also asserts a Similarity in the Pronunciation, which is still more remarkable. The same Observation hath been made in Reference to some other Indian Nations.

<sup>s</sup> *Cæsar's de Bello Gallico*, lib. iv. cap. 13. In omni Gallia eorum Hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo: nam Plebi penè servorum habetur loco; quæ per se nihil audet, et nulli adhibetur concilio. In the same Chapter he asserts the same Customs prevailed in Britain and in Gaul, whence all Power centered in the Priests and in the Chiefs, to whom the Commons were subservient. Thus we see this was an original Error in their Government, and as such remained unaltered and indisputed.

WE may from hence discern, that though this Inattention to Labour was in some Measure balanced by the irresistible Influence of the Druids, yet being freed from this Superstition, and having little Relish for any other than a martial Life, they continued resisting as long as they were able, and brooked Subjection very ill, even when at last reduced. It is therefore obvious, that to the Well-being of any Community it is absolutely requisite that due Respect be paid to all, and more especially to the lower Ranks of People, so as that Individuals may have the free Use of their Faculties for their own Emolument, by which an universal Spirit of Industry being diffused, Multitudes in pursuing their private Interests will most effectually promote the Power, Safety, and Prosperity of the Publick, upon the Stability of which their own must ever depend.

It may be proper, for the Satisfaction of the learned and inquisitive Reader, and to convince him we have fairly and without Exaggeration stated Facts, and truly assigned the Causes of the Dissolution of this System, to refer to the Testimonies of Two celebrated British Antiquaries, One who flourished while his Countrymen were still free, the other living after they were become subject to the English, zealous, yet judicious Writers both. Girald. Cambrens. Cambriæ Descript. cap. viii. H. Lhuyd Fragment. Britan. Descript. fol. 49.

## CHAPTER II.

Of the State of this Country under the Saxons, and of their Constitution.

*THE History of the Saxons, though clearer than that of the Britons, yet not altogether free from Obscurities. Some Particulars relative to this Nation before their coming over hither. Hengist and Horsa their principal Leaders at their arrival. The Title of Monarch of the Anglo Saxons, what it implied and whence it rose. The Settlement of the Kentish Kingdom, and the Conversion of its Inhabitants to Christianity. A short Account of the principal Events regarding it while in that State. The Situation, Size, and Boundaries of the Territories of the South Saxons. Their History very obscure to the Time of their being subdued. The Origin, Extent, and Limits of the West Saxon Kingdom. A succinct History thereof to the Accession of Egbert, who put an End to the Heptarchy. Origin, Size, and Situation of the Kingdom of the East Saxons. The History of this little State to its Extinction. Description of the spacious Kingdom of Northumberland. Several of its Monarchs the most potent in the Island. Often divided, weakened by Factions, and at length forced to submit to the West Saxons. Origin, Situation, and Boundaries of the East Angles.*  
The

*The Conversion of that Nation to Christianity, and the Troubles ensuing thereon. Declension of their Power till they became a Province to Mercia. The History of their last King St. Edmund martyred by the Danes. The Rise, Extent, and Limits of the Kingdom of Mercia. The Military Exploits of its First Sovereign Penda. Conversion of its Inhabitants to Christianity, and their History continued to the Extinction of that Kingdom. The several Periods of the Saxon History, with some Remarks upon them. This Subject farther continued. The Probability of their having Manufactures and Commerce among them, even in these very early Times. The Reign of Egbert, reputed the First Monarch of England. The Reigns of Ethelwulf and his Brethren. The dismal Devastations committed by the Danes. The Accession of Alfred the Great. Constrained by the Danes to take Shelter in the Fens of Somersetshire. He recovers his Kingdom by his Courage, and restores it by his Conduct. A succinct Review of the Remainder of his Reign. Alfred is acknowledged by the ablest Judges to have been the Author of the English Constitution. Arguments adduced in Support of this Assertion. The Pillars of his System, a proper Distribution of his Dominions, and a due Regulation of his Subjects. Justice every where administered with the utmost Punctuality. All possible Respect shewn to the Freedom of the Subject. Regulations relative to Cities, Commerce, and Navigation. Provision made for a standing Militia, and a constant naval Force. His Care in respect to general Assemblies or great Councils. The peculiar Excellencies of this admirable Institution. The Accession and Character of his Son, and Successor Edward the Elder. His Attention and Wisdom in the building new Towns. A general View of the Remainder of his Reign. Ethelstan succeeds his Father, and steadily prosecutes his Measures. A deep and dangerous Confederacy formed against him. Defeated, after which he reigns with equal Prudence and Splendour. His Brother Edmund succeeds him in the Throne. He after a glorious Reign is unfortunately murdered by a Russian. Edred his younger Brother succeeds, and after him his Nephew Edwy. The Accession of Edgar surnamed the Peaceable. He proves the greatest and most potent of all the Saxon Monarchs. His mild and moderate Maxims, and the happy Consequences attending them. A brief Detail of the Remainder of his prosperous Reign. Succeeded by his Son Edward, surnamed the Martyr, who was cruelly murdered. His Brother Ethelred succeeds, and the Country miserably destroyed by the Danes. He is obliged to abandon the Kingdom to Saevine. Returns upon his Death, and is equally unfortunate during the Remainder of his Reign. Succeeded by his Son Edmund, surnamed Ironside. Canutus crowned King of England; acquires the Surname of Great from his Wisdom and Success. The short oppressive Reign of his Son Harold. Hardiknut succeeds his Brother. Edward the Confessor advanced to the Throne upon his Demise. His Virtues too much magnified by*

*by the Monks. On his Death Harold the Son of Earle Godwin seats himself in the vacant Throne. Defeats his Brother Tofti, and Harold King of Norway. Loses the fatal Battle of Hastings, and with it his Life and Crown. The Conclusion and Application of this long Chapter.*

**A**S the Saxon Story is later in Point of Time, it is of course more certain, and considerably clearer than what was the Subject of the former Chapter. For in respect to this we have surer and less suspected Authorities, such as the Ecclesiastical History of Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, and many of our old Historians who are allowed to have drawn their Materials from contemporary Writers <sup>a</sup>. Add to these the Cities, Fortresses, Cathedrals, and other publick Edifices erected in those Days, and remaining indisputable Monuments of their Founders. The Charters and Records of those Ages, whether existing or authentically proved to have once subsisted, are further Evidences that ought undoubtedly to have their just Weight. But notwithstanding all these, there want not some obscure Points even in Reference to this Nation, more especially in regard to their Entrance into this Island.

THE most learned of our Writers differ very much in their Sentiments as to the Part of the Continent from which they came hither <sup>b</sup>. They  
are

<sup>a</sup> The Work of venerable Beda, entituled, An Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, hath been always very deservedly esteemed as One of the most ancient and authentick Monuments of the Deeds of our Saxon Ancestors. He was a Saxon himself, a Man of very considerable Learning for those Times, dedicated his Work to Ceonulph King of Northumberland, and had the Honour to have his Book translated into Saxon by King Alfred. The Saxon Chronicle, of which Dr. Gibson late Bishop of London published an excellent Edition, is with good Reason supposed to have belonged to the Church of Peterborough, derives its Name from its being written in that Language, and is cited with great Respect by Florence of Worcester, and other ancient Writers. In Ecclesiastical Affairs it agrees with Beda, but it does not follow that it was transcribed from his Book. On the contrary, from the Simplicity of the Stile, and the Orthography which agrees exactly with the ancient Coins; the former Part of it seems to be of an earlier Date. There is not any Doubt that it was written by various Hands, and the Stile plainly shews it; but this by no Means diminishes its Authority, which hath been always highly considered by our ablest and most accurate Writers.

<sup>b</sup> We find some Writers fetching these Ancestors of ours, not only out of the Heart of Germany, but even from the most distant Parts of the North. Olaus Rudbeck affirms, that the Saxons and Angles both came originally out of Sweden; many are for bringing them from Jutland and the Banks of the Elbe. Ubbo Emmius assigns very probable Reasons to shew that wherever they came from originally, they passed over hither immediately from Friesland, and that a great Part of Hengist's Recruits were composed of Frisians; in Support of which he hath One very strong Argument, which is, that the Language spoke in that Country comes the nearest to the Anglo Saxon, insomuch that when Priests went from hence to convert the Natives to Christianity, they preached to them without the Assistance of any Interpreter. There may be a Degree of Truth in these seemingly contradictory Notions, for these Northern Nations pushed one another out of their ancient Seats, to which however they left their Names, till at length some

are not much better agreed as to the precise Time of their coming, or whether it was at first by Accident or by Invitation. To say nothing of the Size of their Ships in which such Multitudes of them were transported, or of the Tale of the fair ROUENA, whose Beauty was no less fatal to BRITAIN than that of HELEN to TROY. The cruel Massacre at Stonehenge is a Fact that has been controverted, as are some others relative to these early Times<sup>c</sup>; but these are little or nothing to our Purpose, and therefore to have mentioned them is sufficient.

THE SAXONS were a numerous German Nation, well known, and not a little formidable to the Romans while they continued in Possession of this Country; they were composed of many Tribes, and in different Periods were equally famous for their IncurSIONS by Land, and their Piracies by Sea. Their Neglect of Agriculture, and their superabounding with People, obliged them to frequent Migrations, and these having gradually brought them down to the Sea Coasts, induced them to undertake maritime Expeditions. Tacitus with equal Elegance and Exactness hath described their Manners and their Policy while they continued in their old Seats; and his Relations agree perfectly with their Conduct after their Arrival in this Isle<sup>d</sup>.

THE Characteristics of this potent and hardy People were their Love of Freedom and of Arms. Their whole Policy turned on these Two Points. In Time of Peace their Princes, who were all descended from their deified

of them came to the Mouth of the Rhine, and the Countries adjacent, from whence they had a short Passage hither. If the inquisitive Reader desires to see this Matter further discussed, he may consult the learned Bishop Stillingfleet's Fifth Chapter of his Antiquities of the British Churches.

The Saxon Chronicle fixes the Arrival of Hengist and Horsa A. D. 449, which is at least as probable a Date as any. As to the Daughter of Hengist, who is called Rowena, Roxena, and Ronix by different Authors, we may have leave to doubt of her Existence. Nennius is the First who tells the Story, after him Jeffrey of Monmouth, from whom the Monkish Writers borrowed it. The Saxon Chronicle never mentions her. The Murder of Four hundred and Sixty British Noblemen at Stonehenge is almost as improbable as Merlin's bringing over that Monument for them by his magic Art from Ireland. Inigo Jones has very fully retuted that wild Relation. The Truth of the Matter is, that the Saxon Historian tells exactly the same Adventure between the Saxons and the Thuringians, from whence this was in all Probability copied. Whitkind de Gest. Sax. lib. i.

The Treatise of Tacitus referred to in the Text is his Discourse of the Manners of the Germans, and the Saxons being a German Nation, were of course included therein. The very learned and judicious Selden in several of his Works, but particularly in the Third Chapter of what he entitles England's Epinomis, enters into this Matter, and by comparing several Passages in the Roman Author with the Usages of our Saxon Ancestors, shews very clearly their Consistency, and from thence deduces the original Grounds of those legal Institutions that prevail and continue in Force even at this Day. In this he has been followed by many able Writers, who have illustrated this Matter by an Addition of Instances of the like Nature, by which the Truth of the Thing is rendered equally certain and clear.

Chieftain WODIN, had very limited Authority, whereas in War they were intrusted with full Powers. In their Military Expeditions several Tribes joined their Forces together under One Chief, but so long as these lasted there was no Division of Command, though each Chief of the Confederates was at the Head of his own Troops, and particularly attentive to their Advantage. This was the more requisite, as they were responsible for their Conduct in their General Assemblies, which, so long as they remained in Germany, were held annually at least, and therein all their publick Concerns were openly discussed<sup>e</sup>.

THE HEPTARCHY, which was the First Form of the Saxon Government here, was not either established at once or by Design, but took Place gradually, and in a great Measure by Accident. HENGIST and HORSIA, who came over first, were employed, as we have already seen by the Britons, against the Scots and Picts, and left several small Bodies behind them to keep those Parts of the Country in Order which had been voluntarily abandoned to them, at such Time as they returned to Kent to receive fresh Supplies, being now at Variance with the Britons; and in One of the First Actions Horsia was slain. Upon this Hengist was obliged to call in other Saxon Chiefs to his Assistance, and upon the Report of his Successes they very readily came. In these Circumstances it may be easily conceived, that though in Process of Time these Chiefs acquired Territories for the Auxiliaries they commanded, yet so long as he lived they acknowledged a Supremacy in Hengist, to whose great Courage, Military Skill, and long Experience they in a great Degree owed their Acquisitions<sup>f</sup>.

THE

<sup>e</sup> As in their own Country the Saxons were almost continually in a State of War, so when a young Man was arrived at an Age fit for Service, he was brought into the Assembly, and having there received his Arms, had thence forward a Right to Admission. To these Assemblies they came always armed; for with them a Citizen and a Soldier were synonymous Terms. It was not lawful to speak of publick Affairs, but in these Councils, which for lesser Matters were frequently held, at the New and Full Moons. But as they seldom resided above a Year in One Place, so the Regulation of what was to be done during their Continuance, that is, the Quantity of Land that was to be cultivated, the Division of its Produce, and the Direction of their next Removal, was regulated in a General Assembly held for that Purpose. These Customs the Saxons brought with them hither, as was very natural, for these and their Arms were all they had to bring, and when their Circumstances afterwards changed, they very rationally accommodated these Customs to the new State of their Affairs.

<sup>f</sup> It is requisite to discuss some Points here to prevent an Appearance of Contradiction. Hengist gained Three great Victories, though not without much Expence of Blood, over the Britons at Aylesford, Crayford, and Wippedfleet, by which he acquired, secured, and settled his Kingdom of Kent, with which he seems to have been satisfied; and therefore it is improbable that he should be called, as some Writers say, by Aurelius Ambrosius near Doncaster. He preserved no Doubt a Correspondence with the Chiefs of his own Nation, who were endeavouring to establish themselves in different Parts of the Isle, and seems to have contributed to the Settling of

THE Stream of our Historians speak of this as a Measure thence forward adopted, so that One amongst these Princes had always a Primacy, and was stiled Monarch of the Anglo-Saxons: But they do not tell us either how he was elected, what were the Functions of his Office, or what Utility resulted from it. That venerable Code, intituled, The Saxon Chronicle, gives a very different Account of this Matter; for though it allows there were such Monarchs, yet it neither assigns this Honour to Hengist, or admits a constant Succession, but rather insinuates that it was assumed by Princes when they became very powerful, and asserts that of these there were but Eight in all. It is however on all Hands agreed, that it did not interfere with the Sovereignty of the other Princes, each of whom was independent in his own Dominions, and with the Consent of his Assembly or Great Council made Laws for his Subjects. The Nature of our Design obliges us to give a succinct Account of these Kingdoms, in order to explain their Effects in Reference to the Improvement of the Country, and the Progress of the Constitution.

KENT was the First Kingdom founded by the Saxons in this Island, and this about A. D. 457. In regard to Extent it was the smallest of the Seven, but pleasant, fertile, and well situated, having in those Days many excellent Ports, which facilitated the receiving constant Supplies of fresh Adventurers from the Continent. HENGIST, was the First King, and seems to have fixed the Bounds of his Dominion with great Prudence. On the North it had the Thames; the Sea on the East; on the South and West the Kingdom of the South Saxons. He reigned Eleven Years after assuming the Regal Dignity. In his own Territories he was succeeded by his Son Esc or Osc, but not in the Monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, supposing that he ever enjoyed it. This Honour however was recovered by his Great Grandson ETHELBERT, who, according to the common Computation, was the Sixth who held that Title, and the most famous Prince of his Posterity; for he was the First King who embraced the Christian Re-

Ella, for his own Conveniency in the Kingdom of the South Saxons. This might give him a Kind of Supremacy, but not in the Manner that the other Kings of the Anglo-Saxons are supposed to have exercised it; because, except Ella, there was no other King but himself over whom he could exercise it.

\* We have shewn, that before the Romans arrived this Country was not a Wilderness, or its Inhabitants Savages, and that under them the Land was better cultivated, and the People became more polished. Upon their Retreat, and the Consequences attending it, Devallation and Desolation ensued. The several Nations that came hither from the Continent brought with them military Prowess, and the Lust of Conquest, but proceeded therein with great Ferocity, and scarce any Tincture of Civility. Yet to these People we owe the Recovery of this Country to a State of Improvement, and the Fundamentals of the best Constitution that perhaps the World hath ever seen. It is to give the Reader a just Idea of this, and of course the Obligations we are under to our Saxon Ancestors, that we have dedicated this Chapter.



ligion, being baptized by Auguftine the Monk A. D. 597<sup>b</sup>. He was alfo the First Legislator among the Saxon Princes, and his Laws are ftill extant, which afford a ftriking Picture of the Manners of thofe Times. He was in all Refpects a very extraordinary Perfon, but withal very ambitious, exercifing his Authority over the other Princes in a Manner far from being fatisfactory.

THE Kingdom of Kent after his Deceafe had an Honour which none of the Reft could boast, that of having Two other Legislators amongst their Princes. The First of thefe was LOTHAIRE, who made his Code about A. D. 676. The Second WITHRED, who, by the Advice of his Great Council, publifhed his Conftitutions, A. D. 696<sup>i</sup>. This little Kingdom, after a Succeffion of about Seventeen Princes, the laft of whom was Baldred, was annexed to that of the Weft Saxons A. D. 823, when it had remained an independent State for the Space of 366 Years<sup>k</sup>. It is however true, that it was long after this reputed a Kingdom, and Ethelftane the

<sup>b</sup> Upon the Introduction of Chriftianity, King Ethelbert erected an archiepifcopal See at Canterbury, which was his Capital, and the See of Rochefter in his own Dominions. He likewife prevailed upon his Nephew Sebert King of the Eaft Saxons to liften to the Inftiutions of his Clergy, and upon his Conversion dedicated and endowed the Church of St. Paul's, making it the Cathedral of the See of London, contributing alfo to the Building of St. Peter's Weftminfter, befides feveral Convents in his own Dominions. We mention thefe as very great publick Advantages, for the Clergy during the Saxon Times were very induftrious in improving of Lands; and as after their Conversion there was a great Spirit of Picry among thefe Princes, fo in all their Wars the Poffeffions of the Church were refpected, and of confequence Cultivation revived, and fpread itfelf in a very high Degree. There was likewife even in thofe Days a Proportion of foreign Commerce, otherwife this Monarch would not have married a French Princefs, which fhews a friendly Communication muft have long fubfifted between their refpective Subjects.

<sup>i</sup> Thefe Laws were fhort, precise, written in the Saxon Language, and though they afford pregnant Proofs of the Rudeneff of the Times, yet they very plainly appear calculated to reform and refine the Manners of the People; and this was another Advantage fpringing from Chriftianity, before the Introduction of which the People were governed according to their ancient Cuftoms and the Will of the Prince and his Nobility. The Names of thefe Princes in the Titles of their Laws agree in Orthography with their Coins, and with the Saxon Chronicle, which confirms the Antiquity of thofe valuable Annals. Æthelbirth's Conftitutions were Eighty-nine in Number; thofe of Hlothair and Eadric his Nephew, who reigned with him jointly, were Sixteen; thofe of Withred are not numbered. Wilkins *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae*, p. 1—13.

<sup>k</sup> In the former Volume we have endeavoured to fhew in fome Meafure the Beauty, the Advantages, and the Importance of this Country, to which, confidered in the Light of a Kingdom, we ought to add fomething here. The Power of Ethelred gave him an Influence over all the Country as far as the Humber; and this is fufficient to fhew, that his Donations furnifhed him with Men and Money. Another Teftimony arifes from the People of Kent's being able many Years after to compromise their Quarrel with Ina King of Mercia, by paying him down Thirty thoufand Pounds of Silver, which they muft have gained by Trade. Long after this the barbarous Danes deftroyed Canterbury, and by the moft cruel Decimation faved but One of the Inhabitants out of Ten; from which bloody Slaughter it appears that there were at that Time in the City near Fifty thoufand Souls. It was then a Province, and we may reasonably conclude, that when it was the Capital of a Kingdom, its Citizens were not fewer.

Son of Ethelwulf and Grandson of Ecbert, who put an End to the Heptarchy, had this, together with other Dominions, assigned him by his Father the better to protect them against the Devastation of the Danes, from whence this Prince is stiled by the Saxon Writers King of Kent, which Country however his Father again resumed upon his Demise.

• THE Kingdom of the SOUTH SAXONS was in Point of Time the Second, in regard to size the Sixth of the Heptarchy, being a little, and but a little larger than the former; it was composed of what are now called the Counties of Suffex and Surry, and was founded by ELLA or ÆLLA, who, with his Three Sons and a numerous Band of Followers, came over at the Request of Hengist, and fought gallantly against the Britons, who notwithstanding defended themselves for some Years with equal Courage until overpowered by Numbers. When Ella perceived that he had Space sufficient to form an Establishment for his People, he assumed the Title of King of the South Saxons, making the Thames his North Boundary; having the Kingdom of Kent on the East; the Sea on the South, and his Countrymen then fighting against the Britons, who not long after created another new Kingdom on the West. Ella was a Prince of such Spirit and good Fortune, that all the other Saxon Chiefs then striving to establish themselves in this Isle owned his Supremacy, and hence he is usually called the Second Monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, though the Saxon Chronicle asserts he was the First<sup>1</sup>.

HE was succeeded by his Son CISSA, and in Process of Time EDILWACH, or rather ADELWALD, came to the Possession of this Sovereignty, who being defeated was made Prisoner by Wulher King of the Mercians. He was during his Captivity baptized by Wilfrid Archbishop of York, Wulher being his Godfather, who afterwards restored him to his Dominions, and gave him the Isle of Wight A. D. 661. Of all the Saxon Principalities we have the slightest Account of this, for except the Names of a very few Kings, and the Facts already mentioned, we know nothing more than that after having been long dependent upon the Kingdom of the

<sup>1</sup>Chron. Saxon. p. 71. A. D. 827, where the Reader will find a List of these Anglo-Saxon Monarchs. This Kingdom of the South Saxons, as hath been observed in the Text, was of no great Extent, and yet so woody and wild a Country that it was but thinly inhabited. Ella and his younger Son Cissa, who succeeded him, are said to have reigned about a Century; the latter distinguished himself by building a City, and a royal Seat or Residence, to both of which he left his Name. The First was Cissaceastre now Chichester, the latter Cisbury; the Ruins of which, and the Marks of the Moat which surrounded it, are still visible. He was a Prince very studious of Peace, and therefore chose to pay an annual Subsidy or Tribute to his Neighbour the Monarch of the West Saxons, by whose Power he was defended from the Inroads of the Britons.

West Saxons, it was at length united thereto by their victorious King Ina A. D. 725<sup>m</sup>. It is true that the People afterwards made many Struggles for the Recovery of their Liberty, which however they were not able to effect.

THE Kingdom of the WEST SAXONS was the Third both in respect to Time and to Extent. It was considered in every Light a most noble, spacious, and well seated Country, more than twice as large as the Two before-mentioned Kingdoms taken together, bounded on the North by the River of Thames; on the East by the Kingdom of the South Saxons; on the South by the Sea; and on the West by Cornwall, which, for a Reason we have already assigned, they stiled West Wales, and when this fell under their Power, comprehended no less than Seven of our fairest and finest Counties<sup>n</sup>. It was founded by CERDIC and his Son CYNRIC, usually called KENRIC, after spending about Fifteen Years in driving the poor Britons out of this Part of the Country. Cerdic assumed the Royal Title A. D. 519, and reigned afterwards Sixteen Years, was a very brave and fortunate Prince, and our Histories make him the Third, and his Son CYNRIC the Fourth Monarch of the Anglo-Saxons; but the Saxon Chronicle owns neither of them, though it allows that Honour to CEAWLIN his Grandson, who was a very distinguished and successful Captain, but at the same Time of so turbulent a Disposition, and so imperious in respect to his fellow Princes, that entering into a League they compelled him to abandon his Dominions.

<sup>m</sup> There is some Confusion in the History of this Conversion, which it is no Way necessary for us to discuss. It may not however be amiss to observe, that besides the Isle of Wight, the King of Mercia gave his Godson the Peninsula of Selsey, that is, the Isle of Seals. This the Monarch of the South Saxons bestowed on Wilfrid Archbishop of York, then in Exile, who founded a Monastery and a little Town here, the Inhabitants of which were taught by him the Art of Fishing, and this Place became the See of the Bishop of the South Saxons, which long after was transferred to Chichester. The Improvements made in this Country were after it became a Province, for as a Kingdom it seems to have been very inconsiderable.

<sup>n</sup> It may be easily conceived, that so great a Kingdom as this could not be so quickly formed and established, as these smaller Ones of which we have spoken. It owed its Grandeur chiefly to the warlike Princes Cawlin and Ceolwulf, the former had been victorious separately against all his Neighbours, Britons, Saxons, and Scots, till they all united against and dethroned him, A. D. 591, and Two Years after he died in Exile. The latter was also a great Captain, and enlarged his Dominions, so that they comprehended the Counties of Berks, Wilts, Hants, Dorset, Somerset, and Devonshire, which for those Times was a very potent Sovereignty, equal in Extent to the Province of Munster in Ireland, not inferior to the Duchy of Normandy, and very little less than the United Provinces, with the signal Advantage of having the Bristol Channel on One Side, and the British Channel on the other, whence it is easy to discern how it grew to be superior to the other Principalities, bringing first the South Saxons, then the Kingdom of Kent into Dependency, and swallowing up at length the Remainder of the Heptarchy.

THE Sixth King of the West Saxons was CYNEGILS, who was baptized by Byrin Bishop of Dorchester, A. D. 635<sup>o</sup>. The Eleventh Prince who wore this Crown, and wore it with great Glory was INA, who, with the Advice of his Great Council, published a Body of Laws for the Use of his Subjects A. D. 696, which are still extant. He was a successful General, of a liberal and munificent Disposition, and at the same Time an able Statesman. After a long and prosperous Reign he thought fit in the Decline of Life, according to the Notions of Piety which prevailed in those Times, to resign his Crown, and when he had done so went to Rome, and becoming a Monk died there when he had swayed the Sceptre Thirty-seven Years<sup>p</sup>. After his Death much Confusion happened in the West Saxon Kingdom, till at length the Throne was filled by BITHRICK, who espoused Eadburga the Daughter of Offa the potent King of Mercia, and the same Year, A. D. 787, Three Danish Ships entered One of the Ports in his Dominions, being the First of that Nation which had ever infested this Island. Bithrick had great Suspicions, whether well or ill founded, of a young Prince of the Royal Line, whose distinguished Qualities made him the Delight of the People. His Name was Ecbert, and to avoid the Effects of this Monarch's Jealousy, he retired for his own Safety into foreign Parts, remaining there till the Death of the King, A. D. 800, when he returned and succeeded him, becoming in Process of Time the Eighth Monarch of

<sup>o</sup> Oswald the potent King of Northumberland was Godfather to Cynegils at his Baptism, and both the Kings concurred in erecting Dorchester within Eight Miles of Oxford, which at that Time it seems was in the Hands of the West Saxon Monarch, into a Bishop's See, where Birinus was placed; and thus at once, as embracing the Whole of the West Saxon Kingdom, it became the largest in England, but was afterwards transferred to Lincoln. Succeeding Monarchs however erected many others out of Zeal for the Christian Faith. Cynegils himself, as some say, but as others assert his Son, raised the Cathedral at Winchester. Their Successors proceeded in the same Track. Ina not only removed his own Residence from Congersbyry in Somersetshire, but the Bishop's See also from the same Place to Wells. Succeeding Princes established Sees at Sherburne in Dorsetshire, Crediton in Devonshire, St. Germans in Cornwall, and Ramsbury, the Saxon Name is Ravensbyrye, in Wilts; Crediton and St. Germans were afterwards united to Exeter, Sherburne absorbed Ramsbury, and afterwards the See was transferred from Sherburne to Salisbury. By this Means several new Towns were erected, and some old ones restored.

<sup>p</sup> This Monarch was in his Day the most potent in this Island, and equally distinguished by his Valour and Success in War, his Magnificence in his Foundations and Buildings, particularly the great Church at Glastonbury, which he furnished with Plate and other Ornaments at a vast Expence, and for his Love of Justice. In the General Assembly in which he made his Laws, he was assisted by the Bishops of Winchester and London, as well as the Nobility and Senators or Aldermen of his Kingdom. These Laws, Seventy-seven in Number, are expressed more elegantly, and at large, than those which we have formerly mentioned, and very evidently prove, as well as the many liberal Acts of this Prince, that the Saxons were grown more wealthy, as well as more polite, than at the First Founding of their respective Kingdoms. In the Conclusion of these Laws there is a very distinct and particular Account of the Fire and Water Ordeal, or Mode of Purgation then in Use. *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae*, p. 14—27.

the Anglo-Saxons, and the First who, after having extinguished the Lustre of the Heptarchy, assumed the Title of KING of ENGLAND.

THE Kingdom of the EAST SAXONS, though not very considerable from its Extent, being in that Respect the Fifth, as it was in Date the Fourth of the Saxon States, was however very remarkable from its having for the Seat of its Monarchy, that which is at this Day the Capital of the British Empire, and was then, as Beda informs us, distinguished by its Trade, and the Resort of Foreign Merchants. This little Kingdom was composed of Countries equally fertile and pleasant, being bounded on the North by the River Stoure; by the Ocean on the East; on the South by the River of Thames; and on the West by the Colne<sup>9</sup>. It was founded under the Protection of Esc the Second King of Kent, by a Saxon Captain whose Name was ERCHENWINE, about A. D. 527.

HIS SON SLEDDA, and the succeeding Kings, were dependent on and closely allied to the Kentish Monarchs, so that, as we have already observed, ETHELBERT laboured the Conversion of his Sister's Son Sebert, and was the joint Founder with him of the episcopal See of London, and the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster, A. D. 604. Mellitus was the First Bishop, who after the Decease of Sebert, being expelled by his Three Sons, who reigned jointly, and apostatized from the Christian Religion, he fled first into France, and then returning into Kent became the Third Archbishop of Canterbury. Afterwards the Christian Religion was restored, and firmly established by King SEBBA and Cedda Bishop of London, both highly applauded for their Wisdom and Virtues. The remaining Princes make no great Figure, and indeed the History of this little State, which was almost always dependent either on the Kingdom of Kent or on that of Mercia, is equally obscure and uncertain even to its Period, under SUTHRED the last of Fifteen Kings, when it was annexed to the Dominions of the West Saxons by the great ECBERT, when it had borne the Title of a Kingdom for the Space of about Three hundred Years<sup>r</sup>.

THE

<sup>9</sup> This Kingdom contained only the Counties of Middlesex, Essex, and a Part of Hertfordshire. It seems to have been the Policy of the Kentish Monarchs Hengist and Esc to cover their own Dominions, by settling other Chiefs between them and their Enemies, which gave rise to the South Saxon and East Saxon Kingdoms. This last was however equal in Size to the Province of Holland, in which the grand Pensionary de Wit computed, that in his Time there were Two Millions and a Half of Inhabitants, which shews that Power and Wealth do not always depend upon Extent of Territory. The East Saxon Kings were in general of a peaceable Disposition, and not at all inclined to encroach upon their Neighbours, to which their Want of Force and the Disposition of their People to Commerce might probably contribute.

<sup>r</sup> In the Time of the Britons London was an Archbishoprick, and Bishop Godwin assures us, that the Title was kept up even after the Saxons were in Possession of the Country. When Se

bert

THE Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND was in Point of Time the Fifth of the Heptarchy, but in regard to Size the Second. It was indeed a noble and spacious, and though in some Parts of it a rugged and mountainous, yet upon the Whole it might be justly stiled a fair, a fruitful, and a well seated Country. It was bounded on the North by the Territories of the Scots and Picts; on the East by the German Ocean; by the Irish Sea on the West; and on the South by the Humber and the Mersey<sup>s</sup>. It hath been before observed, that Hengist left a considerable Body of his Troops, some say under the Command of his Brother Otho, and his Son in these Parts, and besides them there were other Saxon Chieftains; but having many warlike Nations to deal with, and this in a Country very capable of Defence, the subduing them, and reducing it, took up a long Course of Years to accomplish. But this being at length in a great Measure effected, Two noble Saxon Captains IDA and ELLA assumed the Regal Title. The former in BERNICIA, which was the Northern Part between the Tine and the Dominion of the Scots and Picts. The latter, ELLA, fixed himself in DEIRA, which lay between the Tine and the Humber.

THE Inhabitants of these Principalities were involved in continual Quarrels. Sometimes they were united and then separated again. But the most powerful of these Monarchs, when either in absolute Possession of the Whole, or having the other Prince dependent upon him, always assumed the Title of King of NORTHUMBERLAND; and had it not been for these intestine Divisions, they might have bid fair for the Possession of the whole Kingdom of England. EDWIN King of Northumberland having espoused the Sister of the King of Kent, was converted to Christianity

bert advanced Mellitus to the episcopal Dignity, he was stiled Bishop of the East Saxons, and what was at that Time the Extent of the Kingdom, now forms the Diocese of London. Small as this Principality was, Sebba enjoyed originally only a Part of it, though he became afterwards Monarch of the Whole, and after a long and peaceable Reign resigned his Crown, and lived some Time a Monk in St. Paul's, where was then a Convent, and at his Death was buried in the Cathedral. His Tomb remained to the great Fire, A. D. 1606, and the Print thereof and the Inscription thereon are preserved in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 46—92, 93.

\* This ample Sovereignty comprehended the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, York, and Lancaster, all of them Maritime, and besides these some of the Southern Parts of Scotland. It was larger than Wales, or than any of the Provinces of Ireland, equal to all the Dominions of the States General, little inferior to all the Cantons of Switzerland, and to the full as big as the Island of Sicily. It was exceedingly well watered, with several good Ports on the Ocean, and on the Irish Sea, finely diversified, and in all Respects a very pleasing and plentiful Country. The Capital of the Northern Part called Bernicia, was a strong Fortrefs now called Bamberrow Castle, said to be built by King Ida, though some esteem its Foundations Roman, at first surrounded, as the Saxon Chronicle tells us, with a Hedge, afterwards with strong Walls. The chief City in the Southern Parts or Deira was York, then, what it might be made again, a Sea Port. The Frontiers were well secured, and the Country for those Times remarkably populous.

by Paulinus, who attended that Princess into his Dominions, and who was by him made Archbishop of York, A. D. 626<sup>t</sup>. This King Edwin was so potent as to attain the Title of King of the Anglo-Saxons, which Distinction (a Thing that never happened in any of the other Kingdoms) was enjoyed by his immediate Successors OSWALD and OSWY, both very great Princes in their Days. The last of these defeated and killed Penda the Pagan King of Mercia, by whom both Oswald and Edwin had been slain.

It may be truly said, that with these Two great Monarchs who held all Northumberland, the Power of this Kingdom ended, though after them CEONULPH, to whom Beda dedicated his Ecclesiastical History, and EGBERT were distinguished by their Piety and Love of Peace, as well as by the Number of their publick Foundations<sup>u</sup>. The succeeding Kings, for in the Whole there were upwards of Twenty, did not either enjoy any Quiet themselves, or were able to procure it for their Subjects; since as alternate Factions prevailed they were set up, deposed, and sometimes murdered, which kept Things in a continual Confusion; so that at length the Strength of the Kingdom was so entirely exhausted, as to fall at first under the Protection, and at last to become a Province to the West Saxons, though not till the Rest of the Heptarchy had been by them subdued.

<sup>t</sup> The Princess married by King Edwin was Ethelburga the Sister of Eadbald King of Kent. Paulinus before his Departure was consecrated Bishop of the Northumbrians at Canterbury, and in his Favour Edwin revived the See of York, which had been an Archbishoprick in the Time of the Britons. After the Decease of this Monarch, when Penda had made a Conquest of the greatest Part of the Kingdom, Paulinus fled with the Queen back into Kent, where he was made Bishop of Rochester, and there he died. Oswald sent for Aidan out of Scotland to preach the Gospel to his Subjects, and he became Bishop of Lindisfarn, now Holy Island. In succeeding Times there was a Bishop at Hexham. The Danes destroying Holy Island, the Bishop and his Clergy removed to Conchester, now called Chester in Strete, and from thence the See was finally transferred to Durham, where it has since remained. Carlisle, an ancient Roman City, was given to the Church in the Time of the Saxons, though not erected into a Bishop's See till after the Conquest.

<sup>u</sup> The Building of Churches and of Monasteries, when Christianity was first received in any of these Kingdoms, was a necessary Work, as the Conversion of the People could no otherwise be carried on, and the Histories of those Times shew us that they were very poor and mean Edifices. Afterwards when some Kings, and many Princesses retired into them, it is no Wonder that they were improved; and whoever considers the continual Wars and Confusions in those Days, will as little wonder that serious and religious Persons chose such Retreats. They were usually in desert and solitary Places, and if in consequence of these Foundations, and the Care and Attention of those who dwelt in them, Towns grew up, as they usually did, in their Neighbourhood, this only proves that such Foundations had a good Effect. Indeed, whoever reads with Candour and Consideration the Annals of these Ages, cannot fail of being convinced that they were the principal Causes of spreading, promoting, and preserving Civility and Cultivation. A political Writer, like an Historian, should be free from all religious Prejudices, and speak his Mind with Freedom and Candour, which is the sole Motive to these Remarks.

THE Kingdom of the EAST ANGLES in Order of Time the Sixth, but in regard to Extent the Fourth, was a plentiful, and in many Parts of it a very pleasant, and at the same Time well situated Country. It had the German Ocean on the North and on the East; the Kingdom of the South Saxons on the South, and the potent Kingdom of Mercia on the West<sup>w</sup>. As this Country lay conveniently for receiving continual Supplies of new Adventurers from the Continent, so Numbers of Angles came over under many Chiefs, and settled themselves therein. These Captains, so long as they lived, would bear with no Superior; but on their Demise UFFA took the Title of King A. D. 575, and establishing himself thoroughly in his new Dominions, left them to his Posterity.

HIS Grandson, REDWALD, proved a wise and generous Prince, an Instance of which is his obtaining the envied Honour of being stiled King of the Anglo-Saxons. He it was who protected Edwin, and at length placed him on the Throne of Northumberland. He is said to have been a Christian, but kept such Measures with his Pagan Subjects, as rendered it somewhat doubtful. His Son and Successor ERPENWALD, being supported by Edwin King of Northumberland, declared himself, and was baptized A. D. 632, and his Example was followed by some of the Nobility. The Bulk of the People however remained Pagans, and a Conspiracy being formed against him by One of their Chiefs, he was deprived both of his Life and Crown. After the Troubles this occasioned subsided, SIGIBERT his Cousin, who was Brother by the Mother's Side to Erpenwald, coming over from France seated himself on the vacant Throne<sup>x</sup>. He was a Prince of great Learning, and effectually restored and re-established Christianity, which that he might fix on a firmer Foundation, he erected Seminaries for the Education of

<sup>w</sup> This small Territory was composed of what are now stiled the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely, much inferior to some of the other States, but separately considered by no Means inconsiderable, as being about Half the Size of Wales, equal to the Province of Picardy, and very little inferior to the Duchy of Savoy. It was naturally fortified on Three Sides by the Sea and the Fens; and on the West, where it lay open, there were Three artificial Ramparts with Ditches, the most considerable of which is still very conspicuous near Newmarket called Rech Ditch, from the little Market Town of Rech where it begins, but better known by the vulgar Appellation of the *Devil's Ditch*, intended to stop the Incursions of the Mercians. We have followed in the Text the Description given by Abbo Floriacensis, a very ancient Writer, who composed the Life of St. Edmund the Martyr.

<sup>x</sup> When King Sigibert returned out of France, he brought with him a Priest named Fælix, who was consecrated Bishop of the East Angles. His See was fixed at Dommoc, now Donwich, a Place formerly of great Extent and Consideration, as we have shewn, vol. i. p. 277, 278. In Process of Time this Diocese, being thought too large, was divided into Two, the other episcopal See being placed at Helman, the Uletum of Beda, now North Elmham, a very small Place in Norfolk. It was from thence transferred to Thetford, once the Capital of this Kingdom, and a very large and stately Place. When this was ruined by the Danes, and Dunwich by the Sea, both Bishopricks were again united and fixed at Norwich soon after the Conquest.



the rising Generation, whence we find him accounted by many for the Founder of the UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE.

AFTER no very long Reign he resigned his Crown, and became a Monk. But when Penda the furious King of Mercia invaded the Country, the People compelled him to quit his Convent, and with them to take the Field, where with his Successor, ECRICK, he was slain. After these we find the Names, and very little else of Eight Kings of the East Angles, though their Power was much reduced. The last of these was EGILBERT, or as some call him Ethelbert, exceedingly distinguished by the Gifts of Nature, being very wise and prudent in his Conduct, as well as remarkably comely in his Person. He was invited to the Court of Offa King of Mercia, under Colour of concluding a Marriage with his Daughter, and was there treacherously seized and beheaded by the Orders of that ambitious Monarch, who thereupon seized his Dominions, and annexed them to his own A. D. 792. Yet, though in him the Monarchy was for the present extinguished, his Heir, whose Name was Offa, escaped to the Continent, where he was very kindly received by One Alkmund at Nurembergh, whose Son he adopted, and dying in his Return from Rome sent him his Ring.

THE Name of this young Adventurer was EDMUND, who with a small Force landed on the Coast of Norfolk A. D. 855, was joyfully received by the People, who owned him as King of the East Angles, and he proved a very wise and pious Prince. He governed with great Tranquillity till A. D. 870, when the Danes breaking in like an Inundation harrassed and destroyed his Country, and after deceiving him by various insidious Negotiations, attacked, routed his Forces, and having made him Prisoner, put him to Death with the most horrid Circumstances of Barbarity, whence he was honoured with the Title of a Martyr. The pleasant Town of St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk still preserving his Name, where a most sumptuous Monastery was erected to his Memory.

MERCIA,

¶ We are assured by Beda, that Sigibert built a School for the Instruction of Youth, but he does not say where. Some think it was at Thetford, and it is certain that there was in ancient Times a very great School there. But the general opinion is, that it was at Cambridge, and upon this a great Controversy has arisen, and several learned Works have been written to shew that he was the Founder of that famous University. But the Truth seems to be, that Sigibert erected his School in Imitation of what had been before done at Canterbury, and such we find also at other Places where there were either Cathedrals or Monasteries, as at Malmesbury in Wiltshire, and at Jarrow, where Beda resided; all which tends to shew that the Saxons to the utmost of their Power were Encouragers of Literature from the Time of their Conversion to the Christian Religion.

¶ We will take this Opportunity of shewing the Methods practised by the Saxons in preserving the Memory of great Events, by raising to them Monuments of different Kinds. The Promontory

MERCIA, though the latest formed, was the largest of the Saxon Kingdoms. It grew by Degrees, by the Prudence and Prowess of several independent Chiefs of that warlike Nation, who, from their Situation and Descent, were at first stiled Mid-Angles. The Bounds of their Acquisitions were exceedingly enlarged by the Valour and Success of CRIDA and his Son WIBBA, who laid the Foundations of this spacious and potent Sovereignty, which was at length so far spread as to be divided on the North by the Humber and the Mersey from the Kingdom of Northumberland. On the East it was bounded by the Sea, and by the Territories of the East Angles and East Saxons; on the South by the River of Thames; and on the West by the River Severn and Dee; so that it was difficult to decide whether it was more considerable from Extent, or from the Fertility of the Country it comprehended<sup>a</sup>.

PENDA is regarded as its First Monarch, and the Kingdom is thought to derive its Name from the Saxon Word MERC, which signifies a March, Bound, or Limit, because the other Kingdoms bordered upon it on every Side, and not from the River Mersey as some would persuade us. Penda assumed the regal Title A. D. 626, and was of the Age of Fifty at the Time of his Accession, after which he reigned near Thirty Years. He was of a most furious and turbulent Temper, breaking at different Times with almost all his Neighbours, calling in the Britons to his Assistance, and shedding more Saxon Blood than had been hitherto spilled in all their intestine Quarrels. He killed Two Kings of Northumberland, Three of the East Angles, and compelled Kenwall King of the West Saxons to quit his Dominions. He was at length slain with most of the Princes of his Family, and a Multi-

of Norfolk, which was the first Land made by this Prince in his Voyage hither, took the Name of St. Edmund's Cape. Near it he built a Royal Tower at Hunstanton. The Port into which his little Navy came was Maiden Bower, by many supposed to be Lynn. He was solemnly anointed and crowned at a little Place in Norfolk called Buers, by Bishop Humbirctry or Hunibert. He was slain by the Danes at Hegilsden, now Hoxton, and his Body was removed to Bury, where a small Monastery was first erected, which was destroyed by the Danes under King Swane, whose Son Canutus repaired that Injury, by building a much larger, in the great Church of which he solemnly offered his Crown.

<sup>a</sup> This splendid and opulent Kingdom comprehended well nigh Seventeen of our modern Counties, being equal in Size to the Province of Languedoc in France, very little, if at all less, than the Kingdom of Arragon in Spain, and superior in Size to that of Bohemia in Germany. No Country could be more finely diversified, or better watered, abounding with whatever could render it either rich or pleasant, fine Woods, fair Downs, excellent Pastures, Plenty of arable Land, and Mines of the most valuable Metals. Having several navigable Rivers, and besides the Maritime Counties of Gloucester and Somersetshire, all the Ports on the extended Coast of Lincolnshire, which were then in a much better State than they are now, from the Consideration of which the Reader will be induced to believe we have not at all exceeded the Truth in what is said of it in the Text.

tude of his Subjects, in a Battle fought not far from Leeds, by Oswy King of Northumberland <sup>b</sup>.

HIS SON PEADA, who married the Daughter of that Conqueror, became a Christian, and was not long after murdered, as is said, by the Malice of his Mother. His Brother WULFHER, becoming King of Mercia, embraced in Process of Time the Faith of the Gospel <sup>c</sup>, and proved a very victorious and potent Monarch, and is with no fewer than Seven of his immediate Successors commonly stiled Kings of the Anglo-Saxons, though none of them are owned in that Quality by the Saxon Chronicle. But though possibly none of them might enjoy this Honour, they were undoubtedly very puissant Princes, maintaining great Wars, and obtaining many Advantages over the Sovereigns of other Saxon States, and especially the East Angles, whom they reduced, as hath been already mention'd. The Extent of the Mercian Territories was so ample as to admit, and so situated as to require, the constituting subordinate Rulers in several Provinces, to whom, especially if they were of the Royal Line, they gave the Title of Kings, which occasions some Confusion in their History <sup>d</sup>.

AT

<sup>b</sup> This Battle, which the Saxon Chronicle tells us was fought at Winwidfield A.D. 655, made a great Change in the Saxon Affairs, which the unbridled Fury of Penda had thrown into great Confusion. He had the Year before killed Anna King of the East Angles in Battle, whose Brother Ethelred notwithstanding took Part with Penda. On the other Hand, Peada the eldest Son of Penda, to whom his Father had given the ancient Kingdom of the Mid-Angles, had Two Years before married the natural Daughter of King Oswy, and had been baptized at his Court. At that Time it should seem that Oswy and Penda were upon good Terms; but after the latter had conquered the East Angles, he resolv'd to turn his Arms against the Kingdom of Northumberland. Oswy by no Means had provok'd this Rupture; on the contrary Beda tells us, that he offer'd large Sums of Money and Jewels of great Value to purchase Peace: These Offers being rejected, he was reduced to the Necessity of deciding the Quarrel with the Sword. The River near which the Battle was fought overflowing, there was more drowned than killed. Amongst these, as the Saxon Chronicle says, there were Thirty Princes of the Royal Line, some of whom bore the Title of Kings, and also Ethelred King of the East Angles, who, as hath been hinted in the Text, fought on the Side of Penda against his Family and Country.

<sup>c</sup> Oswy King of Northumberland, after his Victory over Penda, affected the Rule over Mercia, yet without dispossessing his Son-in-law Peada. On the contrary he joined with him in the Foundation of a noble Monastery at Peterborough, and caus'd Diuma to be consecrated Bishop of the Mercians, who had been hitherto under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Dorchester. Wulfher, who succeeded his Brother Peada, when he became a Christian finish'd the fine Monastery at Peterborough, and fix'd the episcopal See at Litchfield. His Brother Ethelred divided his Dominions into several Dioceses. One See was at Sidnacestre, but where that was is very uncertain, some say at Stow, others near Gainsborough; but it was afterwards transferred to Lincol'n. Another Bishop was plac'd at Leicester, and another at Worcester. Hereford became afterwards an Episcopal See. Oda, jealous of the Power of the Archbishop of Canterbury, procur'd by the Pope's Authority, who sent upon that Occasion the First Legates hither, Litchfield to be rais'd to an Archbishoprick, which Title continued but a few Years.

<sup>d</sup> Besides the establishing Episcopal Sees and Convents, the Saxon Monarchs took other Methods for improving and adorning their Dominions, and as Mercia was the largest, so these Me-

AT length the Crown devolving sometimes on Minors, and sometimes on weak Princes, intestine Factions also prevailing, the Force of this hitherto mighty Kingdom began sensibly to decline. This falling out in the Days of Ecgbert, the most prudent as well as potent Monarch of the West Saxons, he took Advantage of these Circumstances, and having encouraged the East Angles to make an Attempt for the Recovery of their Independence, he, in a Conjuncture every way favourable to his Design, broke with the Mercians, and after a short War obliged them to submit; but this was not an absolute Conquest, the Kings of Mercia being allowed by him and his Successors to retain their Titles and Dominions till the Invasion of the Danes put an End to their Rule, when this Kingdom had subsisted above Two hundred and Fifty Years; and when the Danes were afterwards expelled by the West Saxons, it sunk into a Province, or rather was divided into many.

THE Reader hath now seen a very succinct Representation of the Saxon Sovereignties, from whence it appears that from the Time of their Coming into this Island to the complete Establishment of the Heptarchy, there elapsed about One hundred and Seventy Years. In this Period the War was carried on with very great Vivacity against the unhappy Britons, and but very small Attention seems to have been paid to any Thing else. It does not indeed appear, that till after the Introduction of Christianity, Laws, Civility, Cultivation, or any Arts, except such as were absolutely necessary to Subsistence, had made any Progress. In the Space of about Sixty Years from the Time of its First Entrance, the Faith of Christ prevailed throughout all these little States, and therewith a Spirit of Humanity and Regard to rational Policy, and the general Welfare of the People. From the Settlement to the Subversion of the Heptarchy we may reckon about Two hundred Years.

THE

thods were most conspicuous therein. Coventry, as being situated in the Center, was usually, but not always the Royal Residence. Penda, who was almost continually in a State of War, lived as his Military Operations directed in some great Town on the Frontiers. Wulfher built a Castle or fortified Palace for his own Residence, which bore his Name. Offa kept his Court at Sutton Walls near Hereford. In each of the Provinces there resided a chief Magistrate, and if he was of the Royal Blood had usually the Title of King. Penda at the Time he married Oswy's Daughter had the Title of King of Leicesters. Ethelred made his Brother Merowald King of Hereford, who dying without Issue bequeathed it to his younger Brother Mercelm. The like Honours were sometimes conferred upon the Princesses, and hence in Mercia especially we occasionally read of Vice-Queens. By this Means the Laws were better executed, the Obedience of the Subjects more effectually secured, and the Splendour of these Residences constantly kept up and augmented.

It hath been generally thought that the Saxons had not the Use of Letters before the Time of Augustine's Arrival. But the learned Mr. Edward Lhuyd proves the contrary, and that those which are usually esteemed Saxons were really British Characters; so that probably even before the

THE Extent and Situation of each of these Kingdoms have been very briefly shewn, some Vestiges of which are still visible in our modern Divisions. We have compared them one with another, that their reciprocal Proportions in respect to Strength and Size might be rendered evident. We have adventured also to make a Comparison of them with some foreign Provinces and Principalities, the better to illustrate their Importance, which in those Ages, when other Countries were in a like Manner divided, was much more apparent than without some Reflection they can be to us. The capital Events in their History have been pointed out for the same Purpose. We have laboured also to trace out some at least of the several Modes of Policy by which they sought to improve and adorn their Country, and which, considered with an impartial Eye, will in the Sequel be found to have had far greater and more beneficial Consequences than have been commonly imagined.

We have given also some Instances in respect to the Commerce which they certainly had even in these early Times, the Reality of which evidently appears in the Riches employed in their religious Edifices, in the Pilgrimages of several of their Kings to Rome, and other Circumstances necessarily productive of Expence, which must have been defrayed from the Exportation and Sale of their native Commodities in foreign Parts, since

Arrival of that Monk, some Converts had been made to Christianity by the Britons. But after it became the established Religion in Kent, we find great Alterations made in the Manners of this Nation. The first Laws plainly shew the Rudeness of the Times, which they are chiefly calculated to repress, and in succeeding Ages there are visible Marks of their becoming more polished and better acquainted with useful Arts. All this was chiefly due to their Clergy, who took great Pains to instruct and improve them, of which from their own Learning and Abilities they were very capable, as appears from the Catalogue that Leland has given us of more than Fifty of their Writers. In Reference to the Progress of Humanity amongst them, we need only mention One of the Laws of King Ina, by which it is declared, that if a Briton, or as they called him, a Welshman, was slain, who possessed an Hide of Land, the Compensation should be One hundred and Twenty Shillings; if he had only Half a Hide, Fourscore Shillings; if he had none, Sixty Shillings. This shews that the Welsh were not only allowed to live, but to acquire Property amongst them. As to Cultivation, besides many Laws respecting Agriculture and Pasturage, we find One particularly for the Protection of Vineyards.

After these People became civilized, they appear to have had a great Inclination to Building, and to have studied every Method of promoting it that was in their Power. At first by erecting Towers and Fortresses, Royal Houses, and repairing Roman Stations; afterwards by fixing Bishops Sees, erecting Monasteries and Nunneries: All these produced gradually other Buildings near them. Every Cathedral had a Number of Clergy, and many of them Schools. The Abbies had their Monks, together with Villages and Farms in their Neighbourhood. The Residences of the Princes of the Blood, of which there were many, attracted Numbers: These required the Cultivation of considerable Tracts of Land for their Subsistence; and thus by Degrees the Country was overpread with Towns and Villages, which however mean at first were continually increasing, and many of them became gradually large and populous Places. In the short Memoirs written by Asser of the Life of King Alfred, there are more than One hundred and Twenty Cities, Boroughs, and Villages occasionally mentioned from Occurrences relating to them therein recorded.

Bullion could no otherwise be procured; in the Possession of which, however, it incontestably appears they were not at all inferior to their Neighbours. We may in like Manner conclude from their Buildings after they began to repair the old and to erect new, from their Cloaths, their Arms, their Shipping of several Sorts, their Furniture and other Conveniencies, that they must have had a Variety of Manufactures. It must be confessed, that it would have been more satisfactory if we could have entered into a clearer Detail of these Matters; but this our Materials would not allow. The ancient and authentic Annals of these Times are very short, the Accessions and Deaths of Princes, their Wars and their religious Foundations, are almost the only Things that are remembered in them: Yet notwithstanding this, the Facts we have laid down, though less satisfactory, are not at all less certain.

ECGBERT, or according to the Saxon Orthography ECGRYHT, from the Time of his Accession to the West Saxon Kingdom had the Conquest or the Coalition rather of all the other States constantly in View. At the beginning however he attacked none of them, but commenced his Military Operations by falling upon what they stiled West Wales, the Inhabitants of which he reduced A. D. 813. Ten Years after this, when he had broke the Power of the Mercians, by instigating, as we have before hinted, the East Angles to assert their Independency, he openly invaded that great Kingdom and subdued it, though from a Mixture of Equity and Policy he restored WILAF, who then governed it, as his Vassal. A. D. 827 he put an End to the Heptarchy by the Reduction of Northumberland.

§ There were long and great Disputes about the Sources of the River Nile, but the Overflowing of that River, as it produced those Disputes, so it left no Doubt that these Sources, whatever they were, must be adequate to their Effects. King Ina, as the ancient Records of Glaffenbury affirm, employed Fifteen thousand Nine hundred Eighty-four Pounds Weight of Gold in decorating the Church of that Monastery, in Vessels for the Altar, in Images, &c. besides Silver and precious Stones. Without Doubt other Princes were in like Manner liberal according to the Devotion of those Times in other Places. We cannot nevertheless but incline to think, that however pious, their Magnificence was not wholly confined to religious Places, but that Gold and Silver were likewise to be found in their Palaces, and in the Purfes of their Subjects. The Lands of this Country in those Days, as the Laws clearly shew, produced abundantly all the Necessaries of Life, and therefore we may well suppose, or rather affirm, that this Wealth arose from the Exportation of Corn, Wool, and other native Commodities, the rather, because we find soon after this Period the Exportation of Horses prohibited by Law, except for Presents: Other Things therefore might be exported for Sale. King Ina likewise endowed Schools at Rome, and settled an annual Revenue for their Support, to be remitted from hence; other Princes made the like Journeys, and left Marks of their Munificence in foreign Countries, which they could not have done if there had not been Plenty at least, if not Opulence, at Home. The Port of London, and no Doubt other Ports, were frequented by Merchants; and therefore taking all these Things together, though we have no distinct Memorials of our Trade, yet it cannot possibly be denied, that the Possession of what it produces is a sufficient Proof that it actually existed.

The next Year he subdued the Britons still remaining in the Northern Parts, and having thus accomplished his whole Design, it is probable he would have given a regular Form of Rule to his now extensive Dominions. It was with this Intention, as is supposed, that he called a General Assembly at Winchester, and there directed that his Realm should for the future be called ENGLAND, and his Subjects ENGLISHMEN. But before he could proceed farther his Deliberations were interrupted by the Danes invading different Parts of his Territories. A. D. 833 he fought their Army at Carrum, a Place not certainly known, but with great Loss. A. D. 835 he totally defeated them and the Cornish Britons who had revolted, and joined them at Hengstone Hill. This Victory gave him some Hopes of Quiet, which however he enjoyed not long, for the next Year he fell ill, died, and was buried at Winchester <sup>b</sup>.

HE was succeeded by his Son **ETHELWULF**, a Prince of a religious Turn of Mind, who notwithstanding by the Assistance of his Son **Ethelstan**, whom as we before-mentioned, he had declared King of Kent, repelled the Invasions of the Danes, and so far restored Peace to his Kingdom, as to find an Opportunity for making Two Visits to Rome, and being a Widower when he went thither last, in his Return from thence he espoused **Judith** the Daughter of the Emperor **CHARLES** the **BALD**, and about Two Years after deceased. **Ethelstan** his eldest being dead, he was succeeded by his Second Son **ETHELBALD**, who enjoyed the Regal Dignity but a short Time, and was succeeded in their Turns by his younger Brothers **ETHELBERT** and **ETHERED I**.

## THE

<sup>b</sup> It may be satisfactory to the Reader to observe, that this great Prince passed his Three Years Exile in the Court of Charlemagne, who maintained a close Correspondence with many of the Princes in this Island. **Egbert** could not have been bred in a better School either with respect to Arms or Politics, and therefore we need not wonder that he was so much superior in both to the Princes his Contemporaries, or that he should have such extensive Ideas, and professed them with so great Propriety. He commenced his Reign over the West Saxons the very same Year that **Charles** was crowned Emperor at Rome. Though his Edict for giving the Name of England to his Dominions is current in our best Histories, yet it is not mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle*. To say the Truth, the Title was of an older Date, and the Reason commonly assigned is, that the Angles were a greater People than either the Saxons or the Jutes, for the East Angles, the Northumbrians, and the Mercians were all of the same Stock. It may be the King chose or continued this Title to conciliate the Affection of his new Subjects. But after all we do not find that it was either permanent or constant; for though **Affer**, who wrote the *Memoirs of Alfred*, and dedicated them to that great Prince, styles him Monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, yet **Alfred** himself was content with the Title of King of the West Saxons, as appears in many of his Writings, and most authentically in the Introduction to his Laws.

<sup>c</sup> The Intent of this Chapter is to give the Reader a competent Idea of this Country under the Saxons, and of the Progress of the Constitution in their Time. As this could not be done without entering into their History, we have pursued that too as briefly as we could, and taken  
some

THE Danes during the Government of these Princes ravaged all Parts of England, putting an End to the Northumbrian and Mercian Kingdoms, killing Two Monarchs of the former, and expelling Burherd, who was tributary to and had married Ethelwitha the Sister of these Kings, out of the latter, obliging both the King and Queen to fly into Italy, where they died. They likewise placed a King of their own in the Country of the East Angles, as they had done before in Northumberland; spreading Desolation and Destruction where-ever they came. For their Mode of making War was this, they seized upon some tenable Place, and issuing from thence compelled the People to furnish them with Horses, which enabled them to make Excursions on every Side, and when they had amassed all the Booty they could they decamped, and either took up some fresh Station or returned Home with their Plunder. These Events, by which the whole Country was in a Manner rendered desert, fell out in the Space of about Thirty-five Years<sup>k</sup>.

AT this Period, A. D. 871, ALFRED, according to the Saxon Orthography, ÆLFRED, in Latin Writers called ALUREDUS, the youngest Son of Ethelwulf, came to the Crown, or rather the Cares of it, which he had hitherto only shared with his Brethren, devolved now solely upon him<sup>l</sup>. He proved One of the wisest, bravest, and best Princes that ever  
 fat

some Pains to render it not unintelligible or unpleasant. This leads us to say something as to the Names of these Princes, which the Language of our Forefathers being now forgotten, found not a little harsh in our Ears, though to them they were equally grateful and pleasing. Neither were they singular in this Respect, for in most ancient Nations proper Names were so framed as to express the Excellence of the Person to whom they were given. Thus in Hebrew Israel is the Prince of God. In the Persian Language, which is that of the Court in the Indies, Aurin Zebe is the Ornament of the Throne. In like Manner the Saxon Names were in their Language equally significant. Egbert, implied ever splendid; Ethelwulf, a noble Support; Ethelbald, princely Courage; Ethelbert, princely Lustre; and Ethelred, noble Counsel. Ethel was noble or princely, and in the superlative Degree, Ethelstan, most noble.

<sup>k</sup> The Danes, as we have often observed, were of all the Scourges this Country ever met with the most heavy and the most severe. We have succinctly represented this in the Text, but it seems necessary to be more explicit. They did not make a regular or constant War, but acted by repeated and sudden Descents. Wherever they came they proceeded with the utmost Cruelty, not sparing either Sex or Age, and being Pagans, respected neither Churches or Religious Houses, which in the Saxon Wars were accounted sacred, and this, considered in a political Light, was no small Advantage, as it preserved the most cultivated Parts of the Country from the Horrors of War. The Object of the Danes, at the Beginning, was not Conquest but Plunder; they carried away whatever was valuable, and destroyed the Rest. In a Course of Years, therefore, they not only impoverished the Inhabitants to the last Degree, but harrassed them also in such a Manner, as to break their Spirits and deprive them of Hope. They made Treaties, but with a View only to Extortion, and having sold a Peace, broke it as soon as they had received the Price.

<sup>l</sup> This great and good Monarch was born at Wantage in Berkshire, A. D. 849. His Father sent him at Five Years old to Rome, where he was honourably received by Pope Leo the Fourth.



fat on this or any other Throne. The Country was then, as it had been for many Years before, over-run by the Pagan Danes, against whom, in the Course of that very Year, he fought Nine Battles with different Fortune. In the succeeding Seven Years his Forces were so miserably exhausted, and those inhumane Invaders had made such Progress, and brought over such Multitudes of their Countrymen, that he was constrained for his own Safety to retire into the Fens of Somersetshire, and to take Shelter in the Isle of **ATHELNEY** <sup>m</sup>.

HERE he had Leisure to plan those wise Measures he afterwards pursued, and having at length found Means to assemble an Army with which he surprized and routed the Enemy at Ethandune, he, to spare the Effusion of human Blood, made a Treaty with Gothrun the Danish King, who with Thirty of his principal Nobility were baptized, in consequence of which he assigned them the Countries of the Northumbrians and East Angles, of which they were already in Possession, that therein they might settle and procure a Subsistence for themselves agreeable to the Conditions of that Convention <sup>n</sup>.

He went thither a Second Time with his Father, and remained there a full Year. He derived from Nature a most extensive Capacity, which was improved by the best Education that Age could give. He applied himself assiduously to Learning, and gradually acquired every Branch of useful Knowledge. He not only understood the Principles of the Art Military, Architecture, and other Branches of the Mathematicks, but studied likewise Mechanicks. He had very free and liberal Notions, took great Delight in the Conversation of Men of Parts and Learning, at the same Time addicting himself to all manly Exercises, as well as to the Sports of the Field. It is indeed amazing, that in an Age like this there should have been a Prince of such Accomplishments; but if he had not been a Prince of such Accomplishments, he could neither have performed what he did, or have furnished the Materials for those Memoirs of his own Times, which were written in them by himself and others.

<sup>m</sup> The Name of this Island is *Æthelingsa*—yge, by Contraction *Athelney*, that is, the Isle of Nobles. It lies in Somersetshire (see Vol. i. p. 333.) surrounded by the Waters of the Thone and Perrot, some Miles North-east from Taunton, and South-east from Bridgewater. It was a Place very strong by Situation, being surrounded by Morasses. There had been before his Time a Monastery in it, where, for his own Security, he constructed a Castle, but in succeeding and better Times he again erected a Monastery there. In the Leisure which this Retreat afforded him, it is believed that he framed not only the Project of attacking and dispersing the Danes, but also that System of Government which he afterwards established. He was a Prince of a most firm and undaunted Spirit, whom Success never elated, and whom no Difficulties could depress.

<sup>n</sup> In the Saxon Laws we find Two Treaties with this Danish King Gothrun, and though the One is stiled a Treaty between him and King Edward, yet in Reality both were made with Alfred, who survived the Danish Prince Ten Years. The Scope of these Treaties was to establish the Christian Religion amongst the Danes, to conciliate as far as possible the Differences between both Nations, and to prevent their harrassing and pillaging each other. The First seems to be a short Convention, and the Second a more elaborate Treaty, in which, for the greater Security of the Danes, Edward was joined with his Father, and hath also the Title of King given him, but the Danes were to remain Subjects to them both.

THE King prosecuted his Enterprizes afterwards with so much Diligence, and his Endeavours were attended with so great Success, that having recovered London, and many other Places of Consequence, out of the Hands of the Danes, he at length brought his Affairs into such a settled Situation, that A. D. 893, he enacted a Body of Laws for the Use of his Subjects, and soon after executed several other arduous Undertakings for their Benefit. In this noble and publick spirited Course he persisted with unremitting Vigour, notwithstanding the continual Interruptions he met with from repeated Invasions, performing so many and so great Actions, as nothing but the most authentick Evidence could render credible.

CITIES, Towns, and Fortresses he repaired, the Country sacked and pillaged, he re-peopled and resettled. His personal Industry and Example animating and forming his Court and his People. He raised up wise Ministers, able Generals, pious and learned Prelates, instituted publick Schools, founded University College and other Places of Learning in Oxford, sent for the most famous Professors from foreign Parts, and established them in his own Dominions. He held a close Correspondence with, and was much admired by the greatest Princes on the Continent, dispatched frequent Messengers with Alms to Rome, and even to the Christians of St. Thomas in the East Indies, from whom he received some Presents in return. He shewed great Attention to Trade, revived and extended Navigation, and encouraged and rewarded every Species of Industry. In this glorious Career, unblemished by any Kind of Vice or Weakness, he kept a steady Progress, beloved at Home, respected abroad, and having established an immortal Reputation by his Actions, he deceased A. D. 901, after a Reign of Thirty-years, and in the Fifty-second of his Age.

\* This great Monarch wrote himself many Things, some of which are come down even to our Times, and these are incontestable Evidences of his Temper and Intentions, as well as of his Abilities. In his Preface to Gregory's Pastoral, he hath given a very plain, but a very pathetic Account of the low State to which Learning was reduced by the Devastations of the Danes. In his English Translation of Orosius, we have a more full and perfect Account of the Voyage made by his Orders, by Othter and Wolstan into the North Seas, than that in Hakluyt's Collection. In a Word, we have abundant Testimony from himself, that he was really such a Man and such a Prince as we have represented him. The Memoirs of his Life by his Chaplain Asserius Menevensis, written in his own Time, and addressed to himself, are of indisputable Authority, and though they relate his great Actions, yet the Style is plain and simple like the Manners of the Age in which he lived. The same may be said of the Saxon Chronicle. Ethelwerdus, and Ingulphus Abbot of Croyland, lived at no great Distance from his Times, and agree perfectly well with these. Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, though later in Point of Time, seem to have collected their Histories from good Materials. Add to this, that the Laws of his Successors bear Witness to his Wisdom, Piety, and Justice, and we might likewise mention ancient Inscriptions that corroborate the Truth of what we find recorded in our Histories. It was necessary to apprise the Reader of the Certainty there is of the Facts delivered in the Text.

If we may place any Trust in the general Opinion of our ablest Writers, this famous Monarch was the great Legislator of this Country, and ought to be regarded as the Author of the Saxon, or rather of the English Constitution. This Sentiment will seem to be the more justly founded, if we reflect that he was the sole Ruler of the whole Nation, not only as the Grandson and Successor to Ecgbert, who put an End to the Heptarchy, but as the Defender of the Anglo-Saxons against the Danes, who were Masters of a great Part of the Country, and had over-run and ruined the Rest. What therefore he held he had recovered at least, if not acquired, and had no Competitor or Rival to dispute his Right. But as he tells us himself in the Introduction to his Laws, he diligently wrought the old into the new System, preserving such of his Ancestor's Institutions as were fit to remain, and adding and supplying by his own, what the Alteration of Times and Circumstances rendered necessary, recommending the like Care and Conduct to his Successors.

As his Situation made this requisite, so it also made it practicable; for having none to controul him, and having likewise the entire Confidence of his Subjects, founded in the Superiority of his Abilities and the Purity of his Intentions, of both which they had equal Experience, his Institutions of every Kind met with a willing and universal Obedience. That this is a true Representation of Facts, the Consequences will incontestably shew, for this Arrangement evidently prevailed in succeeding Times, though no Vestiges appear of its Introduction, and it is no less plain that it could not be made before his Time. Besides there are many and express Proofs.

It is requisite to apprehend these Matters clearly, that we should explain in what Sense he is to be understood to give Laws to this Country. It must be allowed he was not the Inventor of the Division into Shires, or perhaps of Hundreds; the former, at least, being certainly known before his Time, After having told us, that he was born in Berkshire, and mentions several other Shires in the Course of his Work. It may be likewise said, that he could not possibly compleat this Division, the Countries North of Humber, and those possessed by the East Angles, being in his Time in the Hands of the Danes. It is also true, that there were Earls before his Time. But all this does not derogate from what the Reader will find hereafter asserted in respect to him. For retaining the old Names, and in a great Measure perhaps the old Divisions, he adapted them to new Purposes. Shires before his Time were only in the West Saxon Kingdom and its Dependencies; but he introduced them, fixed their Limits, and subdivided them into Hundreds and Tithings through all his Dominions. He made the Earls or Aldermen civil Officers, and introduced other inferior Officers under them, upon which Model his Successors proceeded; and it is in this Sense that he is very truly said to be the Author of these Institutions.

Though nothing can be more exact or more uniform than Alfred's Plan of Government, yet in respect thereto, it does not appear that he ever laid down an express System or Code of Laws, or at least there is none such come down to us. Tradition indeed reports many Things that carry an Appearance of this, and there can be no Doubt that many of his Laws and legal Judgments, are, as it is likewise true, that in modern Times several Pieces relative to this great Monarch

Proofs that several essential Parts of it were brought in by Alfred, to whom therefore we may rationally ascribe the Whole, especially as the Plan is simple, regular, and connected. It must however be acknowledged, that it was gradually carried into Execution by his Successors, and of course the Effects of it were most conspicuous in their Reigns, though the Out-line of the System was undoubtedly his. It is our Duty to give a Plan of this Constitution, to explain the Spirit of it, and to shew wherein the Excellency of it consists.

Thus wise and judicious Monarch provided first for the complete Restitution of Religion, which was then far less tainted with the Errors of Popery than in succeeding Ages, looking upon it as the only solid Basis of civil Obedience; and when he had accomplished this, he proceeded in like Manner to restore the State. He observed the numerous Mischiefs that arose from Disorder and the Want of a regular Distribution of the several Parts of his Dominions, and this induced him to divide the Realm into Counties or Shires, every County into Hundreds, and every Hundred into Tithings. By this Division, and the Circumstances attending it, he thoroughly provided for the publick Tranquillity. Every Householder was answerable for his Family, and any Stranger who staid with him more than Two Nights. The Towns were accountable for every Householder residing in them; the Hundred, for every Town comprehended therein; and the County, for the Inhabitants in all the Hundreds it contained.

By

narch have been recovered, that were formerly buried in Oblivion. But still this Difficulty is not removed, we have no sufficient Authority to affirm, that he ever laid down or enacted any such System. How then is he a Legislator? Why is any System attributed to him? Or how if he did frame, without publishing, came it to prevail? The Truth seems to be, that as he recovered his Dominions by Degrees, so in Proportion as he recovered them, he established a certain and peculiar Mode of Government, the Model of which he had framed in his own Mind during the Time of his Retreat in the Isle of Athelney. The Conveniencies arising from it, and the advantageous Consequences with which it was attended, together with the Reverence that was long paid to his Memory; established it effectually, and the Saxons by Habit grew to have a just Sense of the Excellency, and from thence an unalterable Affection for this Constitution.

The State of Things, and the Nature of his Institutions duly considered, they will appear to any candid Judge, as well and as wisely contrived as any of the boasted Systems of Antiquity; yet it is by no Means probable, that Alfred derived much Help from consulting and comparing such Constitutions: Though this, to do him Honour, hath been asserted by some of our Historians. It is much more likely, that they were entirely of his own Conception; neither is his Sagacity in forming to be more admired, than his Dexterity in introducing them. When he first began to set Things in Order, he found, among many other Calamities, that the Saxons were frequently plundered by wicked Men of their own Nation, disguised in the Habit of Danes. The Division therefore of the Country, and the several Subdivisions of its Inhabitants, was the only adequate Remedy that could be applied to this Evil. The People therefore readily submitted to it from a Principle of Interest, and when once it was established, the Convenience was so great, and so apparent, that they had no Temptation to alter or complain of it. Indeed the Consequences

By this simple Regulation every Individual became responsible for his Conduct, as, for their own Security, his Neighbours in case of Delinquency were bound to bring him to Justice. That this might be done speedily, certainly, and with Facility, settled Courts and proper Judges were appointed in all these Districts, so that Offences against the Publick, as well as private Wrongs, were quickly and effectually redressed, and this by the Consent of the People themselves, who composed the Juries in these Courts.

THE Earl was the King's Lieutenant, the Shire Reeve, whom we by Contraction stile Sheriff, was the ministerial Officer in every County. This Division served also for maintaining a constant Force for the Defence of the Country. The several Orders of People were in such a Manner disposed, as to answer most effectually the great Ends of Society. The Earls were to discharge their Duties in their respective Counties with Exactness and Fidelity, on Pain of Punishment, being deprived of their Offices, and losing the Royal Favour. The King's Thanes, who were the next Class of Nobility, the Under, or as sometimes called Middle Thanes, who were possessed of Manors, and the Cheorls or Yeomen, the lowest Class of Freeholders, having all their legal Rights and Privileges; and as an Encouragement to Virtue and Industry, if any by Agriculture, Merchandize, or other honest Profession, so improved his Property, as to be able to support the Dignity, he came into the Rank of Thanes. Vassals or Servants, though not Freemen, were protected from ill Usage, their Masters being bound to regard them as God's People, and the King's Subjects.

## CITIES

quences were very extraordinary, for from the Roads being so infested, that it was dangerous to go from One Place to another, they became in a short Space so safe, that Ingulphus tells us, Men might leave their Money in them at Night and find it in the Morning, or as others affirm, Gold Bracelets were hung upon Trees and Bushes without any Body's offering to touch them.

The Courts by him established were conformable to and coeval with these Divisions. In the County Court, both the Earl and the Bishop sat originally, till the latter was removed by Law, and the former gradually neglected it: This was the great Court in which Elections were made, all publick Business was transacted, as well as Causes heard, and Wrongs redressed. The Hundred Court resembled that of the County. The Court Baron was more limited in Jurisdiction, and the Court Leet or View of Frankpledge was most frequently held, that the Freeholders might have a distinct Knowledge of each others Behaviour, and Once a Year the Sheriff presided therein, which was thence stiled the Sheriff's Turn. In criminal Cases, Juries presented all Breaches of the Law, and those charged with committing them were tried as to the Fact by a Jury; thus, as we have often remarked, Justice was brought to their own Doors, and every Man had Right done him, was acquitted or found Guilty by his Peers or Equals, Men of the Vicinity or Neighbourhood, who, of all others, were like to be best informed, and for their own Sakes would be most way in their Decisions: Yet, as Infallibility was not to be expected, these Judgments were exposed to the Inspection and Controul of the King's own Courts, which were then Itinerant, following his Person in his Progress through different Parts of his Dominions.

The Saxons stiled those who had Jurisdictions under the King Ealdormen, the Word Ealdorman meaning the same with Senator, or a grave Counsellor. In Process of Time, the Danish

Title

CITIES and Towns had their Magistrates, and proper Mode of managing their Concerns, as by the Saxon Terms for their several Councils and Assemblies still remaining in Use, plainly appears. Publick Markets were assigned, Laws were made for preventing Frauds in Dealing, and other Steps were taken for a free and safe Intercourse for the Benefit of Trade. In respect to foreign Commerce, Merchants were not only protected and honoured, but the King for their Encouragement lent them Ships. He saw the Necessity of having a Naval Force, and he saw that this was no Way attainable, but either by the Practice of Piracy, which was the Method taken by the Danes, or by the promoting Commerce, which was the Mode he chose. He so much affected Navigation as to send experienced Seamen to examine the Northern Fisheries, and to explore, as many believe, a Passage that Way to the East Indies; Things that would scarce meet with Credit, if the Reports of these Mariners in the Saxon Language were not still extant <sup>u</sup>.

IN regard to Military Affairs, he was equally prudent and methodical, for in every County there was a trained Militia, mustered at stated Times, and ready for Service when Need required; so that where-ever an Enemy landed, Resistance might be immediately made; and if the Power of One County was not sufficient, they were assisted by the Counties adjoining. The Naval Force was also properly regulated, stationed in convenient

Title of Earle was adopted, from whence our modern Word Earl. In Alfred's Days they administered Justice in their respective Districts, whence we find them stiled Shiremen. The Thanes, or King's Thanes, were his Officers who held Lands in Right of their Offices. The Middle or Under Thanes, were Men of Property, and those of an inferior Rank who could acquire Five Hides of Land, had a Church or Chapel, a Manor House for the Entertainment of their Tenants, and a Court in which they met to decide petty Causes, became from thence a Thane, and enjoyed all his Privileges.

<sup>u</sup> The Cities and great Towns that had been ruined by the Danes, he very carefully repaired, directing them to be walled and fortified, to prevent such Misfortunes for the future. He also built some new Places, particularly Shaftesbury, in the Eighth Year of his Reign, as appeared by an Inscription on a Stone dug up there long after. The same Scheme of Government prevailed in his Cities as in the Country; for instead of Shires they were divided into Wards, with Magistrates in each; he established in them publick Markets, to prevent the selling in them clandestinely Cattle or Horses that were stolen. He encouraged the Resort of Foreigners to his Court, which is a sufficient Proof of the Intercourse at that Time between this and other Nations. His Actions likewise demonstrate, that he must have been diligent in his Enquiries, and have been very fortunate in his Intelligence; he could not otherwise have had any Reason to have directed an Expedition into the Northern Seas, the Journal of which, from his own Preface to Orosius, is printed in Saxon and in Latin, in the Appendix to Walker's Translation of Sir John Spelman's Life of this Monarch, and is a very curious Piece, as it shews that Whale and Seal Fishing were practised in those Times, and that the Fins and Laplanders placed their chief Riches in Skins, Furs, and Rain Deer, as they do at this Day.

Ports, and kept in constant Repair<sup>w</sup>. The King himself examined the Ships of the Danish Pirates, and finding them longer and better built than his own, he contrived and constructed Vessels that were still larger, stronger, and higher than these, which in a short Space he stationed on both Sides the Island, by which the Danes were frequently attacked at Sea, and those on Board having no Quarter given them, were so exceedingly intimidated, that they ventured seldom within their Reach.

BUT as the Changes of Circumstances made a Change of Measures sometimes requisite, and that the State of publick Affairs might be better understood, it was settled that General Assemblies should be held Twice a Year, in which the Monarch assisted by the Advice of the Prelates, Earls, Thanes, and other Counsellors, stiled in general wise Men, decided on Matters of the highest Importance, and in which new Laws, when necessary, were enacted; which Assembly was the Representative of the Anglo-Saxon Nation, and in which alone the supreme legislative Authority resided<sup>x</sup>.

THE Excellency of this System might be shewn in a great Variety of Particulars, but a few Instances may suffice. In the First Place, from the Distribution of the Inhabitants, no Man could be idle unben,

<sup>w</sup> It was the singular Prudence of this able Monarch to convert Miseries into Mercies, and by making his Subjects sensible of the Causes of their Misfortunes, inspiring them with Courage and Perseverance in the Application of proper Remedies. The Saxons to his Time had built but slightly, and though their Towns were many of them great, yet the Houses were most of them Timber. He convinced them of the Necessity of fortifying them, and taught them how to do it. He placed regular Garrisons, and fixed the Manner in which they were to be relieved. He first instituted a regular Squadron of armed Vessels for the Protection of the Coasts, and appointed Guardians of the maritime Parts of the Country, with extraordinary Powers for assembling Forces on the First News of an Invasion. He served in Person as well on Board his Ships as in his Armies; and as to all these Regulations we have Accounts of them either in Writers of his own Time, or very near it, for whose Fidelity we have this singular Pledge, that though they might easily record these Facts, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for them to have invented them.

<sup>x</sup> These great Councils had various Names in the Saxon Language, but are commonly stiled *Witena Gemotes* or *Assemblies of Wisdom*. In them sat the Prelates, Earls, Thanes, and what in Saxon are stiled *Wites*, about which there hath been some Controversy; but by comparing the Saxon Laws, it very clearly appears, that they were Men of approved Judgment and Knowledge in the Laws. The Members in these great Councils had a deliberative Voice in the making or repealing of Laws, and a judicial Voice in respect to the Causes Civil and Criminal, that were either heard or revised before them. (Selden's Works, vol. v. p. 666.) Alfred was exceedingly careful in this Particular, for his Historian Asser informs us, that he reprimanded very severely his Earls and other Justices for their Errors in the Decision of Causes, telling them plainly, that if they were ignorant of the Laws they ought to resign their Offices, and to prevent such Evils in succeeding Times, he directed every Man who had a competent Estate to breed up his Sons in such Learning, as might qualify them for the Service of their Country in these Offices.

or supply the Wants that his Idleness occasioned by any Act of Violence or Wickedness unpunished. In the next Place, though Punishments were settled by the Law, and declared by the Judge, yet this was in virtue of a Presentment or Verdict by a Jury. Lastly, the Wisdom of the Laws, not the Will of the Magistrate, regulated the Subject's Actions, the Authority of the Prince and the Freedom of the People being so equally adjusted, and so intimately interwoven, as to contribute alike to the Happiness of Individuals, and to the publick Honour and Safety.

EDWARD, commonly stiled by our Historians EDWARD the ELDER, succeeded his Father in his Dominions, whom by his Military Talents he had long assisted in the Field, and he succeeded him in the full Vigour of his Years. The Nation reaped from hence great Advantages, as the Danes who stood in Awe of Alfred, would not have failed to have tried their Strength afresh against a Successor of less Spirit. As it was, he had scarce entered on the regal Office before his Courage and his Prudence were put to the Trial by a Civil War raised against him by his Cousin, who, being obliged to fly, had Recourse to the Danes for Assistance, who received him willingly, and this brought on a War which was attended with much Danger, Bloodshed, and Trouble.

EDWARD supported himself against all his Enemies with equal Firmness and Temper, pursuing steadily his Father's Maxims, which contributed not a little to make their Excellency better known and understood. He fought a great many Battles, and most of them with Success; yet in the Midst of his Victories he listened willingly to any Overtures for Peace, which, when concluded, he kept religiously, and employed to the best Purposes. He repaired many old and built not a few Cities and Towns, studying carefully all the Advantages of Situation, and peopled them promiscuously with Saxons and Danes, who being once brought to practise Industry,

† This Prince, when young, was bred up under his Brother-in-law, Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, who married his Sister, Ethelfleda, both very extraordinary Persons, to whom many of the Monks, without Ceremony, give the Title of King and Queen of Mercia, though the chief Place of their Residence was London. The Truth is, that Ethelred was a great Captain and a great Statesman, and Alfred, when he recovered London from the Danes, committed it to his Care, and afterwards gave him the Government of so much of Mercia as he had recovered. In his last Will he bequeathed him, by the Title of his Commander in Chief, Two thousand Marks. Ethelred deceased A. D. 912, upon which Ethelfleda surrendered to her Brother London and Oxford, but retained Mercia, which she governed with great Wisdom and Spirit, commanding her Armies in Person, with which she invaded Wales and took Brecknock. She afterwards turned her Arms against the Danes, from whom she took Derby by Storm, in which she lost Four of her great Captains; she likewise reduced Leicester, built and fortified Stamford, Towcester, Cherbury, and other Places. She also repaired Warwick, and dying A. D. 920, was interred with her Lord in the Abby of Gloucester, which was founded by them both.



as conducive to the Acquisition of Property, became both useful and faithful Subjects<sup>z</sup>.

By this Policy he not only re-peopled and improved his Country, but by Degrees so won upon the Danes, who inhabited the Territory formerly belonging to the East Angles, that they voluntarily submitted and owned him for their Monarch. Those in Northumberland he rendered tributary by Force of Arms, treating them with great Gentleness and Humanity. He was no less successful against the Scots and Welch, whom he treated with like Moderation, so that he grew more to be esteemed for the Use he made of it, than feared from the Increase of his Power. His constant Aim was the perfecting that regular Establishment which his Father had so wisely planned, and by the Execution of which he so evidently extended his own and diminished the Strength of the Danes, who were more humbled by his judicious Conduct than they had been by his repeated Victories. By this Manner of Proceeding, though great Part of his Time was spent in the Field, he constantly cultivated the Arts of Peace, and rendered them known and acceptable to his Subjects<sup>a</sup>. He reigned with great Reputation Twenty-four Years, and left by Three Wives a numerous Posterity, several of his Sons succeeding him in the Throne, and Three of his Daughters matched with the Emperor of Germany, the King of

<sup>z</sup> This Monarch, taught by the Examples of his Father and Brother-in-law, spent a great Part of his Time in repairing and fortifying old Cities and great Towns, such as Hertford, Leicester, and other Places, and building new Ones where they might best serve to bridle his turbulent Neighbours. The Method he took was this: He cantoned his Army in the Summer in some convenient Quarters, so as to cover completely those who were employed in building the new Town he marked out. Thus for Instance, he lay One Summer at Witham in Essex with his Forces, while he built and fortified Malden. He had not long retired from thence before it was invested by the Danes; but the People knowing the Strength of the Place, and that they should be quickly relieved, defended it vigorously, and when the King with his Army attacked the Enemy, they fell furiously upon their Rear and destroyed Numbers. In the interior Part of the Country he peopled the Towns and Villages with Saxons and Danes, relying upon the Wisdom of his Father's Laws, which, by rendering the Inhabitants of every Tithing responsible for the Conduct of each other, kept the new Subjects in good Order, till for the Security of the Substance they had attained, it became their own Interest to persist in their Duty.

<sup>a</sup> This Monarch also made several good Laws, and particularly enjoined the holding Once within every Month the County Court. We find in these Mention made of the *Dombec*, but what that was Authors are by no means agreed. Some take it for a Register of original Writs, others for a Collection of Judgments, and some for a Book of Statutes: Whatever it was, it plainly shews that the Judges in those Times had a certain Rule of Action, which was known likewise to the People, according to which they were bound to act, and in case of Transgression were liable to be punished. He was very strict in the Execution of Justice, though very tender of creating new Crimes. It appears from his Laws, that if Men were guilty of Offences for which they were unable themselves to pay the Penalty, and their Relations would not do it for them, they lost their Liberty, and this seems to be the Source, or at least the principal Source of Bondage among the Saxons.

France, and the Duke of Saxony, who was Son to the Emperor Henry the Third.

HIS eldest Son **ETHELSTAN** succeeded him, who was in the Flower of his Age in A. D. 925, and was with great Solemnity crowned at Kingston upon Thames. Some Troubles are said to have clouded the Dawn of his Reign, which were however composed without Bloodshed. He held several Synods and General Assemblies, in which many excellent Laws were enacted for establishing Peace and good Order, promoting the due Administration of Justice, preventing Frauds, and regulating the several Mints throughout the Kingdom, all of them agreeable to and in Support of Alfred's Plan <sup>b</sup>.

HE was diverted from his Attention to civil Affairs by the Incurfions of the Northumbrian Danes in Conjunction with the Scots, against whom, acting with great Vigour and Success, he brought them to demand a Peace, which he granted upon very easy Terms. This was far from being attended with such an Effect as he might reasonably have expected. For perceiving that his Power was continually increasing, the Welch, the Northumbrians, the Irish Danes under their King Anlaff, with the Scots, formed a general Confederacy against him, and assembled a numerous Army and a prodigious Fleet in the Northern Parts of the Island, from whence they intended to have invaded him in the Heart of his Dominions, and at the same Time to have made Descents on different Parts of the Coast.

BUT Ethelstan prevented this by marching against them with a potent Army and a competent Naval Force, with which he gained, though not without great Bloodshed and Difficulty, a most decisive Victory, in which the Slaughter was greater than in any Battle before that Time fought in this Island. This signal Event happened A. D. 938, and we have a very pathetick, though poetical Account of it in the Saxon Annals, so much the more remarkable, as though delivered in a most pompous Stile, yet it is not intermixed with any of those fabulous Miracles, that, to do Honour to

<sup>b</sup> The Laws of King Athelstan breathe a true Spirit of Patriotism, and are calculated for the public Benefit of the whole Community. He shews himself particularly anxious for preserving the public Peace, that is, an uniform and universal Submission to the Laws. He is remarkably severe against Judges departing from their Duty. He ordains that all Pieces of Money of the same Value should be of the same Weight and Fineness where-ever coined, and adjudges the Master of the Mint guilty of Fraud therein, to lose his Hand. In his Statutes there are many Provisions against Fraud and Opposition, and it is very easy to distinguish from the whole Tenor of them, that they were made when the Condition of the Subject was in respect to past Days become safe and easy, the Provisions in them plainly declaring, that through the Operation of Alfred's System these were become thriving Times.

this great Prince, have been invented and inserted in their Accounts by other Monkish Historians c. The King after this Success turned his Arms, as in other Places we have already mentioned, against West Wales, dispossessing the Cornish of the City of Exeter, driving them beyond the River Tamar, and seizing the Isles of Scilly to prevent their becoming the Rendezvous of the Irish and Danish fleets. A. D. 941 he deceased in the Fifteenth Year of his Reign, unmarried, and of course without Issue.

HE was succeeded by his Brother Edmund, a young Prince of a martial Spirit, and of a very active Temper. Against him the Danes began to stir on all Sides, which afforded him Ground to dispossess them of several great Towns which they had hitherto held in Mercia, and which he now fortified and peopled with Saxons. Afterwards on fresh Provocation he entered into and subdued great Part of Northumberland, but on the humble Submission of Two of their Kings he concluded a Peace on Condition that they embraced the Christian Religion, in consequence of which he became Sponsor at their Baptisms. But they quickly apostatized and the War broke out afresh, on which he attacked them with a numerous Army, and, by the Assistance of a Prince of South Wales, reduced the best Part of their Dominions. In this War also he made himself Master of Cumberland, then an independent Sovereignty, which he generously bestowed on Malcolm King of Scots, upon Condition that he defended the Northern Parts of England against any future Attempts of the Danes, by which Tenure it was held by him and his Successors d.

THIS

c In the Chronicles written since the Conquest, we have some strange, not to say incredible Stories of this Prince's Piety. In his March Northwards it is said, that he went to pay his Devotions at the Shrine of St. John of Beverly, where he promised, that if he obtained Victory, by the Intercession of the Saint, he would make large Donations to his Church, in Token of which he pawned his Knife, which on his Return, with Victory, he redeemed by the full Performance of his Promise. It is also said, that being near Dunbar, he prayed for some signal Proof that the Kingdom of Scotland ought to be dependent upon his, and thereupon struck his Sword an Ell, or as some say Three Ells deep into a Rock. But the more ancient Chronicles, though they mention his Victories, are silent as to the Miracles. It is however true, that he restored Lands that had been taken from the Sec of Durham, and by his Charter granted largely to the Church of Beverly, as in reality he did to almost every great Monastery in the Kingdom. It may not be amiss to add, that like his Grandfather he was a very learned and studious Prince.

d It seems very certain, that at this Time Cumberland was an independent Kingdom, but perhaps it is not quite so certain, who were its Inhabitants. Camden inclines to think they were the Remains of the ancient Britons; but from Circumstances it may admit of some Doubt whether they were not Danes. Whoever they were, Edmund by the Assistance of Leolin King of South Wales entirely subdued them, and bestowed this Kingdom, as the Scots Chronicles admit, on a Prince of their Nation, whose Name was Malcolm, the English Historians make him King of Scotland. The Scots say he was their Prince and Heir apparent. It should seem, that this was a very wise Concession, for by this Means the Scots were interested in keeping out the Danes, with whom they had often leagued before. The Saxon Chronicle tells us, that Cumber-

THIS great Monarch was an able Statesman as well as a gallant Captain, as from the Laws made by him evidently appears, affording the strongest Proofs of his Zeal for the publick Good, his Affection for his Subjects, and his Regard to the Constitution. It may be truly said, that to these Principles he sacrificed his Life, for sitting at Table on a Feast Day, and seeing One who had been outlawed for his Crimes enter the Hall, he rose and seized him: A Struggle between them ensuing, they fell together, when the Villain drawing a Knife, thrust it into the King's Bowels, and killed him on the Spot, to the general Grief of the People, in the Seventh Year of his Reign. He left his Dominions much enlarged, and his Subjects in great Prosperity<sup>e</sup>.

BUT his Two Sons being Infants at the Time of his Decease, he was succeeded in the Throne by his Brother EDRED, a Prince of great Prudence, who reduced the Northumbrians, awed the Scots, and maintained his Kingdom in much Tranquillity during a Reign of between Nine and Ten Years. He was succeeded by the eldest of his Nephews EDWY, EDWIC, or EDWIN, the Son of King Edmond, a Youth of whom the Monkish Writers report many Things very dishonourable in respect to his Manners, which however are hardly credible, since at the Time of his Accession he was scarce Fourteen. The Truth seems to be their Prosperity had corrupted the Bulk of the Clergy, great Dissensions having arisen between the Monks headed by Dunstan, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, whom this King banished, and the secular Priests whom he supported. In consequence of the Animosities which these Disputes occasioned, his Brother EDGAR was invested with Regal Authority over the Countries of Mercia and Northumberland,

land was given to Malcolm to be Confederate with the King by Sea and by Land. This Concession had its Effect: the Scots held Cumberland till the Norman Conquest, and the Heir of their Crown was stiled Lord of Cumberland, and often according to the Mode of those Times King.

<sup>e</sup> The Reduction of Northumberland, which Term, according to the Acceptation of those Times, comprehended, as hath been shewn, Two Kingdoms exclusive of that of Cumberland, was a very considerable Acquisition, and having cost much Blood and Trouble, we need not wonder that King Edmond laboured by every Method to preserve it to his Successors. It was with this Intent, that he endeavoured to establish the Saxon Policy in those Northern Countries, and with a View no Doubt to promote the general Tranquillity, he made those Laws which are still extant, and which are entirely calculated to promote that Harmony and regular Manner of Living, which Alfred made the Basis of his Constitution. It was not however easy to subdue that fierce and quarrelsome Disposition which still prevailed, notwithstanding the good Laws made to repress it. All we know of the Person who killed the King is his Name, which was Leof, and from his intruding himself into the Royal Presence, as well as his being personally known to the King, we may conclude that he was not of the Dregs of the People.

which

which Edwy could not prevent, or with Patience endure; so that in the Space of Two Years he died in Discontent<sup>f</sup>.

By his Demise EDGAR became King of all England, A. D. 957, at the Age of Sixteen. He was a Prince of a firm, generous, and intrepid Temper, accompanied with an Attention and a Degree of Prudence far above his Years. He was equally active and vigilant, knew perfectly the Superiority of his own Strength to that of his Neighbours, studied to maintain and increase it, but except the adjacent Islands and some Part of Ireland, he made no Conquests, contenting himself with that Submission which, without extorting it, was readily paid to his Power. By this wise Conduct he acquired the glorious Surname of THE PEACEABLE. He converted the Tribute of Wales into the Delivery of a certain Number of the Heads of Wolves, and thereby in a great Measure extirpated them.

HE treated all the other Princes of the Island with equal Kindness and Respect, encouraged a Resort of Foreigners to his Court, and thereby extended his Reputation through all Christendom. He kept his Garrisons complete, his Forces in good Order and in constant Motion, and all his Cities and great Towns in a State of Defence. His naval Force, which was very considerable, he divided into East, West, and North Squadrons, and visited them annually after Easter, by which the Coasts were equally secured against Pirates and Invasions. In the Winter he went in Progress through his Dominions, inspecting the Behaviour of his Officers Civil and Military. He was much in the Interest of the Clergy, and especially of

<sup>f</sup> The People on the other Side of the Humber being long used to another Kind of Life, and not at all relishing the Restraints imposed by Edmund's Laws, as soon as he was dead, called back Anlaff a Danish Prince, who had formerly ruled them: But growing very soon weary of him, they drove him out and set up another, against whom Edred came with an Army, and in a short Time dispossessed him, restored the Saxon Polity, to which, tired with repeated Revolutions, the People now more willingly submitted. It is not impossible that upon the Death of Edred the Saxon Nobility might think it good Policy to elect Prince Edgar to the Kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland, as the most probable Means of keeping the People in the last mentioned Country in due Obedience, leaving West Saxony, Kent, and the East Angles to King Edwy, who is said to have banished Dunstan, for not rendering him an Account of the Treasure which his Uncle Edred had committed to his Charge.

<sup>g</sup> As this Monarch was very young, his wife Conduct must be attributed to good Advice. This seems to have been given him by Dunstan, whom he recalled, and who, whatever his Character in other Respects might be, was certainly a great Politician. He was a Man of Quality by Birth, had an excellent Education, came early into the Management of publick Affairs, and had conducted them with Success. He fixed in his Master's Mind the Love of Peace, as most necessary to the Situation of his Affairs, the conciliating the Affections of his Subjects, and the Maintenance of his own Greatness and Glory. His Neighbours observing this Disposition, were the less alarmed at his Power, and saw their own Interest in Living with him upon good Terms, as on the other Hand his People felt the good Effects of his Policy in their own Happiness.

the Monks, building or repairing upwards of Forty religious Houses in different Parts of the Kingdom <sup>b</sup>.

He raised also several other Structures, and his Nobility imitating his Example, he contributed not a little to the Embellishment and Improvement of his Dominions, to which no Prince ever shewed more steady Attention. His Laws Ecclesiastic and Civil, as from the flourishing Condition of his Subjects, they were more numerous than any of his Predecessors, shewed plainly what good Effects had arisen from Alfred's System, and as well as the whole Tenor of his Conduct, were plainly calculated to extend and carry it to the highest Perfection. He was A. D. 973 crowned with great Solemnity at Bath on Whitfunday <sup>i</sup>.

He proceeded from thence to Chester, where he was attended by several of his tributary Princes. His uninterrupted Prosperity induced him to assume, as his Charters shew, the Name of Emperor, and other lofty Titles unclaimed by his Ancestors <sup>k</sup>. Yet with all these shining Qualities, which rendered

<sup>b</sup> The Saxon Chronicle asserts, that never any Prince looked more attentively than he did to all the different Duties of his Station, and that he had a more potent Fleet than any of his Predecessors. Florence of Worcester and Roger Hoveden speak of Three Squadrons of Twelve hundred Vessels each; John Brompton makes them Four thousand, and others have gone still higher. But the Saxon Chronicle is our best Guide, and it is impossible to conceive that he could man so great a Fleet, or provide for the Support of his Seamen, if his Subjects had not carried on a very extensive and lucrative Commerce, of which the flourishing State of all Things in his Reign is another Argument not to be controverted.

<sup>i</sup> Some Writers say, that Edgar was crowned as usual at Kingston at the Entrance of his Reign, by Odo Archbishop of Canterbury, which it would be easy to shew, is improbable at least. Others say his Coronation was deferred as a Penance enjoined by Dunstan. The Saxon Chronicles differ in the Year, for some Copies make it Nine hundred Seventy-two, others Nine hundred Seventy-three; but speak of it as done with extraordinary Solemnity, and with a great Resort to Bath of the Nobility and Clergy. Leland in his Itinerary, vol. ii. fol. 39, hath the following remarkable Passage. "King Eadgar was crownid with much Joy and Honor at St. Peter's in Bath, wherapon he bare a gret Zeale to the Towne, and gave very great Frauncheses and Privilges onto it. In Knowlege wherof, they pray in al their Ceremonies for the Soule of King Eadgar. And at Whitfunday ryde, at the which Tyme Men say that Eadgar there was crownid, ther is a King electid at Bath every Year of the Townesmen in the joyful Remembrance of King Eadgar, and the Privileges gyven to the Toun by hym. This King is festid and his Adherentes by the richest Menne of the Toun." The Saxon Chronicle says, that he went from hence to Chester, where he was met by Six Princes. Our other Chronicles tells us of Eight tributary Kings, viz. those of Scotland, Cumberland, Man, and Five Sovereign of Wales, who rowed him in his Barge on the River Deu.

<sup>k</sup> As to the lofty Style of this Prince, the Reader may find what is advanced in the Text proved in the learned Selden's Titles of Honour (in his Works) Vol. v. col. 141, 142, Instances might be also given from our ancient Historians. But the learned Writer we have mentioned hath produced (*Mare Clausum seu de Dominio Maris*, lib. ii. cap. 12.) another Charter, the Beginning of which, though we have little Room, we must transcribe, because authenticated by the

Sentiments;

rendered him the Delight of his People, he wanted not many, and some of these great Vices. His Lewdness was inexcusable, and attended with the most fatal Consequences. The Luxury of his Court was excessive. He was too lavish of his Favours to Strangers, gave, as his Saxon Subjects thought, too great Encouragement to the Danes, and was very partial to the Monks from a Mixture of Superstition and Policy, who in Return were very useful Instruments to him while Living, and in their Histories after his Death magnified his Virtues and extenuated his Failings. After a Reign of Glory and Peace, he died at last in the Arms of Victory. For the Welsh having raised some Commotions on the Frontiers, he entered Glamorganshire with a puissant Army, and triumphing over his Enemies, suffered his Forces to plunder the Country; but being struck with the Misery of the People, he ordered the greatest Part of the Booty to be restored. In his Return from this Expedition, he died after a short Illness in the Flower of his Age, and to the universal Sorrow of his Subjects, A. D. 975.

His eldest Son, EDWARD, was advanced to the Throne by the Credit of Dunstan, who by his Father had been made successively Bishop of Worcester and London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the Queen Dowager, Elfrida, endeavouring, though ineffectually, to place the Crown on the Head of her own Son, though an Infant. The young King himself was but Fourteen at his Accession, and under the Tuition of Dunstan, behaved very well during his short Reign, affording great Hopes to his Subjects that he would resemble his Father; but before he had enjoyed the regal Dignity Four Years, he was cruelly murdered, some say by the Command, others by the Hand of his Stepmother, and from an Opinion of his Innocence and Virtue, is stiled in our Histories EDWARD the MARTYR.

Sentiments of those excellent Judges of our History and Laws, Mr. Camden, Primate Usher, and the Lord Chief Justice Coke; thus it runs, "By the abundant Goodness of Almighty God, who is the King of Kings, I Edgar King of England, and of all the Kings of the Islands, and of the Ocean lying round about Britain, and of all the Nations that are included within the Circuit thereof, Supreme Lord and Governor, do render Thanks to the same Almighty God my King, who hath enlarged my Empire thus, and exalted it above the Royal Estate of my Progenitors, who although they arrived to the Monarchy of all England, ever since the Time of Athelstan (who was the First that by Force of Arms subdued the English and all the Nations that inhabit Britain) yet none of them ever attempted to extend their Empire beyond the Bounds thereof. But the Divine Goodness hath favoured me so far, as beside the English Empire, enable me to subdue all the Kingdoms of the Islands in the Ocean, with their most stout and mighty Kings even as far as Norway, and the greatest Part of Ireland, together with their most famous City of Dublin. All which (by God's Grace and Assistance) I have subdued, and made their Necks to stoop under the Yoke of my Command." This surely is a clear Confirmation, and a decisive Proof as to this Monarch's maritime Power.



HIS Brother **ETHELRED** succeeded him A. D. 978, being at that Time about Twelve Years of Age, and proved One of the most unhappy Princes who ever wore a Diadem. His Kingdom at the Time of his Accession enjoyed a profound Peace, and was in the most flourishing Condition<sup>1</sup>. But this State was quickly and dismally altered, for the Danes renewed their Invasions, from whence the most dreadful Consequences ensued. Luxury prevailing through all Ranks of People, excited such an Appetite for Riches, as corrupted the Morals and enervated the Minds of the whole Nation. The Nobility already become too powerful, grew equally profligate and ambitious; Avarice and a Desire of Rule grew general among the Clergy, while the Commons became poor and oppressed, being exposed to the Arts and Insolence of both. The King was constantly and shamefully betrayed, so that his Armies and Fleets, though very great, were frequently dissipated without coming to Action, or defeated when they did. The victorious Danes with their usual Fury took and destroyed most of the Cities and great Towns except London, plundering the Villages and open Country without Mercy, and shedding the Blood of Multitudes without the smallest Respect to Age, Sex, or Condition, after exhausting by repeated Subsidies, so well known by the Name of **DANE-GELT**, whatever the poor People had left<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From the Time that the Northumbrians were totally subdued by King Edred to the first Depredations by the Danes in the Reign of Ethelred, there elapsed about Thirty Years, during which Space the Kingdom of England enjoyed uninterrupted Felicity. During this Period the Saxon Constitution was settled and perfected, so that the People enjoyed every Thing they could wish, strict Justice, Trials by Juries, and equal Distribution of their Lands on the Demise of the Father of a Family; no Forfeitures but for Treason, great Encouragement given to Industry, in consequence of which the Country was thoroughly cultivated, and, from the Export of its native Commodities, blessed with a lucrative Commerce. In order to form some Idea of the State and Circumstances of the Saxons in their different Periods, the Reader may compare King Ælfred's Testament in the Edition of Asser's Annals by Wife, p. 73, with that of Prince Æthelstan eldest Son to King Ethelred, in the Appendix to Somner's Treatise of Gavelkind, p. 197.

<sup>m</sup> The first Raising of this Tribute to procure a temporary Cessation of the Danish Depredations is fixed by our Chronicles to A. D. 991, and is said to have been advised by Siricus Archbishop of Canterbury, the Sum then given was Ten thousand Pounds. In the Space of Twenty Years this Dane-geld, or Money for the Danes, was Five Times collected, and amounted in the Whole to One hundred Thirty-four thousand Pounds, which would coin into about Four hundred thousand of our Money. This Tribute was raised by the Consent of General Councils, and must therefore have been levied according to certain Proportions through the Kingdom. This great and general Tax was exclusive of what Ransoms the Danes extorted from particular Places. After their Cruelties and Oppression at Canterbury, they carried away the then Archbishop Elphagus, and after keeping him Prisoner on board their Fleet for a Year, they put him on Shore at Greenwich, where, on his refusing to levy Three thousand Pounds upon his Tenants for his Ransom, they put him to Death with most barbarous Cruelties, A. D. 1012.



THESE Miseries occasioned, though they could by no Means justify, the general Massacre of the Danes that were settled through the Kingdom, which was perpetrated A. D. 1002, a bloody Expedient! that did not in any Degree answer its Intention. Swaine King of Denmark revenged it by a fresh Invasion, and though he met with much Resistance and some Defeats, yet persisting steadily in prosecuting the War, and receiving continually fresh Supplies of his Countrymen, he at length drove Ethelred to such Straits, that after sending his Queen and her Children to her Brother the Duke of Normandy, he was constrained for his own Safety to follow them. Upon this Swaine was generally submitted to, and is considered as the first Danish King ruling here <sup>n</sup>.

BUT upon his sudden Death Ethelred returned and resumed the Government, though with no better Fortune than before, the Danes still labouring to establish their Conquest, and the Saxons to repel their Attacks; and thus the Strength of the Nation was daily exhausted by unsuccessful Struggles. The Current of our Histories attributes all these Disasters to the Weakness and Inactivity of the Prince, whom they stile *ETHELRED the UNREADY*, yet the Facts they relate point out plainly other Causes more adequate to the Effect, and that seem to exculpate him; but above all, his Laws, of which there are many, speak quite another Disposition, and as it also appears, that he acted generally by the Advice of his Great Council, he could not be esteemed an arbitrary Prince, and therefore it seems unjust to throw the whole Blame upon him <sup>o</sup>. In this Manner, often in the Field exposed to continual Dangers, and with very few Intervals of Rest, Ethelred wore out a sorrowful and distracted Reign of Thirty-seven Years,

<sup>n</sup> The Massacre of the Danes was on November the Thirteenth A. D. 1002, not long after the King's Marriage to Emma Daughter to the Duke of Normandy. The Carnage was no Doubt very great, though it might not be universal. Several Reasons have been given for it, but the most probable is that in the Saxon Chronicle, that the King had Intelligence of their having formed a Design to murder him and all his Nobility. King Swaine, for the Space of about Ten Years, wasted almost all Parts of the Kingdom with Fire and Sword, destroying many Cities, Towns, and Villages, and plundering others, so that this is looked upon as the Second general Devastation by the Danes, and is attested not only by our own, but by foreign, and even by the Danish Chronicles.

<sup>o</sup> This King Ethelred came to the Crown, as we have shewn, when a Child, and was from the beginning hated by Archbishop Dunstan and the Monks, who were now become rich, self-interested, and in all Respects exceedingly degenerated. They forgot the Obligations they were under to his Father Edgar, and to himself, and their Lands being exempted by the Laws, they would contribute nothing voluntary, even in the Depth of their Distress, to the Support of their Sovereign or fellow Subjects. It appears plainly from the Saxon Chronicle, that the King frequently consulted his Nobility and his Bishops, whose Advice he followed, and it is also no less plainly said, that he was as frequently deceived and betrayed by those he consulted; so that instead of being branded with the ignominious Epithet of *Unready*, he ought in Justice to have been stiled Ethelred the *Unfortunate*.

dying possessed of but a small Part of the Kingdom, which was inherited by the eldest of his surviving Sons.

EDMUND was a Prince, who, as our Histories report, was of a very different Disposition from his Father, infomuch that from his Strength, his Courage, and indefatigable Activity in War, he had obtained the Surname of IRONSIDE. This gallant Monarch fought with different Success Six several Battles against the Danes, and on the Point of fighting the Seventh, after, as some say, a single Combat he came to an Agreement with his Competitor CANUTUS, by which the Kingdom was divided between them. Not long after this he deceased suddenly, or, as some affirm, was basely murdered at Oxford by the Traitor Eadric, or at least by his Procurement, who had so often betrayed both him and his Father<sup>p</sup>, whom this King outlived only a few Months.

CANUTUS, CNUTE, or KNUT, the Son of Swaine, thereupon seized the whole Kingdom A. D. 1016, though Edmund left behind him both Brethren and Children; but the Nation, tired out with a Series of Calamities, terrified by a very numerous Danish Army, and desirous of enjoying Peace, submitted and suffered him to be crowned. He shewed himself in many Respects at least worthy of this good Fortune, behaving with great Prudence and Moderation, adhering to the Constitution, by calling general Councils, acting by their Advice; making many good Laws, as appears by those that are still extant. He laboured diligently to incorporate the Two Nations, and with this View espoused Emma the Dowager of Ethelred. By her Advice he sent back a large Body of his Danish Troops into their own Country, rewarding them liberally for their Services with English Money <sup>q</sup>.

HE

<sup>p</sup> This Eadric was a Man of great Quality by Birth, nobly allied, and very potent, so that the King was obliged to use him in his Councils and in his Armies. He was, as all our Historians agree, an artful, intriguing, insidious Man, and withal very avaricious, whence he was siled in Saxon *Eadric Streona*, that is *Eadric the Gatherer*, from the great Estates he acquired, and the immense Wealth he amassed. Ethelred to render him faithful made him Earl of Mercia, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage. In Edmund's short Reign, he Twice hindered him from gaining complete Victories, and is said by most Historians to have procured his Death, and to have boasted of this Service to Canute, who caused him to be slain. This is very simply told by the Saxon Chronicle, Twice by Ingulphus (Hist. p. 57, 58) and with the Addition of a Variety of Circumstances by other Historians.

<sup>q</sup> The Danish Troops were sent back A. D. 1018, and the Saxon Chronicle says they had a Subsidy given them of Seventy-two thousand Pounds, and besides this Eleven thousand from the City of London. Some other Writers say Eighty thousand from the Kingdom, and Fifteen thousand from the City, which, considering the vast Sums that had been formerly levied, sufficiently demonstrates the Wealth of the Kingdom, and in Proportion thereto the Wealth of the City.

HE made several Voyages into his Northern Dominions, where, on more than One Occasion he employed very successfully his Saxon Troops against his Enemies. It is not clear from what Motive, except that of displaying his Grandeur, he made a Journey to Rome, where he appeared with great Splendour, was received there with great Respect, and had very high Honours paid him by foreign Princes in his Passage. At his Return he acted successfully against the Scots. He had the Title of GREAT bestowed on him, as well on account of his Justice, Magnanimity, and Love of his Subjects, as for the many Victories he gained, and the wide Extent of his Dominions. He spent the last Years of his Life in Peace, and in performing many Works of Piety, deceasing A. D. 1036 at Shaftsbury in the Twentieth Year of his Reign.

HIS SON HAROLD surnamed HAREFOOT, as is said from his Swiftness, succeeded him in the Kingdom of England, notwithstanding the Opposition of the West Saxons, headed by their powerful Earl Godwin, and the Intrigues of the Queen Dowager, whom he afterwards banished. This Prince made no very great Figure either in War or in Peace, though he raised several heavy Impositions on his Subjects during his short Reign of Four Years.

HARDACKNUTE or HARDIKNUTE, the Son of Canutus by Queen Emma, ascended the Throne upon his Demise, recalled his mother, and invited over his Brother Edward, which were the best Actions of his Life. His Reign, like that of his Brother, was rendered odious by the heavy Taxes that he levied upon his People, and the Inhabitants of Worcester killing Two of the Collectors, he caused that City to be sacked and destroyed. In other Respects he was an indolent and a luxurious Prince, whence it is no great Wonder that he

Soon after the King held a General Assembly at Oxford, where it was agreed his Subjects should enjoy the Laws made by King Edgar. Afterwards he published a very full and excellent Code of Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil at Winchester, which were to be obeyed alike by his Danish and Saxon Subjects.

It must be allowed, that with all his good Qualities, Canute, either from Disposition or Policy, exercised some Acts of great Severity. For besides the Traitor Eadric, he put to Death some, and banished others of the English Nobility, and this early in his Reign (Chron. de Mailros, A. D. 1018.) and soon after he had advanced them, perhaps for their Perfidy, to great Employments. He likewise sent Abroad the Princes of the Royal Blood with an Intention, as some say, to have them destroyed, which however is far from being certain. Edward and Edmund, Sons of King Edmund Ironside, went into Hungary, where Edmund died, but Edward returned into England under the Reign of his Father's Brother, Edward the Confessor, yet did not survive long, but left behind him an only Son Edgar Atheling, the last Prince of the Saxon Line. After his Return from Rome, A. D. 1031, Canute seemed intent on effacing from the Minds of his People the Memory of past Calamities, and to contribute to the utmost of his Power to the restoring Tranquillity and good Order throughout his Dominions.

was not either esteemed or beloved by his Subjects, or his Death, which happened suddenly at a Banquet in Lambeth, at all regretted: He scarce reigned Two Years. It does not appear that either of these Princes attempted any Thing to the Prejudice of the Constitution, the great Excellence of which made it no less acceptable to the Danes long settled here than to the Saxons themselves, and some Amends had been made for the great Sums levied by the Dissipation of their Father's Treasures.

He was succeeded by his Brother EDWARD, who is stiled usually, it being the Custom of the Saxons to distinguish their Kings of the same Appellation by the Addition of Surnames, THE CONFESSOR. He proved a weak superstitious Prince, whom the Monks represent as a Saint, though his Usage of his Mother and his Queen seem not to entitle him to any such Distinction. His Dominions were sometimes insulted by, but oftener threatened with foreign Invasions, yet suffered much more through the predatory Depredations of his rebellious Subjects; so that these Calamities, joined to inclement Seasons, prevented in a great Measure the Repair of those Places that had been in the preceding Troubles either injured or destroyed †.

\* It appears very strange, especially to modern Historians, that the Danes should make no Efforts on the Death of Hardiknute, to set up some One of their own Nation, considering their great Power; yet the Wonder will be much lessened, if we consider that Canutus laboured incessantly to conciliate the Minds of his Subjects, and as fast as was possible to incorporate them into One Nation, which it would be easy to shew from the most ancient and authentick Histories of those Times, he in a great Measure effected by Intermarriages, especially amongst the great Families. Besides this, Edward was on the Spot, and the Danes had no Prince of their own, whose Title they could support. We must also remember that the Danish Fleets and Armies were gone. There is therefore no Reason to credit what Pontanius (in vit. Magn. Boni lib v.) reports, that Harold, under Pretence of celebrating the late King's Funeral, drew out the Danish Forces, and caused them in One Night to be all massacred. As little Credit is to be given to John Bromton's Story, ap. decem Script. col. 934, that at this Period the English expelled the Danes and then raised Edward to the Throne. The Truth is, he owed his Advancement to Earl Godwin, Hist. Ingulphi, p. 62, who had constantly adhered to his Mother Queen Emma, the Widow of Canute.

† We have already shewn the Methods taken by the Saxons to found new Towns, and to enlarge old Ones, which is sufficient to explain the Alterations that must have happened in many of them, from the Change of the Heptarchy into a Monarchy. In the Wars before the Time of Alfred and during his Reign and after, great Devastations happened, and though from the Time of Edgar the Saxon Princes were very assiduous in restoring and rebuilding, yet from the Beginning of Ethelbert's Reign to the Close of it there was a new Scene of Confusion, Desolation, and Bloodshed. We may therefore very easily conceive that a great Change was made in the Face of the Country, and in the Condition of the People, and of this we have Two very strong Proofs, viz. the Famines that prevailed in the Beginning of the Reign of Edward the Confessor through the Want of Cultivation, and the Exhortation of the Pope soon after the Norman Conquest, to remove episcopal Sees out of mean and decayed Towns into those that were more flourishing and fitter to become Cities.

HOWEVER

HOWEVER he is said to have remitted the galling Tax of DANEGELT<sup>u</sup>, and to have framed a Code of Laws with a View to the bringing the several Customs prevailing in different Parts of the Kingdom into One general System, which in Part had been attempted, but never accomplished by any of his Predecessors. His long Residence in their Country filled him with strong Prepossessions in favour of the Normans, which was a Circumstance highly displeasing to the Nation; so that, notwithstanding what is written by the Bulk of our Historians since the Conquest, he was far from being so highly or so generally revered and esteemed as they would represent him. He spent a large Sum of Money in building the stately Structure of Westminster Abbey, which was hardly compleated and consecrated before it became the Place of his Sepulture. He died on the Eve of the Epiphany, A. D. 1066 w.

HAROLD the Son of Earl Godwin, who had during the Reign of Edward the chief Conduct of his Affairs, stepped into the vacant Throne, was acknowledged for their King by the Nobility, and crowned by the Archbishop of York, though Edgar Atheling the Grandson of Edmund Ironside, and Grand Nephew to the deceased Edward, was in the Court, and had been considered by the Clergy and People as his Heir. Harold had scarce assumed the regal Title before he found himself threatened with an Invasion from Normandy, and while he was making Preparations for repelling this, his own Brother Tosty, who had been banished by King Ed-

<sup>u</sup> Mr. Selden very judiciously distinguishes two different Kinds of Danegelt: The One was a Tribute which was paid to procure a Respite from their Depredations, the latter was a constant annual Tax to protect the Country and the Coasts from their Invasions, which was raised in the Nature of a Land Tax, and was employed in fitting out Ships of War, and in the Maintenance of Seamen. This was also very frequently paid to the Danes, both before and after the Accession of Canute, as they were ready to hire themselves for this Purpose, and it was this last Tax, which, as some of our Historians say, amounted to about Thirty-eight thousand Pounds per Annum, that was remitted by Edward the Confessor when it had subsisted for Thirty-eight Years, and in that Space, if their Accounts be right, amounted to about Four Millions of our Money.

<sup>w</sup> It is asserted by John Bromton in his Chronicle, ap. decem Script. col. 956, 957. Henr. de Knyghton, col. 2338, that Edward the Confessor made such a Code as is mentioned in the Text, and he gives us some Saxon Terms from it, which he explains in Latin and in French. In the Saxon Laws there are these of Edward the Confessor, said to be confirmed by the Conqueror; but they are a strange perplexed Compilation, and even in these it is said, that they were not called his Laws, because he made them, but because he observed them. It is likewise insinuated, that from the Accession of Canutus the Saxon Laws had been buried in Oblivion, and that the great Merit of Edward lay in his reviving those of King Edgar, which, as the Reader hath already seen, is not conformable to Truth, though well calculated for the Purposes of those Times when all Inquiries into Saxon Learning was discouraged. As to the Laws of King Edward, inserted by Ingulphus in his History, p. 88, to which some Additions were made from MSS. by the learned Selden in his Notes and Observations upon Eadmerus, p. 173—194. these are published in Wilkins's Collection, p. 211, with a Latin Translation, for the Conqueror published them in French, though under the Name, and as the Laws of Edward the Confessor.

ward, came with a piratical Squadron, harrassed the Coasts on the West and South Sides of the Island, and at length sailed to the North, landed his Forces, and endeavoured to repossess himself of Northumberland, of which he had been Earl; but Morcar, then in Possession of the County, assisted by the Earl of Chester, gave him Battle, beat his Forces, and obliged him to fly with a few Ships into the Ports of Scotland.

As he met with no Assistance there, he was compelled to put to Sea again, and arriving in Norway, persuaded the King to join him with a Fleet of some Hundred Sail, with which they entered the Humber, and landed a numerous Army. The Two Earls before-mentioned ventured to fight them with an inferior Force, but were beat with considerable Loss. The News of this Misfortune obliged Harold to march Northward, and meeting his Enemies at Strangford Bridge, he gained a complete, though a very bloody Victory, in which Tosty, and some say Harold Harfager the Monarch of Norway was also slain, their whole Force destroyed, and only a few Vessels of their numerous Fleet escaped. At this very critical Juncture William Duke of Normandy landed in Suffex.

HAROLD, who was returned to London, and had dismissed Part of his Army, marched immediately to oppose him, and after performing all that could be expected from a brave Man, and a very experienced Officer, was slain in that fatal and decisive Battle fought on Heathfield near Hastings on the Fourteenth of October, when he had reigned Forty Weeks and One Day. With him fell the Saxon Power, and with it the Spirit of the Saxon Constitution was well nigh extinguished, after that Nation's flourishing in this Island about the Space of Six hundred Years \*.

It is hoped that upon Reflection the Reader will see no just Cause to complain of the Trouble given him in going briefly through the Saxon History, which at the same Time it exhibits and explains the memorable and laudable Actions of our Ancestors, shews also the Grounds, the Growth,

\* It hath been by some thought strange, that the Fate of so great a Nation should be decided by a single Battle: A little Consideration will diminish at least, if not take away the Wonder. The People had been long harrassed by Wars, and thereby their Numbers lessened. In this very Year there were no less than Three very bloody and hard fought Battles, in which, as some compute, there fell not less than One hundred thousand Men. In the next Place, the Norman gave them no Time to breathe, but marched directly with his victorious Army to London. Add to this, that he immediately compromised Matters with the Clergy, who being very attentive to their own Interests, and being allowed their own Terms, acknowledged William for their King, and the Archbishop of York crowned him at Christmas, Ten Weeks and Two Days after the Battle of Hastings, and when there were Eleven Days wanting to complete the Year in which Edward the Confessor died.

and the Changes of our Constitution, as well as the different Faces this Country hath worn in different Periods. The Saxons brought with them from Germany a rational Love of Liberty, and a just Sense of the properest Means of preserving it in the fundamental Principles of their political System. The Ferocity shewn at their Arrival, and which subsisted alſo for ſome Time after, flowed from the Errors of Paganism. The native Rectitude of their Minds appeared in that Docility with which they embraced the Chriſtian Religion.

THE ſettling themſelves in ſmall Principalities was likewiſe conformable to their ancient Cuſtoms, and as we have obſerved, contributed not a little to the Territories which compoſed theſe Principalities being thoroughly and quickly peopled. But though their Sovereignties were ſeparate and independent, yet the Spirit of their Laws was every where the ſame, which ſhewed an inflexible Attachment to their original Notions. ALFRED diſcovered his great Wiſdom in working theſe into his own System, and by retaining and eſtabliſhing thoſe Forms of adminiſtering Juſtice to which they had been ever accuſtomed, when divided into ſmall States, through every County, Hundred, and even Tything, preſerved the ſame Order and Harmony through the whole Monarchy that ſubſiſted in thoſe ſmaller Principalities. The Inſtitution of the View of Frank-pledge, which he ſuperinduced from the Circumſtances of the Times, was a wonderful Proof of his Sagacity, as it eſtabliſhed Peace, encouraged Induſtry, and became a Principle of national Probity. He with equal Prudence formed a regular and ſtanding Militia, and wiſely diſtributed the maritime Force he created in ſeparate Squadrons on the different Coaſts of his Dominions.

HIS Succeſſors invariably adhering to his wiſe Maxims, gradually completed his great Deſign, which appeared in its full Luſtre under the peaceable and propitious Reign of EDGAR, when the Power, the Riches, and the Superiority of this Nation over all its Neighbours, was in every

It is judiciously obſerved by Mr. Selden, that it is only by piecing together Fragments, and comparing them with our ancient Cuſtoms, that we gain any Idea of the Saxon Conſtitution, which notwithstanding appears to have been wonderfully complete. The Division of the Kingdom was perfectly regular. The Rights of the ſeveral Orders of People exactly ſettled from the Crown to the Clown, and none deprived of their Freedom, but ſuch as had ſhewn themſelves unworthy and incapable of it. There was a due Diſtribution of Juſtice, quick, eaſy, and equal through all Parts of the Realm, by which the King's Peace, which was their Phraſe for a perfect Submission to Government, was conſtantly maintained: A ſtanding Proviſion made both for a Military and Naval Force, Idleneſs prevented, and as for the real Poor, who were proper Objects of Compaſſion, Care was taken of them by the religious Houſes, who by their apparent Charity in this Reſpect, gave ſuch Eaſe to the Publick, as certainly procured, and in ſome Meaſure ſeemed to juſtify the Donations they received.



Circumstance carried to Demonstration. This seems to be a Thing not hitherto sufficiently considered, otherwise no Doubt could have ever arisen, whether this regular and connected Scheme of Government was as well suited to an extensive Empire, as to a new Establishment of a moderate Extent<sup>z</sup>.

It was not through any Defect in the System, but from the Neglect thereof, and the Breaches therein, that the Saxon Monarchy declined. On the contrary, the Firmness of its Materials, and Excellency of its Construction became more visible from thence, and rendered it more worthy of Respect and Veneration. The Persian Empire was overthrown merely by superior Force of Arms. That of the Romans by intestine Divisions, and the Inroads of barbarous People, without any Vestiges remaining of their pristine Form. The Saxons experienced like Calamities, torn by domestic Factions, invaded by numerous Swarms of savage Nations from Abroad, they were not conquered, but disposed to Submission: They incorporated with the Danes, and acknowledged Danish Princes for their Kings, but they preserved in a great Measure their religious and civil Constitution, and in Process of Time recovered the Monarchy. The Danes ceded that to preserve their Interest in this Country and in the Protection afforded by its Laws.

THE Normans, though their Duke pretended a Claim of Right, gave us in this Respect a far harsher Shock: But the Foundation was too deeply laid to be subverted. The People shewed not only an Attachment to, but also a passionate Love for their Laws, by continually demanding them, they were often promised, and in some Measure were at last, indeed, gradually and partially restored. At this very Day they are the Basis of the most valuable Parts of our Constitution, in the same Manner that the German Maxims were of the Saxon Form of Rule, and the ablest Judges have declared it their Opinion, that we very essentially suffer through the Want of

<sup>z</sup> The Contents of this Chapter being maturely considered, it will not certainly appear surprizing, and much less incredible, that under such a Constitution, the Country should be thoroughly peopled, and consequently every where improved. But we do not barely lay this down as an Opinion, but assert it also as a Fact. R. Higden the Monk of Chester affirms, that in virtue of a Commission granted in the Fourth of William the Conqueror, that is precisely Seven hundred Years ago, there were then found in this Kingdom Fifty-two thousand Towns and Villages, and Forty-five thousand and Two Parishes. A Thing looked upon as very certain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, as appears by the Testimony of Mr. Harrison, who wrote the Description of Britain, and that learned Antiquary Mr. Joseph Holland (Hearne's Collection of curious Discourses, p. 62.) though at that Time the Number of Towns and Villages were sunk to Seventeen thousand. Now if we consider the Number of Inhabitants that these Cities, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Parishes must have contained, we cannot doubt that England at the Time of the Conquest was very well, though before the Danish War it must have been better peopled, and as the Number of People infer Subsistence, so must that have arisen from Cultivation.



some of those Parts of their System that we have lost. These are Points that certainly deserve to be universally known, to be maturely considered, and to be had in perpetual Remembrance.

### C H A P. III.

#### The Nature, Progress, and Improvement of the Norman Constitution.

*THE Reasons that induced the Continuance of this Enquiry. The Objects thereof, and the Manner of treating it in this Chapter briefly stated. WILLIAM the Conqueror transferred in a great Measure both Power and Property in this Country to the Normans. Other Innovations made by this Monarch. The wretched State to which the Natives, and more especially the midling and meaner Sort were reduced by these Measures. WILLIAM surnamed RUFUS governed with less Policy and equal Severity. HENRY the First made a Shew of Mildness, and an Intention of redressing Grievances. The seeming Benignity and Moderation of his Laws. These, though never formally abrogated, were hardly, if at all observed. The turbulent and distracted Administration of STEPHEN. Insurrections and foreign Wars brought heavy and repeated Distresses on the People. These Miseries, notwithstanding some fair Promises, instead of diminishing are increased. The Face of the Country changed, and its Value impaired. Facts that evince the Reality of these Assertions. The Normans labour to efface all Memory of the Saxon Policy. The Second Period, beginning with the Reign of HENRY PLANTAGENET. His laudable Endeavours to set Bounds to the exorbitant Power of the Clergy. Many wise and good Laws and Regulations made by this Monarch. Succeeded by his Son RICHARD the First. His Expedition to the Holy Land, and the Consequences thereof in respect to this Country. King JOHN by his ill Conduct plunged the Nation into a civil War. He is compelled by his Barons to grant MAGNA CHARTA, or the Great Charter of Liberties. The Remainder of his disturbed and unsettled Reign. HENRY the Third succeeded his Father in his Nonage. The Miseries and Confusions of his long Reign, which were however composed before his Decease. The Condition of the Commons still very low and indifferent during this Period. Yet some Sparks of Industry and Commerce began therein to appear, but were unsettled and confined while Cultivation in general remained in a very low State. EDWARD the First succeeded his Father with the universal Applause of his Subjects. His entire Conquest of Wales and frequent Dis-*  
*putes*

*putes with France. He claimed the Superiority over Scotland, reduced it thrice, and died in his Fourth Expedition against that Country. As a Statesman he acted with very great Sagacity and Penetration. Shewed wonderful Abilities in managing the Tempers of all Ranks of his Subjects. Provided Remedies for the internal Disorders of the Nation. His singular Attention to the proper Administration of Justice. Confirmed the great Charter, and the Charter of the Forests with very salutary Additions and Improvements. Succeeded by EDWARD the Second, who prosecuted the War against the Scots without Success. The Remainder of his unfortunate Reign to his Deposition. EDWARD the Third with different Fortune renews the War against the Scots. His Claim to their Crown, and repeated Successes against the French. The principal Events of his long Reign. The Condition and Circumstances of the People during this Third Period considered. The Progress of Industry and the Causes of the Want of Cultivation. A cursory Review of the Four succeeding Reigns. The like in respect to those of EDWARD the Fourth and RICHARD the Third. A succinct Account of the Devastation and Depopulation of this Country. The State of Trade and Agriculture at the Conclusion of this Fourth Period. The Accession of HENRY the Seventh, and a brief Detail of his Reign. The good Consequences attending the wise Measures and settled System of Policy which he introduced and maintained. Gradual Recovery and Improvements of every Kind from his Time. Remarks and Reflections on the Contents of this Chapter.*

**I**T seemed necessary to go through the British and the Saxon Histories more distinctly and at large, as they had not been very fully considered before in that Point of View in which we have endeavoured to place them. But from the Entry of the Normans, our publick Transactions have been, especially of late, more amply related, and more critically examined, as being supposed, from their being nearer in point of Time, to have a stronger Operation upon and a closer Connection with the immediate Causes of subsequent Events. For these Reasons, and because our Antiquaries, Lawyers, and political Writers, as well as our Historians, have discussed many of these Matters very fully, we are by no Means tied to so regular and circumstantial a Detail in this as in the former Chapters\*. Besides we have

\* It is a Point perfectly well known to all who have attentively considered our publick Concerns, that they have been much assisted by the sedulous and indefatigable Researches of our ablest Antiquaries. For this the Names of Leland, Talbot, Camden, Sir Henry and Sir John Spelman, Somner, Lambard, and Burton will be ever held in grateful Remembrance. Much hath been likewise done by some eminent Sages in the Law, particularly Glanville, Braeton, Fortescue, Sir William Fleetwood, Selden, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Matthew Hale, and many others. Our Clergy have likewise contributed their Labours in a Manner that will ever do them the greatest Honour, such as the Archbishops Parker and Usher, Bishops Fell, Stillingfleet, Fleetwood, and

have already in many Places, and in the last Book more especially, been obliged to enter in some Respects on this Subject, which Particulars we shall be careful not to repeat.

YET to preserve the necessary Connection, and to give a greater Perspicuity to various Assertions already incidentally delivered, we shall, as succinctly as may be, prosecute the same Method, so as to mark the most signal Changes in the Constitution, and endeavour to trace their Effects on the State of the People, and the Condition of the Country. Circumstances not always attended to in general Histories, but which are the proper Subjects of the Political State of Britain. In order to execute this arduous Task intelligibly, it will be requisite to range these Facts and Observations in distinct Periods, by which they will be more naturally digested, and their Correspondence better discerned <sup>b</sup>.

WE have at the Close of the last Chapter remarked, that the Normans, when they became Masters here, gave a great Shock to the Saxon System, whereby many Alterations were wrought, and it will be the Business of our First Section so to explain that Matter, as to make this Assertion good. WILLIAM the FIRST, or as we are accustomed to call him, WILLIAM the CONQUEROR, was a very penetrating, resolute, and austere Prince, much attached to his own Subjects, and strongly addicted to their Customs. He provided most nobly for those who came over with him, by making large Grants to them of Lands taken from the Natives under feudal Tenures, according to the Manner of their own Country, by which a numerous, potent, and permanent Military Force became established, not only without any Expence, but incidentally with very considerable Profit to the Crown <sup>c</sup>.

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Gibson, Dr. Gale, Batteley, Stukeley, and very many others. Some of our great Historians have thrown Light upon them in many Respects, such as the Viscount St. Albans, Lord Herbert, Bishops Godwin, Kennet, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Savile, Sir Roger Twylden, &c. To these we may add our learned historical Poet Michael Drayton. It would have been unpardonable not to have paid this Tribute of Respect to these great Names, since from them, if any Merit shall be allowed to this Work, it was derived.

<sup>b</sup> The candid Reader will, it is hoped, not consider the Want of Dates, or of a Multitude of material Facts, as Omissions or Defects in this Chapter, since our Intention therein is by no Means to compose, but to apply History. A regular Deduction was necessary to render this intelligible and perspicuous; but the Whole is directed to a single Point, that of shewing how the Circumstances of the People have been altered by the Changes in our Government, keeping also always this Position in View, that the best Constitution is that which hath the Subject's Happiness for its Object, and that this is best administered when the greatest Number of People of all Ranks are made happy.

<sup>c</sup> At the very Beginning of his Reign he made Fitz Osborn Earl of Arundel and Hereford, and gave him vast Possessions. In like Manner Alan Earl of Bretagne he made Earl of Richmond, bestowing on him Four hundred Forty-two Manors. To Robert Earl of Morton in Normandy

The more effectually to secure the Clergy in his Interest, he indulged them in a Kind of Independency on the Civil Power, by permitting the Prelates to withdraw from the County Courts in which hitherto they had presided with the Earls, and at the same Time suffered them to connect themselves closely with the Papal See, by the Authority of which his Title was supported, and to finish the Whole filled every English Bishoprick as it became vacant, either with his own Countrymen or foreign Prelates. By taking these Steps he had in a very short Space the spiritual, as well as the Temporal Proprietors of Lands entirely at his Devotion.

INSTEAD of the simple and plain Mode of the Saxons in distributing Justice, he introduced Appeals to the King's Court, where, as they were to be determined by a Norman Magistrate stiled Justiciar or Chief Justice, the Laws and the Pleadings were necessarily in French, and this brought in all that Refinement and Chicane for which the Normans were ever famous. He also directed the judicial Decision by Combat, in Addition to the Modes of Ordeal and Juries, which had been till then in use. Forests, and the sanguinary Laws respecting them, came in with him also, and

he gave the County of Cornwall here with Seven hundred Ninety-three Manors, and was equally liberal to many others. The Truth is he came in, and was to be kept in by their Assistance, which was the Reason that he parcelled out most of the Lands of the Kingdom to his own Countrymen, and to the French, Flemings, Anjouvins, Bretons, and Poitouvins. All these held by the Norman Tenures, which were attended with doing Homage at their Entrance, paying Reliefs when they came in by Succession, becoming Wards while under Age; and if the Fief descended to a Female, he gave her in Marriage. Besides which they were subject to Ffcuage, Aids, &c. and yet with all these Burthens, these, and these Tenures only were reputed free, because those who held them were tied only to Military Services.

He was always jealous of the Saxons, and on his First Return to Normandy carried several of the principal Nobility with him as Hostages. His Severities provoked many to rebel, and this afforded a fresh Opportunity of giving away their Lands. Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury he caused to be deprived to make Way for Lanfranc a Norman. Alfred Archbishop of York, who set the Crown upon his Head, died in Disgrace for reproaching him with the Breach of his Promise; and Thomas a Monk of Bayonne succeeded him. This was the uniform Tenor of his Policy, so that as his Secretary Ingulphus tells us, by the End of his Reign there was hardly any Englishman, an Earl, Baron, Bishop, or in short trusted with any Office of Dignity or Power throughout the Realm.

The Duel, considered as a judicial Decision, is said to have taken its rise among the Burgundi; but it was practised also by the Lombards, and amongst the Northern Nations. Some incline to think it was in use among the Saxons, but Lambard and Selden are clearly of another Opinion, and that it was introduced by the Normans. In the Reign of William Rufus, William de Owe was accused of Treison, and being overcome in Combat, he, according to the Conqueror's Law, was deprived of his Eye Sight and of his Testicles. *Malmesb. de reb. gest. R. Angl. lib. iv. Flor. Wigorniensis, p. 647.* The referring both civil and criminal Cases to the Trial by Combat continued long to be Law. Yet the Cases wherein it was practised are but rare in our Books, though there are Instances enough to shew, that it was as incertain and barbarous as it was inhuman and irreligious. The learned Selden hath an express Treatise on this Subject at the Beginning of the Fifth Volume of his Works.

were intolerably grievous. Thus the Sword, the Land, and the Law were transferred exclusively into the Hands of these Strangers, by whose Assistance he acquired his Power; and Labour and Submission only were the Lot of the English<sup>f</sup>. As these Hardships must necessarily exasperate any People, so to prevent their meeting and caballing in Cities and great Towns, they were obliged on the Ringing the Curfew, that is Couvre Feu Bell at Eight in the Evening, to put out their Lights, and rake out their Fires. A Plan of Subjection this, of which it is very difficult to say, whether it was more subtle in its Contrivance, or oppressive in its Operations.

WILLIAM the SECOND, usually stiled WILLIAM RUFUS, was of a violent, cruel, and rapacious Disposition. He came to the Crown under Colour of his Father's Will, and by the Assistance and Influence of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been his Tutor. As his Title was none of the clearest, and as he was rather feared than beloved by most of the great Men, he was obliged to have Recourse to fair Promises, which had a great Effect in raising the Hopes and reviving the Spirits of an oppressed People. These he sometimes renewed when dangerously ill, or in deep Distress, but never performed; on the contrary, in respect to the Forests, he acted with even more Rigour than his Father<sup>g</sup>.

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<sup>f</sup> We might well infer from the Conqueror's Generosity to the Normans, that the English, and more especially the common People, sunk into a miserable and distressed Condition. But we likewise know this from the best Authority. Such as had been in Arms under Harold, or at any Time afterwards, let their Condition be what it would, lost thereby all Claim and Title to their Estates, and they were thought to be mercifully dealt with if they escaped with their Lives. Those who had been neuter were employed in the Drudgery of farming, or cultivating their own Estates for the Benefit, and at the Will of their Lords. In this Situation they found themselves so much oppressed as to represent, that if they were not relieved, they must, as others had done, leave their Country and go and seek Subsistence else-where. Upon this it was declared, that whatever Conditions they could by their Submission and Services obtain from their Lords, they should safely and securely enjoy. Dialog. de Scaccario, cap. x. We call this the best Authority, whether written by Gervase of Tilbury, as is commonly said, or Richard Fitz Neal Bishop of London, who was Treasurer in the Reign of Henry the Second.

<sup>g</sup> Forests, though common in other, and especially in Northern Countries, were here the Works of Art and Power. For the making New Forest in Hampshire, which was the First, many Villages, and not a few Churches were destroyed. The King only could make them, and this was done with many Ceremonies, in virtue of a Commission, the Lands thus converted, were, though not inclosed, exactly limited, and the Bounds proclaimed, and this was stiled Afforesting; and numerous Officers were appointed for their Preservation. All the Game in the Kingdom belonged to the Prince, and none had the Liberty of killing even on his own Lands, to whom he did not grant Chace and free Warren. The Punishments inflicted on Offenders were terrible; for killing a Deer or a Boar a Man had his Eyes put out, or lost his Privities. The Saxon Chronicle says of William the Conqueror, that he was rather a Parent to the wild Beasts than a Father to his People. Yet his Son, contrary to all his Promises, was more severe in this Respect than

He imposed heavy Taxes, levied them with great Severity, and under Colour of Necessity prevailed on a great Council to extend these Impositions to the Lands of the Clergy, from whom, as well as from the Laity upon other Occasions, he exacted immense Sums by downright Violence.

• HENRY the FIRST, surnamed BEAUCLERCK, had no better Title to the Crown than his Predecessor, however, being upon the Spot, being born here after his Father's Accession, shewing much seeming Attention to the English, being supported by some of the Norman Barons, and standing well with the Clergy, Maurice Bishop of London ventured to crown him on the Sunday following the Thursday, on which his Brother was shot in the New Forest. His Situation made it requisite to make a Shew of a better Temper than he really possessed, and therefore he not only promised great Things at his Coronation, but was also induced to publish with much Solemnity a Charter of Liberties, and some say with the Advice of a Great Council, a Body of Statutes, in Hopes of conciliating the Affections of all his Subjects, upon which he could not help seeing that his Sovereignty must depend<sup>b</sup>.

THIS is by far the most complete Code of Laws hitherto given by any of our Norman Kings, milder in many Respects than those of his Father; the Military Tenures in Favour of the Normans were in many Instances softened, and the Services rendered more certain. Some Regulations there are in reference to Successions. Theft during his Reign was for the first Time made Capital, and he likewise fixed the Punishments that were to be inflicted for other Crimes. The Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts were also by him rejoined, which however did not continue long. He left the Election of Bishops free, and in other Matters shewed plainly, that the whole was contrived to give as far as possible universal Satisfaction, which very probably would have followed, if these Laws had been steadily adhered to.

than he, putting Fifty of the better Sort of English at One Time, on Suspicion of killing Deer, to the Ordeal of Fire, that is the handling red-hot Irons, from which when they had escaped, the King was not satisfied. In Process of Time Forests became Sixty-eight in Number.

<sup>b</sup> The Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of England, either from the natural Fierceness of their Temper, or being stirred up by their Nobility, made several vigorous Attempts to shake off the Norman Yoke. In order to this Edgar Atheling procured them the Assistance of the Scots, and a Fleet of Three hundred Sail of Danish Ships came with the like View into the Humber. The Conqueror judging the most violent Remedies requisite to defeat these repeated Revolts, destroyed all the Country between the Humber and the Tees, wasted all the Sea Coast, drove away the Cattle, burned all Instruments of Husbandry, and so effectually depopulated this great Region, that for the Space of Nine Years it lay totally wild and without Culture, Multitudes of People perishing through Want, and the wretched Remains of the Inhabitants were obliged to subsist on Dogs, Cats, and other Vermin.

BUT Henry was in fact, though more specious in his Behaviour, yet as arbitrary and ambitious in his Nature as his Brother; and therefore, so soon as the State of Things permitted, though he never pretended to abrogate his Laws, he shewed not the least Regard to them, but acted as if they had never been made, One Instance only excepted, which was taking away that odious and most glaring Badge of Slavery the *CORFEU* <sup>i</sup>.

HENRY dying in Normandy, his Nephew STEPHEN Earl of Blois, making all possible Haste hither, stepped into the vacant Throne by the Assistance of William Archbishop of Canterbury, his own Brother Henry de Blois Bishop of Winchester, and the Chancellor Roger Bishop of Salisbury, though they had all of them solemnly sworn to maintain the Succession of the Empress Maud, the only Child of King Henry. At his Coronation, Stephen promised upon Oath to maintain the Liberties of the Church, to mitigate the Severities of the Forest Laws, and absolutely to abolish *Dane-gelt*, which had been levied annually as the ordinary Revenue of the Crown; with not One of which Promises he complied <sup>k</sup>.

YET he granted Charters from time to time full of very gracious Concessions, which had very little if any Effect, as indeed his Power was never

<sup>i</sup> Hereward a noble Saxon took Shelter with his Followers in the Isle of Fly, and soon after a Danish Fleet landed a Number of Forces to support them. These Men plundered most of the Monasteries in the low and fen Country of immense Riches, and the Conqueror is said to have disposed them to retire, by giving them large Sums of English Money. Githa, the Mother of Harold, excited the People of Exeter to shut their Gates against the Normans, which brought an Army into Devonshire, by which that rich Country was harrassed and destroyed. The like Fate befell Cornwall and Somersetshire, and at length the severest Punishments being found ineffectual, to prevent the Killing of Normans, when it could be done secretly or by surprize, a Law was made to punish the Hundred wherein such a Murder was committed by a heavy Fine from Thirty to Forty Pounds, which was attended with Success. As to the *Domesday Book* it was made about the Twentieth Year of the Conqueror's Reign, and obtained that Name, as the Author of the Dialogue of the Exchequer says, from its decisive Authority in all Cases. If we credit the Saxon Chronicle, the Annals of Waverly, and other Authors of that Age, we must believe, that not only the Land was surveyed and registered, but the Substance also, and even the Cattle that every Man possessed. See upon this Head the Conclusion of the First Volume of Dr. Gale's Collection of English Historians.

<sup>k</sup> William Rufus was equally prodigal and rapacious. His Wars on the Continent required continual Supplies, sometimes obtained by heavy Taxes, sometimes extorted by Violence. By these grievous impositions the Nation was doubly impoverished: First by depriving the Industrious of the Fruits of their Labour, and next by carrying all this Wealth out of the Kingdom to be spent amongst Foreigners. The Truth of these Observations may be verified from a single Fact. This King, though according to his Father's Example he levied Taxes equally on the Lands of the Clergy and Laity, by which his Revenues should have much surpassed those of the Saxon Monarchs, found it so difficult to raise the Sum of Ten thousand Marks, for which his Brother Robert mortgaged, and in Effect sold to him the Dutchy of Normandy, that he despoiled the Churches of their Plate, and reduced Multitudes of the middle Sort of People to downright Beggary.

great, or his Government well established. He held likewise many General Councils, chiefly in respect to Ecclesiastical Affairs. At this Time the Clergy began to introduce the Civil and Canon Law into their Courts, though the King opposed it, and at this Time likewise we first hear of Appeals to the Court of Rome. The Confusion arising from a long Civil War had the most pernicious Effects, and of these One of the worst was, that so long as this unstable Reign lasted there could be no Hope of a Reformation<sup>l</sup>.

THE People of England under these Norman Kings, during upwards of Fourscore Years, were brought into a State much easier to be conceived than to be described. It is true, as we observed at the Close of the last Chapter, that they made no Stand after the unhappy Battle of Hastings, yet were they so impatient under the immediate Consequences of so great and universal a Change, as to break out into many and sharp Insurrections, which ineffectual Risings proved equally fatal to the Nobles who excited, and to the unhappy Commons who were by them seduced into these unavailing Revolts. In the Northern Parts of the Kingdom the Danes and the Scots interposed in these Quarrels, which occasioned infinite Bloodshed and Desolation<sup>m</sup>. In the Isle of Ely, and through the Fens, the like Events brought on the same Miseries, and in other Places; indeed wherever Woods, Mountains, and Marishes afforded them Shelter, many of the desperate Saxons endeavoured, as Opportunities offered, to lessen the Number of their Oppressors, which served only to increase the Severities of the

<sup>l</sup> In the Time of Henry, not only his foreign Wars but his Alliances and Negotiations on the Continent, of which he had many, were very expensive. The Wars with Scotland hindered the Northern Parts of the Kingdom from recovering, as their ruined Condition had prevented their being inserted in the Conqueror's Survey. It is true, that in the latter Part of his Reign the Regulations which have been before mentioned gave some Ease to the People. But in the Days of his Successor, Stephen, when this Country was split into more than a Thousand Principalities under so many petty Tyrants, the Distress brought on the People was excessive, as authentically appears in the Articles of Accommodation between him and his Competitor Henry.

<sup>m</sup> The Claim of Robert Duke of Normandy found Favour in the Eyes of many of his Countrymen who had great Estates in England, and to please them the King made some Concessions, such as that Reliefs which seem to be the same, or nearly the same with Heriots, should be reasonable and certain, that Relations should have the Wardships of Minors, that Marriages should be left free, and that personal Estates might be left by Will. His Charter is inserted in the Textus Roffensis, there are Two in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and it was likewise sent into every County. It stands as a Preface also to his Laws, in which there are many equitable Regulations in favour of the common People. The Whole is in a great Measure a Compilation from the Saxon Laws, though intermixed with some Norman Customs, which, according to the Mode of his Ancestors, he styled the Laws of Edward the Confessor, and the better to colour this, an Opinion was vented, that the Norman Laws were framed by St. Edward, and given by him to William when Duke of Normandy, who caused them to be observed in that Country before he came to the Possession of the Kingdom of England.



Laws, and at length brought on that indelible Record of their Subjection the Doomſday Book <sup>n</sup>.

IN the ſucceeding Reign of Rufus, though ſometimes careſſed in Words, their Condition was not at all better, for here at Home Numbers fell in the Field againſt the Norman Lords who fought to raiſe Duke Robert to the Throne; and they ſuffered no leſs when theſe hostile Diſputes were transferred into Normandy. When theſe were compromiſed by Money, it came out of their Purſes, ſo that thoſe who eſcaped the Sword were impoveriſhed to the laſt Degree<sup>o</sup>. In the Time of Henry his Wars with the Normans, the French and the Scots exhausted their Blood and Treafure. The ſame may be ſaid in regard to the civil Wars in the Time of King Stephen, in a Word they were continually diminished and diſtreſſed by all without deriving the ſmalleſt Benefit from the Termination of any of theſe Quarrels <sup>p</sup>.

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▪ We have not only the Authority of contemporary Writers to prove that the King ſhewed little Regard either to his Charter or Laws; but we have alſo the ſtrongeſt of all Proofs, Facts, ſince theſe Grievances ſtill continued during his Reign, and thoſe of his Succeſſors which he promiſed to redreſs. His Intereſt dictated thoſe Promiſes, and it ſeems he thought it his Intereſt afterwards to break through them. In ſome Caſes he ſhewed another Spirit. He granted many Immunities by Charter to the City of London, as alſo the Farm of the County of Middleſex for Three hundred Pounds per Annum. The Produce of the Manors in the Hands of the Crown was often levied in ſo oppreſſive a Manner as to ruin the Farmers. He applied a Remedy to this by converting thoſe Rents into a certain Sum of Money. He likewiſe gave a Check to the Grievance of Purveyance, which however revived again in the Reigns of his Succeſſors. The Curfew once removed could not eaſily be again impoſed; and though it is certain he had no great Love for his Engliſh Subjects, yet in a Point of this Nature he was too prudent to excite their Averſion.

<sup>o</sup> At the ſame Time he ſeized the Crown he ſeized the Treafures alſo of the deceased King, and by the Diſtribution of theſe, and his fair Promiſes procured for ſome Time a quiet Submiſſion, more eſpecially after he had ratified King Henry's Charter, and bound himſelf to fulfil its Contents. It was within this Period that he violated the Conditions ſtipulated at his Coronation. When therefore his Troubles began by the Revolt of the Nobles, they juſtified their own Conduct, by alledging that they had ſworn to him as King ſo long as he kept his Faith, and that he by breaking his Engagements had freed them from the Obligation of their own Oaths.

<sup>p</sup> The great Lords having by their own Power ſeated Stephen upon the Throne, drew from him ſuch Conceſſions as enabled them to become little leſs than Kings. For they fortified their Caſtles, laid the Country near them under Contributions, coined Money, and acted in all other Reſpects with the utmoſt Contempt for Law and Juſtice. The King unwittingly increased theſe Miſchiefs, by creating many new Earls, who very ſoon acted like the Reſt. The Churchmen too, in theſe Times of publick Confuſion, aſſumed unwarrantable Powers, and the King's Brother Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter, preſiding as the Pope's Legate in a Synod held Anno Domini 1139, ſummoned that Monarch before him, who condeſcended to ſend Aubrey de Vere to plead his Cauſe. In this dreadful State of Things all Ranks of People were brought into the moſt perilous Situation, the Greateſt living in continual Danger, and the Poor expoſed to the utmoſt Miſery. Such were the Effects of Ariſtocracy, which was then the Government, if indeed there

It may be justly inferred from this true Picture of the State of the Nation, that the Appearance of this Country must be much altered, and the Value of it exceedingly lessened by such a Series of sinister Events. The Introduction of new and harsh Tenures, frequent Forfeitures, and continual shifting of Property could not but be attended with the most dismal Effects. These were rendered manifest by incontestible Instances. Several Parts of the Kingdom were at different Times, and on different Occasions, harrassed, distressed, and laid totally Waste. Several great Cities and large Towns were ruined or reduced to Ashes, and the Lands round them depopulated; a Thing sometimes purposely practised for the Sake of converting wide Tracts into Chaces and Forests.

THESE Calamities, destructive of all Principles of Industry and publick Spirit, were attended, as might reasonably be expected, with frequent Famines, and these, as is commonly the Case, followed by dangerous epidemic Diseases, produced the Flight of many, and the Loss in different Ways of such Multitudes, as made it necessary to bring over Numbers of Foreigners to supply their Places, and more especially to secure the Frontiers against the Inroads of the Scots and Welch, who, from a Variety of Motives, were by no Means disposed to live upon good Terms with their Intruders.

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was any Government, and very natural Effects they were, if we consider the Nature of Men when free from the Restraint of Laws.

<sup>a</sup> The cruel Punishments inflicted by these Princes must have filled the English with Horror, who under the Saxon Government atoned for their Offences by the Loss of Money, or at most of Freedom, not of Blood. Earl Waltheof beheaded at Winchester A. D. 1076, was the First Person who suffered for Treason. But for much less Offences the Normans punished Men by dismembering, putting out their Eyes, or depriving them of their Testicles. The Saxon Chronicle under the Year 1124, tells us with Horror of Forty-four Persons hanged at One Time at Huncot in Leicestershire, adding that the Nobility (Normans) acted cruelly by the poor People, despoiling them of what they had for Taxes, and when it shipped leaving them to starve. In A. D. 1125, by Command of King Henry, almost all the Milt Masters in England lost their Right Hands and their Testicles. The same Monarch made the First Park at Woodstock, Seven Miles in Extent, and walled round, for which many Villages were destroyed, and in his and in succeeding Reigns many of the great Nobility followed this Example. J. Rossi Hist. Reg. Angl. fol. 122 b.

The Saxon Chronicle mentions no less than Five general Famines in the Space of Fifty-five Years, most of which were succeeded by grievous Mortalities of Men and Beasts. A signal Instance is recorded in the Annals of Margan A. D. 1094. It is therefore no Wonder that Numbers fled from such a Scene of Bloodshed, Horror, and Devastation, some to Norway, some to Denmark, some to Ireland, but the greatest Part, and those of the highest Quality, to Scotland, by which, says an old Author, and the Fact is very true, that Country was depurpled, that is his Expression, with the Blood of the primitive Nobility of England. To re-people Places thus deserted, Recruits were drawn from different Parts of the Continent, and William Rufus settled Numbers of Flemings in the desolate Parts of the North, especially about Carlisle. Many of these were again transferred by Henry the First to the Borders of Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Reis

THE Contemplation of these melancholy Circumstances particularly affected those who remembered the Saxon Government, of which there must have continued many, in Convents more especially, through the greatest Part of this Period. These Facts were recorded at the Time they happened, by living Witnesses, though not so fully by some as by others, and as Facts were transmitted by them to Posterity. The Apprehension of this, amongst other Causes, induced these Princes to labour by every possible Method to bury all the Monuments of Saxon Polity in Oblivion, and by obliging all Children to be taught French in Schools, they manifested a Desire to obliterate the very Language, in which however they might flatter themselves, from their Success at the Beginning, they were very far from succeeding.

WE come now to the Second Period, beginning with the Reign of HENRY the SECOND, the Son of the Empress Maud, and the First of the House of PLANTAGENET. He was a Prince who came to the Throne with very great Advantages, and from whose Conduct his People had very high Expectations. He availed himself of the former in fulfilling the latter. At his Coronation he promised, as was usual with his Predecessors, that he would do many good Things for his Subjects, and which was not very common with them, he in a great Measure kept his Word. He revived and confirmed his Grandfather's Charter of Liberties by One of his own. He dismissed the foreign Mercenaries brought over by King Stephen, he resumed many of that King's Grants, by which he had impoverished the Crown. He deprived the new Earls he had created, and

and Denbigh, the Welch Inhabitants, as some say, being transported in their Stead to the North. Certain it is that these Flemings introduced new Manufactures of Wool in both Places.

The Humour of sending Children over to Monasteries in France for Education is of a very ancient Date. But in the Time of Edward the Confessor it became exceedingly common, as he laboured in all Things to recommend the Norman Manners and Language. Immediately after the Conquest the Saxon Writing was discountenanced for the French, under Pretence that it was fairer and more legible. There seems therefore to have been no great Occasion for Force, and yet we are assured that Children were enjoined to be taught nothing but French in Schools, and having acquired this they were taught Latin. Rob. Holcot. Lect. 2. super sapient. This and other Practices of a like Nature filled the Breasts of the Saxons with the most dismal Apprehensions, as we are informed by Ingulphus, who was himself Secretary to William Duke of Normandy before he came hither. Hist. p. 62, 71, 85, 98. This put him, and no Doubt others, upon translating their old Saxon Charters into Latin, in which, that they might be better understood by the Normans, they made Use of their Law Terms, from which they have been sometimes very falsely supposed to be forged. But to preserve the Knowledge of the Saxon, we know, that in the Abbeyes of Crowland and Tavistock there were Lectures instituted. When therefore we say in the Text, that these Princes did not succeed in extinguishing the Language, we only mean, that they were not able to render French the popular Tongue; but that the People continued to use that Sort of Dialect which succeeded the pure Saxon, and from their Usage of it is styled *English*.

caused a Multitude of the new erected, stiled in those Days adulterine Castles, to be demolished<sup>†</sup>.

THE Peace of the Kingdom thus restored and secured, he held it expedient to settle the Bounds between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers in order to repress the Encroachments the Clergy had made in the late unsettled Times. This he with great Prudence and Firmness performed by the CONSTITUTIONS made in the Great Council held at CLARENDON, to which the Clergy were not only obliged to submit, but to the Observance of which they were sworn. They were not long after absolved from their Oaths by the Pope, on which very high Disputes arose, and though in this Quarrel Archbishop Becket, the First Englishman advanced to the See of Canterbury since the Conquest, lost his Life, for which the King suffered a most humiliating Punishment; yet those Constitutions still remained Law<sup>u</sup>.

WHEN his foreign Wars allowed him any Respite, he endeavoured by prudent and beneficial Regulations to give Ease and Security to his Sub-

<sup>†</sup> King Stephen died at Canterbury on the 25th of October 1154. Henry, who was then in Normandy, made all the Haste he could into England by Advice of the Empress his Mother; but being detained by contrary Winds did not arrive till the 7th of September, and Ten Days after was crowned at Westminster by Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury. It was thought extraordinary in those Days, that no Troubles arose even in this short Time; for according to the Notion that then prevailed, a Monarch was scarce esteemed such till after his Coronation. He was in respect to his foreign Dominions more powerful than any of his Predecessors, for he inherited Anjou from his Father, Normandy by the Resignation of his Mother, Poitou and other Counties in Right of his Queen Eleanor. Yet these Dominions were so far from being advantageous that they were a Burthen upon England, the greater Part of the Taxes raised in his Reign being on their Account, and of course the Produce of them spent out of that Country in which they were raised.

<sup>u</sup> Henry assigned various Reasons for enacting these Laws, the Scope of which was to subject the Clergy in civil and criminal Cases, where they had Disputes with the Laity to have their Causes heard in the King's Courts; to restrain them from going out of the Kingdom without Licence; to prevent Appeals without Licence; to hinder the wanton Use of Excommunications, and other Things of a like Kind: Because, as he said, these were no new Restrictions, but *Antica Leges*, agreeable to the Laws of his Grandfather; that they were become absolutely necessary, no less than a Hundred Murthers having been committed by the Clergy in his own Reign, for which none of them had suffered; and that without them he was in effect no King, as not being able to protect One Part of his Subjects against another. After much Altercation and a long Exile Becket was reconciled to the King in France. The Monarch performed his Promises to the Archbishop, but he upon his Return to England excommunicated the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, and others, the News of which put the King into a violent Passion, in which some harsh Words escaping him, Four Knights came over and cruelly murdered Becket at the Altar, December 29th 1171. The King with great Address avoided Excommunication, purged himself before the Pope's Legates, of having any Hand in the Assassination, submitted to be whipped by the Monks of Canterbury, but never rescinded his Laws.

jects. He established in civil Cases another Method of Trial than that by Combat *w.* He instituted Justices in Eyre, that is, itinerant Judges who passed through the several Counties to hear and determine Causes according to the Customs and Laws of the Realm, and they were sworn to do Right in their Proceedings. This was recurring to the old Saxon Principle of carrying Justice home to the People's Doors. The State of the English Jurisprudence in his Reign is more clearly and fully represented than in former Times, so as to afford much Light into the Principles of our legal Proceedings even at this Day *x.* In his Time the Mode of commuting personal Service by a pecuniary Equivalent was introduced, which was of considerable Ease and Advantage to those who held by Military Service, and in his Time also the odious Tax of DANE-GELT, which, as we have already observed, had been revived after the Conquest, fell into Disuse *y.* He likewise obtained from Pope Adrian the Fourth, an Englishman, a Donation by his Bull of the Island of Ireland, which was after-

*v* Glanvil lib. ii. cap. 7. where speaking of this he tells us, that it was an Act of Royal Beneficence, flowing from the Clemency of the Prince, with the Advice of his Nobility, by which the DUEL was avoided in certain civil Cases, and a legal Process substituted in its Stead. But the Trial by Combat still remained in reference to criminal Points, but more especially in Cases of Treason, and was held for Law even so late, as the Reign of Charles the First.

*z* In A. D. 1176, the King in a Great Council at Nottingham divided the Realm into Six Circuits, when Ranulphus de Glanville was appointed One of the Justices Itinerant, as he was again 1179, when there were Four Circuits only. In the succeeding Year he was made Justiciary or Chief Justice of England. Under his Name we have a Collection of the Laws and Customs of the Realm, divided into Fourteen Books. It hath however been disputed, whether this belonged to him or not. Selden says that some of the Manuscripts ascribed it to E. de N. i. e. Edward de Narbrough, and there is a Manuscript extant in which it is attributed to Henry the Second. Some Questions have been moved, whether it was penned before or after his Time, and whether the *Regia Majestas*, a Book of great Authority in the Scots Law, be not taken from it. It passes however commonly under the Name of Glanville, and contains a clear, regular, and distinct Account of the Principles and Practice of the Law in his Time. It was first printed by the Care of Sir William Stanford A. D. 1557, Duodecimo.

*y* It is very difficult to understand clearly the Mode of raising Money in these Days, our ablest Lawyers and most penetrating Antiquaries differing with each other upon the Subject. All our Aim here is to shew what Change was made by this Monarch, and how it operated. The Dane-gelt was levied at the Beginning of his Reign, but never afterwards; from whence it should seem that the Escuage or Scutage came in its Room. This also had probably been levied before his Time, but not with that Exactness which it was afterwards. He caused a very strict Account to be taken of the Knight's Fees in his Realm, which amounted to Sixty thousand Two hundred and Sixteen; so that as Sir Robert Cotton says the Tax was certain as to the Method, though uncertain as to the Sum, for sometimes it was Ten Shillings, sometimes One Mark, sometimes Two Marks; but in Truth it was not in any-wise certain, since if the Knights served in Person they did not pay, and besides there were certain Tenures, such as Cornage and Castle-guard, which were exempted from Scutage. The Use made of the Money thus levied, was to hire Mercenaries, which were more serviceable, and could be kept longer on Foot than an Army raised on the Principle of the Feudal Tenure.

wards conquered by his Subjects, and hath continued ever since a Part of the Dominions of his Successors <sup>z</sup>.

ON the Demise of this wise and great Prince, his Son RICHARD, his elder Brother Henry, who had been crowned in the Life-time of his Father, dying before him without Issue, succeeded to the Crown, was inaugurated with much Solemnity and with universal Approbation, promising to observe all the good, and to annul all the oppressive Laws made by his Predecessors, as they likewise had done. He was a Monarch of a high and martial Spirit, and was from thence surnamed COEUR DE LION. From the Turn of his own Temper, as much as from the Mode of the Times, he undertook an Expedition into the Holy Land, for the Expence of which he put Honours, Offices, his Royal Demesnes, and whatever else would produce any Thing to open Sale, and thereby equally impoverished himself and his Kingdom <sup>z</sup>.

BEFORE his Departure he removed Ranulph de Glanvil from the Office of Justiciary, and made Hugh Pufar Bishop of Durham, and William Longchamp Bishop of Ely, Justiciaries, appointing them to govern the Kingdom in his Absence. They were both of them Normans, but the

<sup>z</sup> Pope Adrian's Grant of the Island of Ireland hath in it some Particulars worthy of Notice. In the First Place his own Title is somewhat singular. He says it was well known, that all the Islands on which the Sun of Righteousness had risen were undoubtedly the Patrimony of St. Peter. The Motive of granting is no less strange, which was, that the King had a pious Desire of introducing and spreading the Christian Faith in a Country, the Inhabitants of which were already Christians. But the Rent which was to arise to the Holy Father was very intelligible, the King was to pay a Penny for every House, and to preserve the Rights of the Holy Church throughout the Island. It is wonderful that so wise a Prince should desire such a Bull as this, by which he was to gain nothing. Giraldi Cambrensis says, he had a better Claim derived to him from the Conquest made of some Parts of it by the Saxons. Certain it is, that by recognizing such Powers as these in the Pope, Princes raised Opinions in the Minds of their Subjects, that were frequently attended with very troublesome Consequences.

<sup>z</sup> This Monarch was born at Newhall in the City of Oxford, and being of very quick Parts, knew perfectly well how to manage the Tempers of Men, so as to bring them to his Purposes. His Expedition to the Holy Land was One of the most expensive that was ever undertaken by an English King, and our Design requires that we should point out some Instances of this. He took out of his Father's Treasury at Winchester Nine hundred thousand Pounds in Silver. He sold many of the Crown Lands cheap enough; but many of these at his Return he resumed. To Hugh Pufar, Bishop of Durham, he sold the Earldom of Northumberland for his Life, and the Earldom of Sedbergh, which Lambard thinks should be wrote Sacbeorh, which comprehended the best Part of what is now called the Bishoprick of Durham, to him and his Successors for Eleven thousand Pounds. The First of these he resumed at his Return, and forced the Bishop to pay him thirteen thousand Pounds more for the latter. The Taxes in his Reign were numerous and heavy, levied on all Sorts of People, and some under Denominations that were never heard before Archbishop Hubert asserted, that in the Space of Two Years he drew out of his Kingdom Eleven hundred thousand Marks. It is to be observed, that though the raising these immense Sums must have been very grievous, yet the Nation suffered much more from the Money being spent Abroad, which sufficiently proves the Truth of what is asserted in the Text.

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latter immediately seized all the Authority, and made himself so odious through his Oppressions, that he was glad to leave the Kingdom clandestinely to save his Life. In his Return through Germany the King was insidiously made Prisoner by the Duke of Austria, delivered to and barbarously treated by the Emperor Henry the Fourth, who extorted One hundred and Fifty thousand Marks for his Ransom, the Raising of which brought great Distress upon the Nation. After he came back from Captivity his Necessities compelled him to employ many harsh Methods to obtain Money. He appointed Justices in Eyre, as his Father had done, and directed the Points of their Procedure in regard to Pleas of the Crown and of the Forests<sup>b</sup>. He also made some Regulations in reference to the Jews, who were then very numerous here. In his Voyage to the Levant he instituted Rules and Orders, afterwards modelled into those famous Marine Laws, which from the Island wherein they were made, are stiled the LAWS of OLERON<sup>c</sup>. He was certainly a Prince who had many good as well as great Qualities, had a sincere Love for the English, who repaid it by a strong Affection, as well as an high Esteem for him, though of

<sup>b</sup> The Laws of the Forests were in themselves so harsh and severe, and were often executed with such Strictness, as to excite much Discontent in the Minds of People of all Ranks, for all felt and suffered by them in their Turns. Most of the Kings promised at their Accession to mitigate their Severity, and this they sometimes did; but it was only when the Situation of their Affairs required it. King Stephen was a particular Instance of this. He gave great Indulgences for some time after he came to the Crown, when no ill Humours appeared. It was this Calm, though of no long Continuance, which tempted him to break his Word, and proved One of the first Sources of his Troubles. King Richard was a great Lover of Hunting, and the Instructions he gave for the Preservations of his Forests are preserved in R. Hoveden. Yet if we may credit a Writer of great Authority, Mat. Paris, A. D. 1232, p. 373. he was the First of the Norman Princes who abolished the cruel Punishments of putting out the Eyes, depriving Men of their Testicles, or cutting off their Hands or Feet for their Offences against these Laws. His Motive was worthy of so great a Prince; he thought it impious to deface the Image of his Maker for the Preservation of Beasts naturally wild, and as such every Man's Property by the Law of Nature. He still punished, but it was by Fine, Imprisonment, or Banishment, with an express Prohibition of any Man's losing either Life or Limb.

<sup>c</sup> These Laws received their Name from a little Island at the Mouth of the River Charente, belonging to the Dutchy of Aquitain. It was anciently called Uliarus, afterwards Oliario, at length Oleron; Three Leagues long and Two broad, very plentiful in Corn and Pasture, and so pleasant, that Queen Eleanor caused a Castle to be built there, in which she often resided. At her Return from the Voyage she made with her Son to the Holy Land, she came hither, and by the Advice of such as were skilled in these Matters, caused the First Draught of these Laws to be made from the Regulations her Son caused to be observed, which were afterwards enlarged and published by the Authority of King Richard. They were chiefly formed on the Model of the old Rhodian Laws, and gradually grew into Esteem and Authority with all who frequented the Sea. From these in Process of Time sprung the Laws of Wisby and the Hanse Towns. The French Lawyers have published some useful Commentaries upon them, and because they are written in French, and because there is no Mention in them of England or Ireland, would arrogate them to themselves; but that they belong to us, and not to them, is proved by Selden, Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 24.



the Ten Years that he reigned he did not spend so many Months in this Kingdom.

JOHN succeeded his Brother, and was crowned by Hubert Walter Archbishop of Canterbury with great Solemnity, when he swore, as usual, to govern his Subjects with Justice and Equity. His First Actions suited well enough with these Promises; but the Monks of Canterbury, by a clandestine Election on the Demise of Archbishop Hubert, gave a Beginning to those Disorders, which, in a short Space, threw all Things into Confusion. The boundless Ambition of Pope Innocent the Third, the Intrigues of the Clergy, the Discontents of the Nobility, the Distresses of the People; but above all these, the King's personal ill Conduct kindled and rekindled a civil War, through the Fury of which the greatest Part of the Kingdom was almost ruined <sup>d</sup>.

It was notwithstanding in the Midst of the Tumults and Troubles of this disturbed and distracted Reign, that the Ground-work was laid of what may be with Propriety enough stiled our Norman Constitution. The Barons by the Advice of Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury assembled suddenly great Forces, and obliged the King to grant them at RUNEMEDE, a Place near Stanes, that is, in the Saxon Language, the MEADOW of COUNCIL, what hath been ever since stiled from its Importance the GREAT CHARTER. By this the Clergy gained all they could desire, the Nobility obtained Security for their Honours and Possessions, their Undertenants were likewise relieved, and the People in general defended

<sup>d</sup> What is asserted in the Text, as to the Source of King John's Troubles, is exactly true. The King had Reason enough to be displeas'd with Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, and he was so to such a Degree, that when he heard of his Death he said, Now I begin to feel myself a King. The Monks of Canterbury with great Secrecy, and without the King's Leave, chose their Sub Prior Reginald, Archbishop, and sent him to Rome with Instructions not to divulge his Election till he obtained the Consent of the Pope, which he did not observe, but as soon as he was beyond the Seas took the Title of Archbishop Elect, which expos'd his Brethren to the Resentment of the King. To pacify him they chose on his Recommendation John Gray Bishop of Norwich, and most of them went to Rome to support one or other of these Elections. Innocent the Third was at this Time Pope, a Man of strong Parts and boundless Ambition. He quash'd both Elections, and terrified the Monks, who were totally in his Power, into a Third in favour of Stephen Langton an Englishman born, but who had been brought up and pass'd all his Life in France, and was at that Time Chancellor of the University of Paris, and also Cardinal of the Roman See. The King was exceedingly exasperated, refus'd to acknowledge the Archbishop, and seiz'd his Temporalities. The Pope as obstinate as he, interdicted the Kingdom, and rais'd up so many Enemies at Home and Abroad, that the unhappy King was forced, not only to acknowledge the Archbishop, but meanly to resign his Crown to the Pope, and to accept it again under a yearly Tribute.



from Oppression \*. For the full Performance of its Contents, as the Character of the King was said to require, he was forced by the Surrender of several strong Castles, and other Means, to evince the Sincerity of his Intentions, to which on other Terms they would not trust.

HE very soon by his own Conduct justified theirs, for having before this resigned his Crown to the Pope, and received it again from him as his Vassal, he now complained to the Pontiff as his superior Lord of the Charter he had been constrained to grant. The Pope upon his Representation absolved him from his Oath, and he bringing over a numerous Army of foreign Mercenaries made a cruel War upon his Barons, whom he distressed to such a Degree, that they invited over LEWIS, Son to the King of France, and after stipulating certain Conditions with him, swore Fealty to and owned him for their Monarch. The foreign Mercenaries, or at least the greatest Part of them, very quickly revolted to Lewis, so that in a short Time the King was reduced to the utmost Distress, when happily for the Nation and for his Family, which surely is an unusual Case, he was removed by Death, and thereby made Way for his Son, then a Child †.

\* This famous Charter, of which we have now an accurate, learned, and satisfactory History, bears Date the Fifteenth of June, A. D. 1215, and the Seventeenth of the Reign of King John; in the Preface to it the King says, that he granted it by the Advice, and with the Concurrence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, and the Bishops and Barons of his own Party. The Liberties of the Church are therein granted first in very full but in very general Terms, which no Doubt was acceptable to the Clergy, who knew well how to explain them. All Things relating to Baronies and Tenures in Capite, Reliefs, Wards, Marriages, are therein settled with Plainness and Precision. The Liberties and Privileges of London, and of other Cities and Boroughs, are secured to them; and the Persons and Properties of Freemen are protected from being seized or distrained otherwise than by the Verdict of a Jury and the Law of the Land. The Manner of calling great Councils is also regulated therein, and by their Consent only, Taxes are to be raised, the Three feudal Aids excepted, viz. for the Redemption of the King's Person, the Knighting of his eldest Son, and the Marriage of his eldest Daughter. The King and the Barons both swore to the due Observance of this Charter, and the King consents, in case of its being infringed by him, that he may be compelled thereto by Twenty-five Barons.

† It is certainly a very difficult Thing to gain a clear or distinct Knowledge of the Reigns of these Norman Princes arising from their Transactions with respect to their foreign Dominions, their Disputes with the Clergy here at Home, and their Altercations with the Roman See, by which it becomes necessary to be acquainted with the Conduct of the French Monarchs, the Temper of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and other leading Ecclesiasticks, and the Dispositions and Policy of the Popes in their Time. If this be true of them in general, it is particularly so with regard to King John, who had the Misfortune to be alike under the Displeasure of almost all of those from whom the History of his Reign is to be expected, which is the Reason that no entire Dependance can be placed on their Accounts. The only Method of coming at Truth, which is the Soul of History, is by comparing Facts, as related by different Writers, looking into the State Papers and Letters that are still preserved; and paying a due Attention to the Characters of the principal Actors in these busy Times, a Task very arduous, and which is thought to have been best performed by Dean Barcham and the laborious William Pryane.

HENRY the THIRD was very little more than Nine Years of Age when crowned at Gloucester, and was very happy in having for his Protector William Earl of Pembroke, by whose Advice he twice renewed the Great Charter, and brought to a Conclusion a most dangerous Civil War. In the Ninth Year of his Reign, he again renewed the GRAND CHARTER, and at the same Time granted the CHARTER of the FORESTS, which hath been usually attributed to his Father King John, which wise Measure had many great and good Effects <sup>h</sup>. But after the King disgraced his Justiciary Hubert de Burgh Earl of Kent, he was seduced by foreign Flatterers and and Favourites to squander away the Revenues of the Crown; and by this and other Acts of equal Imprudence brought himself and his Subjects to the lowest Ebb of Misery and Distress <sup>i</sup>.

THE

<sup>g</sup> King John died 19th October A. D. 1216. His Son Henry was crowned on the 28th of the same Month in the Presence of Walo the Pope's Legate, by the Bishops of Winchester and Bath, and the Concurrence of such of the Nobility as had remained faithful to his Father. Whatever the common People might be, the Princes and great Men of these Times were many of them so far from being superstitious Bigots, that they seem rather to have been self-interested Politicians without regard to Morals or any Tincture of Religion. Philip of France, though he had solicited and obtained from the Pope the Gift of the Kingdom of England, when John was in Disgrace with him, now maintained that John had no Right to resign his Crown to the Pope, or the Pope to accept it, and yet held it clear, that his Son Lewis might take it from the Barons in spite of the Pope. Cardinal Langton, ever devoted to France, though he had prevailed upon the Pope to lay the King and Kingdom under an Interdict for many Years in his Quarrel, yet contemned the Papal Excommunication when threatened with it for taking Part against the King, doing Homage to Lewis, and becoming his Chancellor. He failed however in his Attempt to make his Brother Simon Langton Archbishop of York, and was obliged to submit to the Pope's Suspension from his Archiepiscopal Dignity, and after all, when restored to it, made no scruple of crowning King Henry a Second Time. Lewis of France, whom the Barons owned for their King, never expected that they would prove his loyal Subjects, and therefore put all the strong Places which he took by their Assistance into the Hands of French Captains, upon whom he thought he might more safely depend, which disgusting them sent them gradually back to their Duty.

<sup>h</sup> The very learned and accurate Author of the History of these Charters, seems to have fully proved, that the Charter dated at Westminster the 11th of February 1224, the Ninth of Henry the Third, is that very Charter of the Forests which had been heretofore unanimously ascribed to King John. It is indeed a full and ample Detail of what from this Time was to be the Law of the Forest, and shews clearly in a great Variety of Instances the Grievances that were to be removed, and the Security that was to be given by it. The Penalty of stealing Venison is however sufficiently severe, though the Offender, according to the Law of King Richard formerly mentioned, is exempted from the Loss of Life or Limb, since, if able, he was to pay a heavy Fine, if unable, to suffer Imprisonment for a Year and a Day, and to put in Pledges; or if he could not do that, to abjure the Realm. The Charter itself contains internal Marks of its belonging to Henry and not to John, as in his Magna Charta there are Clauses relative to the Forests, which would have been equally needless and improper, if he had also made this Charter, and which Clauses, for this very Reason, are omitted in the Magna Charta of Henry. A Copy of this Charter was sent to every County in which there were Forests, and the Great Charter into every Diocese.

<sup>i</sup> This, as it was the longest, so it may be truly stiled One of the most unfortunate Reigns in the English Annals, not from any Malignity in his Nature, but from the Easiness and Instabi-

THE Rage of Civil War, under a Variety of Pretences, rose in consequence of this general Poverty and Distraction, even higher than in the Time of King Stephen, so that King Henry himself and his gallant Son Prince Edward, being made Prisoners by the Barons in the fatal Battle of Lewes, were long detained and treated with great Severity. At length however these Troubles subsided, and what is truly wonderful, the Constitution which had been in a Manner overturned, not only recovered, but became also more regular, stable, and uniform, than it seems to have been before by the occasional, and at length constant Admission of the Representatives of the Commons into Parliament<sup>k</sup>. In the latter Part of his long Reign, the King enjoyed Quiet, and his People their just Rights in

lity of the King's Temper; prone to gratify his Favourites rather than to support his Ministers. His foreign Dominions, from which he received little or no Benefit, kept him always craving from his Subjects. His Attachment to his foreign Relations, Courtiers, and Clergy, excited to and kept them in ill Humour. His listening to papal Councils, and his permitting their Extortions, continually drained the Kingdom. Through the greater Part of his Time he drew no Advantage from the Experience of his Father's Sufferings and his own. His Measures were sometimes timid, always feeble, and yet on particular Occasions he was drawn to act with too much Rigour. The Disorders arising from this ill Management produced universal Poverty and Discontent, and as for the King himself, after wasting his Demesnes, pawning his Plate, taking unworthy Methods to obtain temporary Supplies, he was driven to break up his Court, to live upon Abbies, to solicit private Persons for Support, and even to alledge that it was greater Charity to relieve him and his Family, than to give Alms to a Beggar in the Street.

\* The Affairs of the Kingdom being in great Distraction, and the King having called a Parliament at Midsummer 1258 at Oxford, the Barons came thither with their Retinues well armed, and settled there what were called the Provisions of Oxford, by which the Government of the Kingdom was devolved upon Twenty-four Persons, who were impowered to chuse the great Officers of State, and all Aliens were to be banished, except such as the Barons chose should remain. Amongst these was Simon Montfort Earl of Leicester, once the King's Favourite, married to his Sister the Widow of the Earl of Pembroke, and now their Chief. To the Observance of these Provisions the King and his Son Prince Edward were compelled to swear. Many of the Nobility seeing just Reason to dislike this strange Settlement, reconciled themselves to the King, who endeavoured by their Assistance to recover his Power; but being defeated in the Battle of Lewes, 19th of May, A. D. 1264, himself and his Family taken Prisoners, Simon Montfort made some new Alterations, by which the whole Power was devolved upon him, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Chichester. Richard King of the Romans the King's Brother he kept Prisoner in the Tower of London, his Son Henry, and Prince Edward he put into the Castle of Dover; carrying the King about with him in Triumph. In this State of Things he obliged the Prince to resign to him the Earldom of Chester; the Earl of Gloucester obtained the Estates of John de Warren Earl of Surry, who had been always faithful to the King; and Peter de Montfort secured in like Manner a good Estate. These Proceedings, and the Haughtiness of the numerous Family of Montfort, disgusted many of the Nobility; so that being apprehensive what had happened to the King in the Parliament of Oxford, might possibly happen to himself in the Parliament, he obliged the King to call on the 20th of January 49 Henry III. at London, he directed Writs to a great Number of the Clergy, Deans, Abbots, and Priors, as well as Bishops, to a very few of the Nobles, and those only of his own Faction, and likewise commanded the Sheriffs to send Two Knights out of their respective Counties, and Citizens and Burgesses from the Cities and Boroughs, in order to make himself popular; which Mode, though thus introduced, being apparently just and reasonable in itself, was afterwards pursued, as we shall have Occasion to shew.

consequence of many wise and good Laws, and of a new Confirmation of both Charters by Statute in the Fifty-second Year of his Reign<sup>1</sup>.

THIS Period comprehends near Six Score Years, during the greatest Part of which, Multitudes were destroyed in foreign and in Civil Wars, and the People were also grievously harrassed by heavy and repeated Impositions, the better Part of what they produced being sent to other Countries, and there spent without procuring any national Advantage. It is true, that in so long a Space, there was such a blending by Marriages, as at length made them in some Degree but one People, and besides most even of the great Barons being born here began to dislike Foreigners, and to consider themselves as Anglo-Normans<sup>m</sup>.

YET the Bulk of the old original English remained still but in a low and servile State, occupied in cultivating the Grounds for their Lords, or working at Trades in Towns or Cities under theirs or the King's Protection. However if less considered, they were also somewhat less exposed, and consequently grew more numerous in the Villages, and by their Industry of every Kind, and more especially by their Woollen Manufactures, such as we then had, and must have long had, began to thrive in other Places. The constant Intercourse with the Continent could not but introduce new Arts, and by the Knowledge necessarily acquired from the Expeditions into the Holy Land, in which Numbers were employed, Navigation must have been enlarged and Commerce revived and extended<sup>n</sup>.

THIS

<sup>1</sup> Statutum de Marleberge, cap. v. This Parliament, we may affirm, on the Authority of that great Antiquary Lambard, was held at Marlborough, A. D. 1267. In this the old King discovered his true Disposition, by passing many wise and good Laws. Indeed through the Course of his Reign, as often as it was in his Power, he shewed a Zeal for Justice, and an earnest Desire to prevent the People from being oppressed by the Barons, which it is not impossible might be in Part the Cause of his Misfortunes. He had before this Five Times confirmed the Great Charter, and now he directed that both Charters should be held for Law in his Courts, and that such as transgressed them should be punished. The introducing the Clause of Non Obstante in his Charters, after the Mode of the Court of Rome, was very bad in itself, and of most pernicious Tendency in its Consequences, by establishing a dispensing Power in the Crown. We have a System of the Laws, as they stood in his Time by One of his Justices Itinerant Henry Bracton, which was first printed at London, A. D. 1569 Fol. and again at the same Place, A. D. 1640. 4to. it was abridged by Gilbert de Thornton, Chief Justice in the succeeding Reign.

<sup>m</sup> The great Owners of Land, as appears by the Record of Domesday, in Number were about Seven hundred, but every great Baron had under him his Friends and Clients, to whom he distributed Knight's Fees, to be held from him by the usual Services. In Process of Time these Knight's Fees were split and divided, without altering the Nature of the Tenure, so that even he who held a Twentieth Part was considered as *Liber Homo*, a Freeholder or a Gentleman. It is easily to be conceived from hence, that many of the native English, more especially the Brothers, Nephews, and near Relations of Bishops, Abbots, and other rich Clergymen, rose gradually into these Ranks, as appears from the Dialogue concerning the Exchequer and other Authorities.

<sup>n</sup> It was in the Villages, and among the common Sort of People, that the English Language was preserved; for in those Days all who affected Preferment, or affected to shine in superior Spheres

THIS is to be understood only of certain Times, as during the former and middle Part of the Reign of Henry the Second, and at the Close of that of Henry the Third, and also of certain Places, as London, Bristol, Boston, and Lynn, then the most frequented Ports in the Kingdom. But in general the greatest Part of the Country remained very ill cultivated for the Reasons formerly assigned, and the frequent Civil Disturbances, by which, at different Times, all Parts of the Realm suffered exceedingly. To this we may add, that Spirit of Licentiousness incident to weak Governments, and which more especially discourages Agriculture, from whence, as our Annals shew, proceeded a great Fluctuation of Prices, frequent Scarcities, and sometimes Famines °.

BESIDES, hitherto the Importance was not discerned of those from the Labour of whose Hands the Earth was made to produce, and by whose Diligence and Skill the Value of its Productions were enhanced; but they were left unheeded in a Kind of slavish Subjection, even in those Times when Liberty, as our Histories report, seemed to be the great national Object. But gradually, and as Experience opened Men's Minds, it was found expedient for the common Benefit to cherish Industry, that noble Principle of Virtue and social Happiness p.

COME

Spheres of Life made use of French. In regard to Industry and Trade, we have already frequently vindicated the Antiquity of the Woollen Manufacture in England. The Statute of the Ninth of Hen. III. cap. 25. which enjoins that certain Cloths should be Two Yards Broad within the Lists, fully justifies our Sentiment, as the Art could be by no Means in its Infancy when Cloths of this Breadth were made. In respect to Commerce, Henry II. made Laws for preventing the Plundering of Trecks. The Laws of Oleron we have already mentioned. In Magna Charta we find Provision made for the safe going and coming of foreign Merchants; a Circumstance very justly applauded by foreign Writers. These Precautions must undoubtedly have produced great Effects, since King John was enabled to employ a Fleet of no less than Five hundred Sail against the French, over whom he gained a great Victory.

° The History of these Times sufficiently points out the Causes of these Disasters. The Barons in Time of Peace were very severe Landlords, in Times of Civil War spoiled each others Lands, without any Tenderness for the Inhabitants: Robberies also were so frequent, that we are told Henry the Third adjudged some of his own Servants upon Detraction to be hanged. No Wonder therefore that Agriculture was neglected when there was not either Security or Encouragement for those who should have exercised it. The Cistercians, an Order of Monks established here in the Reign of William the Second, turned their Views to the Feeding of Sheep, and we find that all their Wool was seized towards the Payment of King Richard's Ransom. Matthew Paris tells us of a dreadful Famine and Mortality from thence in A. D. 1258, when Multitudes did, and more would have perished, if the King's Brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, and King of the Romans, had not sent Fifty Vessels laden with Corn to London, when the King by an Edict prevented the Citizens from buying it up (as had been formerly practised) and retailing it at extravagant Rates. Chron. Johan. Abbatis S. Petri de Burgo, p. 113.

p It is exceedingly difficult to discover with absolute Certainty, how Things of the greatest Moment were conducted in these Times, and therefore the best Judges ever speak of them diffidently, and with a Degree of Caution. It has been thought that Kings in these Times sum-

moned

COME we now to the Third Period.

EDWARD succeeded his Father with all the Advantages a Prince could well possess. In the Flower of his Age, with high Reputation and much Experience. The great Expectations these Circumstances excited, were by his succeeding Conduct amply fulfilled. In the Course of his Reign his Actions justly gained him the Character of an able and successful General, a wise Statesman, and a prudent Legislator. His Country deriving from him many signal Benefits in all these Qualities, hath deservedly rendered his One of the most distinguished Reigns in our History. His personal Valour and his Military Skill he displayed during his Father's Reign in the Civil War, in the noble Exploits he achieved in the East, and in the Feats of Arms he performed in his Return Home.

AFTER

moned such Barons, and such only to Parliament as they thought fit; and there is a great Appearance of this being true. Yet Mr. Elfyng, Clerk of the Parliaments, in his learned Treatise, p. 41, advances another Doctrine: He says the Barons were always summoned in right of their Nobility, but that others were capable of being summoned in virtue of their Tenures, who were sometimes summoned and sometimes omitted, and that these were not *Barons* but *Peers*, that is, Barons Peers. In like Manner the Mode of Summoning the Commons was not exactly the same from the Beginning. Nay, even in respect to Juries, Doubts have been raised when they commenced, and very learned Persons have been of different Opinions, some having affirmed, that they were not established till the Reign of Henry the Second. Yet these Opinions may be reconciled by considering Juries in different Lights, for they might be more or fewer in several Periods, and impannelled in a different Manner. Upon the Whole, we want sufficient Authorities to fix any of these Points absolutely, and all that can be affirmed is, that Power followed Property then as it does now, and that in Proportion as Men acquired the latter, they aspired to and gradually attained the former.

His great Prince was born at Westminster the 28th of June, A. D. 1239. Chron Thomæ Wikes. He married Eleonora Daughter to Alphonso the Tenth King of Castile, from whom he received the Honour of Knighthood, A. D. 1254. Henry the Third died 16th November 1272, having first sworn Gilbert Earl of Gloucester to secure his Son's peaceable Possession. He accordingly, with the Advice of the Queen Mother and some of the principal Nobility and Prelates, caused Prince Edward to be solemnly proclaimed, and kept his Dominions in perfect Quiet, till upon his Return he was with his Queen crowned at Westminster 19th August 1274, by Robert Kilwardby Archbishop of Canterbury, amidst the joyful Acclamations of the People. Annales Waverlienses, p. 227, 229.

His great Ability in the Art of War was acknowledged by Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester, who seeing his Order of Battle at Evesham, August 6th 1265, when he was just entered into the Twenty-seventh Year of his Age, said, God receive our Souls, for our Bodies will be at their Mercy. Sir Adam Curdon, who was reputed the stoutest and most accomplished of the Malecontents, and remained after that Defeat in Arms about Farnham in Surry, Prince Edward engaged in single Combat, and having obliged him to yield, gave him his Life and Fortune. Triveti Annals, vol. i. p. 227. In Syria he was equally beloved by the Christians, and admired by the Saracens. As he was coming Home the Count de Chalons in Burgundy invited him and his Retinue to a Tournament, and being personally worsted by the King, his Knights attacked the English, who repulsed them with such Slaughtering, that this was called the little Battle of Chalons. He visited the Pope at Lyons, and prevailed upon him to excommunicate Guy Montfort the Son of Simon, who had basely murdered his Cousin the Son of the King of the Romans at the Almar. He settled his own Affairs in Guenne, went to Paris, and did Homage to Philip the Hardy.

AFTER he came into his own Dominions he looked circumspectly into the State of the Nation, and made the necessary Dispositions for its Settlement instead of entering immediately into a War, which he chose rather to have in Appearance forced upon him by Lewellyn the last British Prince in Wales, whom he more than once defeated, and who in the Course of the War being killed, he reduced, though not without repeated and obstinate Struggles, the whole Country and its Inhabitants under his Obedience. He was frequently involved in Disputes with France on account of his foreign Dominions, which cost him very dear in Reference both to Men and Money, producing many Difficulties, much Vexation, little Honour, and no Profit.

Hardy in these remarkable Words, I do you Homage, Sir, for the Lands I hold and ought to hold of you. After this he returned with great Reputation to England. We have given so great a Character of this King in the Text, that it imposes a Kind of Obligation to make it good for the Reader's Satisfaction.

At his Coronation the King summoned Prince Lewellyn to do him Homage, who refused to come unless he had Hostages given him for his Security. He had certainly Grounds for his Apprehensions, as he had been, during the Course of the Civil War, the principal Support of Simon Montfort. His Widow about this Time sent over her Daughter, accompanied by her Brother a Priest, who was to marry the Prince. They were taken at Sea and carried into England. Lewellyn on this broke out into a War, to which, finding his Forces unequal, he, A. D. 1277, submitted to a Peace on very hard Conditions. His intended Wife however was restored, and the Marriage solemnized with great Magnificence in the King's Presence, and at his Expence; but she did not survive long. A. D. 1281, at the Persuasion of his Brother David, whom after many Kindnesses received, and residing long in his Court, the King had reconciled to him; he renewed the War, in which he was the next Year slain. David then assumed the Title of Prince of Wales, but in 1283 was taken and executed. A. D. 1295 the Welch broke out into Rebellion under several Princes, against whom the King went in Person, reduced them effectually, and to bridle them built several Fortresses on the Sea-coast, which were lasting Monuments of his Skill in Military Architecture, as well as of his Policy. Camdeni Britan. p. 553. He also declared his Son Edward, who was born at Carnarvon, Prince of Wales. Triveti Annal. W. Heming. Walsingham. Powell's History of Wales. Selden.

Philip the Fair, who succeeded his Father Philip the Hardy in the Kingdom of France, though a very young, was a very artful and designing Prince. He suffered a War to be kindled A. D. 1293 on account of some Disputes between English and Norman Seamen, which gave him an Opportunity of invading Guienne. Edward desirous of Peace, sent over his Brother Edmund, who had married the Mother of the French Queen, and by those Two Princesses he was grossly deceived, and through him his Brother, who at his Instance put Guienne into the Hands of Philip upon a Promise of immediate Restitution. Instead of this, Philip summoned him to appear as his Vassal, and for Non-appearance declared him a Felon, and all his foreign Dominions escheated to the Crown of France. The King endeavoured to recover Guienne by Force; but failing, he entered into a grand Confederacy with the King of the Romans, the Earls of Flanders, Guelders, and other Princes, at a most immense Expence, as our Records shew. But perceiving the Remedy to be worse than the Disease, he consented to a Truce, and admitted of the Mediation of Pope Boniface the Eighth, who decided, that the King, who was then a Widower, should espouse the Sister of Philip, and Prince Edward that Monarch's Daughter. Accordingly 1299 the King married the Princess Margaret of France at Canterbury, and had his own Dominions in France (which had ever been a Burthen) restored as her Dowry. Triveti Annal. vol. i. p. 274. 277. 316.



HE was very successful against the Scots, compelled John Baliol to resign the Crown which he had adjudged to him, and, in consequence of that Resignation took Possession of his Dominions. These he reduced a Second Time, when the famous William Wallace endeavoured to restore his Countrymen to Freedom, and penetrated a Third Time to the very Extremity of the Kingdom, when Robert Bruce had assumed the Regal Title. Against him, in spite of Age and Infirmities, he made another Expedition, in which he died at a Place not far from Carlisle<sup>u</sup>. Wherever he was present he was in all his Wars victorious, and this continued Prosperity rendered him alike revered at Home and dreaded Abroad.

As a Politician he seemed to act on the Principles of his royal Predecessor Egbert in aiming at the Sovereignty of the whole Island, which he very nearly acquired, and like him appears to have meditated the bringing all its Inhabitants to live under one settled Form of Laws, towards the accomplishing of which he bent all his Endeavours, and shewed very great Sagacity in every Step of his Proceedings. He took Care to act with much seeming Moderation towards the Welch for a long Time, that his Reduction of them might appear as a Work of Necessity the less oppressive<sup>w</sup>.

In

<sup>u</sup> Alexander the Third King of Scots had espoused Margaret the eldest Daughter of Henry the Third, in consequence of which he had constantly assisted him in all his Troubles, and in the like Manner adhered to his Brother-in-law King Edward. By his Queen he had a Son, Alexander, who died before him, and a Daughter Margaret, who married Eric King of Norway, who by her had a Daughter of the same Name with her Mother. Alexander died by a Fall from his Horse, A. D. 1289, and his Grand-daughter was acknowledged Heiress of the Crown of Scotland. Edward, with the Consent of the Nobility of Scotland, contracted his Son, Prince Edward, to Margaret, as appears by Rymer, vol. xi. p. 482; but she dying in her Passage Home, great Disputes arose as to the Right of Succession. The Decision by the free Consent of the Nobility of that Kingdom was left to Edward, who previous thereto engaged them to own his Superiority, and in consequence of the unanimous Resolution of Twenty-four Commissioners, Twelve of each Nation, pronounced in favour of John Baliol, who in A. D. 1292 did him Homage. Yet, conceiving himself afterwards ill used, he entered into a Treaty with Philip of France, and in consequence of that invaded England. Edward turning his Arms against him compelled him to resign his Crown A. D. 1296, and soon after held a Parliament at Berwick, where most of the Scottish Nobility did him Homage. The very next Year they rose in Arms under Wallace, by which a new War was commenced, terminated by a Second Conquest A. D. 1304. The next Year Robert Bruce caused himself to be crowned King, who with Variety of Fortune maintained his Pretensions till in an Expedition against him, this great Prince died at a small Village called Burgh on Sands the Seventh of July 1307, the Memory of which is preserved by a Pillar erected on the Spot by Henry Howard Duke of Norfolk.

<sup>w</sup> The last of these British Princes, Lhewelin ap Gruffyth ap Lhewelin ap Jorwerth, was little if at all inferior either in Parts or Prowess to Edward. He acceded to his Dominions, A. D. 1246, which was the Thirty-first of Henry III. and from political Motives had connected himself closely with Simon Montfort, to whom he constantly adhered. Polydor Virgil says, that King Henry created his Son Edward Prince of Wales; but the Record Pat. 38 Hen. III. Vasc. III. 8. 11. 25. gives him only the Conquests in Wales, together with Gascony, but without any



In regard to the Jews, whom his Predecessors had protected, by listening to the Complaints of his Subjects, who loaded them with the Imputation of adulterating the Coin, and the Practice of intolerable Usury, he rendered the banishing of them not more lucrative to himself than acceptable to the Nation \*.

His Claim to and Conquest of Scotland was conducted with infinite Address, as well as prosecuted with indefatigable Vigour. His French Wars were ~~to~~ very expensive, that he thought himself warranted to supply his Wants by the most arbitrary Methods. But even in these he acted with such seeming Reluctance, was so ready in framing Excuses and promising Restitution, that he got over Steps by which a Prince of another Character would have been undone. According as his Occasions required he shewed either Firmness or Complacency, and by a proper timing of these he frequently brought his Clergy, his Nobles, and his Commons to his Will †. His Severity and his Clemency, for he gave signal

Title. It appears indeed by another Record, Pat. 52 Hen. III. membr. 9. that Edward was Lord of Ireland. The Prince of Wales had Reason to stand in Fear of him upon his Return; but his Refusal to pay him Homage without having Hostages was not a little haughty. The Terms imposed on his Submission were hard, but Edward did not insist upon them strictly. He gave him for his Wife Eleanor the Daughter of Montfort, who was his own Niece, and treated him with great Deference and Respect. When he was again discontented he sent his Relation the Archbishop of Canterbury to receive his Complaints, and the Archbishop at his Return excommunicated him. After his Death Edward caused a famous Law, entitled Statutum Walliæ, or the Statute of Rotheland, from the Town of Rhydland in Flintshire, to be enacted, which is one of the wisest and best considered of any Act passed in his or in any other Reign, as it contains an entire Plan for the Administration of Justice in the greatest Part of this Principality, and may be seen at large in Wilkins's Appendix.

\* The miserable Jews, though said to be protected here, were exposed to perpetual Indignities, obliged to wear a Mark of Distinction on their Garments, considered as the King's Slaves while they remained Jews, deprived of all they had if they turned Christians, and sent to live in a Building assigned to such Converts, which many Years after this King gave for the Residence of the Master of the Rolls. The sole Reason of their remaining here was because they were no better treated else-where. In former Reigns they had been often fleeced, in this twice so, and at length they were fled. A. D. 1278 Multitudes were hanged for clipping. A. D. 1290 they were all seized in One Day, their Goods confiscated, and themselves banished. Matthew of Westminster computes their Numbers at One hundred Sixty-five thousand Five hundred and Eleven, for this, exclusive of what he gained by the Confiscation, the Commons gave the King a Fifteenth of their Moveables, and the Clergy a Tenth. Walt. Hemingsford, vol. i. p. 19.

† It is amazing, considering what happened to his Grandfather and Father, that this Monarch was able to act for more than Twenty Years as he did. The Clergy to screen themselves procured a Bull from Pope Boniface the Eighth, forbidding them under Pain of Excommunication to pay any Tax imposed without his Consent, which they pleaded in Bar to the King's Commands. He gave them Time to consider, and on their persisting put them out of his Protection, which obliged them to comply. He had before seized the Money collected for the Holy War, and afterwards considerable Sums deposited in their Hands. His Barons he curtailed in Power by his Laws, kept them in continual Employment, and gratified them sometimes with Lands and Honour.

signal Instances of both, were never the Effects of Passion or of Caprice, but were dictated by what Politicians call Reasons of State <sup>z</sup>.

HE was still much greater as a Legislator than as either a Hero or a Statesman. In a very short Time after his Coronation he held a Parliament for reforming the Abuses which had been accumulating in the unsettled Times of his Father's Reign, and which was a Work of equal Necessity and Difficulty <sup>a</sup>. In the Course of his Reign he held frequent Parliaments, and made in them many and good Laws <sup>b</sup> for the securing Men's  
● Persons,

nours. He once seized all the Wool of the Clergy and Laity, sold it for what he could, and for Repayment fixed a short Price and a long Day. Instead of the accustomed Duty, he afterwards raised Forty Shillings a Sack on Wool, and took besides what ever Commodities were requisite for the Supply of his Forces. In order to keep the People quiet he dealt with them separately, giving them always very fair Words, by which he levied Money on the inferior Clergy, from the Merchants, and from the Burgeses, all of whom he caressed and encouraged in their Turns. But at length the Measure being full, the Nobility, Clergy, and People all concurred in an Expostulation when he was upon the Point of going over to Flanders with an Army, and yet were pacified on his promising them full Satisfaction on his Return. Such were the Effects of his Reputation, his Success, his publick Liberalities, his Frugality in his Court, and his wonderful Address, by which he wound himself out of every Difficulty.

<sup>z</sup> The Body of Prince Lhewelin being known after his Death, his Head was cut off and brought to the King, who directed a Silver Coronet to be put thereon, sent it up to London, where, after being carried in Triumph through Cheapside, it was placed on the Battlements of the Tower of London to shew the Fallacy of a Welch Prophecy. Walteri Hemingford, vol. i. p. 11. His Brother David was proceeded against in Parliament, condemned as a Traitor, and suffered as such A. D. 1282. Thomas de Turbeville, who had conspired with the French King to raise new Commotions in Wales, met with the like Fate A. D. 1295. Sir William Wallace suffered in like Manner A. D. 1305. Adam Murimuth, p. 36. Three Brothers of King Robert Bruce were treated in like Manner, as was also the Earl of Athol, Sir Christopher Seton, and others. On some Occasions Edward shewed a different Spirit, as in the Case of Sir Adam Gurdon. Gasto de Bierna rebelled against him in Gascony, and when he was upon the Point of taking him in his Castle he appealed to Philip of France as his superior Lord. Edward acquiesced in this. When Philip heard the Cause he sent him over to England with a Halter about his Neck. He was confined for some Time, then set at Liberty and restored to his Estate. He spared Madoc, who had assumed the Title of Prince of Wales. He set at Liberty Henry Montfort, who was taken Prisoner with his Sister; and in like Manner enlarged John Baliol, and suffered him to live and die quietly in France.

<sup>a</sup> This Parliament was held in the Third Year of his Reign, A. D. 1275, and in our Law Books is stiled Westminster the First. The Statute made therein is digested into Fifty Chapters, relating to a great Variety of Subjects, such as carrying good Laws already enacted into Execution, providing against Extortions and Oppressions of every Kind, and by all Sorts of Persons; for punishing false and collusive Verdicts; for raising the Hue and Cry, and using other Methods for bringing Robbers and notorious Felons to Justice; for restraining immoderate Punishments; for supporting the Rights of the Clergy in some Cases, and putting them under proper Regulations in others. In this Parliament the Commons assisted.

<sup>b</sup> It was the wise Policy of this Prince to hold frequent Parliaments, and these too in different Parts of the Kingdom, in which he made such prudent Statutes as might compensate to his Subjects by their Effects for the large Sums which he exacted from them. On this Head T. Wikes, p. 113, says that it was Edward's Custom to awaken such good Laws as had long slept,

Persons, by instituting Watch and Ward in Cities, and by various Regulations for their Safety in travelling the great Roads.

He was no less attentive in respect to the Preservation and Recovery of Property of every Kind. Thus the Goods of Persons dying Intestate, which being left to the Care of the Church, the Ordinary applied to pious Uses, were directed by Statute to be liable to answer the just Debts of the Deceased, which gave rise to Administrators. He established that new Kind of Security called a Statute Merchant for the Benefit of Trade, gave an Elegit for subjecting Lands as well as Moveables to the Demands of the just Creditor, regulated the Operations and Effects of Fines, which before were very intricate and perplexed, rectified several Inconveniencies in respect to Tenures, and settled the legal Modes of Entails and of Alienation. He for the common good fixed the Standard and established Means for preserving the Purity of Money, settled Weights and Measures, directed

to bring back to their proper Objects such as had been abused, and as Occasion required to make new for the publick Good. After residing a long Time in Gascony, he found at his Return a general Murmur through the Nation against the Judges, on which he caused strict Enquiry to be made into their Behaviour in full Parliament, where he removed and fined most of them severely. It should seem that their great Wealth was the strongest Proof of their Iniquity; for though the Salary of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench was but Forty Pounds, and that of a Baron of the Exchequer but Twenty, yet Adam de Stratton, One of the latter, was fined Thirty-two thousand Marks, near Twenty thousand being found in ready Money in his House, and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas lost his whole Estate both real and personal, and was banished. *Walteri Hemingford*, vol. i. p. 15. *T. Walsing*, p. 54. *H. Knyghton*, apud x. *Script.* col. 2466. A. D. 1305 there were great Disorders in the Kingdom occasioned by People of some Consequence conspiring to disturb, distress, beat, wound, and under false Suggestions to procure those against whom they had Malice to be imprisoned. For the Punishment of such Offences, there was a Law made 33 Ed. I. Stat. 2. and upon this the King issued a Commission for enquiring after and bringing such Offenders to Justice, of which much has been said, as if they had proceeded in a summary Way, and not according to the usual Forms of Justice, the contrary of which will appear from the King's Writ still extant, *Placita in Parlamento* 33 Ed. I. n. 10. However *Adam Murimuth*, p. 36, says, *Ordinavit Justitios de Traylebastone, per totam Angliam, ad castigandum malefactores, per quos fuerunt Multi puniti, et Regis ærarium valde ditatum.* He ordained Justices of Traylebastone throughout all England, for chastizing Malefactors, by whom many were punished, and the King's Treasury well replenished. Traylebastone was only a vulgar Appellation given to those Judges, for nothing like it occurs in the Commission.

<sup>c</sup> The Statute of Westminster the Second, made in the Thirteenth of this King's Reign, contains Fifty Chapters relative to a great Variety of Objects, and made with great Care and Circumspection. The First of these is very famous under the Title of *de Donis conditionalibus*. It is very much blamed by Sir Edward Coke in the Preface to his Fourth Part of his Reports for introducing, as he says, an Estate Tail. This however seems not to be strictly the Case, since it rather revived or confirmed them, there being plain Mention of such an Estate in the Laws of King Alfred. This Law was made for removing certain Inconveniencies then felt and recited therein. In succeeding Times it is true it produced many and greater Inconveniencies, as having a strong Tendency to create Perpetuities, which very probably were not then foreseen. But for the Purposes intended it was so well made, as for a Time to be highly commended, and a Remedy, though a better is to be wished, hath been found for the Evils it occasioned.

the careful Collecting and safe Keeping of publick Records. He repressed the exorbitant Power of the Church, by limiting the Bounds of ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, restrained the granting Lands to Monasteries by repeated Statutes of Mortmain, and prohibited the Convents depending upon religious Houses in foreign Parts from sending the Wealth of this, at the Command of their Superiors, into other Countries, and provided against the Oppression of Monasteries by great Lords and Prelates, that they might the better answer the Ends of their Institution.

HE shewed his Concern for Trade by deciding the Complaints made by the Citizens of London against foreign Merchants, provided for the Payment of Debts arising in Commerce, and fixed the Staple of Wool at Sandwich. He gave up as unjust the heavy Customs he had laid upon Wool, and disclaimed all Right of doing the like again under Pretence of Prerogative. In reference to publick Justice, and whatever regarded the Administration thereof, on which the Peace and Welfare of the Subject so much depended, no Prince was ever more attentive. He restrained County, Hundred, and Manor Courts within such Bounds as in those Days were proper. He settled also the Jurisdiction of superior Courts in order to prevent their interfering with each other. He directed original Writs to be formed for every Species of Actions, provided that the Pleadings upon these should be simple, succinct, and perspicuous. In a Word, he did as much as possible to remove Fraud, to extirpate Chicane, and to prevent Delay in judicial Proceedings, for which in his own and in succeeding Times he hath been justly celebrated by the greatest Sages of the Long-robe, which will do equal Honour to his Memory and to theirs <sup>d</sup>.

THE enterprizing Valour, the profound Policy and professed publick Spirit of the King, though they rendered him highly revered by the Nation, could not however reconcile them to those high Acts of Power, and those bold

<sup>d</sup> The Characters of Princes are with much greater Certainty learned from the Tenor of their Laws than from either Tradition or History. This Observation may most strictly be applied to this great Prince, who undoubtedly had a very large Share in the Framing and Contrivance of those that were passed in his Reign, insomuch that some have considered him as the Author of them (Seldeni Opera, vol. ii. col. 1043). It is no Wonder therefore that in his Time there flourished so many learned Lawyers, such as the Author of the Book entitled *FLETA*, from its being written in the Fleet Prison, probably by one of the great Lawyers disgraced and confined there. Sir Gilbert Thornton, who abridged *Bracton*, Sir Ralph Hengham, Breton or Briton, generally thought to have been Bishop of Hereford, but more likely to have been a Judge, and we may add, though not with like Certainty, Andrew Horne. After his Decease his Memory was in the highest Credit with the ablest Men of the Profession, such as Sir W. Herle, Sir Edward Coke, Lord Bacon, Sir Matthew Hale, all of whom have concurred in giving him the Character of one of the wisest of our Kings, and the ablest of our Legislators, to which we may add the Commendations in our own Times bestowed upon him by Blackstone and Barrington.

Stretches of royal Authority, by which, though ever under the specious Pretence of publick Utility, he supplied his Necessities in such Ways as seemed to him the most speedy, and in such Proportions as he judged to be most expedient. The Clergy, Nobility, and Commons laying hold therefore of a favourable Opportunity, stated to him their Grievances, demanded Redress, together with the Renewal and Confirmation in Parliament of the Great Charter and Charter of Forests, which was granted accordingly in a Parliament held by his Son, the King being then abroad, and confirmed by his Charter dated at Ghent. But some Jealousies still remaining, he again confirmed them in Parliament. However after all this he procured the Pope's Absolution from all his Engagements by a Suggestion, that they were extorted from him. He then freely and of his own Accord confirmed both Charters, so strengthened as to prevent future Infringements, and with such Additions as proved to the full as beneficial to the Subject as the Charters themselves<sup>e</sup>; which from this Time became the settled and immutable Basis of publick Liberty and the Constitution.

EDWARD the Second, at the Time of his Accession to the Throne, was in the Twenty-fourth Year of his Age. He was a Prince handsome in his Person, and very adroit in his Exercises, of an open generous Turn of Mind, but without those Qualities that were requisite to his Station, and more especially in those Times. He began his Reign with disgracing the Bishop of Coventry, his Father's Treasurer, and a very wise Man. He recalled Peter Gaveston, whom his Father had banished for misleading him in his Youth, and intrusted him with the Government of the Kingdom when he went over to do Homage for his foreign Dominions to King Philip, and to marry his Daughter Isabella, who was then about Twelve Years of

<sup>e</sup> These Disputes began, as hath been before hinted, A. D. 1297, and notwithstanding in the Parliament held at London in the same Year by the Prince of Wales, then of the Age of Thirteen, the Charters were confirmed, and all the great Lords who had refused to follow the King into Flanders were pardoned, this did not give entire Satisfaction. New Suspicions arose, and to remove these the King directed Writs to the Sheriffs, directing them to inform his People by Proclamation of his sincere and good Intentions towards them. In Confirmation of this he again confirmed them at Carlisle the next Year, and directed Perambulations to be made of the Forests. A. D. 1300 he confirmed both Charters and granted those Extensions of them mentioned in the Text, directing Writs to every County for the electing Three Knights as Commissioners to see those Charters fully executed, and to punish Offenders against them by Fine and Ranfom, commanding them to be published Four Times every Year in the County Courts. After the Absolution he obtained from Pope Clement the Fifth, he in 1306, by a Statute introduced by a very pathetick Preamble expressing his great Care and deep Concern for the Peace and Welfare of his People, provided Remedies for all the Grievances relative to the Forests. At the same Time that he was so attentive to his Subjects here, he likewise extended his Protection to those in his other Dominions of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, especially in regard to the Oppressions which they suffered from the papal Authority.

Age<sup>f</sup>. On their Return they were crowned together with great Solemnity, in which Gaveston bore so great a Share as not a little heightened that Enmity which the Nobility had conceived against him.

THEY quickly compelled the King to send him again into Exile, which however he softened by giving him an honourable Employment in Ireland, where, as the ancient Annals of that Kingdom shew, he acquired some Reputation. It was not long before the King, after making great Concessions to his capital Enemies, brought him back, and married him to the Sister of the Earl of Gloucester, who was his Niece, having before honoured him with the Titles of Lord of Man and Earl of Cornwall. Upon this new Murmurs were raised, and the King obliged to consent in Parliament to a Commission, which devolved almost the Whole of his Authority on Four Bishops, Four Earls, and Four Barons, Gaveston being again banished, and declared a publick Enemy if he returned. In Hopes of giving a new Face to his Affairs, Edward assembled an Army in the North, where he had Gaveston quickly with him, who was privately returned, and whom he employed in his War against Robert Bruce. In this however he had little Success, and the Barons having recourse to open Violence, the King was obliged to leave Gaveston with a Garrison in Scarborough, which he was soon compelled to surrender, and was not long after, with many Circumstances of Indignity, beheaded by the Command and in the Presence of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, and other great Lords.

THE King, though much offended with this, was forced on the pretended Submission of the Barons to pass an Act of Indemnity in favour of them and their Adherents. The War against the Scots was renewed, and Edward marching with a numerous Army to the Relief of Stirling Castle, was defeated by Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, where the Earl of Gloucester and some other Persons of Note were slain, and many more taken Pri-

<sup>f</sup> In the Account of the former Reign, it was principally intended to shew in what Manner the Norman Customs were so altered and amended, as to be formed in some Measure into a System chiefly by the Wisdom and Application of the Sovereign. In speaking so largely of this Reign, our Design is to let the Reader see how easily that System was again broken and thrown into Disorder under a Sovereign of less Abilities, and consequently of less Attention. The Second Edward, from the Beginning to the Close of his Reign, aimed at pleasing himself, and left the Care of his Business to others. The principal Sources of his Misfortunes were the too great Power of the principal Nobility, who were in Effect so many Princes, desirous of conducting all Things in their own Way, and according to their own Wills, in which they did not always regard either the Letter or the Spirit of the Laws. The aspiring and intriguing Disposition of the principal Churchmen, many of whom abetted the Barons, and in their Disputes with the Crown frequently added to their Military Force that of spiritual Censures. Lastly, the Want of Prudence and Policy in the Prince, who often provoked them rashly, submitted when he wanted Power to resist, and when he had Power used it with too great Severity.

soners. In consequence of this Misfortune, and some other Causes, there ensued many Calamities; great Scarcity of Provisions, Mortality of Cattle, and a Pestilence; which Distresses excited a general Spirit of Discontent. This was fomented by the potent Nobility, who, or at least most of them, had conceived a strong Hatred against the Spencers, Father and Son, though originally placed about the King by themselves, because they were grown highly into his Favour. These great Lords coming armed to Parliament procured their Banishment, though absent, which the King insisted was against the Great Charter, and the more effectually to crush them these potent Lords at the same Time plundered their Estates.

THE Spencers came back in no long Space, and the King having collected a small Force, resolved to chastise the Insolence of the Lord Badlesmere, the Queen having been refused Entrance into his Castle of Leeds in Kent. After reducing that Castle, finding his Force increase, he marched Westward, humbled some of the Barons who had Estates there and on the Borders of Wales, after which he turned suddenly Northward against Thomas Earl of Lancaster, who was already in the Field with a considerable Army. The Earl retiring from Burton upon Trent, endeavoured to get into Yorkshire, but at Borough Bridge, after a short Dispute in which the Earl of Hereford was killed, himself and most of his Followers were made Prisoners by Sir Andrew Harklay, and was very quickly after condemned and executed with many Marks of Ignominy, notwithstanding his high Quality. About Twenty Persons of great Rank were also put to shameful Deaths in different Parts of the Kingdom, and many of their Forfeitures given to the Spencers.

THIS excited a general Spirit of Disaffection, not a little heightened by another unsuccessful Expedition against the Scots. Charles the Fourth, who

\* It will throw great Light on the History of this Period, to give a succinct Detail of the Disputes between Edward and the Scots. At the Time of his Father's Demise; the best Part of that Country was in his Hands, and not a few of the Nobility adhered to him, as they did afterwards to his Son. But Robert Bruce taking Advantage of the King's Absence recovered most of the North, and made Excursions into the South. This, as we have shewn in the Text, induced Edward to make an Expedition against him, A. D. 1310, when Gavellon penetrated as far as Perth; but the Country was so ruined, that the English Army could not subsist. The great Defeat at Bannockburn happened the 24th June A. D. 1313, where the King, as on many other Occasions, gave great Proofs of personal Courage. Four Years after Berwick was taken; for the Recovery of which important Place the King, as soon as his Affairs would permit him, made another Expedition, but without Success; and A. D. 1322 he made a Truce for Thirteen Years. The Losses sustained in these Actions, added to the continual IncurSIONS of the Scots, occasioned the utmost Misery to both Countries, where the People at Times were reduced to feed upon Dogs, and even viler Food. Many of the Barons in the Northern Parts, under Colour of defending themselves, became petty Tyrants, and were guilty of great Cruelties. At the Trial of Thomas Earl of Lancaster the Proceedings in which are preserved by John Trokelowe, the Treaty between him and Robert



who had lately ascended the Throne of France raised some Disputes, to accommodate which the King sent over first several Ambassadors, then his Brother Edmund Earl of Kent, and to facilitate the Negotiation still protracted, the Queen at her own Desire was permitted to go likewise. In consequence of an Agreement she made that her Son Prince Edward should do Homage instead of the King; he also by the King's Permission followed her thither. But Edward being informed of what was contriving against him by the Queen and the Exiles, especially Roger Mortimer, who had made his Escape out of the Tower, declared them publick Enemies, as our Historians say, though the King denies it in his Letters, and endeavoured by a naval Force to prevent their landing in any Part of his Dominions<sup>b</sup>. These Precautions proved however vain, for the Queen, the Prince, and Roger Mortimer, with a small Body of Flemings, found means to debark in Safety at Harwich, and were received with so general a Welcome, that the King clearly perceiving he could not resist, in hopes of finding a Passage to Ireland, fled to Wales.

THE Queen having reduced Bristol into which the King had put a Garrison, and executed there with great Circumstances of Cruelty Hugh Spencer the Father, whom the King had created Earl of Winchester, proceeded immediately after to Hereford, and there hanged Hugh Spencer the Son, styled Earl of Gloucester in Right of his Wife, with many Marks of Infamy. Others also both of the Clergy and Laity suffered in the same

Robert Bruce found in the Pocket of the Earl of Hereford was produced. The very next Year Sir Andrew Harklay, who for his good Service in taking Lancaster Prisoner, Edward had made Earl of Carlisle, was convicted and executed for the like Treason, into which he had been drawn by his Hatred of the Spencers, and the Hopes of marrying the Sister of Robert Bruce; which Facts, if attentively considered, will sufficiently shew the true Cause of this King's repented Defeats.

<sup>b</sup> This Queen, Isabella, was the Daughter of Philip the Fair, and Sister to Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, all of them successively Kings of France. This last came to the Crown A. D. 1322, and had many Altercations with his Brother-in-law Edward of England, who was very desirous to avoid coming to a Rupture, which induced him to send so many Embassies, and at length, on a Suggestion from the French Court that it would be acceptable, he sent his Queen, with whom went the Bishop of Exeter. This Prelate perceiving her secret Designs, and the Countenance which she gave to Roger Mortimer, who Two Years before had escaped out of the Tower, where with his Uncle he had been imprisoned, and had been twice pardoned, very honourably returned, and acquainted the King with the whole Intrigue, which induced him to write to the Queen to come Home, who excused herself from her Fear of Hugh Spencer the younger. In Answer to this the King expressed his Surprize, as she had shewn great Civility to him at parting, and wrote to him in Terms of Friendship while in France. Her Brother, to whom her Practices could not be unknown, pretended to discountenance her, on which she left his Court and went into Hainault, where she contracted her Son the Prince to the Princess Philippa, the Earl of Hainault's Daughter, and engaged his Brother John to come over with her, with a small Body of Flemings, and with these she landed about Michaelmas A. D.



Cause. At length a Parliament being called in his Name, the King already taken and imprisoned, was with much Solemnity deposed, and in no long Time afterwards most barbarously put to Death <sup>i</sup>. Whatever the Temper of this Prince might be, or however he is represented in our Histories, his Laws furnish no Proofs either of a cruel Disposition or a Spirit of Despotism, but rather the contrary, for they chiefly define the Liberties of the Church, provide that Sheriffs and other Officers shall be Men of Property, explain some former Statutes that were obscure, and give Ease in many Cases to such as held of the Crown by Military Tenures.

EDWARD the Third assumed the regal Title by his Father's Consent, as he assured the Nation immediately after that Prince's Deposition, and was soon after crowned at Westminster by Walter Reynolds Archbishop of Canterbury, being in the Fifteenth Year of his Age. A Council of Regency was appointed by Parliament, but it does not appear they ever acted, and a very large Provision was made for the Queen Mother. The young King, on the Scots breaking the Truce, marched against them with a numerous Army; but the Enemy, inured to the Chicane as well as Fatigues of War, were too hard for them, and the King himself was in the utmost Danger of being surprized, though he had the good Fortune to escape unhurt. Upon this the Negotiation which had been before upon the Carpet was renewed, and terminated in a Peace, the Articles of which were confirmed by a Parliament held at Northampton. The King in his Return solemnized his Marriage with the Princess Philippa of Hainault at York.

In a Parliament held at Salisbury, John of Eltham, the King's Brother, was made Earl of Cornwall, Roger Mortimer Earl of March, and Edmund Butler Earl of Ormond. Edward being summoned went over to France, and did Homage to Philip de Valois as King of France for his

<sup>i</sup> The State of this Contry, by a Train of deplorable Disasters, was sadly changed in a very short Space; for in less than Twenty Years after the Death of Edward the First the major Part of the great Nobility either fell by the Sword or perished on Scaffolds. In consequence of civil Feuds, their Estates had been reciprocally wasted and destroyed; while in the Midst of these Miseries, all Ranks of People were oppressed with Aids, Taillages, Increase of Customs and Impositions of every Kind. Yet from its being fertile in surprizing, though most of them sinister Events, this Reign hath found many Historians to record them. The principal of these are Sir Thomas de la Moor, who lived in the Courts of the Three Edwards, John de Trokelowe, and Henry de Blaneford, Monks of St. Alban's. An anonymous Writer, supposed to be a Monk of Malmesbury, all of them Contemporaries. Yet we want perhaps the best Historian of them all, Stephen Eiton, a Yorkshire Monk, who, Leland says, wrote the Memoirs of Edward with Candour and Fidelity. The Chronicle of Robert Boston of Peterborough, the Continuation of Trivet's Annals, Adam Murimuth, Walter of Hemingford, Thomas Walsingham, Ralph Higden, and Henry Knyghton, to which we may add the Records that have escaped the Wreck of Time, and the State Papers preserved in the Third and Fourth Volume of Rymer's Collection.

foreign Dominions, though he held the Right to that Crown to be in himself, his Sister Joan, pursuant to the Treaty, espoused David King of Scots, who was then a Child. Some of the great Lords had already taken Umbrage at the enormous Power of the Earl of March, who by an infamous Intrigue betrayed the King's Uncle Edmund Earl of Kent into a Plot, for which he was condemned in Parliament and executed. This quickly produced, what it was contrived to prevent, the Ruin of the Queen Mother and Mortimer. He was dreaded and detested by all who remained of the old Courtiers, envied and hated by the new, who rendering him suspected to the King, he went in Person to surprize him, which not without Bloodshed was effected, in the Castle of Nottingham, sent him from thence Prisoner to London, where being condemned unheard by his Peers, he was hanged upon the common Gallows<sup>k</sup>.

IN the same Parliament Edward declared that he would for the future manage his own Affairs, though he was then only turned of Eighteen, confined the Queen his Mother to the Castle of Rising, and reduced her Revenue to Four thousand Pounds a Year. The Repulse he had met with from the Scots sat ill upon the young King's Mind; the Peace was generally disagreeable because held dishonourable to the Nation, and therefore he meditated a Stroke on that Side as soon as an Opportunity offered. He did not

<sup>k</sup> The Facts delivered in the Text are of such Moment, that for this and other Reasons, it is necessary, as far as possible, to fix the Dates. Some Writers say that Edward the Third began his Reign on the Twentieth, others on the Twenty-seventh; but it is certain that our Records place it January the 25th, A. D. 1327. His Father was murdered on the 21st September in the same Year. The Parliament at Northampton was assembled in March 1328, the Earl of Kent was beheaded March 19th 1330, the Parliament assembled at London, 4 Edw. III. on Monday after the Feast of St. Catherine, that is 25th November 1330, when Roger Earl of March was arraigned, *ex parte Domini Regis*, and upon the Notoriety of the Facts of which he was accused, condemned to be drawn and hanged at Tyburn the Thursday following, that is, November the 29th, though Barnes says the 26th. At the same Time the Lords gave Judgment upon Sir John Mautrevers, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded for seducing Edmund Earl of Kent the King's Uncle, and thereby bringing him to Death, promising a Reward of a Thousand Marks for taking him alive, and Five Hundred for bringing his Head; they gave the like Judgment upon Sir Thomas Gurnay and William Ogle, for being concerned in the Murder of the late King. Gurnay was seized in Spain, and being sent from thence to Bayonne, was there embarked on board a Ship for England, but beheaded in his Passage to prevent further Discoveries. Mautrevers was some Years afterwards pardoned. The Peers, upon Recollection, were by no Means satisfied with their own Judgment upon the Earl of March, and therefore in the very next Parliament besought the King in Favour of his Son Edward Mortimer, that he might be restored to his entailed Estates, which was granted 5 Ed. III. n. 13; afterwards Roger Mortimer applied in Parliament to reverse the Judgment, which was accordingly done, and he restored to his Honours and Hereditaments, 28 Edw. III. n. 8. There were many Motives both private and public to this Proceeding. The Family of Mortimer was allied to most of the great Houses in the Kingdom, and on the other Hand the Judgment against him was of such a Nature, and so directly contrary to Law, that it is no Wonder the Commons joined in procuring it to be reversed.

wait for this long; Edward the Son of John Baliol came over from France, revived his Father's Claim, and by the Connivance of the King raised and transported an Army into Scotland. He proved successful in this Enterprize, and on his doing Homage the King marched to his Assistance, and gave the Scots one of the most fatal Defeats at Hallidown that they ever sustained. David Bruce and his Queen were conveyed to France, and there royally entertained. Baliol was crowned at Scoon. Edward made several Expeditions for his Support, took Berwick, reduced the Southern Provinces, and penetrated farther North than his Grandfather had ever done. David Bruce returning, remounted nevertheless his Throne, and in order to make a Diversion in favour of the French invaded England in the Absence of Edward, when, notwithstanding his Superiority of Numbers and the signal Proofs he gave of personal Courage, he was not only defeated but taken Prisoner, and remained a long Time in that Condition. His Captivity however did not put an End to the War, his Subjects continued still in Arms, and fought obstinately, though often without Success. Edward Baliol, tired with the empty Title of King, resigned, as his Father had done, all his Rights to Edward, and lived and died in Yorkshire a private Man, with a very moderate Pension for his Subsistence. The English Monarch at length released his Brother David on Condition that he paid him in Ten Years, a Ransom of Ninety, which the Agreement not immediately taking Place, was increased to One hundred Thousand Marks, and when more than Half that Sum remained due offered to the Scots a Treaty of Union, so advantageous, that it appears strange they did not accept it<sup>1</sup>. On the Demise of David Bruce succeeded Robert the First of the House of Stuart, and though no open War followed thereon between the Two Nations, yet the predatory Excursions on the Frontiers continued.

<sup>1</sup> The Act by which Edward the Third renounced his Claim of Sovereignty over the Kingdom of Scotland, bears Date March 1st 1328. Edward Baliol was invited over from France by the English Noblemen who had Estates granted them by Edward the First, and John Baliol in Scotland. Edward's Passport for his coming over bears Date October 10th 1330. The great Victory of Hallidown Hill was obtained July 19th 1333. David Bruce then retired into France, where he continued Nine Years. He was made Prisoner at the Battle of Durham the 17th of October 1346. Edward Baliol resigned all his Rights by an Instrument, dated the 12th of March 1356, and had a Pension granted him of Two thousand Pounds a Year; and such was the State of King Edward's Finances, that he was forced to postpone the Second quarterly Payment. David Bruce was set at Liberty in 1357, and died in 1371. This ruinous War continued with a few Interruptions for Seventy Years, and was attended with the most dismal Consequences to both Nations. Edward the Third pursued his Grandfather's Maxims, and left no Method untried of annexing Scotland to his Dominions either by Conquest or by Treaty. The Scots seem to have dreaded the becoming a Province to England, and this Apprehension hindered them from perceiving, that in endeavouring to avoid it they became in Effect Subjects to France.

THE War which this great King entered into with France was more successful, and by far more fertile in great Events than that of Scotland. Philip de Valois not content with prevailing against Edward in their Disputes for the Crown, and obliging him to do Homage for his hereditary Territories, gave him many other Marks of Ill-will, which induced Edward to form a Confederacy with the Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, many of the Princes on the Lower Rhine and the great Cities of Flanders, which were then a Kind of Republicks. To content the former he accepted the Title of Vicar of the Empire, and to please the latter he assumed the Title of King of France. In order to join his Allies the King sailed with a potent Fleet, and gained in Person the decisive Victory at Sluys over the French and their Allies, or in other Words over almost the whole naval Force of Europe. His Confederates furnished him with two numerous Armies, One of a Hundred, and the other of Fifty thousand Men, and both in his Pay, with which however he was able to perform little, so that the French discouraged by their great Loss at Sea, and the King finding his Finances exhausted by the enormous Charge of his Alliance, concluded a Truce<sup>m</sup>.

THE War broke out afresh a few Years after on account of the disputed Title to the Dutchy of Bretagne. Edward carried over a puissant Army into France, with which he spread Terror and Desolation through the most fertile Parts of the Kingdom. Philip, though he had a far superior Army, wisely declined a Battle; but on Edward's Retreat, confiding in his Numbers, he altered his Conduct, and though he found the English Monarch well posted and ready to receive him, attacked his Forces at Creci in Normandy with all that Impetuosity which is natural to his Nation, and with great Loss was absolutely defeated. Edward after this Victory formed

<sup>m</sup> The Title which Edward formed to the Crown of France was in Right of his Mother. He admitted nevertheless the Salic Law, which excluded Females; but according to his Construction did not exclude a Male descending from them. He knew by Experience that a War against France must be carried on with great Disadvantage from the Side of Guienne, and this induced him to enter into a Confederacy with the Emperor and other Princes. A. D. 1338 he had an Interview with that Prince at Cologne, the most splendid that had been ever seen, and was there created Vicar of the Empire with much Solemnity. The next Year he made a Campaign with small Success on the Side of Flanders. He then returned to England, to procure fresh Supplies, and would have embarked on board a very small Squadron, if the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Stratford, had not sent him Intelligence that the French had assembled a Fleet of Five hundred Sail to intercept him. Edward with equal Industry and Vigour drew together Three hundred Vessels, embarked his Forces on board them, and attacked the Enemy in the Harbour of Sluys the 24th of June 1340. Robert de Avesbury, p. 54—56. After this Victory he undertook the Siege of Tournay, in which finding himself baffled he concluded a Truce, and at his Return endeavoured to throw the Blame on the Archbishop of Canterbury, as if through his Fault, in not affording him the Money he wanted, his Schemes had failed, whereas the Truth seems to be, that the Demands made upon him by so many hungry Princes were beyond the Abilities of his Subjects to defray.

The Siege of Calais, and though Philip again collected a superior Army, and the Place made a vigorous Defence for more than Eleven Months, it was taken, and remained long Part of the Dominions of the English Crown. This Success did not hinder Edward from making soon after, at the Request of the Pope, a Truce with Philip, whom he stiled his Adversary of France, that he might have Time to recruit his Treafury<sup>u</sup>.

THIS Truce, from the miserable State both Nations were in, was continued for some Years. At length the War broke out with redoubled Violence, John having succeeded in the Throne of France to Philip his Father. Against him out of Guienne marched Edward Prince of Wales, better known by his Sirname of the BLACK PRINCE, with a Corps of Veteran Troops, ravaging the Provinces of Auvergne, Limoufin, and Poitou. King John, who saw this with infinite Concern, collected the whole Force of France, and by quick Marches overtook the Prince in a very disadvantageous Situation. Edward sensible of his Condition offered to abandon all his Conquests, and to conclude a Truce for Seven Years; but John insisted upon his rendering himself and One hundred of the principal Persons in his Army Prisoners, which Proposition the Prince rejected with Disdain, and having gained a little Time by the Negotiation, made the best Disposition he could to receive the Enemy. John relying on the Inequality of Numbers, having, as the French Writers own, Eighty to Eight thousand Men, resolved to decide the Dispute by the Swoid, the Prince on the other Hand confiding in the Courage and Discipline of his Army, received

\* The Competitors for the Dutchy of Bretagne were John de Montfort and Charles de Blois. The former was the Heir Male, and yet was supported by Edward. The latter claimed in Right of his Wife the Heir Female; but being his Nephew was protected by Philip de Valois, who procured a Decree of the Peers of France in his Favour. Edward by this Means gained, as he conceived, an easier Entrance into the Heart of France, and therefore sent over Sir Walter Manny, and afterwards followed in Person, but was not able to make any great Impression, and therefore returned to England. Philip to be revenged sent his Son John Duke of Normandy with a great Army into Guienne. Edward, to save that beloved Country, assembled a Fleet of One thousand Sail, embarked a great Army, and putting to Sea was Twice driven back, and at length debarked at la Hogue in Normandy, and from thence carried on the War, as is shewn in the Text. The Battle of Cressly was fought 26 August 1346. It may not be amiss to remark, that this and the subsequent Battle of Poitiers pretty clearly shew how little the Feudal System was serviceable even in War. Edward's Army consisted chiefly of Troops in his Pay, long disciplined and inured to Service. Philip had with him the Flower of the French Nobility, and their feudal Tenants, Men much superior in Number, and not deficient in Courage, but less under Command, and after the First Charge easily defeated. Calais surrendered August 3, 1347. Edward had before it a Fleet of Seven hundred Sail of his own Ships. His Army was cantoned in good Barracks, and besides large Magazines of Military Stores and Provisions, there were Two great Markets or Fairs for the Sale of Wool, Cloth, and other English Goods and Manufactures, and yet the Expence was so heavy as to dispose the King to conclude a Truce. David King of Scots was taken during this Siege.

the French with such Order and Intrépidity as threw the First Line into great Confusion, and then charging them before they could recover, after a warm and bloody Struggle gained a decisive Victory, in which King John, who had behaved with the utmost Bravery, was taken Prisoner, with several Princes of the Blood, and some of the First Nobility of France °.

He was treated with all imaginable Respect and Courtesy by the Black Prince, who conducted him to Bourdeaux, and from thence brought him over hither. He was used with the like Regard and Kindness by the King, who neglected nothing that could add Lustre to an Event the most glorious of his Reign. The Two Kings having entered into a Negotiation, agreed upon a Treaty which the States of France refused to accept. This obliged Edward on the Expiration of the Truce concluded by his Son to renew the War, and to transport a fresh Army into France. The Progress he made in this Expedition was such, by his advancing to the Gates of Paris, in which the Regent shut himself up, and the Consequences of the War continuing became so apparent, that both Sides were equally disposed to Peace, which was at length concluded at Bretigni, on Terms so highly honourable to Edward, that in Consideration of the Cessions made thereby, he laid aside the Title of King of France p.

As

° King Edward seems never to have had any sanguine Notions of his own Title to the Crown of France, and therefore from the Beginning of the Dispute had repeatedly intimated to successive Popes, his Inclination to accept of an Equivalent, and upon this Basis it was that upon the Making of a Truce, a Negotiation for a Peace was commonly set on Foot under the Papal Mediation. The French Kings Philip and John seem to have been less serious in this Matter, and having the Popes in their Interest, amused Edward from time to time with illusory Propositions, sometimes offering to restore all they had taken from him in the Neighbourhood of Guienne, holding out at others the Cession of an ample Territory about Calais. At length Edward looked upon the Peace to be as good as concluded, when King John declared his Son Charles Duke of Aquitain, and sent him to take Possession of it. Edward upon this lost all Patience, gave the same Title to the Black Prince, and sent him thither with some Force to maintain it. He was very acceptable to that People, as having been born at Bourdeaux, and very easily levied an Army of Twelve thousand able and experienced Men, not One-fourth of which were English, and with these he made the Expedition mentioned in the Text. King John came up to him on Sunday the 18th of September 1356 at Maupertuis near Poitiers, in the Midst of Vineyards. If the French Monarch had engaged him that Day instead of deferring it to the next, or if he had contented himself with surrounding him, he had probably carried his Point. But the warm Temper of the King, and the Vivacity of the Princes and Nobility who were with him, led him to attack the next Morning, and produced that decisive Defeat.

p King Edward in his Return from his Excursions towards Paris met with a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightening, by which some Thousands of Horses, not a few of his Soldiers, and some Persons of Note in his Army were slain, on which the King made a Vow to grant the French Peace. This Vow however hath been supposed to be no more than a political Colour; but it is very likely to have been a real Motive from the Nature and Moderation of the Terms. It was concluded near Chartres on the 8th of May A. D. 1360. The original Treaty consisted of Forty Articles, some of which were revised and altered before they were sworn to.

by

As his Victories very justly gained him the Reputation of a great and fortunate General, so the whole Tenor of his Conduct shewed him to be a very able and refined Politician. None of our Monarchs displayed more Skill in the Management of Parliaments, or practised it with more Success. He consulted them freely on the Measures of his Government, and availed himself to the full as much of their Advice as he did of their Grants. Yet notwithstanding this seeming Compliance and Condescension he carried his Authority at least as high as any of his Predecessors <sup>9</sup>. He was very careful in cultivating a good Correspondence and establishing a great Character with most of the Princes of Europe, proceeding with equal Penetration and Sagacity in most of his Negotiations, which notwithstanding did not always answer his Expectations <sup>r</sup>. The Popes of his Time,

by the Two Kings. Edward by this Peace obtained the Addition of some considerable Countries to Guienne. A District about Calais, together with the County of Ponthieu in Picardy. John was to pay a Ransom of Three Millions of Gold Crowns, which amounted to about Half a Million Sterling Money of those Days, and a great Number of Hostages were given for the due Performance of these Conditions. At first Sight it should seem that the English Monarch was a great Gainer by Acquisitions, which taken together were not much inferior in Extent to the Kingdom of Ireland; yet more closely considered, these Terms will appear what we have stiled them, very moderate, for in Return he not only renounced his Title to the Crown of France, but his Claims to Normandy, Anjou, and other Countries, and except Calais and its District, he gained nothing, the Sovereignty excepted, but what he had a just Title to before. In respect to the English Nation they were certainly no Gainers, for the King soon after erected Guienne and its Dependencies into the Principality of Aquitaine, which he gave to his Son the Prince of Wales, who kept his Court at Bourdeaux, and the Maintenance of this Principality cost the Kingdom Twenty Thousand Pounds a Year. Calais also was a great and constant Charge. Little more than One Third of the Ransom was in his Time paid, and most of the Hostages made their Escape.

<sup>9</sup> When he first took upon him the Government he complained of Corruption in Elections by the Administration immediately preceding. He asked the Advice of the Commons, as to his Conduct in respect to Scotland. He did the same with regard to his War with France, adding in full Parliament a Protestation, which was to have the Effect of a Statute, that he and his Successors, Kings of France, should have no Claim as such to the Obedience of the People of England, and promised to make no Peace without their Consent. In consequence of their advising his Measures he took all Sorts of Provisions, as his Occasions required, at all Times for the Support of his Fleets and Armies. He took up Ships for his Service in such a Manner as he thought best. He obliged the rich Merchants of London to send out armed Ships at their own Expence. He borrowed of the wealthiest People in his Realm, according to their Abilities, from a thousand down to Forty Pounds a piece. He seized the Goods of the Cisterians, and of some other Orders. He became the sole Merchant of all the Tin in Cornwall and Devonshire. He levied by his own Authority an additional Tax of Forty Shillings on a Sack of Wool, which amounted to Sixty thousand Pounds per Annum for many Years. Other Instances might be given; but it is sufficient to add, that he declared a Statute granting him conditional Aids to be void, because he consented to it from the Necessity of his Affairs, and not of his own free Will.

<sup>r</sup> The Negotiations of his Reign were as numerous, directed to as various Ends, and managed with as much Address as in that of any One of our Monarchs ancient or modern. With the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria Edward contracted a strict Alliance, in consequence of which he solicited him to raise Imbert Dauphin of Vienne to the Rank of King, in order to detach him from the French Interest. He entered into Treaties of Subsidy with most of the Ecclesiastical



Time, though generally in the French Interest, he rendered in many Instances subservient to his Views, expressing the highest Respect and Veneration towards their Stations and their Persons, which did not hinder his diminishing gradually their Power and Influence in his Dominions, which Conduct of his was highly beneficial, as well as acceptable to his Subjects.

THE Nobility he kept firm to his Interest by treating them with singular Courtesy, conferring on them high Employments, introducing new Titles, instituting the ORDER of the GARTER, and bestowing on them continual Marks of Favour and Confidence. The Commons he constantly carested, encouraged their Complaints by Petition in Parliament, by which he knew at all Times the true State and Temper of the Nation, and by allowing them to make those open and legal Declarations of Grievances prevented Murmurs and Tumults, of which, notwithstanding the Number and Weight of their Taxes, there were few or none in the Course

and secular Princes of the Empire, which gave him such a thorough Knowledge of them, that when the Imperial Crown was offered him he refused it. To rivet, if possible, the most useful of these Foreigners firmly to his Side, he gave some of them Estates and Peerages in England. The Marquis of Juliers he made Earl of Cambridge. John Duke of Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, Ingelram de Coucy, Earl of Bedford, to whom also he gave in Marriage One of his Daughters. He made Treaties of Commerce with the Maritime Cities of Spain and of Portugal, with the Doge of Genoa, with several of the Princes of Italy, with the King of Castile and Leon, and with the King of Portugal. But what in this Respect does his Memory the greatest Honour was the friendly Visit made him A. D. 1363 by John King of France, David Bruce King of Scots, who had been both his Prisoners, and the King of Cyprus drawn hither by his high Reputation for Magnanimity and Magnificence.

The Papal Tyranny at this Juncture was very severely felt, and generally resented in this Kingdom. Many Bishopricks, and most of the rich Benefices were given by the Popes frequently to Italians, and these base and illiterate Persons. Expensive Suits were continually depending at Avignon or at Rome, and immense Sums drawn annually under a Variety of Pretences into the Purse of the Pope and his Creatures. These Enormities bore alike hard on all. The King felt himself injured in his Prerogative, the superior and inferior Clergy were oppressed, the Lords and other Persons of Distinction lost their Patronages, and the Commons were pillaged and impoverished. This raised an universal Discontent, from whence proceeded a Spirit of Enquiry. The famous John Wickliffe, amongst others, had met with ill Usage, and began to point out many of those Errors which were evident enough to a discerning Eye. In a Word, there was such a Disposition to Reformation, that if Edward had been disposed to it he might easily have freed the Nation from Papal Slavery. He concurred with the Temper of his People so far as to write very grave and sharp Letters to the Roman Pontiffs, and when these Representations proved ineffectual, he by the Advice and with the Consent of Parliament made some severe Laws for the Redress of many of these Grievances. But he concurred only to a certain Degree, and this not simply because of the Use he made of the Pope's Interposition in his Negotiations with foreign Princes, but also in procuring Bishopricks and other Benefices to be conferred by him at his Recommendation, and therefore though he made Laws to restrain the papal Power, which intimidated the Court of Rome, he connived at their Breaches of them for his own Convenience, which in some Cases kept his Clergy in Awe, and in others enabled him to gratify the Requests of his Nobility in the conferring ecclesiastical Preferments.



of his long Reign. He was more attentive and gave greater Encouragement to Industry than most of his Predecessors; which in some Measure arose from his constant Intercourse with the Flemings, very many of whom he invited to settle here, and to improve our Woollen, and also our Linnen Manufactures. He likewise regulated the Herring Fishery. He granted great Privileges to several Cities and Boroughs, but especially those of London and Bristol, incorporated new Companies, and afforded his Countenance to such Undertakings as had an Appearance of publick Utility.

He made Treaties of Commerce with most of the great Powers in Christendom, and when the Spaniards, presuming on their naval Power, insulted our Traders, he went in Person with the Prince of Wales on board a Fleet to avenge the Injuries done to his Subjects. He favoured and protected foreign Merchants who settled, or who traded here, and granted an extensive Charter to those afterwards styled Merchant Adventurers. His Title to the Dominion of the Sea he openly avowed, and vigorously maintained<sup>u</sup>. He regulated his Silver Coinage according to the Standard of other

<sup>u</sup> In this Fourteenth Century, Industry, Arts, and Commerce were in a very flourishing State in different Parts of Europe. The whole Trade of the North was driven by the Hanse Towns, that of the Levant by the Maritime States of Italy, and in the Inland Provinces of that fair Country the richest Manufactures were carried on with equal Vigour and Success. The Flemings lying in the Middle had a great Intercourse with both, and drew much Wealth to themselves besides by their Woollen and Linnen Goods. We may form some Idea of the comparative Riches of these States, by considering that the Fortune of Isabella the Daughter of a King of France, and the Sister of Three, was but Eighteen hundred Pounds; and the Payment of One Million of King John's Ransom so exhausted that Kingdom that they were forced to make Use of Leather Money; while John Visconti Duke of Milan, gave with his Daughter to Lionel Duke of Clarence, King Edward's Son, to the Amount of Two hundred Thousand Florins in Gold, which was between Sixty and Seventy thousand Pounds of the Money of those Times, and about Two hundred Thousand of ours. Edward had an intimate Correspondence with all these, and very probably borrowed some useful Inventions from the Subjects of every One of them, as we may gather from the Companies which he incorporated, viz. the Goldsmiths, Skinners, Carpenters, and Pepperers, afterwards styled Grocers. He also brought over some Clockmakers, and settled them here. In the First Year of his Reign he granted a most ample Charter to the City of London, and afterwards annexed Southwark to their Jurisdiction, which gave him such an Interest in the Citizens, as to borrow large Sums of them on his Revenues. The City of Bristol he made a County of itself, and granted Privileges to other Towns.

<sup>v</sup> In the Tenth Year of his Reign, King Edward by a solemn Instrument asserted the Sovereignty of the Sea, as an indubitable Right transmitted to him by the Kings his Predecessors. Rot. Scotiae 10 E. III. 11. 16. The same was vouched by Parliament towards the Close of it. Rot. Parl. 46 E. III. 11. 20. It was farther demonstrated by the Concessions of foreign Powers, as appears by Licences for Fishing, for passing through the English Seas, and other Circumstances recorded by Selden and by Rymer. As a clear Manifestation of this, the King struck that beautiful Coin filled his ROSE NOBLE. On this the King is represented standing in a Ship crowned, holding a Sword upright in his Right Hand, and a Shield on his Left with the Arms of France and England.

other Nations to prevent Money from being exported; and Gold Coin was first minted here in his Reign. He was a Patron of English Literature in the Person of Geoffrey Chaucer, and removed by Law that Badge of foreign Slavery, our pleading in French.

IN his Reign also many wise and good Laws were enacted, so that he has been justly regarded as one of our greatest Legislators, confirming in almost every Parliament the Great Charter, and that of the Forests, and consenting to some additional Statutes for rendering both more effectual in many Respects. But of the numerous Laws passed in his Time, the Necessity, Fitness, and Operation of many, from the Distance of Time, the Alteration of Manners, and Change of Circumstances, we cannot so properly judge. Yet that they were both useful and salutary, we may safely conclude from their being made at the Instance of the Commons, who also exerted their Influence in procuring such Statutes, as upon Trial were found inexpedient to be repealed. As a Proof of these Assertions there are Three of his Laws of such Consequence as require particular Notice. The Statute of Treasons, which is so much for the Benefit of the Subject, and continues Law at this Day. That of Provisors, which curtailed the exorbitant and oppressive Power of the Pope in collating Strangers to Benefices, by which most of the Churches were filled with Foreigners, which Law had such an Effect in opening the Eyes of the People, that it may be, and indeed hath been considered as the First Step to the Reformation. Add to these the constituting Justices of Peace in every County, which was of great Consequence in carrying the Laws into Execution, took away the Necessity of Special Commissions, which were frequently abused, and contributed not a little by the Maintenance of good Order to the public Tranquillity. We come now to the Conclusion of this Reign. Prince Edward residing at Bourdeaux, received into his Protection Peter, King of Castile and Leon, whom his bastard Brother Henry, by the Assistance of the French, had deprived of his Dominions, to which the Prince by his superior Military Talents and the happy Success of his Arms speedily restored him. But Peter thus restored, most basely broke his Faith with him in respect to the Expences of the War, which, as was highly reasonable, he had engaged to defray. This obliged the Prince to impose a Chimney Tax upon his Subjects in the Dutchy of Aquitain to discharge the Pay of his Soldiers;

England quarterly, the Arms of France Semi-de-lis, Three Lions passant, and Three Fleurs-de-lis upon the Side of the Ship. Reverse in a large Rose, a Cross Fleuri, with a Fleur-de-lis at each Point, and a Lion passant under a Crown in each Quarter, the Letter E in a Rose in the Center. These were coined at different Times of different Weights, but of the same Standard, the lowest weighed One hundred and Twenty Grains, about the Value of our Guinea, though current then only for Six Shillings and Eight Pence. The Proportion of Gold to Silver at this Time being as Sixty-seven to Six.

which Imposition raised great Discontents, and these were artfully fomented by the Intrigues of the French. At length the French King Charles the Fifth (notwithstanding all the Places ceded by the Peace of Bretigny were yielded in Sovereignty) summoned the Prince to Paris to answer for his Conduct, and under Pretence of Contumacy declared War w.

THE County of Ponthien on One Side, immediately revolted, and a general Defection ensued in Guienne on the other. Upon this Edward by the Advice of his Parliament resumed the Title of King of France, and endeavoured by transporting Armies thither to maintain his Rights, going over, old as he was, in Person. But all his Attempts failed, the Black Prince returned in an ill State of Health from Aquitain, and died not long after of a Distemper that through the extreme Heat he had contracted in Spain. The French rather by Policy than Prowess were so successful as to recover almost all they had lost, except Bourdeaux and Calais. The King, after losing much Blood and Treasure, found himself obliged to consent to a Truce \*.

\* Charles, who from the Success of his political Arts the French surname the Wise, meditated the Breach of the Treaty of Bretigny from the Time of his Accession, if not before. Under Pretence of raising Money for the Ransom therein stipulated, he obtained great Subsidies from the States of his Kingdom. Part of this Money he employed in hiring the Companies as they were called, which were the mercenary Soldiers employed in this long War, and which now set up for themselves under several Commanders, some of whom were Englishmen. These he sent to join the Forces of Henry the Brother of the King of Castile, and those of the King of Arragon his Protector. It was by these Forces that Peter was driven out of his Kingdom, whose Quarrel the Black Prince had many Reasons for espousing. In the First Place he had been contracted to his Sister, who died at Bayonne in her Passage into Spain. In the next, the Cause of his Antagonist Henry was espoused by the French. Lastly, if that Prince, thus supported, had remained the quiet Possessor of Castile and Léon, the Principality of Aquitain must have been at the Mercy of the Confederates. On the March of the Prince into Navarre many of the Companies revolted to him as to their old General, and it was by their Assistance he gained the Battle of Najara; these were Men not to be trifled with, and upon Peter's refusing to pay them, the Prince was obliged to sell his Plate for their Subsistence. The Chimney Tax was imposed by the Consent of the States of Guienne for Five Years only. The Troops being dismissed by the Prince fell into the French Dominions, which Charles affected to call an Invasion by the English, and upon the Appeal of the disaffected Nobles, declared Guienne forfeited in A. D. 1369.

\* In a former Note it hath been suggested, that Edward's Moderation induced him to accept of those Countries to which he had a just Title independent of the Success of his Arms. In doing this he seems to have made a great political Mistake, for the Principality of Aquitain lay at such a Distance from England, as rendered the sending Succours thither not only very expensive, but their Arrival also very incertain, of which Edward had some Experience before, and these Countries were absolutely lost by him now. For the English Fleet under the Command of the Earl of Pembroke was beat by the superior naval Force of the new King of Castile, and Rochelle, which it was sent to relieve, was thereupon betrayed to the French. Another potent Fleet commanded by the King in Person was driven from the Coasts by tempestuous Weather. The Prince at the Beginning of the War, finding himself unable to undergo its Fatigues, resigned Aquitain to his Father, returned Home, and died here 8th June 1370, and was interred at Canterbury.

THIS Reverse of his Affairs made an Impression on the Minds of his Subjects, who no longer endured with their former Patience the heavy Burthens that were laid upon them, but expostulated roundly in regard to the King's Measures, and accused in Parliament some of the great Persons in his Council and about his Person. Thus the Decline as well as the Dawn of this glorious Reign was overcast by dark Clouds of foreign Calamities and domestic Discontents, which plainly presaged that Storm which fell upon the Head of his unhappy Successor. All this might probably have been prevented, if this great Prince had applied his pregnant Abilities to the promoting the true Interests of his Kingdom, instead of following, in too many Instances, the Dictates of his Ambition, and preferring his own Glory to the Welfare and Good of his People.

THE Reigns of these Three Edwards have been the more fully considered, because they very clearly represent the gradual Arrangement of our political System; so that by a due Attention to the Accounts given of them, we may with Certainty discover from what Causes, in what Manner, and by what Degrees it assumed the Form, at least, of a limited Monarchy. At the Beginning of this Period we have seen the Power of the Barons arising from their extensive Property, and the Consequences necessarily attending it, the great Bulwark against Despotism in the Crown, and the Commons sheltering themselves under it. In the next Reign the clashing either of their Interests or their Humours brought on general

It hath been shewn from various Instances that Edward had great Abilities, and on many Occasions discovered much Zeal for the Interests of his Subjects. But his Ambition misled him in many more. In this he exceeded all his Predecessors, having formed in his own Mind Projects for reducing Scotland, France, and Flanders, in all of which he made no inconsiderable Progress, and yet succeeded in none. His War with Scotland totally ruined that Kingdom, and had almost the same Effect with respect to the Northern Parts of England. In his War with France he spent much more Money than King John's Ransom. His Intrigues in Flanders produced the Murder of James Arteville his most active and almost only faithful Ally. His foreign Expeditions exhausted the Treasure of the Nation, diminished the Number of his Subjects, and in a great Measure destroyed the Shipping and Commerce of the great Ports. He thought to repair this, by encouraging the Resort of foreign Merchants hither, which had indeed a good Effect in respect to his Customs, but in other Respects, instead of alleviating increased the Evil. His removing the Staple to Calais was another wrong Step. His consenting to a sumptuary Law for restraining the Bulk of the Nation to wear coarse Cloths directly counteracted what he had done in Favour of the Woollen Manufacture. His temporary Prohibitions of exporting Wool were mere Contrivances to enhance the Price of what was exported on his own Account. The State of the Nation first opened the Eyes, and at length the Lips of the House of Commons. He himself at Times felt great Distresses. He pawned his own and his Consort's Crown Abroad. He afterwards pawned the Queen and her Children, while he came Home to raise Money for his hungry Allies. He after this pawned his Crown twice to Sir John Weseham, with whom it remained Eight Years before he could redeem it. Yet with all his Faults and Failings he was One of the greatest Princes that ever sat on this or any other Throne.

Confusion, to redress which it became necessary to have Recourse to the Commons <sup>z</sup>.

THE last Edward, following the Example of his Grandfather through the Course of his long Reign, gave both Strength and Consistency to the Legislature. It was from hence, and from the personal Abilities of the first and last of these Kings, that we stand indebted for the Reformation and Regulation of our municipal Laws, the Introduction of settled Magistrates for maintaining the public Peace, the Encouragement given to and Regulations made in Manufactures, the Protection afforded to Commerce, and whatever else could contribute to excite a Disposition to call out by Industry the internal and natural Riches of this Country for the Benefit of its Inhabitants; which for those Times had greater Effects, all Circumstances considered, than can well be imagined. If it had not been for the Resources which these Methods, however imperfect they may seem in our Eyes, most unquestionably produced, it would have been impossible for the Nation to have supported the exorbitant Expences of foreign Wars, and to these Methods, such as they were, we also owe all the subsequent Improvements which would much sooner have taken Place, if fresh Com-motions at Home, and the old inveterate Evil, a Propensity to foreign Wars, had not retarded them <sup>a</sup>.

WE

<sup>z</sup> It may not be amiss to enter a little more particularly into the Possessions, Wealth, and Influence of these potent Barons. Many of them had a hundred or more spacious Manors, most of which they held in their own Hands, and managed by their Bailiffs. Hugh Spencer the Elder, when recalled from his Exile, complained that his Enemies had pillaged seventy-six of his Manors, that they had driven away Twenty-eight thousand Sheep, Twenty-two thousand Head of Black Cattle, Six hundred Horses, and destroyed Two Crops of Corn, One in the Barn and the other on the Ground. He estimated his Damages at Thirty thousand Pounds. His Son Hugh the younger rated his Losses at Two Thirds of that Sum. At this Time these great Lords granted Subsidies by themselves, as the Knights of Counties likewise did, and the Citizens and Burgesses by themselves. In the Time of Edward the Second the Number of these Lords summoned to Parliament amounted to about Fourscore. Thomas Earl of Lancaster, the great Peer in that Reign, had in his own and his Wife's Right Six Earldoms. Sir Adam Banister having some Difference with him, the Quarrel was ended by the Sword, whereby Banister and his Associates perished. His Heirs after the Earl's Decease applied to Parliament for some Compensation, alledging that while he lived his Power was so great, that no Redress could be had. Sir Robert Holland, who was his Domestick, is branded as a Traitor for having joined the King's Army with Five hundred Men whom he had raised for his Lord's Service. Many of these Barons in all the Three Reigns were very great Oppressors, and interposed their Authority sometimes to protect, and at others to procure Pardons for the Instruments of their Injustice, of which frequent Complaints were made by the Commons in Parliament.

<sup>a</sup> The great Alterations made in this Country by the Norman Conquest occasioned, as we have already shewn, a great Change in the Management of Estates, and of course this was quickly followed by very visible Effects. The most considerable of these was a sudden and general Turn to grazing, which must have begun very early, since the Cistercian Order of Monks, established towards

We see likewise in these Reigns the Acquisitions made by the Addition of Wales, which, besides ridding us of very troublesome and dangerous Enemies, added at the same Time to the Strength of our Armies. Ireland also was more effectually subdued, and from thence likewise Ships and Soldiers were procured. The Experience of these Benefits, the Desire of increasing them, joined to a quick Sense of the Inconveniencies arising from the Vicinity of the Scots, while they remained a separate People, induced all these Princes to exert, as Occasions offered, both Power and Policy to reduce them to their Obedience, in which, though they sometimes came very near it, yet was it never accomplished. The Wars that so frequently broke out between them on this Account were diametrically opposite to the true Interests of both Nations, which in their cooler Moments they discerned, and this produced short Intervals of Peace, or rather Cessations of Arms<sup>b</sup>.

## THE

towns the Close of the Eleventh Century, became the greatest Sheep-masters in England, and all their Wool was seized as a Fund for King Richard's Ranfom. We find from that Time this Commodity and its Manufactures (for notwithstanding all that is said to the contrary, we exported Cloth as early as we did Wool) became the great Staples of this Country. This was collected in the different Parts of the Kingdom, by Dealers who were stiled Wool-staplers, and carried by them to the Ports from which it was allowed to be exported, thence stiled Staples; and those who exported it Merchants of the Staple. The Flemings then manufactured the finest Cloths, and were our principal Customers for these Staple Commodities, the Sale of which gradually increased; till in the Twenty-eighth Year of Edward III. the Export of Wool, Woolfells, Cloths, and Worstedes, amounted to upwards of Seven hundred thousand Pounds of our Money. According to some Accounts, in the latter Part of that Reign, the Exports were still larger. We need not wonder therefore, considering also that Leather was another Staple Commodity, that the great Landholders lived almost wholly upon Grazing, as a Proof of which we find the following Account of the Stock belonging to the Bishoprick of Winchester A. D. 1366, 1556 Head of Neate or Black Cattle, 3176 Weathers, 4117 Ewes, 3521 Lambs, and 127 Swine.

<sup>b</sup> In the civil Contentions in the Reign of Henry III. the Scots had given him all the Assistance in their Power, and at the Beginning of the Reign of Edward I. the King of Scots marched a considerable Body of Forces to his Assistance against the Welch, for which Edward made him the most cordial Acknowledgments; and it is very probable, if that Prince had not died without Issue, Edward would have cultivated by every Means a good Understanding between the Two Nations. It is most evident that the Scots relied upon this in making him the Arbiter of their disputed Succession. The Opportunity this gave him, awakened his Ambition, and his subsequent Conduct excited an incurable Aversion towards each other between the Two Nations. His Death, in the Opinion of many, prevented the entire Conquest of Scotland. Under the Reign of his Son, Robert Bruce intrigued with the malecontent Lords, and thereby defeated all his Endeavours to prosecute his Father's Plan. After the Battle of Bannockburn it should seem that the Parliament at Northampton approved the Treaty made with Robert Bruce, and the Marriage of the Princess Joan to his Son, with a View to conciliate all Differences, and to restore a good Understanding between the Two Nations. Edward III. full of Resentment and Ambition, revived the War, which he prosecuted with Ardour and Success, but so managed it by totally destroying the whole Country, as to render it impracticable to maintain Forces numerous enough to hold the People in Subjection. At length it seems he discovered his own Mistake, and as his Brother-in-law David had no Issue, changed his Ground, and projected an amicable Composition of all Differences, in case the

States

THE Motives to and the Consequences resulting from foreign Wars, with a View to the Acquisition of foreign Territories, have been impartially stated, and as a Repetition of the same or of like Events constitute in a great Measure the Histories of succeeding Reigns, it is by no Means requisite to the Plan of this Work to enter as fully into them, which could only lead to the like Remarks with those that have been already made, the Propriety and Weight of which must be left, as most willingly they are, to the Judgment of the candid Reader.

THIS Period comprehends somewhat more than a Century, in which great Alterations were made, and some considerable Improvements introduced, to which we have endeavoured to do Justice. The same Disposition obliges us to observe, that notwithstanding many of our Writers have represented Four Fifths of this Time, as the most prosperous and glorious in our Annals, yet in fact the Nation was through the Whole of it declining and decaying in its most essential Interests, for which the Ecclat of Victories, the Splendour of Triumphs; or the Acquisition of foreign Territories, neither did or could make any Compensation. It would be very unfair, as well as unsatisfactory, to advance this on Conjecture only, or even upon the mere Basis of political Arguments, though ever so specious.

BUT what hath been affirmed is founded on such Evidence as is not to be either doubted or denied. For through this whole Space of Time the Number of the Inhabitants was continually decreasing from the Multitudes that were daily destroyed in foreign or in civil Wars, by the frequent Return of pestilential Distempers, and by a Variety of Discouragements to Population, the Two last generally occasioned either by the Want or the Unwholesomeness of Provisions. As the natural Consequence of this, Cities and Towns declined, and Numbers of Villages sunk into Hamlets, and at last perished. This was the Case in the Midland Parts of the Kingdom, while the Dread and Apprehensions of hostile Descents, which were very far from being imaginary Terrors, depopulated in a

States of Scotland would consent to acknowledge him for their Monarch on the Demise of David. To facilitate this, an Indenture was drawn up in the Presence of the Two Kings, dated 27th November 1363, in which he promised to restore all the Places he then held; to give ample Compensations to the English Barons for their Claims to Lands granted by his Grandfather, to remait what was remaining of David's Ransom, to restore the Marble Chair, and to be crowned on it at Scoon, to govern Scotland by its own Parliament, to bestow all Employments Ecclesiastical and Civil on Natives only, to allow a free Trade to the Scots Merchants in England, and many other Things equally advantageous. Rymer's Fœd. tom. vi. p. 426, 427. This Proposition was accordingly made to the States and rejected, notwithstanding which Edward persisted in the most gracious Behaviour to David and his new Queen, and to the Clergy and Nobility of Scotland for long as lived.



great Measure the Western Sea Coasts, notwithstanding the many Precautions that were taken to prevent it <sup>c</sup>.

THE Generality of our Historians, it must be acknowledged, say very little on these Subjects, which notwithstanding their Silence are nevertheless certain. They were too much taken up, and too well pleased with the Glare of those great Events, of which these were however the Consequences, to afford them any Notice. There may likewise appear some Inconsistency in admitting that Manufactures were encouraged, and Commerce increased, at the same Time that the Nation is represented to be in so low and so distressed a State. In respect to this we must observe, that the Policy of these Times was very often improperly directed, in consequence of which some Ranks of Men lived even in those Days in Affluence and Luxury, while the Bulk of the People, and more especially those who deserved best of the Community by their Labours, were distressed and depressed <sup>d</sup>. Add  
to

<sup>c</sup> In the Whole of this Period there were scarce Ten Years of Peace. The numerous Armies which Edward the First led into Scotland, were chiefly composed of Welsh and Irish. In his Wars with France he hired Foreigners at a vast Expence. Edward the Second had Recourse to the most violent Measures for raising his Armies. There was during his Reign almost a continued Scarcity of Provisions, and in consequence of this a most dreadful Pestilence. There were Three great Plagues in the Reign of Edward the Third. These Calamities occasioned such a Diminution of People, that many Cities and Towns applied for an Abatement of their Fee-farms. Funds were assigned by Parliament for the Relief of decayed Towns, and some of these desired to be excused from sending Burgeses to represent them. In the Thirtieth Year of Edward the Third, the Sheriff of Lancashire certified, that there were no Boroughs in his County in a Capacity to send Members. To put this Matter beyond all Doubt, in the Forty-fifth Year of his Reign the Commons granted him an Aid of Fifty thousand Pounds by way of Land-tax, to be levied on the several Parishes: at the Rate of Twenty-two Shillings and Four Pence, which shews, that they proceeded on the Survey of the Conqueror already mentioned, Political Survey, vol. ii. p. 361. But upon the Return into Chancery it appeared so insufficient, that they were obliged to make a new Assessment of Five Pounds Ten Shillings, the Number of Parishes being reduced from Forty-five thousand to Eight thousand Seven hundred. Cotton's Abridgement, p. 111, 112. In the Beginning of his Reign the French burned Southampton, and made frequent Descents upon the Coast, which frightened the People from their Habitations, and to engage them to return, Measures were taken by Parliament, and the Commons frequently pressed the King to see them strictly executed.

<sup>d</sup> We have already shewn, that upon the Parcelling out of the Kingdom into large Estates bestowed on Earls, Barons, Knights, and Churchmen, grazing came to be esteemed the best Oeconomy, as producing the most saleable Commodities, and this by employing the smallest Number of Hands. Wool, Cloth, and Leather exported, being subject to Customs, our Monarchs encouraged Trade for the Sake of their Revenues; and Cities and great Towns from the Profits they received by Fee-farm-rents, and other Means. It is easy to discern from hence, that the Legislature as it then stood, might have very little Regard to the Bulk of the People; that is to say, for those who got their Bread by the Sweat of their Brows. These martial Times brought forth another Evil. The feudal System was, from Experience, found unfit for foreign Wars, and our Kings hiring Soldiers and Commanders also at a settled Pay, War became a Trade, and a profitable Trade likewise; for the Pay of an Archer was Six-pence a Day, when that of a Master Car-



to this that several of those wise and salutary Laws made in this Period were not yet so thoroughly established as to have their Effects uniformly and univerfally felt through all the Degrees of the People.

THIS plainly appeared in the Discouragement of Agriculture, the great and general Source not only of Plenty but of Population. Sometimes, which shews our Soil, when cultivated, retained its Fertility, Harvests were so copious as to render Corn much too cheap, more frequently it was too dear, sometimes extravagantly so, and never for any Length of Time at a middle and reasonable Price. Exportation was in those Days far from being unknown; but it was an unprofitable Exportation. The Grain sent Abroad being taken up by the King's Purveyors for the Subsistence of his Forces in Foreign Parts, or for that of his Subjects in Guienne, and paid for at a very low Price here.

RICHARD the Second succeeded his Grandfather at Eleven Years of Age, with the Approbation and Affection of his Subjects. The Beginning of his Reign however was clouded by the Depredations committed by the

penter or Mafon was but Three-pence, and his Servant had but Half as much. In consequence of this, and of the Success of our Arms abroad, the Soldiers of all Ranks who returned brought in Money and in Spoils, what enabled them to make a Figure, and introduced a Kind of Luxury, to repress which sumptuary Laws were made, which fell heavy upon Industry, and some other Laws still heavier. For the Pestilence having thinned the People, Acts were passed to regulate Labour, by which a Man who had not wherewithal to maintain himself, was compelled to go to Service, if he refused, to Prison, and the same was his Lot, if he did not work at the old Wages. Much more might be said on this Head, if we had Room, but this surely is sufficient to shew the Truth of what is asserted in the Text, and how hardly the Many, who by the Exercise of their Hands procured Wealth, were treated by the comparatively Few, who by the then State and Disposition of Things were intitled to possess it.

\* If we consider the Number and Extent of Forests in these Times, the great Quantity of waste and common Grounds, the Numbers of Black Cattle, and prodigious Flocks of Sheep that were then kept, and add to these the continual Supplies of able-bodied Men that were required for the Wars, we may easily conceive that Agriculture, which demands much Land, continual Labour, and of course many Hands, could be but in a very imperfect State. We have however stronger Proofs than these, arising from the continual Uncertainty and amazing Variations in the Price of Wheat, rising sometimes to One, Two, and if the Authority may be depended upon, to Four Pounds, at other Times falling to Four, Two, and in some Places to One Shilling a Quarter. This in our Histories is frequently referred to bad Seasons, to Plagues, and to great Scarcity of Money. But certainly it is more probable, that it was owing to bad Husbandry, and the miserable State of the poor People, compelled, if they did not become Soldiers, to work at a low Price, and under great Discouragements from their Tenures. It is possible that the Prelates, Abbots, and other rich Clergy, and the Bishops, Barons, Knights, and other Men of landed Property, might, without going to Market, provide for the Subsistence of their respective Households, and if so, the very high Prices of Corn were chiefly felt by those who were least able to bear them. What corroborates this Reasoning is, that though there were Alterations in the Prices of Flesh and Fish, yet they were not so disproportionate, and it may be, that Living, when Corn was very dear, on Salt Mutton, soured Swine's Flesh, and Fish, might contribute not a little to epidemic Diseases.

French on our Coasts, who burned the Town of Rye and several other Places, the Invasion of the Scots, and some other sinister Events, which made considerable and constant Supplies necessary. These were in Part raised by a Poll-tax, which though no higher than Twelve Pence, yet being a Mode unusual and odious to the lower Sort of People, already labouring under the galling Yoke of Vassalage, they suddenly rose in prodigious Multitudes, and in their Proceedings at least, if not in their Purposes, manifested Intentions destructive of all Government. Their Motions were quick and irresistible, so that seizing London and entering the Tower, they beheaded the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales High Treasurer, and seemed absolutely bent on overturning the Constitution, if their Progress had not been stopped by the gallant Behaviour of the Lord Mayor, who killed their Leader, and their Rage at this diverted by the King's Courage and Presence of Mind, though he was then but Sixteen.

AT this Time his Uncle John Duke of Lancaster, who was then on the Borders of Scotland, wisely concluded a Treaty of Pacification, and then retired to Edinburgh, from his Apprehension of the Commons, by whom he was exceedingly hated. The next Parliament declared the Manumissions which the King had granted in order to disperse the Rebels to be null and void, reduced those who rose again by Force of Arms, and then by the Sword of Justice destroyed about Fifteen hundred of such as were most guilty. The Wars with Scotland and France continued during a great Part of this Reign, and though nothing decisive happened in either, yet were these Disputes attended with no small Expence of Blood and Treasure. The King's Ministers being accused of many Misdemeanours, were removed from him by the Credit of his Uncle Thomas Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick, Arundel, and Nottingham; but they were soon recalled, and declared innocent by the King. Afterwards, by Authority of Parliament, the Archbishop of York, and the Duke of Ireland, the latter of whom raising some Forces had been beaten at Radcote Bridge by the Earl of Derby, eldest Son to the Duke of Lancaster, were banished, and Sir Simon Burley, who had been the King's Tutor, and some other Persons put to Death as Traitors.

WHEN the King became of full Age he changed his Ministers and his Measures, and having by no very honourable Means got the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Warwick and Arundel into his Power, he proceeded against them in Parliament, where the Duke of Gloucester, who had been stifled at Calais, was condemned, though dead, the Earl of Arundel executed, and the Earl of Warwick banished. All that had been done in and by the former Parliament, was at the same Time declared void

and illegal. John Duke of Lancaster, who had compounded his Claim in Right of his Wife to the Crowns of Castile and Leon, amassing thereby an immense Treasure, was at this Time returned and concurred in these violent Proceedings. His Son the Earl of Derby was also very active, in Acknowledgment of which the King bestowed on him the Title of Duke of Hereford, which he had not long enjoyed, before he accused the Duke of Norfolk of High Treason, in consequence of which they were both banished, the former for Ten Years, and the latter for Life.

IN the Absence of the Duke of Hereford, his Father the Duke of Lancaster died, upon which the King seized his Inheritance, contrary to his Promise. Richard going over to Ireland to settle the Affairs of that Kingdom after the Death of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, who had been his Governor there, he behaved as he had done in a former Expedition with great Spirit, and met with much Success, many of the petty Princes in that Island submitting to him, whom he treated with great Kindness. In the mean Time the Duke of Hereford landed with a small Retinue in Yorkshire, declaring he came with no other Design than to claim his own Title and Estate. But being quickly joined by some of the Nobility, and his Forces greatly increased, he began to form other Pretensions. The Duke of York, who was Uncle both to him and to the King, being left his Lieutenant, raised an Army, and made at first a Shew of Resistance.

BUT they very quickly came to an Agreement, and the Duke of Hereford advanced with a very numerous Army towards Wales, where, after being long detained by contrary Winds, the King was at length landed. Richard meeting with much Treachery from those in whom he most confided, retired to Conway, from whence being seduced by the fair Promises of the Earl of Northumberland and by him carried to Flint Castle, he was delivered to the Duke of Lancaster, who brought him to London. A Parliament being summoned, upon his owning his Incapacity for Government, and resigning his Crown, Articles were therein exhibited against him, upon which he was deposed, and after an Imprisonment of no long Duration at Pomfret ended his unsettled and unhappy Reign by a violent Death, as to the Manner of which there is great Uncertainty <sup>f</sup>.

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<sup>f</sup> This unhappy Prince was born during his Father's Administration in Aquitain A. D. 1366, and from the Place of his Birth stiled Richard of Bourdeaux. He came to the Crown by the Death of his Grandfather 21st of June 1377. The Rising of the Commons was in 1381, the Archbishop of Canterbury being beheaded by them on the 14th of June. The Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Poole Earl of Suffolk fled the Kingdom, A. D. 1387, and all died in Exile. The Archbishop became a Parish Priest for Bread in the City of Louvain, where the Duke of Ireland died also very poor, though the Earl of Suffolk, who died at Paris, left

It is easy to discern, that in Times like these, in the Midst of so many Commotions, and when Property was so very precarious, the State of the Nation must be of Consequence very indifferent, and the Minds of the People, from their being oppressed and impoverished, equally disturbed and uneasy. Yet great as this Evil was, the Events of which it was productive were still more calamitous, and entailed upon them and their Posterity, for a long Series of Years, successive Scenes of **Discord**, **Bloodshed**, and **Confusion** <sup>b</sup>.

**HENRY** the Fourth, as he ascended the Throne, partly by Force and partly by Favour, so for a great Part of his Time, his Seat thereon was very uneasy and insecure. In his First Parliament, having

left him what little he had. A. D. 1394 the King, attended by his Uncle the Duke of Gloucester and other great Lords, went into Ireland, where, as Froissart says, he with great Solemnity knighted Four Irish Kings. A. D. 1397 the Duke of Lancaster, as Lord High Steward, sat in Judgment on the Earls of Arundel and Warwick. A. D. 1399 the King went a Second Time to Ireland, and after his Return was dethroned the 30th of September in the same Year. On the 14th of February, A. D. 1400, he breathed his last at Pomfret; his Body was brought up to London, and interred afterwards without Ceremony at Langley. This Act of Cruelty was far from answering the End for which it was perpetrated, Henry being haunted by living Apparitions of pretended Richards during the whole Course of his Reign.

<sup>¶</sup> The Waste of Men, the true Riches of every Country, must have been very great during this Reign. Armies were frequently marched into Scotland, and once the greatest Force that had ever been raised in this Kingdom. Great Succours were sent into Flanders, and considerable Bodies of Men transported at several Times into France. The Earl of Cambridge went with a great Fleet and a numerous Army to Portugal. A much greater Force went with his Brother the Duke of Lancaster, to assert his Title to the Crowns of Castile and Leon, of which very few returned Home, to say nothing of those that were lost in the Civil Wars, and in those of Ireland. Yet, as if we had still a Superabundance of People, such was the Rage for foreign Expeditions, or so much better the Life of a Soldier than that of a Clown, that Henry Spencer the warlike Bishop of Norwich, levied a numerous Army in the Cause of the Pope, of whom he brought not many back. The Earl of Derby went with a considerable Force into Prussia, and a Third Army was sent to the Assistance of the Genœse against the Infidels. In this Reign there was a great Earthquake, and a Waterquake, a destructive Pestilence, more especially in the North, frequent Scarcities and a continual Fluctuation in the Price of Grain. These Miseries would have been more felt, and the Poverty of the People much greater, but for the predominant Passion for Grazing, and the prodigious Exportation of Wool, which however was at certain Times very cheap at Home. The Woollen Manufactory also increased, and spread itself through different Parts of the Country. But Agriculture continued very low.

<sup>¶</sup> The disastrous Conclusion of this Monarch's Reign was productive of innumerable Calamities to his People. The Parliament, attentive to the Succession, had engaged Edward the Third to declare his Grandson Prince of Wales in his own Life-time, and with the like Precaution declared Roger Earl of March presumptive Heir to Richard the Second. This Roger was the Son of Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, by Philippa the only Child of Lionel Duke of Clarence, Second Son to Edward the Third. In Right of his Mother he had a large Estate in Ireland, where he was the King's Lieutenant, and was slain A. D. 1399 by the Rebels, and it was the Desire of avenging his Death, that induced Richard to go over into that Island. This Roger left a Son Edmund Earl of March, and Two Daughters. Edmund died without Issue, but his eldest Sister Ann married Richard Earl of Cambridge, Son to the Duke of York, which Marriage produced the fatal Dispute between the Houses of York and Lancaster.

fixed the Succession for his Son, he to gratify the Commons, degraded his Cousin the Duke of Aumarle, eldest Son to the Duke of York, to his former Title of Earl of Rutland; the Dukes of Surry and Exeter, Brothers by the Mother's Side to the late King, being deprived of those Dignities, were stiled, as before their Promotion, Earls of Kent, and Huntingdon, and the Earl of Gloucester reduced to his old Title of Lord Spencer. These Noblemen, combining with others who were equally full of Discontent, conspired to surprize and murder the King at Windsor, where he kept his Christmas, taking their Measures so well, that in all Probability they had succeeded, if Henry had not been informed of their Design Time enough to make his Escape. They came notwithstanding to the Palace, but finding him gone, they betook themselves to Arms. In this they were equally unfortunate, being routed separately, and without Ceremony executed in several Places.

THE Infurrection of Owen Lord of Glendour (Owen Glyn-Dwr) who raised a Rebellion in Wales, gave him much Trouble, more especially as he was owned and assisted as Prince of that Country by the French, and closely connected with all the Malecontents, who were very numerous in England. Yet great as this Mischief was, it proved favourable to him in one Respect, inasmuch as Owen in the Course of the War took Sir Edmund Mortimer, and his Nephew the young Earl of March, and kept them Prisoners for several Years. The Percys, who had been very useful, as well in the supporting him upon, as in assisting him to ascend the Throne, thinking their Services not so well requited as they deserved, or at least as they expected, broke out into open Rebellion, and being in full March with a considerable Strength towards Wales were met by the King at Shrewsbury, and after a vigorous and bloody Dispute totally defeated. Sir Henry Percy, distinguished by the Name of Hotspur, being slain in the Field, and his Uncle the Earl of Worcester taken and beheaded.

THE Earl of Northumberland, who was coming to their Assistance, retired back into the North, and for a Time, by an humble, though feigned Submission, made his Peace with the King. The Quiet this procured lasted not long. Richard Scroop, Archbishop of York, and Brother to the Earl of Wiltshire who had been beheaded at the Beginning of King Richard's Troubles, in Conjunction with the Earl of Nottingham, Son to the deceased Duke of Norfolk, raised new Troubles; but being over-reached and seized by the Earl of Westmoreland, the King by a summary Proceeding condemned and put them both to Death. He then turned his Arms, though not with great Success, against Owen Glendour, and while thus employed, a new Infurrection broke out in the

North, headed by the Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Bardolph; but before they could assemble any considerable Force, they were routed by the Sheriff of Yorkshire, the Earl being killed upon the Spot, and Lord Bardolph dying soon after of his Wounds <sup>i</sup>.

Thus in the Space of Seven Years the King quelled as many Rebellions, detecting also many secret Conspiracies besides, and not long after by the Defeat and Flight of Owen Glendour, who at length perished by Hunger in the Mountains of his own Country, was freed from any farther Troubles on that Side. These domestic Disturbances obliged him to act with foreign Potentates rather by Policy than Prowess, and it fell out very opportunely for him, that the State of their Affairs was in some Measure similar to his own. The Imbecility of Robert the Third King of Scotland, and the Confinement of his eldest Son James, after his Decease, though it did not entirely prevent, yet rendered the Inroads from thence rather troublesome than dangerous. In respect to France, the Insanity of Charles the Sixth, and the Factions of the Princes of the Blood were no less favourable to him, and though Calais was once besieged, and some Impressions made at different Times upon Guienne, as well as some Depredations on our own Coasts; yet on the Whole the Losses sustained were not considerable, and by the Mode of his Alliances and Negotiations the Means were pointed out to his more enterprizing Son, by which he brought that great Kingdom to the very Brink of Ruin.

<sup>i</sup> At the Entrance of his Reign, the King found himself surrounded with open and secret Enemies, and with very few sincere and cordial Friends. Amongst the latter however he counted Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, who at first joined him upon his Return from Exile, and Ralph Nevil Earl of Westmoreland, who had married his Sister Joan. These Two Lords were exceedingly powerful in the North, and gave Proofs of it by keeping the Scots in Awe. Northumberland defeated them at the Battle of Homeldon near Wooler in Northumberland, where he took the Earl of Fife, Earl Douglas, and other Persons of Distinction Prisoners, for which he received the King's Thanks, and yet upon this grew the apparent Ground of their Quarrel. Henry had bestowed upon him the high Office of Constable of England, and had given him the Island of Man, which had belonged to the Earl of Wiltshire. But after this Victory he demanded, for Reasons of State, the Scots Lords who had been taken Prisoners, and to whose Ransoms Northumberland had a Right. Besides there were some other Grounds of Discontent on both Sides. Northumberland, though he concurred in deposing, was very zealous in Parliament for preserving the Life of Richard the Second. Henry Percy the Earl's Son had pressed the King to ransom the Earl of March, and had been refused. The Earl of Worcester, Northumberland's Brother, who knew the Dispositions of the Nobility, planned that Insurrection which cost him his Head, after the Defeat at Shrewsbury, when the Body of Henry surnamed Hotspur was dragged out of the Grave, and beheaded likewise. Northumberland, though pardoned, could never digest this; yet he did not join Scroop Archbishop of York or Mowbray Earl of Nottingham in their Rebellions, from the Feuds subsisting between their Families, and it was these Feuds that gave Henry an Opportunity of defeating all his Enemies in Detail, as the stating of these Circumstances gave Occasion to this Note.

HIS Adherence to the Church against the Attacks of the House of Commons, secured to him the Assistance of the Clergy to the utmost of their Power <sup>k</sup>, and his Compliance in other Respects with the Commons, procured as compleat an Entail of the Crown in his Family as he could desire. The latter Part of his Life, though far enough from being free from Uneasiness, allowed him some Relaxation, till a slow and lingering Disease brought him at length to his Grave <sup>l</sup>.

HENRY the Fifth, surnamed Henry of Monmouth from the Place of his Birth, succeeded to the Crown in the Flower of his Youth. He had however acquired great Reputation for Courage by his gallant Behaviour in the Battle of Shrewsbury, and for Conduct by his quashing the formidable Rebellion of Owen Glendour, for which he received the Thanks of Parliament. His juvenile Sallies were repaired by a steady and manly Repentance. The Magnanimity of his Mind appeared, by his removing the Corps of Richard the Second from Langley, and causing it to be interred with that of his First Queen, Ann of Bohemia, pursuant to that Prince's Will, with great Solemnity in Westminster Abbey. He also re-

<sup>k</sup> This Monarch, from the Time of his being first seated on the Throne, had shewn great Attention to Churchmen, and had suffered them to prosecute the Lollards as Hereticks, even to the Flames. But this was by no Means acceptable in the Eyes of the Nation; on the contrary, the Commons knowing their own Circumstances, and being oppressed with continual Demands for the Supply of the King's Necessities, represented to him and to the Lords, the great Opulence of the Clergy, who possessed One Third Part of the Revenues of the Kingdom, which, if properly distributed, might be more serviceable to the Community, as it would afford to Fifteen Earls, Three thousand Marks annually; to Fifteen hundred Knights, One hundred Marks; to Six thousand Two hundred Esquires, Forty Marks each; to One hundred Alms Houses for the Relief of the Poor, One hundred Marks each; to Fifteen thousand Priests, Seven Marks each; and to the King Twenty thousand Pounds. This Proposition was rejected, but it deserves nevertheless to be remembered, as it acquaints us with many Particulars worthy of Notice, and shews that the annual Rents of the Kingdom were upwards of a Million of Money in those Days.

<sup>l</sup> In the Second Year of Henry's Reign, A. D. 1401, one William Sawtree a Priest was burned in Smithfield for Heresy. The Battle of Shrewsbury was fought Twenty-first July, A. D. 1402. The Archbishop of York was beheaded at Pomfret the Eighth of June, A. D. 1405, being Whitfunday. A. D. 1410 the last Attempt was made for depriving the Church of its Revenues. A. D. 1413, March the Twentieth, Henry the Fourth died. The Civil Wars, the continual Incursions of the Welch on the Western, and of the Scots on the Northern Counties, the Depredations of the French who burned Plymouth and ravaged the Isle of Wight, must have occasioned great Confusions, and a considerable Loss of People, to which we may add some foreign Expeditions and a Pestilence, which happened in this Reign. The Taxes therein were very heavy and grievous, and One in particular so much so, that Walsingham says, the Commons directed the Accounts of its Amount to be burned, after being examined, that it might not remain a pernicious Precedent on Record. There seems to have been a Decay of foreign Trade, to remove which the King made several Treaties of Commerce, and passed a Law for the Improvement of the Customs. The Distractions before specified were detrimental to Agriculture, as the Fluctuation of the Prices of all Kinds of Grain plainly shew, which indeed were scarce and dear through the Whole of his Time.



restored the noble Family of Percy in Honour and Estates, and shewed a Disposition to receive into his Favour without any Distinction such as studied to deserve it.

HE followed his Father's Example in giving his Countenance to the Clergy, to which he was the more inclined from a Prejudice, whether well or ill founded is uncertain, against the Lollards, now grown very numerous, as People disaffected to his Person and Government. Upon this Principle they were left to the Mercy of the Church, or rather to that of Churchmen, by whom they were treated with extreme Rigour. It was from the same Cause, that is, from the Prevalence of the Clergy in the King's Council, that he had turned his Views entirely to a War with France, from which he could not be diverted by the large Offers that were made on the Part of that Crown, or by the Difficulties that he found in providing the Means necessary for accomplishing so arduous an Undertaking, to which neither his own Revenues, or the Supplies his Subjects could afford, were fully adequate <sup>m</sup>.

HOWEVER by straining every Nerve, he at length drew together a numerous Army, and assembled a great Fleet at Southampton. His Embarkation was however a little delayed by the Discovery of a deep Conspiracy, and this too by Persons in whom he had the greatest Confidence, and of whom he had of course the least Suspicion. These were his Cousin the Earl of Cambridge, Brother to the Duke of York, the Lord Scroop of Masham then Lord Treasurer, and Sir Thomas Gray. Their Design was to carry away the Earl of March into Wales, and to declare for King Richard in case he was alive, of which it seems there was still a strong Belief, and at all Events against Henry. The Delinquents were immediately seized, brought

<sup>m</sup> The War with France was the great Object of this Reign, and therefore it will be proper to enquire a little into the Motives upon which it was begun and prosecuted. The King himself was of a martial Disposition, which disposed him to listen to Propositions of this Sort. These are said to have come first from his Father, who thought it the best Expedient for attaching the Nobility to his Person and Fortunes, and by finding them Employment Abroad, to prevent their caballing at Home. They were countenanced by the Clergy, as appears by the Speeches in Parliament by his Uncle the Bishop of Winchester as High Chancellor. The Nobility were eager for this Measure, on the King's promising them Lands in France and other Rewards. But the Circumstance that gave the greatest Encouragement to this arduous Enterprize was the Dissensions in France, of which the old King had availed himself by siding, as his Interest directed, sometimes with the Faction of Burgundy, sometimes with that of Orleans, deceiving in their Turns, and in their Turns being deceived by both. Amongst all these Motives we find nothing of national Advantage, which in the Policy of those Times was but little considered, and therefore we need not be surpris'd at the Consequences, that in this Respect attended the carrying the Glory of the English Arms higher than it had been ever carried before.



to Trial, condemned and executed, notwithstanding the Earl's near Relation to the King, his ample Confession, and his humble Submission to the King in a Letter still extant.

THIS Affair over, he sailed with the Flower of his Nobility for Normandy, where having debarked his Troops, he laid Siege to Harfleur, which, though well fortified and gallantly defended, he at length, not without Difficulty reduced. The Time spent therein, Sickneſs, and the Garrison it required when taken, much diminished his Forces, and his Fleet being returned, he determined to march from thence through Picardy to Calais. The French had a great Army in the Field under the Command of their High Conſtable Albert, who harrasſed the King exceedingly, and at length brought him into ſuch Straits through Want of Proviſions, and the Flux that prevailed in his Army, that he ſtood in need of all his Courage and military Skill to diſengage himſelf from ſo perilous a Situation, which however he effected by attacking the French with Nine, or at moſt Eleven thouſand Men, though they were Fifty thouſand in Number, gaining a complete Victory, in which fell the Conſtable, many of the prime Nobility, and Ten thouſand Men, and as many were taken Priſoners. This is the famous Battle of Agincourt, or as the French ſtile it, Azincourt; which, except the Duke of York, who commanded the Vanguard, and was killed in the Charge, the King's Loſs was inconfiderable; and he afterwards continued his Route to Calais unmoleſted, from whence he returned to England with his Priſoners, and entered the City of London in Triumph.

THE French uſed every Method that was in their Power to recover their Reputation, hiring Ships from ſeveral Powers, but more eſpecially the Genoefe, and with a potent Fleet appeared on the Coaſts of Hampſhire, and attempted to land at Southampton and on the Iſle of Wight, but were repulſed, and at the ſame Time they beſieged Harfleur by Land and Sea. The King ſent his Brother John Duke of Bedford with a great naval Strength and Twenty thouſand Men on Board, by whom their Fleet was vanquiſhed, and their Army compelled to retire. The next Year the Earl of Huntingdon beat the combined Fleets of France and Genoa, ſunk ſome, and took ſeveral large Ships with a conſiderable Sum of Money on Board.

IN the mean Time the King having made an Alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, who acknowledged him as King of France, and having obtained by Loans and by other Means a large Supply of Money, paſſed over again  
into.

into Normandy with a royal Fleet and Army<sup>n</sup>, where he carried on the War successfully. The Duke of Burgundy, who notwithstanding his Treaty meant to have deserted him, in an Interview which for that Purpose he had with the Dauphin, was killed in his Presence, to revenge which treacherous Action his Son Philip, surnamed the Good, joined cordially with the English, which gave them so great an Ascendancy, that the French King Charles was driven to yield to a Treaty, as honourable to Henry, as he could wish. His Title was acknowledged, himself declared Successor to the Crown of France on the Demise of Charles, and Regent during his Life-time, the Princess Katherine given to him in Marriage, the Dauphin Charles declared a public Enemy, and all this with the Consent, or rather through the Intrigues of his own Mother the French Queen, Isabel of Bavaria.

THE Two Kings and the Two Queens lodged in the same Palace at Paris, till Henry found it requisite to go into Normandy, and after holding an Assembly of the States there, to Calais, from whence with his young Queen he came over to England. On his Return a Parliament was held in order to furnish him with the necessary Supplies of Men and Money, in which, though he met with the most chearful Concurrence, yet the Chancellor could not help representing the distressed and exhausted

<sup>n</sup> The First Army transported into France, taking in such as attended thereon, amounted to Fifty thousand Men. Twenty thousand were employed the next Year for the Relief of Harfleur, and some Thousands on Board the Fleet commanded by the Earl of Huntingdon. The Second Royal Expedition was at least equal and the Third not inferior in Force to the First; so that upon the Whole Two hundred thousand Men at the least were carried out of this Country, the Loss of which must have been severely felt. That it was so in Fact, appears from the highest Authority, Stat. 9. H. V. cap. 5. which recites, that in the Fourteenth of Edward III. that is, about Fourscore Years before, every County being replenished with Gentlemen of Substance and Fortune, it was enacted, that no Sheriff should serve more than One Year, whereas at this Time, through Pestilence, and foreign Wars, the Number and the Circumstances of the People were so lessened, that the King was empowered to continue Sheriffs for the Space of Four Years. In respect to the general State of the Nation, it may be collected from the Royal Revenue, of which a distinct Account was laid before the House of Commons, amounting to Fifty-five thousand Seven hundred Fifty-four Pounds and a few Shillings; whereas in the Twentieth of Edward III. though then greatly reduced, it amounted to One hundred and Fifty-four thousand One hundred Thirty-nine Pounds; add to this, that King Henry had been obliged to coin Thirty Shillings out of the Pound of Silver; whereas in that Year of King Edward he coined no more than Twenty-two Shillings and Sixpence. In such a State of Things he was compelled to have Recourse to the voluntary Loans of such as could afford it, to heavy Impositions upon the foreign Merchants settled here, grounded on the Wealth obtained by their Commerce, through the Favour of the Crown, and by large Sums levied on the Places he reduced in France. All these could not hinder his falling into such Necessity, that besides borrowing a large Sum upon his Crown, from his Uncle the rich Bishop of Winchester, he was constrained at different Times to pawn his Jewels to several Persons for Sums even so low as One hundred Marks. Circumstances hardly credible, if we had not the most authentick Testimonies to prove them.

State of the Nation; which induced the King to promise he would accommodate all Things as soon as he should find it possible. He then returned with a great Fleet and Army, leaving the Queen behind him, who was pregnant, with a full Intention of prosecuting the War with Vigour. His Presence was indeed become necessary by a Check his Army had received through the Forwardness of his Brother the Duke of Clarence, who lost his Life in the Action. This Misfortune was occasioned by a Body of Scots sent over by the Regent, Duke of Albany, under the Command of his Son the Earl of Buchan, to the Assistance of the Dauphin, which was a Stroke not provided against by the Policy of the King, who had hitherto kept the Regent from giving much Disturbance to his Measures, and was really owing to the Nobility of Scotland, who concluded their own Ruin, as an independent Nation, must necessarily follow that of France. To remedy this Evil, he took with him James King of Scots, supposing that at his Command his Subjects would quit the French Army; which however, considering him as a Prisoner, they did not.

YET Henry's Presence restored the State of his Affairs, the Dauphin continually retreating, and avoiding by every Means possible coming to any Action that might be decisive. Henry having the best Part of the Country, and all the Appearance of legal Government in his Power, went on reducing all the strong Places that held for that Prince; and on the Queen's coming over, who had been delivered of a Son at Windsor, remained with her some Time at Paris, where, though in the Name of his Father-in-law, he exercised all the Functions of Sovereignty. The Season calling him again into the Field, he through Fatigue found himself so much indisposed, that he was forced to retire to Bois des Vincennes, where he died, some say of a Fever, others of a Flux, and some of a Fistula<sup>o</sup>. He was a Monarch of consummate Abilities, considered either as a Soldier or as a Statesman. He bid fair for the Conquest of France, so far as Courage and martial Skill could accomplish it. He took on his Death-bed the wisest Measures for preserving it, as fully appeared so long as they were pursued, and still more plainly as soon as they were neglected.

<sup>o</sup> The Dates most necessary to the Understanding the Facts mentioned in this Reign, are these: A. D. 1415, the King being at Southampton, made his last Will, dated the 24th of July, failed in the next Month, became Master of Harfleur September the Tenth, and gained October the Twenty-fifth the Battle of Agincourt. A. D. 1416, the Duke of Bedford obtained his great naval Victory in July. A. D. 1417, the Duke of Burgundy made his Treaty, by which he acknowledged the King's Title to the Crown of France. A. D. 1418, Rouen and the best Part of Normandy was subdued. A. D. 1419, August 18th, John Duke of Burgundy murdered. A. D. 1420, May 20th, the Peace signed at Troyes; 2d June the King married the Princess Katherine of France. A. D. 1421 he held his last Parliament in the Month of May; returned to France in June; Prince Henry born the Sixth of December. A. D. 1422 he deceased.

HENRY

HENRY the Sixth succeeded his Father, when little more than Eight Months old, and in less than Two Months after on the Demise of Charles the Sixth was proclaimed King of France at Paris. The Parliament of England declared his Uncle John Duke of Bedford Protector of the Realm when present, and in his Absence his other Uncle Humphry Duke of Gloucester. The Care of the King's Education was committed to their Uncle the Bishop of Winchester. The Duke of Bedford, agreeable to his Brother's Will, acted with great Prudence and Spirit as Regent of France, while the Duke of Gloucester governed here at Home. The Regent prosecuted the War with Vigour and Success, gaining soon after his Brother's Death the Battle of Crevant, and the next Year that of Verneuil, in which, amongst other Persons of Rank, fell the Constable (Stuart) Earl of Buchan, and (Douglas) Duke of Touraine, which was a terrible Blow to Charles the Seventh, who now possessed only the Southern Provinces of France beyond the Loire<sup>p</sup>.

IN this Situation of Things it was judged expedient by the English Administration, that the King of Scots should be discharged from his long Captivity, which was done on very advantageous Terms. He was to pay for the Expence of his Entertainment and Education in England, Forty thousand Pounds. He married also the Daughter of the deceased Earl of Somerset, who was of the Royal Family, and this Event was in many Respects favourable to both Nations; yet this Alliance scarce balanced the Mischiefs occasioned by that of Humphry Duke of Gloucester with Jaqueline, who was the Heiress of Holland, and other Provinces in

<sup>p</sup> There cannot be a stronger Proof of the low and wretched Condition into which both England and France were reduced than the Weakness of the Armies on both Sides, seldom more than Ten or Twelve, hardly ever Twenty thousand, and these on either Side, in a Country wasted and destroyed, with much Difficulty subsisted. The Duke of Bedford, though a wise and a just Prince, was forced to raise such Sums in the Provinces under his Jurisdiction, as, added to the Circumstance of their being Foreigners, made the Yoke of the English odious and insupportable to the French. When Edward the Third held King John Prisoner, the Dauphin, in order to obtain Supplies, assembled the States of France, and by their Liberality was enabled, after he became King, to recover the Dominions that he had lost. But this War was as fatal to the Liberties of France, as that was favourable; for, upon the Pretence of visible Necessity, Charles the Seventh raised Money by his Edicts; and by large Grants to his Nobility, which were requisite to retain them in his Interest, rendered them very potent, and alike formidable to the People and to the Crown. In England the War had a very different Effect; for, as it could be only supported by Supplies of Men and Money raised by Authority of Parliament, the Commons extended and established their Authority. The Character of the French King Charles was very problematic, and though late Writers have represented him as a Prince of great Virtues and Abilities, yet in his own Time he was certainly esteemed a weak Man, and all his Successes attributed to his Generals and Statesmen; and therefore, as the French surnamed the Charles the Fifth the Wise, they bestowed the Surname of Fortunate or Victorious on Charles the Seventh.

the Low Countries, already espoused to the Duke of Brabant, and in her Right the Duke of Gloucester pretended to and endeavoured to gain by Force of Arms Possession of those Territories, which equally disgusted and alarmed the Duke of Burgundy, to whom her former Husband was nearly related, and who had Interest enough with the Pope to prevent the Divorce which she endeavoured to obtain. This produced many, and would have produced still more fatal Consequences, but for the Prudence and Moderation of the Duke of Bedford, who had married the Duke of Burgundy's Sister, and who to promote his Nephews Interests would have declined in this Duke's Favour the Regency of France. The Duke of Gloucester, who was of a very warm Temper, quarrelled also with his Uncle the Bishop of Winchester, and their Disputes had such an Influence on publick Affairs, that the Duke of Bedford was constrained to come over to settle these Differences, and to procure Supplies of Men and Money, which not without Difficulty he accomplished, in a Parliament held at Leicester.

ON his Return he revived the War with such Vigour and Success, that Charles found his Affairs in a very critical Situation. But the Siege of Orleans, undertaken without the Regent's Direction, being raised by the Maid of Orleans, a bold Pretender to Divine Inspiration, threw a great Damp on the English Arms, more especially after the Coronation, or rather Unction of Charles the Seventh at Rheims, which gave a new Turn to his Affairs. The Regent however exerted himself with great Firmness, and having caused Henry to be brought over, the Bishop of Winchester crowned him at Paris with great Solemnity. The Maid of Orleans being taken by the Forces of the Duke of Burgundy, was delivered into the Hands of the English, who proceeded against her before an ecclesiastical Tribunal, by the Sentence of which she was burned as a Witch at Rouen. But though for the present these Incidents revived a little the Affairs of England, they very soon fell again into a Decline. This arose from the Death of the Duchess of Bedford, and the precipitate Marriage of the Duke to Jaquetta the Daughter of the Earl of St. Paul, which gave great Umbrage to the Duke of Burgundy by whose steady Adherence to their Cause the English were so much obliged. Soon after followed the Congress at Arras, to which, from a Desire of Peace, or rather from an extreme Weariness of the War, the English were induced to consent, and send Ambassadors, who found themselves deluded and deceived. There the Duke of Burgundy took the Opportunity of reconciling himself to the French King by a very advantageous Treaty, which proved such a Blow to the Regent's Interests as he did not long survive.

THE Duke of Burgundy, to give the strongest Proof his great Power, as well as to shew his Attachment to his new Friends, laid Siege to Calais with a numerous Army. This alarmed the Nation, and the Duke of Gloucester coming with a Fleet and Forces to its Relief, and the Flemings being little inclined to a War with England, the Duke of Burgundy found himself obliged to retire with some Disgrace. The Duke of York, Son to the Earl of Cambridge, Nephew and Heir to the Earl of March, succeeded the Duke of Bedford as Regent, and notwithstanding that at his Arrival he found Paris in the Hands of the French, and through the Distraction of publick Councils was able to draw but little Assistance from home, yet acted in a Manner that gained him much Reputation. He was succeeded by the Earl of Warwick, who likewise sustained the Honour of the English Arms so long as he lived. On his Demise the Duke of York went again to France, where he found that Country and the English Interest in most miserable Circumstances. The Consequences of a long and lingering War had brought innumerable Evils on the former, and the same Causes had gradually reduced the Strength of the latter; so that instead of making new Acquisitions, they were hardly able to preserve the little that was left.

THINGS however might have gone better, but for the Diffensions among themselves, and the Factions that reigned at Home. The Duke of Gloucester, full of the martial Spirit of his Brethren, endeavoured all he could to support the War; whereas the Cardinal of Winchester was much more inclined to Peace. It was with these Views that he advised, and at length procured the Liberty of the Duke of Orleans for a large Ransom, notwithstanding the solemn Protest of the Duke of Gloucester against it. This made Way for the Negotiation of the Earl of Suffolk, who, after making a Truce with the French, ventured to conclude a Marriage for his Master with Margaret Daughter to the titular King of Sicily. This Princess had great Abilities and a masculine Spirit, by which she absolutely governed Henry, a meek and pious, but by no Means either an active or an able Prince. This Marriage, and its Consequences, were disagreeable to the People, with whom the Duke of Gloucester was in great Credit, and from an Apprehension of his overturning their Measures, the Queen and her Party caused him to be arrested on his coming to Bury to the Meeting of Parliament, and he was soon after found dead, or as is generally supposed murdered in his Bed. His Uncle and great Rival the Cardinal did not survive him many Days.

THESE

As the Kingdom of France was lost and ruined by the Diffensions of the Princes of the Blood; so the like Diffensions and Mistakes of the Princes of the House of Lancaster were the principal Causes.

THESE old Statesmen removed, new and more violent Commotions ensued. The Nobility, long accustomed to War, returned Home restless and impatient of Rule, some of them by Descent and Marriage possessed of great Estates, and of consequence of great Power; the Clergy envied and hated for their Riches and their Pride; the Commons poor, distressed, and from thence disposed to Sedition. In such a State of Affairs no settled Order or permanent Stability was to be expected, more especially, considering the Want of Genius in the King, and the haughty and intriguing Temper of his Consort. Suffolk, her Favourite, who was advanced to the Title of Duke, was become the Object of publick Odium; the King to save him sent him into Exile for Five Years. The Ship in which he embarked was taken at Sea by his Enemies, who cut off his Head. The Duke of Somerset succeeding to Power, succeeded also to that Envy which attends it, and the Clamour against him was the louder, because he had superseded the Duke of York in his Government, and commanded in Normandy when it was lost. A popular Insurrection in Kent under an obscure Leader Jack Cade, who assumed the Name of Mortimer, after much Mischief done, was with Difficulty suppressed.

THE potent Duke of York, who had been sent to reduce some Commotions in Ireland, where he did great Service, on his Return from thence

Causes of the Decline of the English Interest there. John Duke of Bedford, though a very able Prince, and ever strictly loyal to his Nephew, yet committed some great Faults. The Taking of Orleans was on many Accounts a Point of the last Consequence, and the Besieged would have rendered it to the Duke of Burgundy, which the Duke of Bedford would not permit. This gave no small Disgust to that Prince, and allowed Time to the French, after the Death of the gallant Earl of Salisbury before the Place, to succour and to relieve it. This Duke's sudden Marriage with Jaquetta of Luxemburgh (afterwards Mother-in-law to Edward the Fourth) added to the Duke of Burgundy's Displeasure, which possibly might have been appeased by an Interview to which they both came, but which was rendered abortive by the Duke of Bedford's insisting on the First Visit, and soon after the French King gained that Prince, by allowing him to dictate the Terms of their Reconciliation. The Duke of Gloucester, though he also was very zealous for his Nephews Interests, occasioned great Detriment to them by his Attack on the Duke of Burgundy, in Hopes of rendering himself Master of Part of the Low Countries, to which Idea he was so obstinately wedded, that upon the Duke's making Peace with the French King he procured a Grant from his Nephew, as King of France, of the Earldom of Flanders on the supposed Forfeiture of the Duke of Burgundy, as a Traitor (Rot. Franc. 14 Hen. VI. n. 1.) His repeated Differences with the Cardinal of Winchester, whom he accused in Parliament of Treason against his Father and his Brother, and afterwards endeavoured to deprive him of his Bishoprick, were also very injurious to the publick Interest. The Cardinal was crafty and covetous, but had both Spirit and Parts. He raised an Army at the Expence of the Clergy, for the Service of Pope Martin the Fifth, against the Bohemians, but employed these Forces at a very critical Conjunction in France, in Support of the Duke of Bedford. He had as great Credit with the Parliament, as the Duke of Gloucester with the People, and their Disputes, which lasted as long as their Lives, caused a continual Division in the publick Councils, and this too at a Time when Unanimity was most requisite.

being



being suspected of ambitious Designs, purged himself by a solemn Oath. Things were pacified for a little Time; but from a Concurrence of unlucky Circumstances, civil Dissensions broke out again with greater Violence. The King being indisposed, the Administration was vested in the Duke of York, and a Parliament being called declared him Protector, which Office he discharged with much Prudence and Moderation. But Henry recovering his Health, by the Advice of the Queen and Somersset resumed his Authority. To this, though at first he did, the Duke of York could not long submit, and withdrawing from Court betook himself to Arms for his own Security, as he said, and to remove his Enemies. The King likewise assembled an Army, which was beaten by the Duke at St. Albans, and the King wounded and taken Prisoner. He was brought to London, where, a Parliament being called in his Name, the Duke of York was again declared Protector, and in no long Space again dismissed by the King, in which he quietly acquiesced.

While the War with France continued, the great Expences attending it occasioned a Desire of its Conclusion. But this by no Means reconciled the Nation to the Manner in which it was brought about. The Duke of Armagnac, who was in Possession of the greatest Part of what is properly called Aquitain, offered all his Territories with his Daughter in Marriage to King Henry: The Offer was accepted, and the King actually betrothed to her. The French irritated at this, deprived him of his Dominions, and Henry's Ministers, instead of giving him any Support, sent over the Earl of Suffolk, who concluded the Marriage with the Princess Margaret, who, instead of bringing any Thing, was bought by the giving up Maine to her Family, which laid open Normandy to the French. Notwithstanding this, Suffolk's Negotiation was approved by Parliament, and the King gave him all the Help that he could: But being considered as the Author of the Duke of Gloucester's Murther, he was prosecuted by the Commons, as is related in the Text. The subsequent Disputes between the Dukes of York and Somersset were in a great Measure personal. They were both very powerful, in consequence of their respective Properties; but more so from their Alliances. The Duke of York having married the Daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland, was supported by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, both of the House of Nevil, and by several other great Lords connected with them. The Duke of Somersset was not inferior to him in this Respect; so that when a Meeting was proposed at London for conciliating their Disputes, every One of these Lords brought a Number of his Retainers in his own Liveries and Badges, so that in Effect the Two Parties had with them each an Army ready to take the Field, some Lords having Four hundred of these Dependants, and some many more, which from the idle Course of Life they led, as a Diminution of Industry, operated with great Detriment in many Respects to the Nation. The incidental Circumstances that irritated the Minds of the People, were the continual Jealousy of the Queen's Correspondence with the French Court, of which her Father had been ever a zealous Partizan. The Revolt of the Inhabitants of Guienne, after it had been subdued by the French in Favour of their old Masters the English, for the Support of which the brave old Earl of (Talbot) Shrewsbury, with some Thousand Men, were sent over, and though at first victorious, yet being unsustained, all perished. To these we may add, a Descent made upon the Coasts of Kent by the French, who plundered and burnt the Town of Sandwich, which, as well as an Irruption of the Scots, were attributed to the Intrigues of the Queen.



NEW Stirrs arising, the Archbishop of Canterbury interposed, and all Parties coming together to London, they were there with little Sincerity, but with much Solemnity publicly reconciled. This seeming Calm did not last long. New Disturbances arose, and the Earl of Salisbury, having gathered some Troops, marched to join the Duke of York at Ludlow, and in his Way defeated Lord Audley, who endeavoured to prevent their Junction. This Success was but of short Continuance, the Duke and his Adherents being constrained to disperse. The Duke for his own Security retired to Ireland, as the Earl of Warwick did to Calais. The King went to Coventry, and in a Parliament held there attainted the Duke of York and all his Adherents. This, though intended for their Destruction, was but a short Interruption of their Designs; for, in no long Space after, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and March assembled an Army in Kent, made themselves Masters of London, continued their Progress to Northampton, where having defeated the Army of King Henry, and made themselves Masters of his Person, they returned with him and called a Parliament at Westminster; the First Step taken therein being to annul all the Proceedings of that held at Coventry. In this Assembly the Duke of York being returned from Ireland appeared, and openly stated his Title to the Crown, which after mature Deliberation was acknowledged, and he declared Heir and Successor to Henry, to whom however the Regal Title was preserved for Life, and both Parties bound, upon Pain of forfeiting the Advantages they were to reap from it, to a strict Observance of this Agreement<sup>s</sup>.

## QUEEN

<sup>s</sup> The Number of People in this Kingdom seems still to have been diminishing, even before the Devastation and Destruction occasioned by the Civil Wars. The constant Supplies sent over to the several Regents in France, the Croisade of the Cardinal of Winchester into Germany, and the Pilgrimages that were then in Fashion into foreign Countries, must have carried away Numbers. It seems to be a Proof of this, that Provisions were made in almost every Parliament for the Relief of decayed Towns. The Grants for the publick Service, the Circumstances of the Nation considered, were also very large, and besides the accustomed Manner of raising them by Duties upon Wool, Recourse was more than once had to the old Practice of taxing Land by Knight's Fees, and some new Modes were also introduced. These were found requisite from the extreme Necessity of the Crown, and notwithstanding all the Methods used, a Debt was contracted of between Three and Four hundred thousand Pounds on the Faith of Parliament, in order to discharge which the King, at the Request of the Commons, consented to Three several Resumptions, with some Exceptions in favour of particular Persons. But notwithstanding all these, and some other Misfortunes, our political System was so much improved, and the Subjects Property, at least for those Times, so well secured, as we learn from the clear Testimony of Chief Justice Fortescue (*de laudibus legum Angliæ*, cap. 18.) that considerable Improvements were made. A Law passed in the Reign of Richard II. for permitting the Exportation of Corn, when Wheat was no more than Six Shillings and Eight Pence a Quarter, was renewed, and after several temporary Trials, rendered perpetual, which must have been very beneficial, since in some Years the Price fell so low as one Shilling. Another Law was made for promoting the Navigation of the River Lee. For enabling the Chancellor to grant Commiſſions for Sewers, which had been done before by royal Prerogative. Ano-

QUEEN Margaret, who was busy in the North, collected more speedily a Body of Forces than was expected, on the First Intelligence of which the Duke of York moved Northwards to oppose her, where very imprudently quitting with an inferior Force, a strong Situation, he with his Second Son was slain near Wakefield. This Victory raised exceedingly the Spirits of the Queen and her Party, though they knew that the Earl of March, now become Duke of York, was levying Troops on the Frontiers of Wales to support his Father's Cause. To intercept him the Queen sent the Earls of Pembroke and Ormond, who came behind him with their Army, but he suddenly turned, and after a sharp Dispute routed them, and resumed his Progress towards the Capital. The Earl of Warwick, who had remained there with King Henry, being informed that the Queen was marching towards him, he advanced to meet her, and at St. Albans the Armies engaged, where through the Defection of some of his Troops he was totally defeated, and King Henry recovered his Liberty. On the other

ther Law for preventing the Importation of some Sorts of wrought Silks, which the Statute, a Circumstance worthy of Notice, recites to have been prejudicial to the Industry of Women employed in that Manufacture. Several Laws were also made for securing the Freedom of Elections, and restraining the Votes for Knights of the Shire to such Freeholders only as were possessed of Forty Shillings per Annum. Various Treaties were made with foreign Powers for promoting Commerce, more especially with the Flemings, with whom we had a great Inter-course, to the mutual Advantage of both Nations, and from whom, as hath been largely shewn, we borrowed several Inventions of publick Utility.

The great Number of Facts mentioned in the Text, render it requisite to supply the Dates for the Sake of Perspicuity. A. D. 1423 was fought the Battle of Crevant; King James was released September the Tenth. The Duke of Bedford married the Duke of Burgundy's Sister. A. D. 1424, August 17th, the Battle of Vernuil near Auxerre. A. D. 1426, the Parliament at Leicester, in which the Duke of Bedford sat as Regent. The Bishop of Winchester made Cardinal. A. D. 1429, May 8th Siege of Orleans raised. November Sixth the King crowned at Westminster. A. D. 1431, the King crowned at Paris, December 17th. A. D. 1435, the Duke of Bedford died September 14th, and the Duke of Burgundy's Treaty with the French King published the 22d of the same Month. A. D. 1444, May 30th, Margaret of Anjou crowned at Westminster. A. D. 1447, Feb. 24th, the Duke of Gloucester murdered at Bury. April 14th, died the Cardinal of Winchester. A. D. 1450, in the Month of May, the Duke of Suffolk beheaded, and his Body cast ashore at Dover. Jack Cade's Rebellion. A. D. 1451, the Dutchy of Normandy lost. A. D. 1453, the Dutchy of Guienne recovered and lost a Second Time. A. D. 1455, May 22d, the Battle of St. Albans, in which the Duke of York was victorious, and Edmund Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Clifford were slain. A. D. 1459, September 23d, the Battle of Bloreheath in Staffordshire on the Frontiers of Cheshire, in which James Lord Audley, who commanded the King's Forces, was slain, and with him the Flower of the Gentry of that County Palatine. A. D. 1460, July 10th, the Battle of Northampton gained by the Earls of Warwick and March, in which the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lords Beaumont and Egremont lost their Lives. December 24th, the Battle of Wakefield, in which the Duke of York was killed, the Earl of Rutland, a Youth of Twelve Years of Age, murdered by Lord Clifford, and the Earl of Salisbury, Father to the Earl of Warwick, being taken, was beheaded by the Queen's Orders. A. D. 1461, Feb. 2d, the young Duke of York gained the Victory at Mortimer's Cross, between the Counties of Hereford and Salop,

other Hand the Duke of York availing himself of his late Success entered London with his victorious Army, and taking Advantage of that Joy and Alacrity which was expressed on his Appearance, caused himself to be proclaimed King.

EDWARD the Fourth, so he was now stiled, had no Time to lose in maintaining that Title which he had so boldly assumed. He marched therefore with all his Forces Northward against Henry and his Queen, who had drawn together a very numerous Army in those Parts, and had been joined by most of the Nobility who adhered to the House of Lancaster from all Quarters of the Kingdom. In the short Space of Three Weeks Edward reached his Enemies in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where, on Palm Sunday, after a very hard fought and bloody Engagement he gained a compleat Victory. Henry, his Queen, and Son retired into Scotland, and to procure a good Reception there surrendered the important Town and Castle of Berwick. Edward made a triumphant Entry into York, where he kept his Easter, caused the Heads of his Father and the Earl of Salisbury to be taken down, and then returned to the Palace of Sheen till the necessary Preparations could be made for his Coronation, which was performed with great Solemnity. He then held a Parliament, in which his Title was recognized, and a Law passed for the Settlement of the Kingdom. At the Close of it he made his Court to the Commons by a very gracious and familiar Speech.

QUEEN Margaret leaving her Husband in Scotland went over to solicit Succours in France, and having obtained some Assistance, returned from thence, and excited new Disturbances in the North, where she was joined by her Husband. These were speedily suppressed by the Activity of the Lord Montacute, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, who for this singular Service was created Earl of Northumberland. Some Time after the unfortunate King Henry was betrayed, made Prisoner, and sent up to London, where he was committed to the Tower. This Flame thus extinguished, and domestick Tranquility in some Measure restored, gave the young King an Opportunity of turning his Thoughts to the settling the Affairs of the State at Home and Abroad, in respect to which he shewed both Abilities and Application.

Salop, where Sir Owen Tudor the Grandfather of Henry VII. was taken and beheaded. Feb. 17th, the Second Battle of St. Albans, in which the Queen was victorious and Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kirtel Knight of the Garter remaining with King Henry. at his Request, were notwithstanding beheaded by the Queen's Command.

His Prudence however in his most important personal Concern, overcome by his Passion, engaged him in a Marriage, that proved not a little unfortunate to himself, his Family, and his Subjects. The Object of his Choice was the Lady Elizabeth Gray the Daughter of Sir Richard Woodvile, by Jaqueline Dutchess of Bedford, and the Widow of Sir John Gray of Groby, slain in Support of the House of Lancaster in the Battle of St. Albans. He set no Bounds to his Liberality in regard to her Family. He created her Father Earl of Rivers, married her Brethren to the richest Heiresses of the Nobility, and shewed a like Partiality for her Children by her first Marriage, which, as was very natural, drew a heavy and lasting Load of Envy upon them, and alienated the Affections of many of the Nobility from him, the Consequences of which were afterwards very apparent. Some Time after the King concluded a Marriage for the Princess Margaret his Sister with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, which was equally honourable and advantageous, as well as highly acceptable to the Nation.

THE repeated Resumptions, the numerous Executions, the still more numerous Forfeitures, and other Acts of Severity which Edward judged it requisite to exercise, though most of them done with the Concurrence of Parliament, and, qualified by various Regulations of publick Utility, inflamed that Spirit of Disaffection which his Marriage had excited. This gave rise to several Insurrections in different Parts of the Kingdom, particularly in the North, which in the beginning was checked by the Lord Montacute, now made Earl of Northumberland, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, who seized and executed the Author of it. But Part of the Rebels going South, becoming more numerous, gained an Advantage over the King's Troops in Oxfordshire, and destroyed the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Richard Herbert his Brother. Afterwards they seized and beheaded the Earl of Rivers the Queen's Father, and his Son Sir John Woodvile. Another Rising happened in Lincolnshire under Sir Robert Wells, and though his Forces were very numerous, they were defeated by the King, who upon their First Rising had granted a Commission of Array to the Earl of Warwick, and to the Duke of Clarence his own Brother, who a little before had married the Earl's Daughter. It is not however improbable, that they had some Correspondence with these Rebels, for not long after the Archbishop of York, by the Instigation of his Brother Warwick, endeavoured to seize the King's Person at an Entertainment to which he invited him, and from which he very narrowly escaped.

**BOTH**

\* As the Account given in the Text differs entirely from our old Chronicles, and from most of our modern Historians, it may for that Reason, and also because it will throw great Light on the History of his Reign, be very proper to enter into some Particulars relative to this celebrated Earl

BOTH Sides then had Recourse to Arms in which Edward, by his Activity had so much the Advantage, that the Duke and Earl were constrained to quit the Kingdom, and to retire with their Families into France. Lewis the Eleventh received them with great Joy, and prevailed upon them to adopt a new Plan for Edward's Destruction. This consisted in reconciling them to Queen Margaret, whose only Son Edward espoused Anne the younger Daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and failing of Issue by this Marriage, it was agreed that the Succession to the Crown of England should be entailed on the Duke of Clarence. A few Months after the Duke and Earl returned with considerable Forces, landed at Dartmouth, declaring for King Henry, and loading Edward with the opprobrious Names of Rebel, Traytor, and Tyrant. The King no way discouraged began to raise Forces to oppose them, being then in the North, where he had just suppressed a lesser Rising. To strengthen his Army he ordered John Earl of Northumberland, whom he had now created Marquis of Montacute, to join him. These Orders he in Appearance obeyed, but in reality intended, by the Instigation of his Brother the Earl of Warwick, upon the Junction of their Forces, to have seized his Person. Edward having Notice of this Treachery, and perceiving many of those about him weak and wavering, he with a few faithful Followers made his Escape to Lynn;

Earl of Warwick. His Father the Earl of Salisbury, who became so by marriage, was Brother to Cicely Dutchess of York, the Mother of Edward the Fourth, to whom therefore this Earl was First Cousin. Some, to give a Colour to his Conduct, say that Edward was ingrateful to him, and others that he was jealous of him. As Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, he had about Fourteen thousand Pounds a Year; the King, as Comines informs us, and our Records also shew it, bestowed upon him about as much more. He made him Captain of Calais, the most profitable Government in Europe, Warden of the Marches towards Scotland, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Great Chamberlain, and Lord High Steward of England. Others say that he was particularly piqued at the King's Marriage, which is improbable, as he was Godfather to the Princess Elizabeth. It hath been said that he opposed the Marriage of the Princess Margaret to the Duke of Burgundy: It appears from the Records that he negotiated it, and he conducted her to the Sea Side, when she went to the Low Countries. The King found his Brother George, Bishop of Exeter and High Chancellor. He continued him in that Office Eight Years, and advanced him to the Archbishoprick of York. The Lord Fauconberg, his Uncle, he created Earl of Kent, and Lord High Admiral. His Brother John he made first Lord Montacute, afterwards Earl of Northumberland, and finding that the People in the North desired the Restitution of Henry Percy, Son to the Earl slain at the Battle of Towton, he procured his Resignation of that Title, in Consideration of which he advanced his Son George to the Title of Duke of Bedford, designing to have married him to the Princess Elizabeth, and created his Father Marquis Montacute. The Earl of Warwick's Dissatisfaction, whatever it was, did not appear till after he had married his Daughter Isabel in the Eighteenth Year of her Age to the Duke of Clarence, then about Twenty, which Ceremony was performed by George Archbishop of York at Calais. But even after this both the Duke and the Earl received Marks of the King's Kindness and Confidence to within a few Weeks of their breaking into Rebellion.

HE there embarked himself and his Retinue on board a few, and those small Vessels, and not without great Hazard of being taken by the Ships of the Hanse Towns with whom he was then at Variance, arrived in a very poor Condition at Alcaer in Holland. His Brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy received him very indifferently; for that Prince was by the Mother's Side descended from the House of Lancaster, had given Refuge to the Duke of Somerset, and other Exiles of that Party, and not a little alarmed at the Apprehension, that upon this new and unexpected Conjunction of Interests he might be attacked at once by England and France. In the mean Time the Earl of Warwick in consequence of his own Popularity, and his declaring for King Henry, carried all before him, and in the Space of a few Days saw himself at the Head of an irresistible Force, in consequence of which a compleat Revolution ensued.

HENRY being brought out of the Tower, was again acknowledged as King, and in a Parliament held by him the Agreement made with Warwick in France, was in every Particular ratified and carried into Execution, and the executive Power lodged in this potent Earl, and his Son-in-law Clarence. This new System, such as it was, lasted little more than Six Months. The Duke of Burgundy, from Motives rather of Policy than of Affection, furnished Edward, though very sparingly, with Ships, Troops, and Money to return into his Kingdom. This he accordingly did, and landing in Yorkshire was there so coldly received, that he was forced to pretend he came only to claim the Stile and State of Duke of York, which Henry and his Parliament had conferred upon Clarence.

By this Address he with some Difficulty gained Admittance into York, from whence removing quickly with his Forces, and being soon after joined by some Persons of Distinction, he resumed his regal Authority, slipped by the Marquis of Montacute, who lay at Pomfret, and in like Manner avoiding Warwick, arrived with his Troops at London. His Friends having procured his Entrance into the City, he seized on the Person of Henry, and sent him back to the Tower, recruited his Army, and being reconciled to his Brother Clarence, took the Field against the Earl of Warwick and the Marquis of Montacute, who with their numerous Forces were advanced to Barnet: There on Easter Day Edward engaged them, and after an obstinate and bloody Dispute obtained a compleat Victory, in which both the Earl and Marquis were slain. On the same Day this decisive Action happened, Queen Margaret and her Son landed in the West; and, as soon as she received the melancholy News, betook herself to Sanctuary instead of raising Forces. On the Resort however of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Oxford, and other great Persons to her Assistance, she altered her Resolution, and finding herself at the

for having contrived and brought about that Revolution, which had driven him out of his Dominions. The Conquest however of so great a Country demanded large Supplies, and though his Parliament contributed liberally, he found it necessary to augment the Aids they gave him, by putting the Affections of his People to the Trial by requesting a voluntary Contribution, which he stiled a BENEVOLENCE.

IN consequence of these Efforts, and the considerable Sums they produced, he carried over a numerous and a well-provided Army; but finding himself shamefully deceived by his Allies, he readily listened to Propositions of Peace, which very quickly brought about the Treaty of Amiens. By this Lewis consented to give a certain Sum towards the Expences of the War, to pay Edward an annual Pension of Fifty Thousand Crowns, which he not without Reason considered as a Tribute, to stipulate the Marriage of the Dauphin with this Monarch's eldest Daughter, and to pay a round Ransom for the unfortunate Queen Margaret. Besides all this he gave great Presents, and promised annual Pensions to Edward's Favourites, that by their Persuasions the Sea for the future might be kept continually between them. Edward did not treat his Allies as they had treated him, but stipulated, that if so disposed, they might accede to the Peace. He then returned Home, and being met by the principal Citizens on Blackheath, proceeded from thence to London, where he was received with universal Acclamations.

HE then resumed his former Course of Life, and, as he had promised his Parliament, defrayed the Expences of Government out of his own Income. This, with his constant Attention to the regular Administration of Justice, made it unnecessary for some Time to call a Parliament, and when he did, it was purely for regulating national Concerns, and no pecuniary Grants were so much as requested. He seemed himself to study, and thereby recommended to his Subjects the Cultivation of the Arts of Peace, so that the Remainder of his Reign might have been equally placid and prosperous, but for the sudden Imprisonment and violent Death of his Brother the Duke of Clarence, which, though covered, or rather coloured by a Parliamentary Attainder, with the Grounds of which we are very imperfectly acquainted, cast an indelible Stain on his Character.

To this succeeded some Years after, notwithstanding all his Care to avoid it, a very serious Misunderstanding with France, and a short War with Scotland, which afforded what was very acceptable to the Nation, an Opportunity of recovering Berwick. The former was not so easily terminated.



nated. Lewis had stirred up the King of Scots to an Invasion, contrary to his own Interest, and to the Sense of his People. He stopped the Payment of his Tribute, and preferred the Alliance of the House of Austria to that of England, in direct Violation of the Contract between the Dauphin and the Princess Elizabeth, upon which Edward had set his Heart. These, how much soever he loved Peace, were Injuries too flagrant to be digested by so brave a Monarch, secure of the Affections of his Subjects, and whose Affairs were in good Order: He resolved therefore upon War, and in this Resolution, according to the martial Temper of those Times, was warmly seconded by his Nobility, Clergy, and Commons. But the Vigilance with which he prosecuted the Preparations requisite for undertaking so great an Enterprize, had such an Effect on his Constitution as brought on a Disease that quickly put an End to his Days in the Flower of his Age, to the universal Sorrow of his Subjects, who were justly sensible of

There are few of our Princes that had more Transactions with foreign Powers, as appears by the Truces, Alliances, and Treaties of Commerce extant in the Eleventh and Twelfth Volumes of Rymers Collections. All of these were made either for the Support of the King's Title, or for the Improvement of his Subjects Trade, in regard to which he was ever very attentive. Many of these were with the Dukes of Burgundy, Philip and Charles, for the Regulation of Commerce, which was of equal Importance to the English and to the Flemings, we being their best Customers, and they ours, which however did not hinder frequent Disputes, but at the same Time was the Cause, that they were speedily and amicably terminated. When through the King's wise Laws our Woollen Manufacture was so improved that the Importation of foreign Cloth was prohibited, and much of ours exported, the Flemings forbid its being brought amongst them; upon which Edward prohibited all Trade with the Low Countries, which had its Effect, and the King carried his Point. We had also in those Days many Disputes with the Hanse Towns, their Merchants settled here having had very great Favours shewn them by the Kings of the House of Lancaster, which rendered them averse to Edward, and attached to that Family. But at length, when this King's Power was fully established, he caused these Disputes to be examined in a Congress held for that Purpose, restored their Charter, and as their own Writers acknowledge, treated them with great Equity. He was also very careful in respect to the Naval Power of this Kingdom, and carried it very high. This Fact however is controverted by De Witt, who says he was awed by the superior Force of the Easterlings or Hanse Towns, and some Facts are mentioned to prove this: But these relate to the Time of his Troubles. For when he retired into the Low Countries, the Seamen revolted, and in Conjunction with the Commons of Kent committed many Disorders, till repressed by the Earl of Warwick, who upon Henry's Restoration was created not only Co-Regent with the Duke of Clarence, but also Lord High Admiral, or as Foreigners stiled him, Great Captain of the Seas, and had Precedency before all Earls. On Edward's Return, and before he was fully settled, the Bastard Fauconberg, Son to the Earl of Kent, who had been Edward's High Admiral, and who had been afterwards Vice Admiral to Warwick, committed the most horrid Devastations, and attempted to enter and plunder the City of London, but was repulsed. He was pardoned for his Father's Sake, but endeavouring to raise new Disturbances was taken and beheaded. But when the King had re-established his Affairs, he quickly brought his Navy into excellent Order, as appeared by his employing Five hundred Sail in transporting his Army to France; and on this Foot it continued during the Remainder of his Reign.

the many Benefits which his Attention to their Welfare had procured them <sup>z</sup>.

EDWARD the Fifth succeeded, who at this Time resided at Ludlow under the Care and Tuition of Anthony Earl Rivers his Uncle, the most accomplished Nobleman of his Age, the young Prince being then in his Twelfth Year. His Father had a Foresight of the Calamities that might attend his Minority, and in order to avert them laboured on his Death-bed to procure a Reconciliation of the Factions that had long reigned in his Court, and with the same View called his Brother the Duke of Gloucester who had served him with Fidelity during his Reign to the Regency. Vain and feeble Precautions! The Reconciliation served only to delude the King in his last Moments, and his Brother, either from his own Ambition or the Suggestions of others, very quickly aimed at a higher Title

<sup>z</sup> The Dates more especially requisite to support the Facts mentioned in the Text are these. A. D. 1461, March the Fourth, Edward assumed the Title of King. Twenty-ninth of the same Month was fought the Battle of Towton, Saxton, or Shirburne, which Mr. Camden truly calls the English Pharsalia, in which fell upwards of Thirty thousand, and on the Part of King Henry were slain the Earl of Northumberland and the Lords Dacres and Wells. Twenty-ninth of June Edward was crowned, and on the Fourth of November held his First Parliament at Westminster. A. D. 1463, the Lancastrians received a Check at Hegely Moor, soon after, on the Fifteenth of May in the same Year, were totally routed at Hexham, where Henry Duke of Somerset was taken and beheaded. A. D. 1464, Queen Elizabeth was crowned at Westminster. A. D. 1467, in the Beginning of June, the Princess Margaret was sent to her Husband in the Low Countries. A. D. 1469, July the Eleventh, the Duke of Clarence married at Calais. The Twenty-sixth of the same Month the Battle of Banbury, soon after which the Earl of Rivers and his Son, and the Earl of Pembroke and his Brother were beheaded. A. D. 1470, March the Seventh, the King directed his Commission of Array to the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick. The Thirteenth of the same Month he beat Sir Robert Wells and the Rebels in Lincolnshire, and on the Twenty-third declared Clarence and Warwick Rebels, soon after which they escaped out of England; September the Thirteenth they returned. October the Third King Edward fled to Lynn. The Sixth of the same Month King Henry was released out of the Tower. His First publick Acts bear Date the Ninth. On the Twenty-sixth or Twenty-seventh of November he opened his Parliament at Westminster, in which Edward and his Adherents were attainted. The Earl of Oxford sat as High Constable, and condemned John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, who had sat upon his Father and Brother. A. D. 1471, March the Fourteenth, King Edward landed at Ravenspur. The last Regal Acts of Henry the Sixth are dated the Twenty-seventh of the same Month. April the Tenth King Edward granted his Pardon to the Archbishop of York. The Fourteenth of the same Month was fought the Battle of Barnet, at which Henry was present, being a Prisoner in King Edward's Army. May the Fourth the Battle of Tewksbury, in which the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Wenlock were slain, Prince Edward murdered, Queen Margaret taken, and soon after Edmund Duke of Somerset, the Prior of St. John's, and Twelve Knights beheaded. The Twenty-first of the same Month King Henry was found dead in the Tower. A. D. 1475, August 29th, the Three Treaties signed between Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh, at Pecquignil. A. D. 1478, February 18th, Death of the Duke of Clarence. A. D. 1483, April the Ninth, the King deceased in the Twenty-third Year of his Reign, and in the Flower of his Age.

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than that of Protector, resolving at the same Time to remove whatever Obstacles stood in his Way.

THE Queen Dowager at first inclined to bring the King her Son to London with a considerable Force, from which she was dissuaded as a Measure-incompatible with the late Reconciliation. The Duke of Gloucester met the young King upon the Road, and approached him with all the exterior Marks of Affection and Duty, notwithstanding which he immediately caused his principal Attendants and nearest Relations to be arrested, and sent Prisoners into the North, from whence they never returned. The Queen upon this News retired to the Sanctuary in Westminster, in which Place the young King was born, when she fled thither upon King Henry's resuming the Throne, carrying with her at this Time her youngest Son the Duke of York and her Five Daughters. The Protector brought the young King to Town, with all possible Marks of Honour and Submission, and some Time after, through the Interposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, prevailed on the Queen to part with the Duke of York, whom with the King his Brother he transferred to the Tower, while Preparations were making for the Coronation.

THE Duke of Buckingham, the most powerful and the most popular of the Nobility, was the prime Confident of the Protector, and the chief Instrument of his Ambition, notwithstanding he had married the Queen's Sister. The Plan concerted for depriving his Nephews and raising Gloucester to Sovereignty was exceedingly specious. Most of the Nobility and of the Prelates, with many Persons of Rank and Distinction, being come to London to assist at the Coronation, a Party amongst them were engaged to present a certain Instrument to the Duke of Gloucester in the Names of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of the Realm, stating what they called the Grounds of the Nullity of the late King's Marriage with the Queen from the Want of the Concurrence of the Peers, the Privacy with which it was concluded, and the King's being under a Precontract to the Lady Butler, whence they deduced the Illegitimacy of the Children of this Marriage; they took Notice next of the Incapacity of the Issue of the Duke of Clarence from the Attainder of their Father, from which Premises it was inferred, that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the true Heir of Richard Duke of York, on whom and on whose Posterity the Crown was entailed by Authority of Parliament. This Bill, as it is called, without either Signature or Date, declared the Title and procured the Admission of Richard to the regal Dignity without any visible Interposition of Force. This manifestly proves the Influence of the Nobility and Clergy, who seem to have acted from

Pique to the Queen and her Family, the avoiding the Inconveniencies of a long Minority, and it may be the Hopes of sharing the Favours of a King, who purely by their Assistance was elevated to the Throne, and in the Course of his Administration must continue to depend upon their Attachment and Support.

RICHARD the Third having thus gained the Colour of national Consent, took the Title of King, received the Homage of the Nobility, and some time after celebrated his Coronation, together with that of his Queen, with extraordinary Splendour and Solemnity, Dr. Bouchier Archbishop of Canterbury officiating, and most of the Peers and Prelates, and a great Number of Commoners of Distinction assisting. But previous however to this Ceremony he sent for Five thousand Men out of the North, where he was very much beloved, yet finding their Appearance gave Distaste to the City of London, he quickly ordered them back. It was not long after this that he began a Progress through the Nation, in which he visited not a few Cities and great Towns, to several of which he gave Marks of his Favour. It was during this Progress, as our Historians say, that his Two Nephews were cruelly murdered in the Tower by his Order.

ON his Arrival at York with his Queen, he was again inaugurated with great Pomp, and upon this Occasion created his only Son Edward Prince of Wales. Richard had been accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham in this Progress as far as Gloucester, where taking his Leave when the King went

\* It cannot well be doubted that King Edward had a very high Opinion of his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, who had constantly shared his Fortunes, accompanied him in his Adversity, and contributed to his Prosperity by exposing his Person in his Service from the Time he became of Age. He was in great Favour also with the Nation, on account of his recovering Berwick from the Scots, and as far as he was able had continued Neuter in respect to the Factions at Court. As he had been some time absent from thence it is very likely he took his Notions of the State of Things from the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Hastings, both of them violent Enemies to the Queen and to her Family. Her Brother the Marquis of Dorset, on the King's Death, is said to have entered the Tower, and to have made free with the Royal Treasure, which with other Circumstances were represented by Buckingham as sufficient Reasons for arresting the Earl of Rivers and the Rest, in which Measure Hastings, who hated the Queen and was hated by her, fully concurred, and afterwards advised the putting them to Death as necessary to the Protector's Safety; But he was immovable in his Fidelity to the young King, and resisted all the Sollicitations of Sir William Catesby, the Duke of Gloucester's Confident and his own, which when the Duke of Buckingham understood, he advised and concurred in removing Hastings also. After his Death Buckingham principally managed the Invitation to Gloucester to assume the Crown, and to set aside his Nephews, as appears from the Continuation of the History of Croyland Abby, and the very few contemporary Writers that still remain, and from whom the Facts mentioned in the Text are taken. It may be presumed that these contained a genuine Representation of this dark Business; to be convinced of which the Reader may consult Camden, Britan. p. 260, where he gives a full and fair Account of this Matter, though he considered Richard as a Usurper, a Murderer, and a Tyrant.

Northward, he went to his Castle of Brecknock to put in Order the great Estates which the King had restored to him; and there Dr. Morton Bishop of Ely, whom the King had released at the Request of the University of Oxford, was committed to his Care. This Prelate, a Man of great Parts and Eloquence, soon drew the Duke to a Compliance with his Notions, in consequence of which the Friends of the Queen and of the House of Lancaster, on the Prospect of a Marriage between Henry Earl of Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth, disposed themselves to rise in different Parts of the Kingdom, and the Duke raised a great Power amongst the Welch to join such of the Malecontents as were nearest him; but by a sudden Rise of the Severn this was prevented, and his Forces, through Discontent as well as for Want of Provisions, disbanded. The King by this Time was advanced with a considerable Body of Men to Salisbury, and having published a Proclamation with a Reward for the apprehending the Duke, he was quickly betrayed by a Servant whom he trusted, and being brought to Salisbury, after making a very ample Confession, was there beheaded. His Confederates in other Places were quickly suppressed, some of whom suffered Death, and many escaped into foreign Parts <sup>b</sup>.

RICHARD returning to London, held a Parliament, in which the First Step that was taken was converting the Bill that hath been before-mentioned into a regular Act, to which he gave his Assent, and thereby ratified his own Title. It is on all Hands agreed that many good Laws were passed by this Assembly; and though some Writers say that heavy

<sup>b</sup> This Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham was lineally descended by the Mother's Side from Thomas of Woodstock, Son to Edward the Third, and in her Right claimed the Inheritance of the Earls of Hereford, which had been the Patrimony of the House of Lancaster, and was at that Time in the Crown. In the Reign of Edward the Fourth he made his Court strongly, and sitting as High Steward in Parliament (*Hist. Cróylandensis Contin. p. 562.*) pronounced Judgment of Death upon the Duke of Clarence; but was not able to procure the Lands of Hereford and the Office of High Constable, which the Bobins who had borne that Title enjoyed. Some say that he met with a rude Repulse in this Suit from King Richard, and thereupon left him at Gloucester in Discontent. But this cannot be true, for Sir William Dugdale hath given us a List of the Lands restored to him upon this Claim, and Strype, though no Favourer of this King, in his Notes upon Buck's History, exhibits a long Catalogue of Grants made to him by that Prince both as Protector and King, which justifies Richard in styling him, in a Letter to his Chancellor the Bishop of Lincoln, the most untrue Creature living. He was a Man exceedingly proud and vain, and treated the Welch whom he put in Arms with such Haughtiness as to occasion their Defection, which obliged him to seek his Safety in Flight. It is said that he made so free a Confession in Hopes of being admitted to the King's Presence, when he intended to have stabbed him with a Dagger. This Confession proved fatal to several Persons of Distinction, and amongst the Rest to Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the Dutchess of Exeter the King's Sister. This, and other Executions like those of the Earl Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, and Lord Hastings without any Trial, leave sufficient Reproach upon this Monarch's Character without having Recourse to Facts that are less certain.

Taxes were laid, and many Persons attainted, yet there is no Mention of either in the Statutes; neither does it appear that he received any Money from his Subjects, except a Tenth from the Clergy of both Provinces granted in Convocation. The succeeding Part of his Reign was taken up in repairing, fortifying, and relieving several Towns, Ports, and Cities, that in a Course of Time, and from a Diversity of other Causes, were fallen into Decay.

He entered also into various Negotiations with foreign Princes for promoting the Commerce of his Subjects, and particularly with respect to the Princes and States of Italy. While he was thus employed he found his Security extremely weakened by the Death of his only Son Prince Edward;

The Two preceding Notes were intended, not simply to support the Facts mentioned in the Text, but also to shew the Complexion of this Age and the Condition of the People, since from them the Reader will discern the bad Effects of such immense, and in some Sort indefeasible Estates in the Hands of a few of the Nobility and Gentry, who combining into Parties either oppressed, or by a rude Hospitality drew the meaner Sort into a servile Dependency, equally fatal to Industry, destructive to Liberty, and serving only to support those Feuds which enervated legal Authority, and enabled these great Men to wreak their Resentment on each other at the Expence of publick Peace and publick Prosperity. In such a State, of Things there was the greatest Need of wise Laws being enacted to root out, or at least to diminish these Evils, and more effectually to secure the Liberties and Properties of the Commons. Richard held but One Parliament, the Statutes made in which were comprehended in Fifteen Chapters, most of these are weighty in Point of Matter, and at the same Time well and clearly expressed. His Acts were the first that we have printed. From his Time our Laws have been penned, not in Latin or French, but in English, and in his Days private Acts began. One of the Laws enacted in this Parliament was for removing or at least diminishing the Mischiefs occasioned by secret Feoffments and Trusts, the Consequences of frequent Troubles, and which were exceedingly detrimental to innocent Persons. By another, that insidious Tax of Benevolence, by which People were obliged to give, not what they themselves pleased, but what would please the Prince, was for ever abolished. Justices of the Peace had a Power given them to Bail, which they had not before, and Men's Effects were secured from Confiscation till after Conviction. It was provided, that such as were sworn upon Juries in the Sheriff's Court should have a Property of Twenty Shillings per Annum. On a Complaint that Foreigners, such as Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, Apulians, Luchese, Sicilians, and Catalans, dealt not only as Merchants but as Retailers and Manufacturers, and would take no Apprentices or Servants but Foreigners, it was enacted, that they should not sell by Retail or employ any Strangers in their respective Trades but their own Countrymen. Regulations were made for improving Broad Cloth, and for settling the Contents of Vessels filled with Wine and Oil. It was also enacted that certain Manufactures which were now made to Perfection in England, should not be brought hither out of other Countries. Most of these Statutes are still in Force, and the Consequences of them when first made were so well relished, that Camden says, "Richard was most worthy of the Royal Title, if by evil Arts and foul Deeds he had not arrived at the Kingdom, and that in the Opinion of the most prudent, though he was numbered amongst bad Men, he was nevertheless to be reckoned amongst good Princes." Lord Bacon likewise owns, that "He was a Prince in Military Virtue approved, jealous of the Honour of the English Nation, and likewise a good Law-maker for the Ease and Solace of the common People." Strype also admits, that abstracted from the horrid Imputations that lie upon his Memory, one might judge him a good King, as he expressed a great Care of the good Estate of his People, shewed a Concern to have Wickedness repressed, and carried himself with due Regard to Religion and Learning.

which

which as it filled him with deep Concern, so the like Affliction seized his Queen in such a Manner that she did not long survive. In this Situation he is said to have declared the young Earl of Lincoln, the Son of his Sister the Dutches of Suffolk, presumptive Heir to the Crown, and the more effectually to support him entered into a Treaty with James the Third for the Marriage of that Earl's Sister with the Duke of Rothsay, afterwards King James the Fourth of Scotland. In the mean Time the Earl of Richmond, with the Assistance of the Bishop of Ely, the Earl of Oxford, and other Exiles, who held a secret Correspondence with the Malecontents in England, made Preparations for a Descent, and being furnished with Ships and other Succours from the French King, landed at Milford Haven. He was quickly joined by many Persons of Distinction, passed the Severn, and advancing into the Heart of the Kingdom, was met by Richard near Bosworth, where a decisive Battle ensued, in which Richard, the Duke of Norfolk, and some other Persons of Rank were slain <sup>d</sup>. This is considered as the final Action in the Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, which had now raged with extreme Cruelty on both Sides for the Space of Thirty Years.

This Fourth Period comprehends the Space of about One Hundred and Six Years. The History of the Monarchs reigning therein hath been more largely insisted upon, because it is in Effect the History of this Country, which during their Reigns suffered not a little in some of its most essential Concerns. In the Beginning of it the Number of Inhabitants, which were then greatly decreased, had been very much lessened by Wars at Home and Abroad; in the Middle of it by the Conquests made in France, and the Measures necessary for their Defence; and in the Three last Reigns by Civil Wars, which the Writers of those Times say, were much more destructive than the Disputes with the Scots or the Invasions of France. Besides what perished in the Field, many were driven into Exile, and with these other Circumstances of Depopulation concurred; neither were such Calamities confined to one or to a few Parts of the Country, but as by marking the several Fields of Battle, we have been careful to shew, extended gradually to all <sup>e</sup>.

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<sup>d</sup> The Dates requisite to be mentioned in this short Reign are but few. A. D. 1483, June 13th the Earl of Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, &c. were beheaded at Pomfret, and the Lord Hastings the same Day in the Tower of London. The 19th of the same Month Richard assumed the Title of King, was proclaimed the next Day, and on July Sixth was crowned. August 24th he created his Son Prince of Wales. November Second the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded at Salisbury. A. D. 1484, January 23d, the Parliament was opened at Westminster. In April Prince Edward died. A. D. 1485, March 16th, Queen Anne deceased. August 22d, the same Year King Richard was slain in the Battle of Bosworth.

<sup>e</sup> The Instances that have been already given of the Princes and Nobility killed in Battle, barbarously executed, and driven into Banishment, fully support what has been said. It may not be



IN consequence of these Ravages private and publick Desolation ensued. Houses and Castles, the Monuments of more settled Days, were demolished, Lands laid waste, Improvements of every Kind destroyed, and this to such a Degree, that in succeeding Times we meet with various Things mentioned as newly introduced, which in reality had been well known, and very common many Years before. It cannot indeed be conceived that any Kind of Cultivation could be carried on with Spirit, when the Owners of Estates knew not how long they should continue so; when the common People were called into the Field to support the private Interests of their Superiors, embarked now with this, and by and by with an opposite Faction, ever pretending, but hardly ever intending the publick Good. The same Disorders occasioned the continual Decay of Cities, Decrease of Towns, and the utter Subversion of Villages; of all which we might have much more ample Testimonies, if more of the Abbey Chronicles in these Times had been preserved, though in respect to the Certainty of the Facts our Records afford us clear and authentic Evidence, confirmed by collateral Circumstances which put it beyond all Dispute, and exhibit a true Picture of the ruinous Consequences attending such a long Series of domestic Dissensions <sup>f</sup>.

BUT

amiss to add Two or Three other Examples out of the very many that might be mentioned. Ann Beauchamp, the Widow of the famous Earl of Warwick, and who brought him a vast Estate, was stripped of it on his Demise, and languished in a Prison during the Reign of Richard, though her Daughter was his Queen. Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, who married the Sister of Edward the Fourth, adhering to the House of Lancaster fled into the Netherlands, was there seen, ragged and barefoot, following the Duke of Burgundy and begging Alms. The Heir of the noble Family of Clifford, from whom descended the Earls of Cumberland, was bred up by a Shepherd under a borrowed Name, and underwent innumerable Hardships before his Mother durst own him in the Reign of Henry the Seventh. In Leland's Itinerary may be found various Accounts of splendid Houses demolished out of Hatred to their Owners, fresh Buildings begun to be erected by new Possessors, left unfinished at the next Revolution, and crumbling again into Ruins. To this may be added, what was in those Days esteemed a very great Loss, the numerous Provinces our Kings had possessed in France. From the same Causes arose the Neglect of Ireland, which gradually relapsed into that State, out of which with a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure it had been recovered.

<sup>f</sup> It was very natural in Times of so great Confusion to neglect such Fruits and Vegetables as were not immediately necessary to Subsistence, and as natural in quieter Times to resume the Desire of possessing such as flourished in the neighbouring Countries. It is commonly asserted that Cherries were brought here A. D. 1540, but Camden assures us, that they were brought over hither by the Romans in the Middle of the First Century; and the like might be shewn of many other Things. As to the Decay of Cities, Towns, and Villages, we have already shewn that Parliament in their Supplies provided for them from time to time, and we may very well believe that the Evil continued growing notwithstanding, since in the Eighth of Edward the Fourth Twelve Thousand Pounds were deducted for this Purpose out of a Grant made to the Crown. The very same Year the Sheriff of Essex and Hertford returned, that there were but Two Boroughs, Colchester and Malden, able to send Burgeses from the former, and that there were none in the latter. The Truth is, that in this Period the Sheriffs excused at Discretion the decayed Boroughs

BUT these Misfortunes, fatal as they were, would have been much more so, and their Effects still more visible, if the Inconveniencies they occasioned had not suggested certain Remedies which lessened the Pressure of them at the Time, and produced unexpected Advantages in succeeding Ages. Amongst these we may justly reckon the remitting the baser Kind of Tenures, and more especially that of Villenage, which grew into Disuse, not from any positive Law, but from the Conviction of its Inutility and the clear Experience of superior Benefits arising from the Labours of Freemen. This was found to be equally true in all Occupations in which the Bulk of the People were employed. It was this that produced the Encouragement given to new Manufactures of different Kinds by the Incorporation of those who exercised them, which enabled them to gain an Establishment from the mutual Support of their Members, and contributed to increase and improve them, to a Degree which otherwise, as Things then stood, they could never have attained. For to that State of Things we must look back, and not form our Ideas upon that very different State in which they are at present, and it will be a farther Argument for the Expediency or rather Necessity of Corporations, if we observe, that from like Causes they were likewise in Use in other Countries &c.

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Boroughs in their respective Counties, of which no Complaint was made, it being considered rather as a Favour than a Hardship. Many Cities and Towns had their *Ecc-farms* diminished upon Petition, as the Reader may see in the last Chapter of *Madox's Firma Burgi*, and many others were repaired and beautified, and had new Privileges bestowed upon them, when occasionally visited by any of these Monarchs. There is yet another strong Circumstance in Proof of what is advanced in the Text, and that is the Fall in the general Price of Lands. It appears by the Rewards offered for apprehending the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick by Edward the Fourth, and the Duke of Buckingham by Richard the Third, of Money or Lands at the Option of the Receiver, that the Value of the latter was Ten Years Purchase; whereas at the Close of the Reign of Edward III. Simon Langham Archbishop of Canterbury gave a Thousand Marks for the Purchase of Forty Marks per Annum for the Maintenance of Four Monks, which is at the Rate of Five and Twenty Years Purchase. *Godwin de Præfulibus*, p. 116.

§ We have more than once expatiated on the Misery of Villenage, and endeavoured to expose the Mischiefs that attended it. As it followed the Norman Conquest, so when the apparent Decline of Agriculture constrained succeeding Kings to think of other Methods for supplying their Coffers, they had Recourse to incorporating Cities and Towns after the Example of their Neighbours, and granting them Privileges in respect to their Trade and Manufactures, in Return for which they received an annual Rent. In Process of Time lesser Incorporations of Tradesmen and Artificers took Place, and for their Encouragement their Members were exempted from servile Labours, that is, from remaining Vassals to the Lord on whose Estate they happened to be born, and were from thence stiled Freemen. This the Barons saw with Regret, looking on it as a Diminution of their Power, and took from time to time violent Measures for their own Support, which brought on that general Insurrection in the Reign of Richard the Second, when they endeavoured to procure a Law to prevent Villains from giving their Children Learning. In the succeeding Reign a Statute was actually made to prevent any Man who had not Twenty Shillings a Year from putting his Son Apprentice. By Degrees however this Spirit of Oppression evaporated, chiefly from the Exhortations and Examples of the inferior Clergy, who represented it as

In like Manner their Commerce, and of course their Navigation were extended, the Elements of our Knowledge in both being in a great Measure derived from Foreigners, who were invited by the Abundance of our native Commodities, in the working up of some and in the Exportation of others, they were encouraged by our Princes for the Sake of Customs, and it was the Emoluments arising from their Industry which gradually produced Imitation, and in succeeding Times Emulation and Jealousy, that gave rise to the Limitation of the Privileges granted to Strangers, and to the increasing the Powers lodged in the Hands of our Companies, because by such Associations the whole Commerce of Europe was in those Days, and had been for some Ages before, carried on. The Policy also of our Princes in respect to these Matters grew more refined, which appeared in the Variation of the Denomination and Quality of their Coin, which were conducted in such Manner in Reference to the Specie of other Countries, as to prevent the Impoverishment, and sometimes to promote the Interests of their Subjects, though in a later Period such Changes were made with different Views, and with bad Effects <sup>b</sup>.

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inconsistent with the Doctrines of Christianity, and engaged many on their Death-beds to manumit their Villains. In Proportion as these Hardships were relaxed, the Advantages arising from Industry more clearly appeared, and then from a Principle of Interest the Barons and Gentry grew more tractable, and these Tenures extinguished daily, though some still remained in the Reign of Elizabeth, as appears from Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England, Book iii. chap. x. whence these Particulars are taken. It is indeed true, that from Incorporations which were at first necessary, Inconveniencies in Process of Time arose, to which such Remedies have been applied, as have had a greater Effect in this, than in most other Countries, and is another Proof of the Expediency of that absolute Authority in the Legislature, to relax as Occasion requires these Institutions, that in former Times, and when the Nation was in different Circumstances might be requisite, and which for that Reason ought to be preserved no longer than they are requisite.

<sup>b</sup> Companies for the Management of Commerce were erected here from the same Motives with Corporations, because they had already taken Place in other Countries, were conceived to be necessary for the obtaining sufficient Funds of Money and Credit, and for the Conveniency of the Prince, who could more easily obtain Assistance from them than Individuals. The Success of these Companies supported their Institution, they quickened domestic Trade, fixed themselves in foreign Countries where they obtained extensive Privileges, and by giving Employment and Subsistence initiated Numbers of People in different Businesses. As their Wealth at Home and their Intercourse with other trading Nations increased, they came to interfere with the foreign Companies and foreign Merchants, who formerly drove all, and still continue to drive a great Part of the Trade of England. In succeeding Periods private Merchants began to complain of these Companies as being in effect Monopolies, and their Complaints were not without Reason. But at the same Time that this is said it must likewise be allowed, that by their Means, and under their Protection, particular Merchants had grown up into a Capacity of carrying on various Branches of Commerce without them. It is requisite to consider Things of this Nature with all the Circumstances that attend them, and it is for want of considering Things in this Light, that we treat Establishments that would be now needless or absurd, as if they had been always so, whereas a little Reflection will shew us the contrary. The Treaties and Conventions made with the Dukes of Burgundy, the Kings of Castile, the Princes and Commercial States in Italy. will

THE Advantages of a limited over an absolute Monarchy were in these Days not only discerned but maintained with Spirit and Freedom, though at the same Time it must be allowed that many Exertions of Power were still practised; that did by no Means correspond with this Doctrine. Yet this salutary Principle being once admitted, gave both Room and Right to the Subject to improve every favourable Opportunity to distinguish and to diminish such Evils by Degrees, which was chiefly effected by the growing Authority of Parliament. The disputed Title to the Crown afforded many Advantages in this Respect. The Prince in Possession wanted at the same time equally, Parliamentary Sanction and Parliamentary Support, and on this Account was well disposed to concur with them in most Things, more especially those of the House of York, who in a particular Manner affected Popularity. This enabled them to provide for the Freedom of Elections, for prescribing Rules of Conduct to Sheriffs, for maintaining the free Course of Justice, for promoting Works of general Utility, for preventing public Nuisances for private Benefit, and for encouraging Industry in the lower Sort, the good Effects of which began now to be felt as well as to appear. These Regulations, which commonly arose from the Commons, had rendered their Consequence equally evident and considerable. But in those Days the Power of the Lower House, for Reasons already given, resided chiefly in the Knights of Shires, and these, though in a great Measure exempt from the immediate Influence of the Crown, were still very strongly affected from their close Connections with the potent Nobility, who in political Measures seem to have been secure of their Support, and therefore had no Reason to differ with them in their peculiar Province, the guarding the Purse, protecting the Persons, and promoting the Ease, Freedom, and Welfare of the People; who now, as hath been observed, began to look up to Parliament for obtaining the Benefits of which they stood in need, as well as for the Redress of Grievances <sup>i</sup>.

HENRY

sufficiently demonstrate the Truth of what has been asserted both here and in the Text. In Reference to the Alterations of Coin, there have been likewise some Mistakes made; they were in some Cases expedient, in others absolutely necessary for the Reasons that are above given, and it is sufficient to remove the Notion of their being prejudicial to the Subject, by observing, that though the Weight was frequently altered as well as the Denominations of the Pieces, yet the Standard was preserved inviolate for about Four hundred Years.

<sup>1</sup> It is very evident, that through this Period, and more especially the latter End of it, many good Laws were made in Favour of the Lives, the Liberties, and Properties of the People. At the same Time there was much Moderation shewn in the granting and in the levying of Taxes, and whenever the Situation of Things would allow, a great Attention paid to Commerce, and to the Regulations of the internal Police. But at the same Time it appears, that though Parliament were in many Respects very mindful of national Concerns, and very tender of Men's Persons and Properties, yet, which seems very irreconcilable to these Principles, they made very strange political

HENRY the Seventh was stiled by that Title on Bosworth Field, and the Crown Richard the Third had worn that Day was there placed upon his Head by Sir William Stanley. He marched directly from Leicester to London, and finding a general Welcome, as well as Submission, proceeded soon after to his Coronation, and when this Solemnity was over held a Parliament. In this his Title was owned, the Crown entailed on the Issue of his Body, the Attainder of his Friends and Adherents annulled, the late King, and those who were his Abettors attainted, Tonnage, Poundage, and the other usual Subsidies settled upon him for Life. To quiet Men's Minds, he of his own Accord, and by his own Authority, published a general Pardon, and to comply with what he saw was the general Wish of the Nation he married Elizabeth the eldest Daughter of Edward the Fourth <sup>k</sup>.

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cal Strides in sanctifying the most cruel Proceedings, in multiplying Acts of Attainder, and in repeating Acts of Resumption. We have already endeavoured to account in some Measure for this, but as a Point of much Intricacy and Importance it deserves to be more fully explained. In these Days the Power of the Peers was very great, their Number small, and when they met in Parliament they were usually all on one Side, and from the Consideration of this and the Desire of pleasing the Prince, the Prelates concurred with them. But this was not all; the Commons were under the Influence of the Peers, more especially the Knights of Shires, and the Burgesses, as we have shewn, were but few. This Influence arose from the Number of Retainers attached to every Peer, and bound by solemn Instruments to concur with them in all their Measures. A single Instance will make this plain. Lord Hastings, when a private Gentleman, was a Retainer to the potent Duke of York, gradually raised to the highest Honours by his Son Edward the Fourth. In Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 584, we have a Copy of the Bond signed by his Retainers, and these were Two Lords, Nine Knights, Fifty-eight Esquires, and Twenty Gentlemen of Property. His Influence lay chiefly in Leicestershire, where next to him Sir William Catesby had the greatest Interest, and probably succeeded to the best Part of his, upon Richard's putting him to Death. Whoever considers these Circumstances attentively, will easily discern that Attainders and Resumptions put it in the Power of the reigning King to reward and strengthen his Friends, who, as well as himself, regarded their own Safety and their own Greatness in such Concessions, and it was to quiet the Minds of the People, as well as to consult the Welfare of their Dependants, that together with these they passed other Laws of a milder Tendency.

<sup>k</sup> Henry assumed the regal Title when towards Thirty Years of Age, and when of course his Disposition was fixed, and his Character formed. He had long lived in Exile, exposed to repeated Dangers, and from thence in continual Anxiety; often betrayed from Principles of Fear or of Interest by those who had made him the warmest Professions, which taught him Distrust and Suspicion. As he had long known the Want, as well as the Use of Money, he became studious to acquire, and unwilling to part with it. By repeated Disappointments he had acquired a Habit of finding Resources. He was willing to receive Advice from those he thought capable of giving it, but having from thence formed, persisted steadily in his Resolutions. By living in continual Difficulties he had little Elevation of Sentiment, and made up by Vigilance and Attention that Want of Vivacity which Nature had denied him. The Course of his Reign was filled with Events no way calculated to alter his Manner of Thinking. The Victory of Bosworth decided the Dispute, but he very well knew did not settle the Opinions of the People. His First Care was to remove the young Earl of Warwick and the Princess Elizabeth from Sheriff Hutton to the Tower. He placed his Confidence in the Companions of his Misfortunes and the Authors of his Success, the Adherents to the House of Lancaster. He extended it afterwards chiefly to the Clergy

THE History of this Reign hath been so often, and so fully written, that it will be necessary for our Purpose, only to run over succinctly the principal Events at Home, the King's Conduct in regard to foreign States, and then, which concerns us most, to contemplate his legal and political Institutions. The Storms that had so long agitated the Nation, though they subsided for the present, were quickly felt again when the King's victorious Army was dismissed, except the Corps of Fifty Yeomen of the Guard, whom, partly for State, and partly for the immediate Safety of his Person, he retained. In his Progress to York, with an Intention to settle a regular Government in the Northern Counties, he was suddenly alarmed with the News of Two Insurrections, one by the Viscount Lovel, and the other by the Two Staffords. He assembled hastily a small Force under his Uncle the Duke of Bedford, and as soon as they were in the Field published a general Pardon to such as returned to their Duty. This dissolved the Forces under Lord Lovel, who thereupon fled to the Low Countries, and was protected by the Dutchess of Burgundy, Sister to Edward the Fourth, and Richard the Third, to whom he had been Lord Chamberlain. Upon the News of this the Staffords in like Manner disbanded their Men, and took Shelter themselves in a Sanctuary<sup>1</sup>.

## A VIOLENT

Clergy and to the Lawyers, whom he found most useful in his Affairs, and whom he could reward without Expence. He raised his Uncle Jasper Earl of Pembroke to the Title of Duke of Bedford, his Father-in-law Lord Stanley he made Earl of Derby, and restored to the Family of Courtenay the Title of Earl of Devon. In his First Parliament the House of Peers was scarce Thirty in Number, and though by his dextrous Management he obtained many Things from the Commons, yet, as the Continuation of the Abbey of Crowland, which ends here, plainly shews it was not without many Altercations, more especially in regard to the attainting those who had been in the Field with his Competitor; and though he got over this for the present, yet he wisely adopted their Sentiments who opposed it on a future Occasion. Besides the usual Grants he obtained a Tenth from the Clergy, and as a Pledge of their Fidelity borrowed a small Sum of the City of London. His Courage was never doubted; his Conduct, or as some call it Cunning, was uniform through his Life.

<sup>1</sup> This Francis Viscount Lovel, with Sir Humphry Stafford and his Brother Thomas, had, after the Defeat at Bosworth, taken Sanctuary at Colchester. But as soon as they had Intelligence of the King's Progress they departed into the Countries where they had Interest, and with wonderful Celerity assembled great Forces. The Staffords took Gloucester, and were on the Point of attacking Worcester. Lord Lovel, who, though his principal Seat was in Oxfordshire, had an Estate also in Yorkshire, assembled his Troops at Rippon, and from thence intended to have marched directly to York. These Insurrections, though as suddenly quashed as they were raised, were in fact the most dangerous to which the King was exposed; for he was in a Country universally disaffected, so that he could have had no Reliance on the People, if he had raised them. His sole Resource was in the Nobility who attended him, and their Retinues, which having embodied he sent under his Uncle the Duke of Bedford to stop the Progress of Lord Lovel, and the Duke proclaiming Pardon to all without Distinction who came in and submitted, this caused a Wavering in Lovel's tumultuous Followers, which he perceiving left them in the Night, and proceeded to Sir Thomas Broughton's in Lancashire, on which they submitted and dispersed. The Staffords fell into a like Panick, retired to Culham in Berkshire, and claimed

A VIOLENT Fermentation in Men's Minds still remaining, the next Attempt to disturb Henry was more deliberately concerted, and from thence attended with more formidable Effects. Richard Simons, a Priest at Oxford, having under his Tuition a Youth of comely Person, graceful Mien, and quick Parts, though of mean Parentage, resolved to make Use of him, to raise them both out of that low Condition in which Nature had placed them. In order to this he instructed him to personate a Prince of the House of York, and in this Scheme met with all the Success he could wish in the Docility and circumspect Behaviour of his Pupil. What chiefly swelled his Hopes, were the Rumours that flew abroad, and were greedily received, that the Sons of King Edward the Fourth were yet living somewhere in Obscurity Abroad, and that Edward Earl of Warwick the only Son of the Duke of Clarence was murdered in the Tower, to which Place King Henry had removed him. The First of these Reports was raised to flatter the Hopes of such as had an Affection for Edward's Family, and the latter to render the King odious to his Subjects. When the Priest had sufficiently instructed his Scholar, he went with him privately into Ireland, where, as a Prince of the House of Plantagenet, he was joyfully received by all Ranks of People, and even by the greatest Persons in the Kingdom, and without Hesitation proclaimed, and soon after with great Solemnity crowned. He was there also joined by some of the principal Malecontents who had fled out of England, and by a small Body of veteran German Troops furnished by Margaret Dutchess of Burgundy. With these Forces he landed in Lancashire, where a Number of his Confederates were ready to receive him. He thence marched through Yorkshire into Nottinghamshire, and the King advancing from Coventry into the same County, the Armies met at the Village of Stoke, where after an obstinate Dispute, in which most of their chief Leaders were slain, the Rebels were totally defeated. Simons the Priest and his Pupil were taken, the former thrust into a Dungeon for Life, the latter made a Turnspit in the King's Kitchen, and afterwards his Falconer <sup>m</sup>.

## THE

the Protection of the Abbot of Abingdon. The King recovered from his Surprize, made such strict Inquisitions in Yorkshire, as struck a great Terror through the Commons. He afterwards caused the Privilege of Guinham to be examined in the King's Bench, where it was found that the Grant of King Kenwulf did not render it a Sanctuary for Treason, on which the Staffords were taken out by Force, Sir Humphry tried and executed at Tyburn, and his Brother pardoned. For his farther Security the King some Years after procured a Bull from Pope Innocent VIII. in respect to Traitors taking Sanctuary. The Reader will discern from hence the strange State of this Country at this juncture, and with all this Monarch's Dexterity in managing his Lawyers at Home, and his Influence Abroad at the Court of Rome, which Engines he continued to use through the Course of his Reign

As we differ a little in the Text from what is asserted by most of our Historians, it may seem necessary to explain it here. They say that the Priest first instructed his Pupil to call himself the Son



THE King after his Victory continued his Progress through the North, to extinguish the Embers of Rebellion, and on his Return to London, to satisfy the Desires of the People, caused the Queen, who had born him a Prince, to be crowned with great Splendour. The Parliament having granted him a Supply for assisting their old Allies the People of Bretagne to preserve their Liberties, the Inhabitants of Durham and the adjacent Country absolutely refused to pay what was assessed on them, and Henry Earl of Northumberland by the King's express Commands endeavouring to levy the Tax. Tumult ensued, in which, with many of his Servants, he was murdered. In order to restore Quiet in these Parts, and to do Justice on the Earl's Murtherers, the King dispatched the Earl of Surry Northwards with a small Force, and followed himself, as in that respect he was always ready, with an Army. The Rebels in the mean time were become more numerous, and formidable, and had engaged Sir John Egremont to put himself at their Head, professing their Intentions to maintain their Liberties. But the Earl of Surry advancing with great Celerity, their Hearts failing them, they were easily dispersed, the chief Actors in the First Riot taken and executed, but Sir John escaped into the Low Countries, from whence it was conjectured that there was more in his Insurrection than appeared.

of King Edward, but afterwards to stile himself Earl of Warwick. This Change seems not a little improbable. But a Person of better Authority than any of them, Bernard Andreas, who at this Time, as we find in Rymer, Tom. xii. p. 317, was Poet Laureat to King Henry, affirms that he gave himself out for the Son of King Edward, and as such was proclaimed in Ireland. This seems the most probable for Three Reasons; first, because the Report being current, that the Two Sons of Edward were alive, it would have been setting them aside, to have owned the Earl of Warwick, whose Title was inferior to theirs. In the next Place, Henry's Suspicions led him to seize the Queen Mother, and to confiscate her Estate, and also to imprison the Marquis of Dorset her Son, who might be both presumed to have a Tenderness for a Son and Brother, but could hardly be thought Friends, especially against a Daughter and Sister, to the Son of the Duke of Clarence, whom they had persecuted. Lastly, John Earl of Lincoln, who came over to the Assistance of Lambert, and commanded his Forces, had been by Richard III. preferred in the Succession to the Earl of Warwick. It may be objected that the King brought the Earl of Warwick out of the Tower, and shewed him to the Nobility, which he might do, to disprove the Rumour of his having caused him to be murdered. However this Pretender was owned by the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Chancellor, and many of the Peers and Prelates of Ireland, some of the former coming over with him into Lancashire, with Martin Swart, who commanded Two thousand Germans, sent by the Dutchess of Burgundy. It is certain, that he, together with the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and some other Irish Men of Quality, were killed in the Battle of Stoke. But Francis Viscount Lovel, and Sir Thomas Broughton escaped, and lived concealed long after. Henry had given Directions to spare the Earl of Lincoln, that from him he might know the Bottom of this Business, to prevent which, and the Consequences that might have attended his Discoveries, he also said that he was killed. This should seem another Circumstance not very compatible with Lambert's passing for the Earl of Warwick, as to which Henry had already every Information in his Power; whereas if he set up for the Son of Edward the Fourth, he might well desire to know on what Grounds the Dutchess of Burgundy and the Earl gave Countenance to such an Imposture.

BUT notwithstanding the Severity with which these Northern Men were treated, a new Tax some time after produced a fresh Rebellion in Cornwall, attended with more alarming Appearances. For these Men, though headed only by a Lawyer and a Blacksmith, after killing some of the Collectors of the Subsidy, marched through the Heart of the Kingdom, without committing any Spoil, directly towards the Capital. In their Way they were joined by Lord Audley, and came as far as Blackheath, where not without some Bloodshed they were beaten and dispersed, their ~~These~~ Leaders being taken and executed <sup>n</sup>. Yet the Mischief did not end ~~there~~ for out of the Ashes of this Fire arose the last Flame of civil Dissension which disturbed this Reign, the Causes and Progress of which we shall as briefly as possible relate.

THE Report that One of the Sons of Edward the Fourth remained still alive continued to prevail, and a young Man arriving in Ireland styling himself Richard Duke of York, was received as such by many, and amongst these some Persons of Distinction. He was invited from thence by the French King Charles the Eighth, with whom Henry was at War, and on his Arrival at Paris had all the Honours shewn him due to the Rank which he assumed. A Peace being concluded between the Two Kings, he retired to the Court of Margaret Dutchess of Burgundy, who acknowledged him as her Nephew, assigned him a Guard, and willingly received and entertained such English Gentlemen, who were not a few, or of mean Quality, as resorted to him. This occasioned many Jealousies and various disastrous Events in England, till Henry by indefatigable Enquiries traced out, and with

<sup>n</sup> The Rebellion in the North flowed from Two Sources, Dislike to the Measures of his Government, and Disaffection to Henry's Title and Person. These concurred in the popular Hatred to Henry Earl of Northumberland, a Man of a haughty Temper, who had undertaken in a rough Manner the Execution of a harsh Business, and was besides obnoxious for having dejected King Richard, whose Memory was very dear to these Northern People, for Reasons that fully appear in Drake's History of York. The Earl of Surry having extinguished this Fire, Henry went in Person to the last-mentioned City, where he caused the First Stirrer in this Commotion, John a Chambre or Chamberlain, to be hanged on a very high Gibbet in the Midst of a square Gallowe, upon which hung Numbers of his Companions. He then left Sir Richard Tunstall to levy the Tax to the last Penny, and to fine and ransom inferior Offenders, according to his Custom of turning every Thing to Profit. The Tax against which the Cornish rose, was granted on account of the Scots War, in which these People conceived they had no Concern, from a Conceit that the Northern People by their Tenures were bound to defend themselves. They declared against the King's Ministers, who they said put him upon fleecing his People, and they committed no Devastations in their Passage, in Hopes of making it a common Cause, and were especially persuaded that the People of Kent would join them, in which however they were disappointed. Their coming to Deptford occasioned a great Disturbance in the City of London, though the King had encamped a numerous Army on St. George's-Fields to cover them. As soon the Rebels were defeated, Henry, to shew that he could praise as well as punish, sent Commissioners into Kent to acknowledge in very strong Terms his Sense of the Loyalty of that County, the Effects of which appeared soon after, when Perkin came with his Ships upon their Coast.

unrelenting

unrelenting Severity destroyed the most formidable of his Adherents°. This threw such a Damp on his Designs, that, to prevent his Cause from sinking into Oblivion, this Adventurer, whom our Historians call Perkin Warbeck, with a few hundred Men put to Sea, and anchored with his small Fleet in the Downs, hoping that the People in Kent would have risen in his Favour. In this he was not only mistaken, but narrowly escaped being surprized, losing One-fourth Part of his Men, who were seized on their Landing, and who were all of them afterwards executed.

HE then failed again into Ireland, and from thence, by the Advice of the few who still adhered to him, he passed over into Scotland. James the Fourth received him with great Courtesy and Kindness, at the Intercession of the Emperor Maximilian, the French King, and of the Dutchess of Burgundy, treating him as a Prince, which Character it is on all Hands agreed He with great Dexterity sustained. In his Court, and with the King's Consent he married the Lady Katherine Gordon, who was that Monarch's Relation, and in the War that broke out between the Two Kings he en-

• The Spirit of Confusion which had so long reigned continued still as strong as ever, from the Jealousies of some, the Ambition of others, and the Despair of Numbers. This kept the Nation in a restless Condition, and no Doubt weakened in no small Degree the Endeavours of the King and Parliament to promote public Tranquillity; which, for his own and his Family's Sake, was Henry's Interest by promulgating wholesome Laws for eradicating old Abuses, and promoting general Industry. The Rumour of the Duke of York's being in France roused the Attention of such as wished to raise their own Fortunes by another Revolution. Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and many other Gentlemen resorted to him there, as did likewise one Frion (with what View the Reader will for himself determine) who had been the King's French Secretary. They sent over such flattering Accounts to the Friends of the Family of York, as put them in Motion, and induced them to send over Sir Robert Clifford, a Man of Rank and Character, who knew perfectly the Son of King Edward, to settle their Sentiments. He assured them that this young Man was certainly that Prince, and his Report had such Effects as alarmed the King exceedingly. He took Two Methods to defeat these Designs, the First was attempting to prove the Murder of the Two Princes by Richard, from the Evidence of Sir James Tirrel, who was said to have directed that execrable Deed, and one Dighton, who it was believed had performed it. Lord Bacon agrees that in this he was not very successful. The next Step was to discover who this Adventurer really was, in which he was esteemed to have been more lucky, and published a plausible Narrative, which Nobody durst contradict. His most effectual Engine was the corrupting some of the pretended Duke's Adherents, and in consequence of their Informations, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Dawbeny, Esq; and several other Gentlemen, were convicted and executed. The Dean of St. Paul's, and some other Clergymen of Character, were condemned, but not put to Death. At length Sir Robert Clifford came over, accepted the King's Mercy, and accused Sir William Stanley, the Brother of the Earl of Derby, Henry's Father-in-law, his own Lord Chamberlain, and the very Man who set the Crown upon his Head, all which could not soften his Resentment. Sir William was convicted and suffred; and by his Attainder Forty thousand Marks in ready Money, and Three thousand Pounds a Year came to the Crown.

tered England with a Scottish Army, and published a Kind of Manifesto against Henry, couched in very plausible Terms p.

IN this Expedition he met with little or no Support, and upon a Treaty between the Two Nations, he was obliged to retire again into Ireland with his Comfort, and was there so well received, as to be able with the Forces he raised to besiege the City of Waterford; being repulied from thence, and receiving an Invitation from the Cornish, who had met with his Proclamation in their Expedition to Blackheath, he readily accepted it, and with a few of his Followers crossed over to them. In a very short Space he drew together an Army of resolute Men, and with them came before Exeter, which he attacked with great Fury; but not being able to take it, he from thence marched to Taunton. The King's Forces approaching, he, notwithstanding his Adherents were disposed to risk a Battle, withdrew from them with a few of his Associates, and flying to Beaulieu, put himself there into Sanctuary. Yet finding the Place soon after invested by a Body of Horse, on the Promise of his Life being spared, he came out and surrendered to the King. When he was thus in his Power, he made a Confession, which was rendered publick, and his Lady, who was taken a little after him, was very kindly treated, and sent to remain with the Queen.

THIS unfortunate Man being left in a Sort of free Custody, escaped from his Keepers, endeavouring to fly out of the Kingdom, but finding this altogether impracticable, applied himself to the Prior of Sheene, at whose Intercession his Life was once more spared. This did not however hinder his being

P This Proclamation was preserved by Sir Robert Cotton, and is published at large by Lord Bacon, notwithstanding it contains a very different Picture of Henry's Reign from that exhibited by his Lordship. In this Piece, the Person styling himself Duke of York gives a very succinct Account of his Preservation when his Brother was murdered, yet commends in other Respects Richard's Administration, laments the Fate of Sir William Stanley and other noble Persons who had suffered in his Cause, charges Henry with employing none but mean and interested Ministers, whom he enumerates. Affirms, that though he pretended to have destroyed a Tyrant, he was himself a greater, instancing his Oppressions, Talliages, and Exactions, all which he promised to remove in case of Success, and to govern as Edward the Fourth had done in the latter Part of his Reign. He promises a Reward of a Thousand Pounds in Money, and One hundred Marks a Year, to whoever should kill or take his Enemy (King Henry) and concludes with declaring, that the King of Scots assisted him upon Principles of Generosity and Honour, and had not exacted from him any Conditions whatever. This Declaration produced no Effect, probably for these Reasons: The principal Persons attached to the House of York were already put to Death, fled to Sanctuary, or in Prison. The People in the Northern Counties had been already exposed to such strict Inquisitions, and such severe Treatment, that their Spirits were broke. Lastly, he came in with an Army of Scots, against whom these People had an hereditary Hatred. Henry the Seventh had in this Respect the good Fortune of Henry the Fourth. He encountered and destroyed in Detail, Enemies that probably might have borne him down, if they had attacked him at once and in Concert.

exposed

exposed in the most ignominious Manner, after which he was shut up in the Tower. There it was said that he contrived to make his own Escape, and to have persuaded the young Earl of Warwick to have gone with him, for which they were both indicted, convicted, and suffered Death, though in different Ways. These Proceedings were attended with Circumstances that occasioned many Suspicions, and certain it is, that in providing for his own Security and that of his Family, the King stooped to and persisted in Arts little suited to the Majesty of a Prince, and acted also in several Instances with a Severity which even the Pretence of Necessity (much less Reason or State) could never excuse.

In respect to the Realm of Ireland, the King acted with much more Temper and Lenity, though it should seem that he had met there with more and greater Provocation than in England. This however must be ascribed to his refined Policy; for he knew not only the small Number of his Friends amongst the Inhabitants, who were generally attached to the House of York, but also the great Declension of the English Interest, and therefore he soothed the Nobility in that Country till such Times as his Affairs were in better Order, and he was more thoroughly informed of the Nature of those Remedies that were fittest to be applied. He then acted with Firmness

<sup>1</sup> The Confession of Perkin Warbeck, mentioned by the King, when it was first taken, in a Letter to the Mayor of Waterford (18th Oct. 1497) repeatedly read by himself, and at the Place of Execution, did not afford full Satisfaction in those Days, when the Multitude beheld his Miseries with Wonder, and many amongst them with Pity. A Priest desirous of availing himself of popular Discontent, carried one Ralph Wilford the Son of a Shoemaker of London into Kent, where he endeavoured to make him pass for the Earl of Warwick; for which the poor Creature was hanged. This some think hastened the Fate of the Earl himself, which was most pitiable, as he was clearly incapable of committing any Crime, being so ignorant, that he did not know one Animal from another (Hall Henry vii. fol. 50.) In Ireland, a Conspiracy was formed in Favour of a Ballard Son of Richard the Third, who had been kept long in Prison, and finished his Days there at this Juncture. Edmund Earl, or as the Continuation of Fabian's Chronicle calls him Duke of Suffolk, retiring on some Discontent into Flanders, the King full of Jealousy directed Sir Robert Curson Governor of the Castle of Hamme to desert to him, and to give him the more Credit, caused him, together with the Earl and Five more, to be solemnly accursed as his Enemies at St. Paul's Cross. Upon his Informations many People of Quality were arrested, and Sir James Tirrely, Bannerer, and Governor of the Castle of Guines, who had failed the King's Expectations in the Battle of Tewkesbury, the Death of Edward the Fifth, and his Brother, Sir John Windham and others were executed for holding a Correspondence with him. Philip Arch-duke of Austria, upon whose Execution Suffolk lived in the Low Countries, becoming King of Castile in Right of Isabella whose Protection Suffolk sought, a Passage with her to Spain was driven by a Storm on the Coast of England, and landed at Falmouth. The King to do him Honour invited him to his Court, and treated him with much Magnificence as well as Kindness, yet before he suffered him to depart, prevailed upon him to be committed to the Tower, where when he had remained some Years (the King having promised his Life to his Brother of Spain) He was, as Lord Herbert says, beleagued without legal Cause by Henry the Eighth, in consequence, as it was thought, of his Father's Injunction.

and Vigour, sending over Sir Edward Poynings with the Title of Deputy, who was a Man of Resolution and Wisdom. He carried with him a competent Force, and executed his Instructions with Spirit and Moderation, but being aware of the Inefficacy of such temporary Expedients, he went a great deal farther, and by the Authority of Parliament, the sole salutary Instrument of public Safety, settled a permanent Constitution, and by the Act that bears his Name, secured a lasting Reputation to himself, and fixed on a sound and solid Basis, the Connection between the Kingdoms, to the mutual Advantage of them both, and to the Honour of the Nation, by whose spontaneous Suffrages this Statute was enacted.

THE Conduct of Henry, in regard to Scotland, was equally artful and cautious, regulated by the Circumstances of that Nation, and his own Inclinations to maintain Peace, and prevent as far as possible any Interruption from thence of his own Designs, either foreign or domestick. In the Beginning of his Reign James the Third retook Dunbar, and as Henry's Affairs were at that Time embarrassed, this did not occasion a War or prevent a Repetition of Truces during the Remainder of that unfortunate Monarch's Reign, who, after a long Succession of Disputes, was at last slain in a civil War by his own Subjects, in which however Henry took no Part. James the Fourth was a Prince of an active and martial Spirit; his Subjects retained their old Jealousies and Prejudices against their Neighbours, which

† The First Plan of a regular established Government in Ireland was laid in the Statutes made in a Parliament held at Kilkenny in the 40th of Edward the Third, by his Son Lionel Duke of Clarence, who possessed by Inheritance in Right of his Wife One Third Part of the Kingdom. The greatest Part of this fell through the Mortimers to Richard Duke of York, Father of Edward the Fourth, who governed here near Ten Years, in such a Manner, as equally gained the Hearts of both the English and Irish, and was the Source of that universal Affection borne there to his Family. This proved a great Detriment to the Kingdom, for most of the Heads of the great English Houses came over hither in his and his Children's Quarrel, in which many of them lost their Lives. The native Irish, and Numbers of the English who intermarried with and adopted their Manners, acquired with Ease in this Situation of Things the greatest Part of the Kingdom, so that the Government and Laws were restrained within the narrow Bounds of what was called the English Pale, which comprehended only Four small Counties. In this State of Affairs Sir Edward Poynings came to the Administration, and passed his famous Act, by which all the Statutes made in England before that Time were rendered of Force in Ireland. He also provided by another Law, that no Act should be propounded in any Parliament of Ireland, but such as should be first transmitted to England and approved by the King and Council under the Great Seal. This was done at the Prayer of the Commons, from a full Persuasion that the Oppressions under which they suffered, were chiefly owing to Laws made by Governors of their own Nation, who, instead of consulting the public Interest, sought only their private Benefit and the Support of the Faction they formed. Sir Edward made many other good Laws for advancing the Revenue, promoting Civility, and extending legal Authority through the Kingdom. He was enabled to do this, by convincing the Nobility and Gentry, that he had the common Good and no sinister Ends at Heart, and his Actions corresponded with his Professions.

French Intrigues were never wanting to foment. As the natural Consequences of these, some Hostilities passed between the Two Nations, which from time to time were suspended by Truces, not very strictly observed on either Side, but still a Spirit of Negotiation was kept alive. At length, as hath been before hinted, James made Two vigorous Incurfions into England, and the Earl of Surry in return carried Fire and Sword into Scotland, so that a long and bloody War seemed inevitable, when, without the least Injury to his Majesty's Honour, Henry found Means to set on Foot a new Treaty, by the Mediation of a Spanish Ambassador, which, after a long Train of Negotiations, terminated as he wished in a Peace, cemented by a Marriage between James and the Princess Margaret, eldest Daughter to Henry, which gave present Joy to both Nations, and proved in respect to Posterity pregnant with the most happy Events<sup>s</sup>.

THE King in respect to foreign Affairs acted with a Degree of Circumspection that exposed his Conduct, in his own and in succeeding Times, to much Censure. He had, while only a private Man and in Exile, lived long in Bretagne under the Protection of Francis II. the reigning Duke, who was considered as the ancient and natural Ally of the English Nation. A War

<sup>s</sup> Amongst other Methods which the King practised to amuse James the Third, there was One very singular, which was the connecting their Families by Three Matches. To the King he offered the Dowager of Edward the Fourth, and Two of her Daughters for his Two Sons. It came to nothing, and very probably was never intended. As he gave that Prince no Assistance in his Troubles, so he kept a strict Eye on his Son, though a Stripling, from the Moment of his Accession, and to prevent his giving him any Trouble, either formed or at least encouraged a Design of seizing his Person, and that of his Brother the Earl of Rois, in which we may be sure he was in earnest, from his advancing a Sum of Money to Three Persons of some Quality who undertook it, Rymer, Tom. iii. p. 440: He had enough to do with this young Prince afterwards, who at the Instigation of the French King and his Queen was frequently disposed to give him Trouble, but at the same Time found Employment for the Northern Lords in the Defence of their Property on the Borders. The Two Inroads he made in favour of Perkin engaged the King (as is said in the Text) to make use of Don Pedro de Ayala, Ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella, by whose Negotiation it is thought he gained a thorough Insight into that Prince's Disposition, whom he managed afterwards by Dr. Fox, then Bishop of Durham, who proposed to him the Marriage with the Princess Margaret, at that Time very young, and by the Hopes of it kept him quiet till it was accomplished, when she was in her Fifteenth Year. Her Portion was Thirty thousand Nobles or Ten thousand Pounds, her Jointure Two thousand Pounds a Year, and One thousand Pounds Scots, which made Five Hundred Marks Sterling for her Privy Purse during the King's Life. The Jointure was confirmed by Parliament. It may not be amiss to add, that the Marriage Portion given with Katherine of Spain to Prince Arthur was Two hundred thousand Crowns, making about Forty-one thousand Six hundred and Sixty-six Pounds, and that the Portion which Henry stipulated to give with his Daughter Mary to the Arch duke Charles of Austria was Two hundred and Fifty thousand Crowns, which Marriage however never took Effect. Henry himself entered into a Contract (which never took Place) for a Second Marriage with Margaret Dutchess Dowager of Savoy, and King Philip stipulated to give her Three hundred thousand Crowns, amounting to Sixty thousand Pounds Sterling.

breaking



breaking out between this Prince and the French, Henry instead of affording him immediate and powerful Assistance, contented himself with offering his Mediation. The French not only accepted it, but testified also a *Disposition to an amicable Compromise of their Differences*, but at the same Time carried on the War with Diligence and Vigour. The King continued to temporize, yet suffered Woodvile, who was Governor of the Isle of Wight, to transport into Brittany a few hundred Men, with whom he joined the Duke's Army, and not long after perished with them and the whole Force of Bretagne, in the fatal Battle of St. Aubin.

THE Duke dying, left an only Daughter, who was contracted to Maximilian King of the Romans, who by the Acquisition of the Dutchy in her Right, must have become a formidable Enemy to France. In their Quarrel Henry seemed resolved to engage, and for the Support of so popular a War, obtained a competent Supply from Parliament. In consequence of this he sent over Six thousand Men under the Command of the Lord Brooke, who rendered great Service while he remained there, which was not long. He found the Ministers of the young Dutchess involved in Disputes among themselves, so that nothing of any Moment could be undertaken, and that the very Subsistence of the English Troops was esteemed by her Subjects as a greater Burden than their Services could balance. The French availed themselves of these Intrigues, which very probably they had excited, by offering to the Dutchess the Participation of the Throne of France, though she was contracted to Maximilian, and their King Charles the Eighth to his Daughter, then a Child, residing at Paris, and treated as Queen of France. This Negotiation was managed with such Secrecy, and with such Address, that nothing transpired till it had taken Effect; and thus by a Marriage rather necessary than voluntary, this great and important Fief was annexed to the Crown of France, of which at Home and Abroad Henry bore all the Blame †.

THE

† Notwithstanding the numerous and bitter Reflections on Henry the Seventh for his Behaviour in this Affair of Bretagne, some Apology may be made for it. In respect to Gratitude, if he was indebted to the Duke, he was no less so to the King, by whose Assistance He was enabled to make that Descent on England which brought him to the Throne. In the next Place, the French King was not clearly the Aggressor; since the Duke, previous to the War, had received and assisted his Rebels. It should from thence seem that King Henry was not so blameable in assuming the Character of Mediator. In respect to both Parties, their Forces, Inclinations, and Intrigues, Henry understood them better than any other Man of his Time, and might therefore be presumed to act from that Knowledge. His own Affairs during the Course of this Dispute were in none of the best Postures. At the beginning of it he had Lambert Simnel and his Associates on his Hands. The Loss of Woodvile, and those brave Men whom he commanded, might appear to him an ill Omen, and he was not like to be better disposed from the Insurrection in the North, on account of the Subsidy he demanded and obtained from Parliament for sending Suc-

court

THE King was by no Means insensible, either of the Affront or the Aspersion, and therefore to shew at once his Force and his Resentment, as well as to gratify the Humour of his People, made immediately open Preparations for a War against France, and even avowed an Intention of reviving old Claims, and of making an absolute Conquest of that Kingdom. In support of these Declarations he entered into very prudent and proper Alliances Abroad, raised large Supplies, and drew together a very formidable Army at Home. These Forces, commanded by most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, he transported in the Autumn to Calais, and though late in the Season undertook immediately the Siege of Bologne, which he pushed on with great Vigour. He well knew the State of France at that Time, and the Disposition of the French King, and that both these were very favourable to his concealed Views. In this Situation of Things the Enemy made Overtures for a Peace, these were seconded by the Advice of the Marquis of Dorset, and the principal Officers of his own Army, supported by a long Train of specious Reasons. This produced an immediate Negotiation, which in due Time ended in a Treaty, conceived in Terms perfectly conformable to his Notions, and purchased, as he wished, at a very dear Rate; notwithstanding which it was then, and hath been since considered in no very advantageous Light<sup>u</sup>.

As

cours into Bretagne It is true, that he made very strict Stipulations with the Dutchess for the Repayment of the Expences, that as an Auxiliary he incurred, and had certain Places put into his Hands by way of Security. But these Points being settled, he actually sent over Six thousand Men, and his Frugality with respect to the Blood and Treasure of his Subjects, the State of the Nation at that Time considered, may to a candid Politician not appear either inglorious or criminal. After the Succours were sent, it clearly appeared that the Dutchess could not carry on the War, from Causes in which he had no Concern, and whatever his Behaviour might be to her, it is allowed that hers was not very commendable in respect to him, since, contrary to her express Engagement, she contracted herself to Maximilian without his Consent, and with the Factions in her Court which brought about the Dissolution of that Marriage, and her entering into another with Charles the Eighth, he had nothing to do, and when it broke out he acted in such a Manner as did not betray any Want of political Prudence or Magnanimity. He had then just Reason to resent the Behaviour of the French King; he did so, declared it openly, and took the proper Steps to make him feel its Effects. It was the Addition of Power this gave to France that excited a general Alarm, as if she was become thereby invincible. Henry could not use a more clear or convincing Argument to his own Subjects, to his Allies, or to the Rest of Europe, than by declaring War immediately against this formidable Crown, to shew that she was still in his Opinion vulnerable.

<sup>u</sup> The King in a wise and weighty Speech explained the Causes of the War to his Parliament He said he had been neglected, deceived, and insulted by the French King, that his Allies were Maximilian, who was Master of the Low Countries, and Ferdinand King of Spain; but that without counting upon these, he meant to make good his Quarrel by his own Force, and to make the War pay itself. His Army consisted of Twenty-five thousand Foot, and sixteen hun-

As to the other Potentates of Europe, he maintained such a Correspondence with them, as procured great Respect to himself, and derived considerable Advantages to his Subjects. His Interest at the Court of Rome during Five Pontificates was so prevalent, that he scarce met with any Refusal in his Requests, which, as we have seen, he turned to great Utility at Home, and which constantly preserved to him the Attachment of the Clergy. He was even courted by the Holy See, received Presents from several Popes, and was regarded as their Protector, which contributed not a little in those Times to raise and support his Character through all Christendom. The Emperor Frederick held him in great Esteem, and with much Reason, for at the Request of his Son Maximilian, he granted a Supply of Ten thousand Pounds, no small Sum in those Days, towards the Expences of the War against the Turks. He made Two Treaties with King John the Second of Denmark, both of them very beneficial to his People. With the commercial Republic of Florence he concluded an Alliance of very great Consequence to the Nation, as it served equally to extend both their Commerce and Navigation. Through the whole Course of his Reign he maintained a close Connection with Ferdinand and Isabella, Sovereigns of Spain, which was in all Respects honourable to him, and profitable to his People, in which last Respect he concluded with King Philip while here, a beneficial Treaty of Commerce. He kept the Hanse Towns in Awe, though they could not help seeing with Regret the great Trade carried on by his Subjects in their own Ship-

dred Horse, which were embarked on Five hundred Transports, commanded under Him by his Uncle the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis of Dorset, and many other Nobles. Maximilian, instead of being able to assist him stood in need of his Aid against his own rebellious Subjects, and received it. Ferdinand King of Castile, like a wise Prince, made a separate Peace, and gained thereby Two good Provinces. In this Situation Henry made out a long Bill for the Arrears of Tribute due from the Reign of Edward the Fourth, the Amount of the Succours he had given to the Dutchess of Bretagne then Queen of France, and the Expences of the War, amounting in the Whole to Seven hundred Forty-five thousand Ducats, computed by a Writer of those Times at One hundred Eighty-six thousand Pounds, though perhaps a little largely, which the French King undertook to pay at One hundred Twenty-five thousand Livres, half yearly; which Agreement was ratified by the Nobles of France, and the King farther consented to be excommunicated by the Pope if he failed in his Payments, which neither he nor his Successor did. The King acquainted the City of London, by his Letter, of the Terms he had made, and finished the Whole of his Expedition in Three Months. It hath been said by way of Reflection on this Treaty, that the King sold his People War, and his Enemies Peace; but if we consider that he was deserted by his Allies, that he made very honourable Terms, and compelled France to pay very dear for the Injury he had received, and consider likewise that at this Juncture he was in Danger on the Side of Scotland, and that the Dutchess of Burgundy was contriving an Insurrection in England, we shall perhaps think he did as well to content himself with what he stiled a Tribute, rather than at the Expence of Blood and Treasure to have acquired a Province or Two in France, which must have been, as Experience shewed, a constant as well as a heavy Burden on his Subjects.

ping in the Baltic, which they had till then in a great Measure monopolized <sup>w</sup>.

BUT the strongest Marks of his consummate Skill in Negotiation appeared in his Transactions with the Sovereigns of the Low Countries, which were then in their most flourishing Condition, with whom he was in continual Correspondence, and to whose Interests, from Motives of true Policy, he was obliged to pay almost as much Attention as to his own.

THIS arose from the double Relation in which that Country stood to ours. For, considered in a political Light, the House of Burgundy had been long our most useful Ally against France, and as such was peculiarly so in the State of Things during his Time. In a commercial View, the Ties were no less strong between the Two Nations. Yet notwithstanding, and all the Pains taken by Henry to maintain the strictest Harmony with the Flemings, it was sometimes interrupted in regard to both Connections. The Affairs of Maxmilian King of the Romans, Arch-duke of Austria, and Tutor to his Son Philip, who in Right of his Mother was the Heir of the House of Burgundy, were in continual Disorder, and though he was often relieved and always supported by Henry, was nevertheless at certain Times far from being on good Terms with him or with his own Subjects, whence many Mischiefs and Misunderstandings ensued. On the other Hand, the great Wealth accruing from their numerous Manufactures and extensive Commerce, excited a Degree of Arrogance, and a strong Spirit of Monopoly in the Flemings, which in their

<sup>w</sup> These Treaties with the King of Denmark, who at that Time possessed also Sweden and Norway, are to be found in Rymer, Tom. xii. p. 374. 381. Seldeni Mare clausum, lib. ii. cap. 32. and deserve great Consideration. By them Permission is given to the English freely to visit Iceland, and to furnish the Natives with Woollen Cloth, as well as to fish upon the Coasts, which before the Discovery of Newfoundland afforded a very beneficial Branch of Commerce. They were also allowed to purchase Lands to build Houses and Magazines at Bergen, and in other Parts of the Danish Dominions, and to elect a Magistrate to preside over their Factories. By the Treaty with the Republic of Florence, Rymeri Fœd. Tom. xii. p. 390. the Wools sent into Italy, except Six hundred Sacks to Venice, were to be carried into their Dominions, and in English Shipping. At the very Beginning of his Reign Henry granted some Indulgencies to the Subjects of this Republic in respect to the Custom upon the Goods they exported. Towards the Close of it he remitted to the Venetian Merchants certain Penalties that they had incurred. We see in these Instances in how different a Manner he could act with respect to Foreigners, though very severe in the like Cases with respect to his own Subjects. His Interest was the Spring of Action in both; for he well knew, that less of our national Produce would be exported under Duties grievous to the Merchant, and that in respect to Commerce it was better to pass by small Offences than to hazard either the Interruption or the Decrease of it. To say the Truth, the Treaties in these Three Reigns, maturely considered, will convince the Reader that the Traffick of the English Subject was much more extensive than is commonly apprehended.

Consequences created frequent Disputes with the English, and heavy Complaints on both Sides.

IN such a Train of complicated Concerns, this Monarch proceeded with equal Patience and Perseverance, dissembling at some Periods his Discontents, and availing himself at others of critical Conjunctions, by which he was enabled to do at one Time what would have been absolutely impracticable at another. He was never actuated in respect to these People either by Resentment or Caprice, and yet, when his ablest Ministers failed of obtaining Satisfaction from them by fair Means, he had Recourse to an absolute Prohibition of Trade between the Two Countries, which, though attended with no small Inconvenience to his own Subjects, bore so much harder on the Flemings, that they were at length glad to accommodate Matters on his Terms, which were however highly reasonable; and when this Reconciliation had once taken Place they never ventured to differ with him afterwards, but prudently endeavoured to maintain that Harmony which so manifestly promoted the commercial Interests of both Nations \*.

WE come now to that Part of this Reign, which in the View in which we consider it, we have already hinted is of no small Importance, an Account of the Conduct of this Monarch as a Legislator. He was so, strictly speaking, his Laws proceeding in a great Measure from himself, and in that Respect bearing the Stamp of his Character. The Three great Ob-

\* The Cause of that great Quarrel mentioned in the Text was Maximilian's conniving at, or rather concurring in the Intrigues of Margaret Dutchess Dowager of Burgundy to disturb Henry's Government, on which he prohibited Trade with the Low Countries, and obliged the Flemings to quit his Kingdom, which they retaliated. This Interruption of Commerce was most severely felt by the City of Antwerp, which had risen from a very inconsiderable Place to great Wealth and Splendour by the Residence of the English Merchants. Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, p. 16, 17. About Three Years after, when Philip came to govern his own Dominions, he by his Ambassadors desired to renew the old Correspondence. Henry was by no means averse; for though the Company of Merchant Adventurers took all the Cloths that were made in England, which shewed the Importance of that Company, yet many Inconveniencies were felt, so that the Conclusion of a large and explicit Treaty, which may be found in Rymer, Tom. xii. p. 587. was very acceptable to both Nations. This was called *Intercursus Magnus* by the Flemings, because it settled all Disputes, and was very favourable to their Fisheries, and when the English Merchants returned again in consequence of it to Antwerp, solemn Processions were made, and they were received with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy. But about Ten Years after, when Philip King of Castile their Sovereign was here, Henry engaged him to conclude a new Treaty less favourable to his Subjects in some Respects, Rymer, Tom. xiii. p. 132, and this the Flemings stiled *Intercursus Malus*. However, Henry not long after consented to a provisional Treaty of Commerce with Margaret Dutchess of Savoy, then Governess of the Low Countries, for her Nephew Charles of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

jects that occupied his Attention were the fixing his Power, the filling his Purse, and the establishing his Posterity. As he was steady and uniform in all his Pursuits, we have from hence a Clue that will lead us through all the Labyrinth of his Policy. His Abilities were, as hath been already hinted, rather solid than shining; he was guided by the Lights of Observation and Experience, and was indefatigable in point of Application. He came perfectly well informed as to the State of the Country and its Inhabitants, by those well acquainted with both, at his seating himself upon the Throne. He was well aware that no Authority could be exercised over a distracted and tumultuous Race of Men, who were first to be reduced and gradually reconciled to Order, by feeling its good Effects. He was very sensible that no great Revenue could be raised upon an indigent People, and he very well knew that Industry alone was the Wealth of a Nation. He was also convinced, that Commerce as well as Consideration in the Eye of the Rest of the World, could be no otherwise acquired or maintained than by a fair Correspondence and judicious Connections with foreign States. To the Attainment of these Ends therefore his Laws were directed; and the carrying them into a constant, regular, and strict Execution, was the unceasing Business of his Administration.

THE same Motive determined him in the Choice of his Instruments. The great Officers of his Court, the Government of Provinces and Fortresses, and the Command of his Armies at Home and Abroad, he gave to

† It is generally allowed, that the personal Characters of Princes when judiciously drawn, are of great Utility, as well as very ornamental in History. Yet this certainly was not the Business of the present Work, and if they have been sometimes introduced, it was from a real, or at least a conceived Necessity of illustrating the Subjects here treated; but in no Case have we entered so deeply as in the present, and the Reason is obvious, the personal and political Character of Henry being precisely the same. He was at all Times, on all Occasions, and in every Situation a King. He seated himself on the Throne with so dubious a Title, and found that so often called in Question, that he had no Leisure to act otherwise. He was constrained to have his Wits always about him, to be ever upon his Guard, and to have the Support of his Dignity continually in View. He was certainly an unamiable Prince, from his continual Attention to Himself and to his own Interest, and therefore it is no Wonder, that his Conduct hath been severely criticised. The being obliged to dwell so particularly on his Story was by no means agreeable, but being necessary we have endeavoured to treat it fairly, without favouring, flattering, or libelling his Measures. Where it is said in the Text that his Laws were peculiarly his own, it was not meant that he dictated them at his Will, and obtruded them on the Legislature, for that was by no means his Method. But they were for the most Part planned and digested in his Council, and when brought into Parliament, had such a Colour of common Benefit and public Good, as induced both Houses, and the Commons in particular, to adopt them with great Readiness, in which they considered their own Benefit, though in their First Conception, the King no Doubt considered his. Upon the Whole we have drawn his Character from Facts, and the Praise we have given to his Laws stands on the same Basis. With respect to his Motives, they can only be reached by Conjecture; but as to the Effects of his Statutes, which we have chiefly considered, it must be do well that there is a Degree at least of Certainty.

Men of Birth and Quality distinguished by their Talents. The Clergy he employed in Embassies, received them into his Council, and confided in them for the Management of his most secret Affairs. His Lawyers had no small Share in his Favour, and in all his Transactions with his People, being supposed to cloath the King's Sentiments with proper Words, in all Acts of State. In these and in many other Instances he followed the Examples of his immediate Predecessors; for though he hated the Family, and persecuted the Adherents of the House of York, yet he adopted without Scruple their Maxims of Government.

In regard to LAW, he provided by a Statute, that Fines duly acknowledged should bar dormant Claims, which added much Security to landed Property. He laboured to repress the Partiality and Corruption of Juries, which was then a common and dangerous Offence. The Punishment of Murder, which till then was very frequently evaded from leaving too much in the Power of the Appellant, was by Statute made more certain and effectual, by directing an immediate Prosecution against Offenders at the Instance of the Crown. The Punishment of Burning in the Left Hand, when the Benefit of Clergy was allowed, took Place in this Reign; and this Benefit was at the same Time limited to the First Offence. The carrying away Women by Force, for the Sake of their Fortunes, was made Felony. All Persons imprisoned for Crimes were directed to be called over by the Justices of Gaol Delivery, in order to their being punished or discharged. The Negligence or Partiality of Justices of the Peace, on whose Vigilance the public Quiet was held to depend, was

\* It will be expected that I should bring some Proofs of what is said in the Text. He began his Reign in the same Manner with his Predecessors, by a Law to declare his Title, another to settle the Succession, and by a Resumption. He borrowed Money frequently from the City of London, at first with Difficulty, afterwards without, and this he did when in no Want, that by the Punctuality of his Payments he might gain Credit. He sent for the great Lords of Ireland over, after Lambert Simnel's Business, reproved and afterwards caressed them, and made a considerable Present to the Lord Howth. He revived the Benevolence invented by Edward the Fourth, Lord Bacon says by Consent of Parliament, which is not strictly so, yet he mentioned his Intention in his Speech, and his Reason, that the meaner Sort of People might be spared. He afterwards obtained an Act to levy the Arrears of this Benevolence. In making Peace with France he pursued Edward's Measures Step by Step, and like him permitted his Nobility to receive Pensions. He took great Pains to ingratiate himself with the City of London, condescended to be Master of the Merchant Taylors Company, and dined with them in their Hall in his Habit. He built large Ships and lent them to the Merchants, whom he also accommodated with Money to enable them to enlarge their Commerce. In consequence of the great Effects produced by his Treaties with Denmark he incorporated the Stock-fish Mongers. It was not for the Sake of advancing something new, that this Remark was made, but for a better Reason, to shew that the same Plan of Government subsisted here, for almost Half a Century, which will in some Measure account for the very extraordinary Effects that it produced, and which are not therefore to be ascribed entirely to this Prince.

quicken'd



quickened by a Law, the Contents of which were properly made known to the People, who from thence, if they were injured, knew where, how, and from whom to seek Redress. In our Days several of these Statutes may seem to be of small Moment, and others perhaps looked upon as severe. But if we go to the Bottom, reflect on the long Period in which these Evils had remained without Remedy, consider the Effects that they must have produced, and contemplate impartially their Consequences, we shall very probably discern, that much of the Quiet we enjoy, much of the Security we possess, and much of the Civility of which we boast, may have been owing to the Alterations made by these Laws, and their gradual Influence on the Tempers and Manners of the People <sup>a</sup>

IN respect to the general OECONOMY of the Subjects in his Dominions, many Statutes were made in his Time, and though some of these might be improper, others prove ineffectual, and it may be a few might be injurious in their Consequences, yet were many of them highly useful, and all of them apparently well intended, for which he deserved great Praise. He saw with very just Concern, that Passion which discovered itself in his Time for Inclosures, in order to throw the greater Part of the Land into Grazing, and endeavoured by a Statute to restrain it, which was often revived, on a Supposition that it might gradually make Things

<sup>a</sup> The First of the Laws mentioned in the Text, is 4 H. VII. cap. 24. which has been improperly stiled the Statute of Alienations. This Error perhaps might arise from a Tradition warranted by History that many of the Nobles did sell or alienate their Estates to furnish themselves with Money when they attended the King into France. This might be in consequence of another Law, 7 H. VII. cap. 3. and it is not improbable, that it was in order to make them some Amends, the King allowed them to receive Pensions from France. In respect to Murder it is really amazing how loose the Law had stood to this Time. We have heretofore observed, that the very Term did not signify what it does now, but the Killing of a Man in so secret a Manner, that the Offender could not be known. The killing a Man out of Malice or Resentment was left to the Vengeance of the next Relation, who prosecuted within a Year and a Day by Appeal. If this was not done, the Offender might be indicted on the Part of the Crown. But an Appeal being a personal Action, attended with Trouble, Expence, and Delay, Offenders frequently escaped, which was the Motive to this Law, which though it subjected the Criminal to an immediate Indictment at the Suit of the Crown, did not take away the Subjects Right of Appeal, but left it as it was; so that whether the Offender was convicted or acquitted upon the Indictment, he might be prosecuted by the Person intitled to the Appeal within the Year and a Day. As to the taking away the Benefit of Clergy after the First Offence, it was with the same View of lessening the Frequency of such Crimes, by removing One of the Methods by which the Punishment due to them was evaded. In those Days this was thought very hard, and the King was aspersed for violating the Rights of the Church. By the 12 H. VII. cap. 7. the Benefit of Clergy was totally taken away in case of petty Treason, but it was not till the next Reign that it was taken from Murder, which shews how tenderly this black Crime was then treated. It is a strong Proof of the Wisdom of the before-mentioned Law, by which even for the First Offence the Criminal incurred the burning in the Hand, that, though altered by a subsequent Statute to burning in the Cheek, it was found necessary to repeal that, and to re-establish the former Method of Punishment.

better,

better, or at least hinder them from growing worse<sup>b</sup>. He punished the Counterfeiting foreign Gold Coins that were current in his Dominions. He recoined light Money, and was exceedingly careful that the new Specie should be of full Weight, of due Fineness, and of great Beauty. Goldsmiths were obliged to make all their Plate agreeable to the Standard. He likewise appointed standard Weights and Measures to be kept in certain Cities and great Towns, intending thereby to introduce a Uniformity in this Respect, in which, if he failed, future Attempts have not been much more successful. He made repeated Efforts to support the Rights of his Subjects against those Combinations formed by rich and great Men, to maintain a Power inconsistent with Justice. He shewed no less Attention to secure honest and industrious Persons from the Intrigues of such as took themselves to be beneath the Notice of the Law, than he had done to protect them from being oppressed by such as affected to be above it; and this he did by punishing severely Vagrants and Vagabonds, prohibiting at the same Time those Sports, Games, and Plays, that by encouraging Idleness proved a Nursery for Malefactors, and diffused a Spirit of licentious Indigence, incompatible with that Order which is the Essence of civil Society<sup>c</sup>.

IN Reference to MANUFACTURES, he was very desirous to encourage and support them, more especially the Woollen, in regard to which, many useful Regulations were made. Care was also taken that the home Manu-

<sup>b</sup> This Statute, which was 4 H. VII. cap. 19. is very well and clearly explained by Lord Bacon, who has fully justified the King's Intention, which was to encourage a Number of small Farms. Another Statute in the same Parliament for preventing more than One Farm from being held by the same Person in the Isle of Wight, was formed upon the same Principle, which was to increase the Number of People, and the Strength of the Country thereby. But the Rectitude of the Intention could not secure Success. The Truth is, Inclosures did not cause but were the Effects of Depopulation. We have shewn the Number of People had been decreasing for many Years, and this could not be immediately helped by any Statute. Besides Agriculture was at this Time very uncertain, Wheat selling sometimes at Four Shillings a Quarter or under, sometimes at Six Times that Price, and above. The Wages of Manufacturers induced such as were inclined to Labour, to follow that Course. The Owners of Land therefore could find but few Hands to employ, and this, together with the immediate Profit arising from Sheep and Wool, induced them to turn their Thoughts generally to grazing. This seems at least a probable Account of the Matter, and of the little Effect that this and other Statutes of a like Kind, for a long Series of Years produced.

<sup>c</sup> The foregoing History, and the Remarks thereon, to shew the State of the Nation, demonstrates sufficiently the Necessity of such Institutions. The Nature of the Regulations they were to make, the Mischiefs they were to remove, and the Benefits they were to bestow, prove their Utility. As most of them were made not only with the Consent but at the Request of the Commons, it appears they were acceptable. The Alterations they produced are Arguments that evince their Expediency, and that most of them continue in Force, and that the Principles of the Rest have been adopted in succeeding Times, leaving us no Room to doubt, that as they were well conceived they were also well digested.

facturer

facturer should be supplied with Wools before any were exported, and that these should be sent into foreign Parts in our own Bottoms. The City of Norwich, and afterwards the whole County of Norfolk, were exempted from that strange Law that restrained Children from being bound Apprentices, if their Parents had not Twenty Shillings per Annum in Land. He added several new Corporations in London, and gave additional Privileges to others, particularly to the Leather-sellers, who were impowered to inspect the Making of that Commodity through the Realm, which had very good Effects. Such small Silk Wares as were made here, he prohibited to be imported, as he did other Manufactures we had gradually gained; and provided against Impositions in various Sorts of Goods, that were brought from foreign Countries. In fixing by Law the Prices of Goods and settling the Wages of Workmen; the Notions current in those Times prevailed, and so far they are excusable.

AS to domestic TRADE, it is evident that all the Steps taken to establish general Quiet, to excite Industry, and to suppress Idleness and Licentiousness, had a Tendency to promote it, and that it actually did so, appears from the Extension of the Woollen Manufacture in the Northern Counties. He by Statute took away many of those Restraints on Trade, which for the Sake of local Advantages, Corporations had imposed, such as Tolls at their Gates, and on navigable Rivers. A Bye-Law of the City of London to prevent its Inhabitants from frequenting Country Fairs was annulled by Parliament. By another Law the Power of Corporations in making Rules for their own Members, were put under such Restrictions, as to prevent sacrificing to private Benefit the public Good<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> It is an Observation not confined to this Country, that the partial and narrow Views of particular Traders become oftentimes the greatest Hindrance and Impediment to Trade. Thus the imposing of Tolls for Goods brought to this or that Market, Passage Duties on navigable Rivers, and indeed petty Impositions of every Kind, though they may seem advantageous for a Time, yet in the End prove detrimental even to the Places for the Benefit of which they are levied. For Trade, like Water, loves a free Passage, and if impeded in One Course, will divert itself into another. Corporations had now acquired such a Degree of Strength; as enabled them to abuse that very Power, and those very Privileges by which they acquired it; and from making Bye-Laws requisite for the common Benefit of their Members, began to lay upon them Restraints, which they were not able to endure, and of which as Freemen they had a just Right to complain. It was therefore by Statute provided, that a Bye Law should have no Force unless approved by the Chancellor, Treasurer, Two Chief Justices, or at least Two of these, or Two Judges of Assize. The particular Bye-Laws of the City of London for preventing Citizens from carrying their Goods to Country-Fairs, was with a View to enforce a Resort of Country Traders to London, and the Hardships being felt by some of the Citizens themselves, they had Recourse to Parliament for Relief, which they obtained. This is a pregnant Instance of the great Utility of the Legislative Power, by which alone such Evils can be corrected, and the public Interest and public Liberty secured.

As to the great Business of FOREIGN TRAFFIC, his long Residence in Bretagne had given him much Experience, the Effect, of which clearly appears in all the Treaties of Commerce concluded by him with foreign Powers. He by Law obliged Denisons to pay alien Duties to prevent Frauds in the Customs, yet he frequently granted Licenses to foreign Merchants to export our Native Commodities. He revived and enforced the old Navigation Laws in order to promote Ship-building, to encrease the Number of Seamen, and to preserve the Freight for his own Subjects. He encouraged and supported Factories in foreign Parts. Distant Discoveries he patronized, and the First made by this Nation were in his Reign. The Merchant Adventurers received a New Charter, and that Appellation from him, and they were likewise emancipated from the Encroachments of the London Merchants by Law, which shewed a just Concern for Commercial Liberty. He built large Ships, that he might encourage and improve his Shipwrights, demonstrate the Utility of such Vessels, and thereby introduce the Use of them; and to effect this the more speedily, when he had no immediate Occasion for them, he let them out to Merchants, and supplied them also with Money without any Profit, that they might engage in more extensive Adventures. Himself embarked in foreign Commerce, as Edward the Fourth had done before, and was no Doubt a very great Gainer by it, at the same time that his Example raised the Credit of Trade, and in other Respects had an Influence upon his People.

\* This Corporation was originally stiled, The Fraternity of St. Thomas à Becket, and the First Company erected in this Kingdom. The Reader may see the History of their Establishments at Home and Abroad, very well worth knowing, in Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce. As to the present Point, Trade being become much more considerable, and the Merchant Adventurers (for so they stiled themselves) very numerous in different Parts of England, those residing in London took upon them to enlarge the Admission Fine, originally no more than a Noble, by slow Degrees to Forty Pounds, and till this was paid by the Merchants residing in different Parts of the Kingdom, they would not suffer them to expose their Goods to sale in the foreign Marts. Upon this the Merchants at large petitioned the discreet Commons, so the Words of their Complaint run for Redress, setting forth, not only the particular Hardships and Discouragements they were under, but the great Detriment arising from hence to the Trade of the Nation in general, in Terms very well worth the Perusal. Upon this the Statute of the 12 Hen. VII. cap. 6. was made, by which the Admission Fine is fixed at Ten Marks. This Company had Three several Charters granted them by Henry the Seventh, and a Place assigned them with large Privileges in the Town of Calais, when, as we before observed, they were obliged to remove from Antwerp, and for the Services rendered to the Public at that Time they were honoured by Charter with the Title of Merchant Adventurers of England. In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, when their Intercourse with the Low Countries was again interrupted, they were impowered to trade into Germany, and being invited to settle at Hamburg, they are now stiled The Hamburg Company.

THE POOR were by no means below his Notice, on the contrary it may truly asserted, that he shewed greater Attention towards them than any of his Predecessors. In the Statute against Vagabonds, it was directed that the Aged and Infirm should be conveyed to the Place of their Birth, that they might be relieved from the natural Affection of their Relations, or maintained by the Charity of the Monasteries. He provided by another Statute, that in case of their being wronged they should have the full Aid of the Law, and the Assistance of Lawyers without Expence, that Poverty might be no Bar to the obtaining Justice, or Difference in Circumstances give One Subject an Advantage over another. He founded also and endowed an Hospital for their Reception and Maintenance, when they came to London to attend their Suits in his Courts. We may add to this, that he employed Numbers in his Buildings in Town and Country, as well as in his Docks; and the Laws for settling the Prices of Labour, the Cheapness of Living considered, are allowed to have been liberal.

By the great Change these Institutions wrought in the Country and its Inhabitants, the CONSTITUTION was much strengthened and improved, and all the Branches of the Legislature acted with more Regularity and Dignity as well as Freedom. To keep good Order, to prevent Tumults, and to carry into full Execution the Laws against Retainers, a Statute was made in Support of the Court of Star-chamber, with such Powers as were thought necessary to correct the enormous and inveterate Abuses that had grown up during the long Continuance of the Civil Wars, which Court in succeeding Times becoming arbitrary and oppressive, was by the Legislative Authority very wisely suppressed. By another Law he provided, as far as it was possible, for the Security of such as at any Time should

† The Statute of the 11 Hen. VII. cap. 12. which is intituled, “A Mean to help and speed poor Persons in their Suits,” is very succinct, but not obscurely worded. At present a Person who will sue in *Forma Pauperis*, makes an Affidavit that he is not worth Five Pounds besides his wearing Apparel, and this with a Council’s Opinion that he hath a just Cause of Action, gives him a Right to sue without paying either Fees or Stamps. The severe Statutes against Maintenance and Champerty, made such a Law necessary, which however hath been thought to stand in Need of some Amendments, such as having the Cause of Action examined and certified by some Person of superior Rank in the Law in order to give Credit to the Pauper’s Cause, and in case of Success to allow proper Costs out of what the Plaintiff obtains, which might excite Zeal and Expedition. The Court of Requests, which now no longer exists, permitted all Petitions to the King for Redress to be prosecuted without Fees, and had from thence the Title of The Poor Man’s Court, as Sir Thomas Smith tells us. For the same Reason, Henry is thought to have obtained the Title of the Poor Man’s King, which Mr. Barrington very judiciously says, is a more honourable and lasting Monument, than that erected to his Memory in his own Chapel.

take up Arms in Defence of the King in Possession, whatever the Event of the Dispute might be. He by this and other beneficial Laws, as well as by the Success that attended his Undertakings, grew into much Credit with the Commons, and they had no less Credit with him, as appears by his Confidence in Applications to his Parliaments, and by the free Language held by the Commons in their Petitions from the very Beginning of his Reign, and which they held on without his taking any Offence to the very End.

It will appear from these Particulars, and many more might be produced, that this Monarch had some great Qualities, though certainly mixed with many bad and even mean Dispositions. We have already mentioned many Instances of Artifice and Falsehood, as well as of Austerity or rather Cruelty, but his predominant Vice, which continued to increase as he grew in Years, was Avarice. In the former Part of his Reign this was imputed to his Ministers Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, but without Cause, as it appeared more flagrantly when he employed Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, Men conspicuous only in being his Instruments in this dirty Business. It would be unjust to palliate, and much more to defend these infamous Extortions; let it suffice to say, that to enhance as well as to secure his Profits, they fell not on the meaner, or even on the middle Sort of People. Yet with all his Blemishes, which were not either small or few, this Nation stands indebted to him, not only for various but for great and lasting Benefits<sup>b</sup>. He put an End to civil Wars,

<sup>a</sup> As Henry made Laws to restrain the exorbitant Power and Oppressions of the Nobility, so he endeavoured to inspire them by his Example, with a Spirit of supporting their Dignity by milder and more munificent Methods. He was very magnificent in his Court, and upon all public Occasions, such as the Coronation of his Queen, the Marriage of his Daughter by Proxy to the King of Scots, as well as in that of Prince Arthur to the Princess Katherine of Spain. His Buildings were stately, and he encouraged Men of Learning and Genius. He also introduced great Decorum in the House of Peers, which had so good an Effect, that Sir Edward Poynings judged it expedient to pursue the like Method, in order to give Lustre to the House of Lords in Ireland. His Council was always composed of very able and wise Men, which gave weight to their Decisions; and it is remarkable, that except Sir William Stanley, he disgraced no great Officer during his Reign. In the latter End of it, Sir Thomas More, who was a Burgess in the House of Commons, made a warm and weighty Speech against a Subsidy, a Freedom that had not been taken before.

<sup>b</sup> The principal Dates that relate to his Reign are A. D. 1485, 30th October crowned; 7th of November opened his First Parliament. A. D. 1487, June 16th the Battle of Stoke, in which the Earl of Lincoln was slain; 25th November, Queen Elizabeth crowned. 1488, July 28th, Battle of St. Aubin du Cormier in Bretagne. A. D. 1492, October 6th, the King debarked his Forces at Calais; 3d of November Peace signed at Estaples. 17th of December returned to England. A. D. 1494; it should seem, that the Dutchess of Burgundy intended to have sent over the Per-

Wars, which had ruined the Country, and exhausted its Inhabitants. His Government was what in such a State of Things the Welfare of the Subject required, as appeared by his restoring Order, Civility, and the free Course of Justice. The naval Expeditions he patronized excited a Spirit of Discovery, which gave us a Title to the great Country of Florida, which now in its utmost Extent we possess. We owe to him the First Establishment of the Royal Navy on a firm and solid Basis. He restored the Tranquillity and fixed the political Constitution of Ireland, to which his Son gave the Title of a Kingdom, as it well deserved. He it was that projected the Union of the Two Crowns, which when it afterwards took Place removed innumerable Evils to which both Countries had been exposed, and brought thereby such an Accession of Strength, as hath rendered GREAT BRITAIN the most independent and the greatest Maritime Power the World ever saw. In how much better a State he left his Dominions than they had ever been in from the Time of the Norman Conquest, the Treasure he left at his Decease, and the Testimonies of Writers of those Times, furnish full Proofs<sup>i</sup>.

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son the stiled her Nephew in this Year, as she struck a Silver Coin weighing Sixty Grains with this Inscription, Domine saluum fac Regem. On the Reverse, Mani Teckel Phares. In a Tressure of Four Curves a Flour de Luce and a Lion of England, an arched Crown between them above, and a Rose below. Supplement to Folkes's English Coins, p. 191. Many Persons of Distinction were executed this Year for corresponding with him. A. D. 1495, 15th February, Sir William Stanley beheaded. A. D. 1497, 17th June, the Battle of Blackheath. A. D. 1499, 16th November, Perkin Warbeck arraigned; 28th of the same Month the Earl of Warwick beheaded. A. D. 1500, Duke of Suffolk retired into Flanders; 14th November Prince Arthur married to Katherine of Spain. A. D. 1501, 2d of April, Prince Arthur deceased; 5th of May Sir James Tyrrel executed. A. D. 1503, 11th of February, Queen Elizabeth died in Child-bed in the Tower; 8th of August Princess Margaret married to the King of Scots at Edinburgh. This Year died Margaret Dutchess Dowager of Burgundy Sister to Edward the Fourth. A. D. 1506, Duke of Suffolk brought over and committed to the Tower. A. D. 1509, 21st of April, says Fabian, with whom agrees the large Account of the King's Funeral, but Speed and Bacon both say the 22d of April, with whom our regal Table agrees; this King deceased at his Palace of Richmond in the Twenty-fourth Year of his Reign, and when he was about the Age of Fifty-two.

<sup>i</sup> We have no less than Three respectable Authorities, in reference to the Wealth left by this King, in which as they differ widely it will be proper to give their own Words. "He left at his Death, says Lord Bacon, most of it in secret Places under his own Key and Keeping at Richmond, as by Tradition is reported, the Sum of near Eighteen hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, a huge Mass of Money, even for these Times." Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 108. Edit. 4<sup>o</sup>. 1761. "He heaped up his Mass of Treasure, says Sir Robert Cotton, so that he left in Bullion Four Millions and a Half, besides his Plate, Jewels, and rich Attire." Reasons against foreign Wars, p. 53. He there professes, that he took this from a Book of Accounts between the King and Edmund Dudley. The last is the greatest Authority of all. "By the Close Roll, says Sir Edward Coke, Anno 3 H. VIII. it appeareth, that the King left in his Coffers Fifty and Three hundred thousand Pounds, most Part in foreign Coin, which in those Days was  
" not



WE have now finished the Chapter, and therewith brought this Book to a Conclusion, in which it hath been endeavoured, through a long Series of Ages to trace, as far our Materials and Capacity would allow, the political State of this Nation. In doing this the utmost Diligence hath been used to discover and to point out the real Causes of great Events, to shew the Method and Manner in which they were produced, and to describe the Consequences that have attended them. By such Vicissitudes to which all sublunary Things are exposed, Countries and their Inhabitants change their Appearances and their Characters in different Periods, so as to bear hardly any resemblance at One Time to what they really were at another. This hath been fully shewn to have been the Case in this Island, where sometimes, according to the Genius and Condition of the People, the Soil hath been well cultivated, and in consequence of that and its natural Fertility; such an Abundance of all Things necessary produced, as to excite the Wonder and Envy of our Neighbours. In others, we have seen it to a great Degree waste and barren, with scarce any Remembrance of former Improvements. In the First State the Country was of course populous, full of Cities, Towns, and Villages; in the latter thinly peopled, and the scattered Inhabitants in a poor and low Condition. The Revolutions that produced these Alterations, sometimes arose from foreign Invasions, some-

“not of least Value.” *Institutes*, Part iv. cap. 35. p. 198. But it must not be from hence supposed, that this Monarch locked up all or the greatest Part of the Money in this Kingdom, or that the wise Laws he made, and which was still of more Consequence, saw punctually executed, should have no conspicuous Consequence in regard to the Welfare of his Subjects. On the contrary, it clearly appears that there were many amongst all Ranks of Men during his Reign in improved Circumstances. Sir William Stanley we have heard had Forty thousand Marks in ready Money. The like is said of the Earl of Ormond. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Surry, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Oxford, and others of the Nobility, had vast Estates. In respect to Church Men, Cardinal Morton spent immense Sums in repairing and rebuilding the Houses belonging to his Two Dioceses of Ely and Canterbury. Cardinal Wareham, besides his splendid Inthronization at Canterbury, spent Thirty thousand Pounds in public Works. Fox Bishop of Winchester, besides other Acts of Munificence, built Corpus Christi College in Oxford. Bishop Alcock, who succeeded Morton in Ely, built Jesus College in Cambridge, and Dr. Ruthal Bishop of Durham, who died in his Son's Reign, amassed no less than One hundred thousand Pounds. *Godwin de Præsul*. p. 754. In respect to the Law, the noble Houses of Mulgrave, Peterborough, and Townshend were all of them founded by Lawyers, who flourished in his Reign, in which Sir Thomas More, when a very young Man, got Four Hundred Pounds a Year at the Bar. As to the opulent Merchants in London, Bristol, Hull, and other Places, we have not Room to mention them. It may be sufficient to say, that the Writers of our History in and near his Time, some of whom were Citizens themselves, concur in affirming that by the Countenance and Encouragement as well as Protection that he gave to Commerce, he caused immense Quantities of Coin and Bullion to be brought into this Kingdom by foreign Merchants, and as Hall observes, as he lived highly revered for his Power and Wisdom by foreign Princes, so by his domestic Policies, he at his Decease left his Subjects at Home full of Wealth, and in the Height of Prosperity.

times from domestic Dissensions, generally from a Concurrence of both, and Things have been again brought into Order, by the gradual Restitution of an equal Form of Government, that by a due Temperament of Liberty with Authority, provided effectually for public Power and private Security. In bringing this to the View of the Reader, in order to inform, not to influence his Judgment, Facts have been plainly stated, and the Inferences from them as fairly deduced, from the earliest Times to the Settlement of that Constitution which still endures, and which in virtue of such Modifications and Improvements as the Change of Circumstances rendered necessary, and public Wisdom therefore adopted, have raised us to that flourishing and extensive Empire we at present possess, and which may Divine Providence ever prosper and preserve!

T H E

P O L I T I C A L   S U R V E Y

O F

G R E A T   B R I T A I N .

B O O K   I V .

C H A P .   I .

Of Revenue amongst the most ancient Inhabitants of Britain.

*A Sufficient Force and a competent Revenue necessary to every Government. The due Regulation of one and the proper Application of the other, Points of the highest Political Importance. The End, Design, and Object of this Book succinctly explained. This Country at the Coming of Cæsar divided into many Principalities. The Chief in each of these had a Militia and some Sort of Revenue. Cæsar acknowledges their Militia to have been alert, intrepid, and well trained. The Actions, Conduct, and Resources of Cassibelan plainly prove his having a Revenue, though we know not how it was raised. What Cæsar*

*Cæsar says of this Country's being without Gold or Silver explained and shewn not to be inconsistent with this Assertion. The People of Britain actually had these precious Metals, and even the Use of Gold Coin before the Invasion by the Romans. This Revenue, however levied, was not either grievous or oppressive. The People strongly attached to the Form of Government that then subsisted. After Cæsar's Departure the Country better cultivated and the Inhabitants became more polished. They maintained from that Time a Correspondence with Rome, and were in some Measure dependent on the Empire, the Britons though living still under their old Government enjoyed great Ease and Prosperity. The Avarice of the Romans the principal Motive to their resuming their Design of conquering the Island.*

**T**HE essential Difference between Savages and People living in civil Society is, that the latter have Property, the former none. This Property, that is, the certain and secure Possession of what a Man hath acquired, is derived to him from the Government under which he lives, whatever the Form of it may be, and for the Sake of this and other Advantages, civil Societies were formed; and in the full Enjoyment of these continue to subsist. For the Sake of these Advantages every Government is invested with Power and intrusted with a Revenue. In different Forms of Government, different Modes of settling these have prevailed, but the Necessity of settling them for the Support of Government, or in other Words, for attaining the Ends for which Government is established, have rendered such a Settlement universal. These, though they are derived from Individuals, cannot be said to be taken from them, because they are given for their Use. An Individual in a State of Civil Society employs his Property in procuring the Necessaries and Conveniencies he desires, and that Portion of it which is appropriated to the Support of Government is clearly appropriated for the Sake of that Protection which enables him to dispose of the Rest for procuring Food, Cloathing, Habitation, and other Uses. In this, which is the true Light in which it ought to be considered, the Revenue is beneficial to every Individual, and is therefore with great Propriety stiled the Revenue of the Public, and if at any Time the Weight of it becomes grievous or oppressive, it must be from its being injudiciously levied, or from its being diverted from its proper Uses \*.

\* Simple and almost self-evident as these may appear, they are notwithstanding Truths of the utmost Importance. Tacitus, who is considered as an Oracle in Politics, hath laid down the Doctrine delivered in the Text with great Force and Precision, his Words are these: "Nulla quies Gentium sine Armis, nec Arma sine Stipendiis, nec Stipendia sine Tributis haberi queunt." Hist. lib. iv. cap. 74.

THESE Circumstances maturely considered, will very plainly shew, that the settling, altering, or new modelling a Revenue will be in every State a most interesting Point of Policy. The Weight of all Impositions, however necessary, will be felt, and the simplest Method of lessening this Weight, which is very requisite also to its being cheerfully borne, is to lay it upon all. Any Order of Men exempt from that Burden which falls upon the Rest, though they may be eased, cannot fail of being envied. In laying such Impositions upon all, due Regard must be had to the different Circumstances of Men; for a Tax very equal in Appearance may be found very unequal in its Consequences. Supposing them however to be perfectly well adjusted in this Respect, great Circumspection will be necessary in the Methods of employing them. The very End will be frustrated if they are hoarded, and will be far from being answered if they are squandered, or in any other Way misapplied. Evils of this Sort naturally produce Clamours and Confusions. In free States, and it is indeed the Characteristic of their being so, the utmost Effort of human Wisdom is exerted to guard against all these Mischiefs, by placing the Power of giving for the public Service, and the Inspection of the Manner in which the Revenue is expended, in the Hands of the People themselves, or of their Representatives<sup>b</sup>.

WE will now come to the proper Business of this Book, in which we by no means pretend to give a complete History of our Finances, as that would require Lights and Informations to which we do not aspire, and because it would alone exceed the Limits within which this Work is to be confined. What we presume to offer to the Reader is a succinct View of our Finances in the same Manner in which we have gone through our History in the preceding Book, and this with the very same Intention, that it may appear how the different Kinds of Taxes, and the different Modes of levying them, according to the different Forms of Rule that have prevailed in this Island, have operated on the State of the Country and the Condition of the People. If to any it should seem, we might have pursued a shorter Method than this of taking up the Matter as it were Thread by Thread, we shall content ourselves with saying, that we will render it as little tedious as possible, and that we hope it will prove both more entertaining and more satisfactory, from its fully explaining the Truth of our previous Observations,

<sup>b</sup> Plautus, who looked very deep into human Nature, tells us, Money is the Blood of Mortals, *Pecunia anima & sanguis est Mortalibus*. It certainly is so, and therefore should never be drawn wantonly or in too great Quantities, but upon just Occasions, and with much Circumspection. We may farther add, that it is upon a free Circulation thereof, the Health of the animal Body and the Body Politic equally depend, and the great Secret is to prevent any Stagnation, which is ever dangerous in either.

enabling the Reader to discern the different Effects arising from this Cause in different Periods, and ultimately to demonstrate, in what Manner our Resources have been multiplied from the Increase of our Freedom, and those Improvements that have from thence been gradually made in our political Constitution c.

IN the Beginning of the former Book it hath been clearly shewn, that when Julius Cæsar came hither he did not find this Country inhabited by wild undisciplined Savages, but by People distinguished into several Nations, that is, living under distinct Governments. We will not recur to what is regarded as fabulous History in Reference to these ancient Inhabitants, but take up Things as he has stated them, which is in truth fully sufficient for our Purpose. He admits the Country was divided into many small Principalities, each of these under a Chief, a Prince, or as he styles them, a King. These Principalities must at the Time of his Invasion have subsisted for several Ages, from the Numbers of Men they contained, from the Form of Policy under which they lived, and from their Acquaintance with Arms and Arts which he allows them. Each of these Principalities, however small, had a certain Form of Rule; and from thence we may necessarily conclude, the Prince had a Military Power, and some Sort of Revenue. This Deduction is so natural that it cannot well be disputed; for without such a Force these separate Territories could not have subsisted, or their Princes have maintained that Rank without some competent Provision. As this is reasonable, so it is likewise certain; for we are told that the Druids, who for that Reason were probably the Authors of this Constitution, were entirely free and exempt, which implies that the Rest of the People were subject to those Aids that every Government requires, and these were Military Services, and some Sort of Tribute. From the former the Druids were excused as Priests, and from the latter they were likewise free, though we are also told that they were the sole Judges in judicial Cases, which shews that the People had Property, from which, whatever it was, these Impositions must arise d.

To

c This is bringing Things to the Test of Experience and common Sense. If Men see that in different Ages, the same People have been in different Circumstances, sometimes easy and even opulent, at others low and miserable, they are desirous of knowing whence this arose, and wish to be acquainted with the true Source of Matters so very important. But when this relates to their own Country, and to their Ancestors, however remote, it becomes a Thing of still greater Consequence, and naturally excites a stronger Spirit of Enquiry. It is to satisfy this that so much Pains have been taken, and if these are so happy in any Degree to answer that End, they will abundantly repay their Author, who pretends to no other Merit in these Disquisitions than Diligence and Sincerity.

d Cæsar de Bello Gallico lib. iv. cap. 27. lib. v. cap. 9. Tacit. in vit. Agricola. Pomp. Mel. de Situ Orbis lib. iii. cap. 6. All these Writers agree as to this Point. Cæsar from what he saw

In regard to Military Service we have as full Evidence as can be desired. Cæsar at his First Invasion found himself opposed not by a raw and tumultuous Multitude, but by a regular, and in their Way a well-disciplined Army, consisting of Infantry, Cavalry, and armed Chariots, which were probably the Forces of the Four Kings which then reigned in Kent. They assailed his Army with great Spirit, and though repulsed, did not, as barbarous Nations are accustomed to do, disperse, and betake themselves to Flight. On the contrary he acknowledges, that they still continued to oppose him, to practise all the Arts and Stratagems of War, to avail themselves of all their natural Advantages, and of every Accident that happened, shewing on all Occasions that Activity, Firmness, and Sagacity, which arises from natural Courage, improved by Military Experience. In consequence of this vigorous Resistance, notwithstanding the several Checks, which he asserts they received, he grew weary of a Dispute which he did not expect, and after a Three Weeks Campaign shewed as great Readiness to listen to Propositions as they did in making them, and having entered into an Accommodation, which, even as he represents it, seems calculated to save the Honour of the Roman Arms and secure his Retreat, he re-embarked his Forces, resolved when he came next to bring a much superior Force. This he really did, for in his Second Expedition he employed Five Legions, making at least Twenty thousand Foot, a competent Body of Horse, and a Fleet of Eight Hundred Sail.

To resist so great an Army composed of Roman Veterans and commanded by the most experienced General of his Time, the Britons entered into a Confederacy, and appointed Cassibelan General and Commander in Chief of the Troops of the combined Kings. This Confederacy plainly proves their having early Intelligence, their steady Resolution to defend their Liberties, and the Preparations they made, and the Bodies of Men they brought into the Field manifested their having a great Strength, and this too directed

and knew. Tacitus from strict Enquiry, for making which he had the best Opportunity, and he asserts that the Britons had been long so governed. Justin from Trogus Pompeius affirms, that all ancient Nations were governed in the same Manner, which is conformable enough to the Sentiments of the most ancient sacred and profane Writers. These small Principalities being immediately under the Eye of their Sovereign, call him what you will, seem to have thriven exceedingly, and to have been for their Extent very populous, as they evidently were when Cæsar landed here.

\* Tacitus treats this Matter very fairly. Julius, says he, of all the Romans was the First who led an Army into Britain, and though successful in several Actions, and being Master of the Coasts, yet after all seems rather to have shewn than to have delivered this Country to Posterity. Other Writers say plainly, that he was beaten by the Britons. Indeed Tacitus in another Place makes a British Prince, to encourage his Subjects to behave gallantly, put them in Mind that they were the Descendants of those brave Men who had repelled the Dictator Julius, and forced him to quit their Country.



by a just Degree of military and political Prudence. That they were beaten by Troops so much better armed, so completely disciplined, and in all other Respects so much their Superiors, affords no great Cause of Wonder. But that they should still persist, notwithstanding this Reverse of Fortune, to continue the War, when probably from the Want of Means of subsisting them, Cassibelan was forced to dismiss his Infantry, and to retain only Four thousand Chariots about his Person, shewed much Intrepidity as well as great Capacity in that Prince, who after all was more distressed by the Desertion of some of his Confederates than by the Efforts of the Romans, who by the Information of these Deserters were enabled to sack his Capital. After all this he managed his Negotiation with equal Ability and Dignity, and his Circumstances considered, made no dishonourable Treaty. But can we imagine, that he did all this without a Revenue or Subsidies of some Kind or other? If we could suppose it, Cæsar himself hath put it out of our Power, for the Terms he demanded were Hostages and a Tribute. In what this was paid, if it was paid, he does not tell us, but it is not impossible that in Part at least it was in Pearls, for a Shield covered with these he dedicated in the Temple of Venus, as a Trophy of his Victories in Britain <sup>f</sup>.

If it should be objected, that Cæsar says expressly there was no Gold or Silver in Britain, but that the People made use of Brass Plates or Iron Rings of a certain Weight for Money. Should we grant this to be exactly true, it would not conclude against the British Princes receiving Aids from their Subjects, that is, from receiving those Things which Gold and Silver, if they had possessed them, would have purchased, or which might have been had for these Brass Plates or Iron Rings, in which Subsidies might

<sup>f</sup> Cæsar Bello Gallico lib. v. c. 19. Tacit. in vit. Agricola. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 35. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 1. Listeri de Cochl. Fluv. cap. 2. It is true that Cæsar says nothing concerning British Pearls. But Pliny affirms, that he did not disown that the Shield covered with Pearls, which he dedicated in the Temple of Venus Genetrix, was composed of the Spoils of Britain. His Silence with respect to Pearls should as little prove that there were none in Britain, as that there were no precious Metals. It is certain they were here, and known to be here before he came. Tacitus says, and indeed Pliny also, that they were dark and ill-coloured. Beda with much more Truth, that they are of all Colours. Cæsar's Soldiers could not have found them here, for they were never within a hundred Miles of any River in which they are found, and therefore he obtained them either as Presents or Tribute. They are still found in the River Conway in Wales, in the River Irt in Cumberland, and a Patent was once granted for a Pearl Fishery there. In many Rivers and Lakes in Scotland, and in Ireland likewise. They are found usually in large ill-shaped Muscles, are mostly brown, sometimes well-shaped, fair, and bright, and are then sold for Oriental Pearls. The ingenious Dr. Lister conceived them to be the Effects of old Age, and a Kind of Scurvy in the Fish, and there are many of his Opinion.

be paid, where they passed for Money<sup>g</sup>. But with like Truth it may be said, that Cæsar spoke only of what he saw or knew, and he therefore might say what he did, though at the same Time there might be these precious Metals in Britain.

SUBSEQUENT Authors acknowledge, that there were, and the Fact is certainly true, that the Britons were by no means Strangers to Gold and Silver before the Romans came hither. There have been large Quantities of Gold Coin discovered, which from the Rudeness of their Impression appear to have been British, and from that Circumstance also are concluded to have been in Use before Cæsar's Invasion. Some other Pieces have been found without any Impression at all, which are with very great Probability supposed to have been still earlier in Use. It is impossible from these Circumstances to say in what Manner Subsidies were paid; but it seems to be sufficiently certain, from those Ends of Government being answered for which Subsidies are raised, that they were paid in some way or other, and very possibly in different Ways in the different Principalities into which the Island was then divided<sup>h</sup>.

As

<sup>g</sup> If the candid Reader can possibly entertain a Doubt, notwithstanding what is said in the Text, of the British Princes having some Kind of Revenue, many other Particulars might be mentioned to prove it incontestably. Whatever secret Motives Cæsar might have, the avowed Cause for his invading Britain was, because of the continual Supplies the Inhabitants afforded to their Neighbours the Gauls. Now what were these? Not surely Fleets of Cock boats, for he allows us nothing better; and if as some very intelligent Writers have conceived, the Britons had Ships of Strength even in those Days, they must have been built at the public Expence. Or if this Assistance did not consist in Ships, it must have consisted in Money, or in something worth Money, and these Contributions must have come from the British Princes, who must of Necessity have raised them upon their Subjects. Before Cæsar's Expedition, the Britons sent Ambassadors or Deputies to make Propositions, and they were very well received. Who sent these Deputies? How were they maintained? or how were Armies assembled, and marched from one Place to another, without some Fund for their Subsistence? We see in all these Transactions, and in many more, the strongest Marks of Civility, good Sense, and Policy; and if, notwithstanding this, they are stiled Barbarians by the Romans, they were no worse treated than other Nations, and we must not conclude from the bare Sound of the Word against so many clear Facts owned and admitted even by those who used it.

<sup>h</sup> In Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, b. iii. chap. 12. that very learned and industrious Gentleman informs us, there were found in the Month of June 1749, in Karnbre-hill in that County, such a Quantity of Gold Coins as sold for Sixteen Pounds, and soon after very near the same Quantity at no great Distance. These taken together could not weigh less than Two thirds of a Pound. They were of pure Gold, that is, Gold without Alloy, as all the British Coins are, the upper Side a little convex, some of them worn plain by Use, but most of them charged with rude symbolical Figures, without any Head or Inscription. These, that worthy Person seems to have fully proved not to be either Phœnician or Gaulish Coins, but British. Of which no one who considers them attentively can well doubt, and as he very judiciously observes, Things thus discovered at so great a Distance of Time, in a Place of which Cæsar could not have the least Knowledge, ought not to be affected by his Assertion, that there was not  
either

As we have now established by a fair Deduction from Facts, which are of all others the best Authorities, that our British Ancestors had both a regular Militia, and though we know not how it was raised, a competent Revenue, we shall next by the same Method enquire into their Effects. In the First Place it appears that the Country was populous, for the First Invasion of the Romans was opposed, and we might say repelled by the Subjects of the Four Kings of Kent. When Cæsar came the Second Time with a much greater Force, Cassibelan opposed him with an Army superior at least in point of Numbers. This also proves that the Country must have been well cultivated, since People cannot live without Provisions. We may from these Circumstances conclude, that the Form of Rule was gentle and acceptable to those who lived under it. Indeed the very Existence of so many separate States is an Indication of this, for nothing but an Attachment to that Kind of Government could have preserved it.

This still farther appears from the very Rise and Issue of the Contest. Cassibelan had killed the Father of Mandubratius, compelled him to quit the Island, and had reduced his Subjects the Trinobantes under his Dominion. Mandubratius applied to Cæsar in Gaul for Assistance, and when in the Course of the War, Cassibelan had suffered a Defeat, the Trinobantes made a separate Peace, that they might return again into their former State, and when Cæsar made a definitive Treaty with Cassibelan, he stipulated that Mandubratius should govern the Trinobantes in Quiet. Another and a very conclusive Argument arises from the Valour of the British Nation, than which nothing can more clearly discover that their Government was just and equal, for no Nation harshly treated or oppressed with Taxes, ever exerted a martial or intrepid Spirit. This will appear no Compliment to the Britons, if we consider the Forces Cæsar had with him, which from Experience he found to be necessary, and the Terms upon which, after exerting all his Military Abilities, he found it at length expedient to conclude the War.

AFTER

either Gold or Silver in this Island. It is also to be remarked, that Gold, though in small Quantities, and chiefly in Tin Streams, hath been and still is found in that County. It cannot therefore be thought an improbable Conjecture, that before the Coming of the Romans, the Britons found this valuable Metal in greater Quantities; for there can be little Doubt, that what is now found is washed down from the higher Grounds, and they might, it is very likely, be acquainted with these Eminences from whence it descends. The same Principle that induced them thus to bury their Coin, would naturally lead them to conceal the Places from whence they drew their Gold, and in Process of Time, and through frequent Revolutions, all Memory of them might be lost.

<sup>i</sup> Besides that strong Liking to their own Manners and Customs, which we see long Habitude create in all Nations, we may easily conceive some other Motives that might excite in them a sincere

AFTER the Return of Cæsar to the Continent, the Civil War following, the Romans thought no more of depriving other Nations of their Liberty, but employed their Swords against each other till they had subverted their own. This Interval of Quiet, the Inhabitants of Britain seem to have improved in the polishing their Manners, and extending their Intercourse with other Nations. Augustus sometimes affected to consider this Country as dependent on the Empire, and at others treated it with Contempt, as a Place not worth the conquering. Yet to keep up his Claim and to swell that Reputation which he held necessary to support his Power, he threatened more than once to invade it, but suffered himself to be appeased by the fair Offers made by some of the British Princes who sent him Presents, and made such Submissions as he thought fit to require. Amongst these Princes was Cunobelinus the Cymbeline of our British Writers, who held a great Correspondence with Rome, and is thought to have brought from thence those Artists who coined his Money, which, besides bearing his Head, and being inscribed with his Name, is in a much neater and more elegant Stile than the British Coins in preceding Times <sup>k</sup>.

cere Affection to this Kind of Government.\* The great Town (we will not call it the Capital) was in the Center of the Principality, and of course their Chief who resided there was continually in the Sight of his Subjects, must have employed his Time in the Functions of his Office, and in taking care of the Safety and Welfare of his People. He had no foreign Wars to exhaust either their Blood or their Treasure, so that whatever he received from, must have returned amongst them. His Power, his Grandeur, and his Independence they considered as reflecting Honour upon them. The Druids held the Scales of Justice, acting also the Part of Mediators when Misunderstandings of any Kind arose, so that the longer we contemplate and the more we consider these Circumstances, the less we shall be surpris'd, that these Ties and Temperaments held the Prince and his Subjects in so strict a Union.

<sup>k</sup> The Coins of Cunobelinus are numerous, but all of different Sorts, many of different Sizes, some of Gold, some of Silver, and some of a mixed Metal. There are some of them rude and charged with the British Symbols on the Reverse. Others neat with very elegant Figures on the Reverse. On most of those that are figured, and on some others we meet with a Word in Roman Characters, which our ablest Antiquaries have not been able satisfactorily to explain. This Word is Tascio, Tascia, Tascie. Some have conjectured that it is the Name of a Place, others that it is the Mint Master's Name, many, because it occurs not on all Coins, believe that it implies Tribute, and that our Word Tax comes from it, or that both are derived from the same Root. Mr. Camden insinuates, that the several Reversees where this Word appears of a Bull, a Hog, and an Ear of Corn, imply the Impost upon great Cattle, upon small Cattle, and upon Grain. This is undoubtedly very ingenious, but at the same Time very uncertain. Some from the Word made use of in Cæsar's Writings, Vestigal, think he did not insist on Tribute, but on these Duties on Commodities. Our old Chronicles, particularly those of Sprot and Ros, affirm on the contrary, that it was a Tribute, and fix it at Three Thousand Pounds, on what Authority we know not. The Reader, if he would see this Subject more closely examined, may consult Mr. Pegge's curious and learned Dissertation on the Coins of Cunobelin.

IN consequence of this good Correspondence, the Romans became much better acquainted with this Island, and their Subjects carried on a very considerable Intercourse with its Inhabitants, who, though still so jealous of their Freedom, as to be exceedingly averse to Tribute, readily consented to pay Imposts or Duties on Exports and Imports. Besides this they gave Marks of Humanity and Generosity in relieving the Roman Soldiers shipwrecked on their Coast, and sending them back in Safety, which might have merited a better Title than that of Barbarians, with which they were still treated, and however harsh in its Sound, was better than that of Slaves. Tiberius under Colour of adopting the Maxim of Augustus, that the Empire ought to be bounded by the Ocean, gave the People of Britain no Disturbance, who, content with their own Condition, remained quiet in their own Island, satisfied with those Advantages that arose from their Trade. The only just Apprehensions they had during this Period arose from bad Citizens of their own. Adminius the Son of Cunobeline, being disgraced and banished by his Father, fled to the Continent, and excited Caligula to an Invasion, which however ended in a ridiculous Manner, which might possibly render the Britons too secure.

THIS Season of Quiet, between the Second Departure of Julius Cæsar, and the Invasion by Claudius, which comprehended near a Century, affords a clear and satisfactory View of what may be stiled the Policy of the ancient Britons, and may serve to convince us, that as it continued long, indeed who can say how long, to preserve to the Inhabitants a regular System of Laws, under which their Lives and Properties were secured, and Industry cherished, their Happiness in all Respects being equal at least to any of their Neighbours, so might it in like Manner have lasted many Ages longer without any other considerable Inconvenience than occasional Disputes among their Princes, which for their own Sakes were usually compromised by the Druids, if as we before observed in its proper Place, the Vicinity of the Romans in Gaul had not afforded those who preferred the Gratification of their own Resentments and Ambition to the common Safety and Welfare of their Country, an Opportunity of subverting its Constitution, and subjecting its hitherto free Inhabitants to a foreign Yoke.

THIS perhaps had not been so soon brought about, if the Romans, who had now free Entrance into Britain, had not discovered the improved State of the Island, and by visiting the Courts of their little Princes been satisfied that their Subjects were not so poor and despicable, as Cæsar and those who accompanied him were pleased to represent them; and this is not founded in Conjecture, but upon the express Testimony of the ablest Writer of Antiquity on this Subject, at least of those whose Works

have come down to our Hands<sup>1</sup>. Yet this and the subsequent Revolution which followed in consequence of it, does by no Means disparage the Nature of the British Government, which appears to have fully answered the Ends of its Intention, and thereby provoked the Avarice and Ambition of a potent-Empire, that without receiving any Injury, undertook with Forces incomparably superior to make a Conquest of Princes ill suited from that Form of Rule, which, however adequate to their own Welfare, did not dispose them to such an Union as might have resisted these Invaders, notwithstanding which they lost not their Liberties without long and violent Struggles, which sufficiently demonstrated the interior Strength of their small Sovereignties, as well as the Valour, Conduct, and Magnanimity of some of their Princes, who for these Virtues are highly celebrated, even by their Enemies.

<sup>1</sup> M. Tullii Epist. ad Familiares, lib. vii. ep. 7. ad Atticum lib. iv. ep. 16. Strabo lib. iv. p. 199, 200. Tacit. Vit. Agricola, cap. 12. In his Epistle to his Friend Trebatius, Cicero intimates that he had learned from his Brother Quintus, who accompanied Cæsar in his Expedition hither, that there was not either Gold or Silver in the Island. He says the same to his Friend Atticus, and that except his Captives, Cæsar had brought no Booty out of Britain. All we learn from this is, that as the Romans were excited to this Invasion by Avarice, the Britons acted very prudently in keeping Gold and Silver out of their Sight. But after his Departure, when the Romans came to have a friendly Intercourse with this Country, they were soon better informed, so that Strabo says, there were in Britain not only Corn and Cattle, but Gold, Silver, and Iron. Tacitus, the Author alluded to in the Text, who drew his Knowledge of Britain from his Father-in-law Agricola, tells us plainly what the Effects were of this Information. " Britain," says he, " produces Gold, Silver, and other Metals, which render it worth conquering; the Ocean too " produces Pearls, but of a brownish Cast and livid." Fert Britannia aurum & argentum & alia Metalla, pretium Victoriæ: Gignit & Oceanus Margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia.

## C H A P. II.

Of the Revenues raised by the Romans whilst they were Masters of Britain.

**T**HE Scope of this Chapter briefly stated. Britain invaded for the Third Time by the Emperor Claudius. He came over in Person, and by using much Clemency, prevailed upon many of the little Princes to submit. Proofs that at this Period those Princes were not either indigent or inconsiderable. The Country in general shewn to be very populous. The Methods which the Romans pursued to secure their Conquests. The distinguished Merit of Julius Agricola in this Respect. The Disposition of their Cities and great Towns made with great Skill and Circumspection. The civil Administration

*tion executed with admirable Regularity. Four and sometimes Five Impositions levied upon Grain. Orchards, Meadows, Commons accurately surveyed and subjected to an annual Tax. Duties upon the Produce of the Mines. Salt vendd solely for the Benefit of the Public by Officers appointed for that Purpose. Inland Duties strictly levied, and Customs paid upon all Goods imported and exported. Tributes, their Nature, and how far they were extended. Excises of many different Kinds, the entering more minutely into this Subject unnecessary. The Manner of assessing and collecting this Revenue explained. These Impositions no way prejudicial to the Country or to the People. The great Object of the Roman Policy in all the Provinces was the Improvement of Land and the proper Employment of its Inhabitants. The Number and Splendour of their Cities a striking Proof of this. The farther Illustration of this Subject from the repeated Revolts of the Commanders here, and the Consequences of their Attempts in respect to the Empire and to the Province. A succinēt Review of the Means by which their Government and even their Taxes rendered their Dominions in Britain rich and flourishing.*

**I**N the former Book a very succinēt Account has been given of the Roman Conquest, and of the principal Transactions that happened during the long Space in which they remained possessed of this Island. Some Points were however left untouched, as being thought more proper for this Place, where it is intended to give a concise View of the Revenue they raised, the Manner in which they raised it, and what Effects this had upon the Inhabitants. This great People were equally remarkable for their Policy and their Oeconomy. By the former they secured the Countries which by their Valour they obtained, and by the latter they rendered them valuable to the State of Rome. But before we can clearly explain how this was done in Britain, it will be requisite to shew, that they had very ample Materials to work upon, and that when they set in earnest upon the Conquest of this Country, it was not, as many have been persuaded, in a low or mean, but in a thriving and flourishing Condition, and so well peopled as to afford them from the very Beginning, an inviting Prospect of rendering it a rich, fruitful, and valuable Acquisition to the greatest Empire then in the World.

As the wise Augustus and the politic Tiberius had their Reasons for attempting nothing against Britain, which probably influenced the Writers in their Times in the Accounts they gave of its Condition; so Claudius no doubt had better Motives than the Suggestions of Bericus the British Exile, for departing from their Conduct, and undertaking a Third Invasion of this Country. But whatever his Motives might be, it is certain that the



Troops in Gaul under the Command of Aulus Plautius, were by no Means pleased with the Orders he received to employ them in that Expedition, and it was not without great Reluctance they were brought to embark to prosecute a War, as they termed it, in another World.

THE People here were well informed of this, and of certain Accidents that retarded for some Time the Prosecution of their Attempt, which rendered the Britons negligent in their Preparations to receive them. Yet when they actually landed, though we hear of no Confederacy to withstand them, an Army was however formed under Two gallant Princes, Caractacus and Togodumnus, who opposed them with great Valour, and not altogether without Success, till the latter of these Princes was slain, which instead of discouraging, animated, or rather exasperated the People so much, that Caractacus transferring the War to the Mouth of the Thames, where the Marshes gave him many Advantages, the Roman General found himself so much embarrassed, that according to the Instructions he had received he sent to Claudius for Assistance, who came in Person with a more considerable Force, which turned the Scale in Favour of the Romans. He seems however to have owed more to his Clemency than to his Courage, and by the Kindness he shewed to those who submitted, drew several of the British Princes to declare themselves his Allies, and having done this, he returned and left Plautius to reduce the Country already subdued, into the Form of a Province <sup>a</sup>.

THE War however revived, and Caractacus maintained it with great Spirit and Intrepidity, till being obliged by the superior Power of the Romans to seek Refuge in the Court of Queen Cartismundua, she basely delivered him up, and he was afterwards sent to adorn the Triumph of Claudius at Rome, where in a short Oration that gained him the Applause of his Enemies, and will ever do Honour to his Memory, he spoke in high Terms of his Power and Riches in his more prosperous State. Cogidunus,

<sup>a</sup> Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. ix. Tacit. vit. Agricola, cap. 13, 14. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 17. Eutrop. lib. vii. cap. 8. P. Orosii lib. vii. cap. 6. We learn from these authentic Writers, not barely all the Circumstances of the Expedition of Claudius, but also the Reception he met with on his Return. He had been, which was very unusual, often saluted Imperator by his victorious Army. He had a most splendid Triumph, in which his principal Officers had a Share. Triumphal Arches were erected at Rome and at Bologne. He struck a very fine Gold Coin with the Triumphal Arch on the Reverse. He celebrated magnificent Games and Shews for the Recreation of the People. He received Crowns of Gold from the Provinces to an immense Value. He caused a naval Crown to be fixed upon his Palace, to signify that by entering Britain he was become Lord of the Ocean, and lastly he not only assumed himself, but bestowed also upon his Son the Sur-name of Britannicus. These surely are incontestible Proofs of what the Romans thought of the Acquisition of Britain.

another BRITISH KING, is celebrated for his steady Fidelity to the Romans, who in return added to his own small Principality several others, and he amongst other Marks of Gratitude decorated his Capital with Temples and other public Buildings. Prasutagus, another Ally of the Romans, was distinguished by the Treasures he amassed. London even at this Time was a Place of great Trade, and the Resort of foreign Merchants thither made it very considerable <sup>b</sup>. We see therefore, that even in the earliest Times, and when the Roman Province was of small Extent, there wanted not Inducements to enlarge and to preserve it, in order to which the Country being very acceptable to the Soldiers, they had Lands given them and Colonies were settled.

BUT while Suetonius Paulinus was employed, as we have shewn in the preceding Book, in an Expedition against Mona now Anglesey, the Britons made a general Revolt under Boadicea the Widow of Prasutagus, who had made Nero Coheir with her and his Daughters, which did not preserve either his Dominions or his Wealth from the Rapacity of these Conquerors. This generous Heroine was at first very successful, destroying Verolanium and Camulodunum, the Two principal Cities of the Romans, putting to the Sword Seventy thousand of them and their Allies. This was severely revenged by Paulinus, who having defeated her in a decisive Engagement, killed therein Eighty thousand Britons <sup>c</sup>. These are  
 Facts

<sup>b</sup> Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 37. lib. xiv. cap. 31. 33. et in vita Agricolaë cap. xiv. Whatever Power or Wealth Caractacus possessed, he must have acquired before the Romans came hither in virtue of his Station as a British Prince. If it be objected that the Oration of this King might be made for him by Tacitus, it must at the same time be admitted, that the Fact was recent, and that an Historian of his Credit cannot be supposed to advance a Falsehood, which must have been known to most of his Readers. Cogidunus lived to the Time of Tacitus, and what he says of him has been confirmed by an Inscription on a Monument found at Chichester in our own Times. Prasutagus was distinguished by his Opulence, and the Means he took to preserve his Riches, which produced the Ruin of his Family, is a Fact not to be questioned. The Reputation of London as a maritime City, could not well have been established in so short a Space as from the Time of the Romans entering Britain. Camden, and indeed most of our Antiquaries agree that Londinium was framed from a British Word, which signified a Port. In succeeding Times the Romans stiled it Colonia Augusta. When they retired out of this Island, and the Britons were again in Possession of it, they called it by its old Name, which it has born ever since. All this is easy and natural, and therefore very likely to be the Truth.

<sup>c</sup> Vel. Patercul. Hist. Rom. lib. ii. p. 147. Strab. lib. iv. p. 200. Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. lxii. Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 33. Sueton. in Nerone, cap. 39. The First of these, Paterculus, was a very elegant and a very courtly Writer. To flatter the Memory of Caesar, he says that he twice penetrated Britain. Strabo, in compliance to the Maxim of Augustus, tells us that it would have required a Legion and a competent Body of Horse to have kept Britain in Subjection, and that this would have absorbed a great Part of the Duties that the Inhabitants voluntarily paid. But is this Fact true? Caesar brought over Five Legions in his Second Expedition, and did not subdue it. Caligula brought a great Army to the Sea-side only to look  
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Facts well attested, and from these we may with Certainty collect, that the Romans having once more reduced Things into Order, might entertain well-grounded Hopes of bringing this fair and well-peopled Country under their Dominion; which, though not without much Trouble and many hard fought Battles, they at length in a great Measure accomplished.

It was an established Maxim of the Roman Policy, that the Introduction of their Laws, their Magistrates, and their Manners, was the most effectual Means of securing the Obedience of their new Subjects. This it was they meant, by reducing the conquered Country into a Province, a Thing no Way difficult to their Generals, who were perfectly acquainted with the Steps necessary to be taken for that Purpose, and had besides usually about them, Men of Gravity, and Experience in the Laws, from whom they might derive Assistance. It is true, that in those Times, and indeed in all Times, some Men were apt to abuse their Power, and to give a Loose to their Passions, which naturally gave a Dislike to those Regulations, however expedient, which they endeavoured to enforce. But besides this, there was such an Opposition from the rough and martial Inclinations of the Britons, to the settled and severe Discipline of the Romans, that it is no Wonder the Multitude complied with Regret and Reluctance. Yet many there were, who either from a milder Turn of Mind, or making a Virtue of Necessity, cheerfully submitted to the Rules prescribed; for otherwise it is impossible to account for so great a Number of Inhabitants in the Roman Cities, which when destroyed had not subsisted for above a Dozen Years <sup>d</sup>.

SOME

at the Island, and possibly if he had attempted to have embarked them, they would not have followed him. Aulus Plautius found the Legions in Gaul very unwilling to accompany him. He, though an excellent Commander, found it requisite to send for Claudius, who brought with him fresh Forces and Elephants. The Romans had always Three, sometimes Four Legions or more in Britain. The former was, if we may use the Expression, their Peace Establishment, and Boadicea fully proved, that it was not more than sufficient. Dio Cassius makes the Number of the Romans and their Allies slain to be Eighty Thousand. Tacitus, from the Information of Agricola, and he could not have better, says they were Seventy Thousand. The far greatest Part of these were certainly Britons, for the Roman Inhabitants of the Colony, who retired into the Temple of Claudius, and defended themselves for Two Days, could not be any Thing near so many. Yet this Destruction happened after many Years War, and notwithstanding this and the Slaughter of Boadicea's Army, the Romans met with fresh Resistance. We must therefore either admit these Facts, which certainly prove that Britain was then thoroughly peopled, or we must give up all the Roman Historians together, since Suetonius and others, though they do not enter into Particulars, yet confess it was one of the greatest Disgraces that the Roman Arms ever suffered.

<sup>d</sup> It is certain that this great People conceived so highly of their own System of Policy, that they looked on all who lived otherwise than they did, as Barbarians. It was therefore in their Judgment, an Act of the greatest Humanity, to communicate their Customs and Mode of Living

SOME of the Roman Governors, by whatever Title distinguished, were Men of great Military Talents, and others better suited to the Conduct of Civil Affairs. Julius Agricola joined both these Qualities, and was not only a great Captain, but a consummate Statesman also. He came hither when Things were in great Confusion. He left them in the greatest Order. He vanquished the bravest of the Britons in the Field, and he subdued the Minds of those who had perhaps unwillingly submitted to the Roman Government. He extended that farther than any of his Predecessors or any of his Successors, and at the same Time planned and in a great Measure executed that permanent Establishment that gave them a quiet Possession of this Country. He chose the Stations for his Troops with the greatest Prudence, connected these Stations by military Roads, secured the Frontiers by well fortified Lines, and distributed his Forces in such a Manner as to bridle those already subdued, and to secure them from the Incurfions of those Nations who were still in Arms to preserve their Freedom. His comprehensive Genius dictated to him this, as the surest Mode not only of preserving but of improving and effectually establishing the Roman Power, by bringing the Natives not simply to suffer, but to be pleased with the Condition in which he had placed them, and in this he succeeded so well that all Thoughts of revolting were suppressed, and the Inclinations of the People wholly turned to the Cultivation of the Country, and the quiet Enjoyment of what that and their other Habits of Industry produced.

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to the People they subdued; and as they resided amongst them, or as One of their Writers says, where the Romans conquer they inhabit, they took every Method to bring them to what they stiled Civility, and even to copy them in Luxury; though, as Tacitus justly observes, this was real Servitude. But he said this, rather as a Politician than as a Roman, and deviated therein from the Practice and Principles of his Father-in-law, who adopted these Notions in their utmost Extent, and thought this his Duty at least in the Office that he filled. He well knew that the Submission extorted by Force was at once both partial and precarious, whereas the Conjunction of Manners established a perfect and permanent Obedience. In carrying this Scheme of Subjection into Execution, as no Nation ever proceeded with more Ability or Address than the Romans, so none ever succeeded better.

\* We have in the former Book spoke highly of Julius Agricola, but it was necessary to say something more of him here, in order to shew that he was the great Author of the regular planting of Britain by the Romans. His Stations were so well chosen, and his Forts erected with such Judgment, that none of them were ever taken by Force, Famine, or Surprise. In his Seven Campaigns he acted always on the Offensive, secured in the Winter what he had gained in the Summer, and when by harrassing the little Principalities of the Britons till they were tired of the Miseries of War, he readily received their Submissions, and constantly protected them. He moderated their Tributes, relieved them from Hardships, conversed with them familiarly, assisted them in their Buildings, and encouraged them in their Applications to Learning, and thus brought them to relish Civility, Industry, and a quiet Life. We have indeed all these Circumstances from Tacitus, who may be stiled the Latin Historian of Britain, but we have no Reason to question his Memoirs, from his Relation to that great Man. The Facts speak for themselves, and the noble Camp at Ardoch in Strathern in the North of Scotland, with the Roman Antiquities

IN Consequence of these Dispositions, which were not peculiar to this, but were invariably practised in every Country they conquered, there were in the Roman Province, and when these were multiplied in every Province, one or more great Cities, many of an inferior Size, some still less considerable, and Numbers which at least in their Beginnings were yet smaller than the former. The Situation of every One of these was well and wisely chosen in respect to the Soil and Climate; usually on a rising Ground, on the Bank of some River, or at least in the Vicinity of a running Stream, with every other Conveniency that could be contrived, and either secure from its own Strength, or covered by some or other of their Fortresses, and of course lying upon some of their Military Ways, that the Access thereto might be easy, and that the Inhabitants might enjoy free Communication with their Neighbours. These Circumstances are not only supported by the best Authorities, but in a Multitude of Particulars evident to us at this Day, from the numerous Cities and Towns flourishing from the Enjoyment of most of these Benefits, originally owing to their Choice, and it is by these Rules that our Antiquaries are guided in their Inquiries after those that are either lost or not certainly known<sup>f</sup>.

As these Cities differed in Magnitude, so they differed likewise in Dignity, and in the Privileges which they enjoyed. The most considerable were not only governed by the Roman Laws, as indeed most of the others were, but had their respective Magistrates after the Roman Model, Tri-

tiquities that have been found in its Neighbourhood, and even beyond it, are so many incontestible Evidences of what he hath asserted; let us also add, that even in the remotest Parts of the Island the People appear to have been very numerous.

<sup>f</sup> It is evident from the Histories, Antiquities, and Laws of this potent People, that every Thing respecting their public Affairs was regulated by wise and well considered Rules, and that in a perfect Acquaintance with these consisted the Knowledge requisite to form Men for public Employments. We discern from hence, that in all their Undertakings the most prudent Plans were laid down, so that as little as possible was left to Chance. We need not wonder therefore that Cities and Towns, built in Places so skilfully chosen, should even from small Beginnings continue to flourish and increase, or that when overthrown and buried in Rubbish by superior Force, the very Ruins of them should invite their Successors in Power to rebuilding on the same Spots. The same Accuracy and Circumspection was used in their Military Encampments, as appears from Vegetius, and in disposing the Lands given to their Soldiers in their Colonies, and in the nice setting out of their Boundaries, as we learn from Siculus Flaccus, Julius Frontinus, Hyginus, and other Writers on these Subjects. In reference to the Commerce carried on here, we are to consider, that except the Corn Trade, the Practice of it was looked upon as ignoble at Rome, and therefore rich Men lent their Money in the Provinces at very high Interest, as Seneca did in Britain, to the Amount, as Camden computes, of Three hundred thousand Pounds; and Dio reports that his sudden calling in of his Money was One Cause of the general Revolt under Boadicea. Yet this proved no Bar to the same Practice in succeeding Times. From these Circumstances the judicious Reader will be led to form in his own Mind a just Notion of the State of the Roman Provinces in Britain, and the Credibility of all that is advanced in the Text.

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banals of Justice, and other Marks of Distinction. These, though grievous in the Sight of the Britons while they retained any Notions of their former Freedom, yet as these wore out, when the Druids were expelled or rather extirpated, and when Agricola had reconciled them to the Manners, inspired them with the Sentiments, and accustomed them to the Exercises and Studies of his Countrymen, they became very acceptable, and excited a Spirit of Emulation, which quickly discovered itself in sumptuous Buildings, and more especially in public Edifices dedicated either to Religious or Civil Purposes. The raising and maintaining these, the Support of the great Officers sent from Rome, the Salaries and Emoluments appropriated to their own Magistrates, and a Multitude of other Demands for the public Service, created a constant, and in Proportion to their Improvements, an increasing Expence, which of course was raised upon the People. In few Words, they had by degrees a regular Civil, Military, and Naval Establishment, for the defraying of which they had settled and sufficient Funds; for in this, as we before observed, the Roman Oeconomy was very exact, and as these Things took Place in consequence of their Policy, so the Charge of sustaining them was not left (at least not legally) to the Will or Caprice of their Governors, but was provided for in the same Method, and under the like Regulations, with those established in their other Provinces.

AGRICULTURE was always the First Object the Romans had in View. In order to promote this they distributed Lands, as we have already observed, to the Soldiers, reserving a certain Rent upon them, for the Use of the Public, and in like Manner they assigned to such as were disposed to enter upon them, Lands that had never been cultivated, at an easy Price. On the Produce of both these they levied an annual Tax, or rather several Taxes. In the First Place they took the Tythe of the Corn in Kind. Next such a farther Quantity as was held necessary for the public Service at a low stated Price. If this was not found sufficient, a farther Supply was exacted, but was paid for at a higher

8 The Distinction of Cities was a great Mark of the Roman Policy, of which we have room to say but little here. Some were Municipia, or free Cities, the Inhabitants of which, with great Privileges were allowed to live under their own Laws, and of these we know only of Two in Britain, Verulam near St. Albans and York. The next were Colonies, composed originally, at least in a great Degree, of Roman Soldiers who had served their accustomed Time in the Army, and were rewarded with Lands in the Neighbourhood. Inferior to these were such as enjoyed the Jus Latium. Others again are stiled by Richard of Cirencester, Stipendiary. These had all of them Two Magistrates of their own resembling Consuls, Senators, who could not enjoy that Rank without having a certain Revenue in Land. They had likewise Censors, Edils, Quæstors, Priests, Augurs, &c. In a Word they bore in Proportion to their Size, a Resemblance to Rome, and the Inhabitants in general not only lived after the Roman Manner, but spoke the Latin Language. We are told that there were about Thirty Colonies in Spain, and there were about a Third Part as many here. But besides these there were the Confederate Cities, that is, the Nations who submitted to the Romans upon certain Terms, and were therefore permitted to live according to their own Customs, paying annual Tribute, and furnishing their Contingent of Troops.

Price. At this also was furnished a Fourth Quantity for the Supply of the Chief Magistrate's Family, and sometimes a Fifth was insisted upon, as a Mark of Respect in the Nature of a free Gift. These Impositions did not fall simply upon Wheat; but upon all other Grain, and even upon Pulse. The Motives to these Levies were the Supply of the Soldiers, who had each a certain Quantity of Flour allowed him by the Month; for the Supply of their Magazines in their fortified Places, where they had usually a Year's Provisions; and as we have often mentioned in other Places, vast Quantities were exported for the Service of their Troops in Germany and Gaul<sup>h</sup>.

BUT though the largest Revenue arose from Arable, yet other Lands did not escape but were likewise taxed, in Proportion to the Profits accruing from them. Thus Orchards paid a double Tythe, because the Produce of them was without Labour. There was an Imposition likewise upon Meadows, when they were private Property. An exact Register was kept of all Kind of Cattle that fed on the public Domain, and the certain Rate paid for every Beast in Proportion to its Value, which must have arisen to a very considerable Sum in a Country where the People were naturally inclined to grazing. In all Probability however the Weight of these Taxes might gradually dispose the People, where they found it practicable, to turn their Lands from Pasture to Tillage, which was much encouraged by the Government, as they were in no Danger of wanting Cattle from the Confederates, who still lived according to their ancient Customs, and bred them in the marshy and mountainous Parts in Abundance<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> The First of these Levies was called *Frumentum Decumanum*, Tythe Corn; which was the absolute Property of the State. The Second *Frumentum emptum*, Corn bought; but paid for at a low Price. The Third, *Frumentum Imperatum*, Corn upon Command, that is, by Order of the Senate, for which there was usually given a Third more than for the bought Corn. The Fourth *Frumentum æstimatum*, the Corn estimated for the Prætor's Household, which was at the same Price with the *Frumentum Imperatum*. The last *Frumentum Honorarium*, which Cicero says, though it bore this fair Title, and was supposed to be a Mark of Respect, was in reality extorted by selfish and avaricious Magistrates, who upon Detection were punished. We have before, p. 62, of this Volume, shewn of what Consequence the Fertility of Britain was to the Northern Provinces of the Empire, and from unquestionable Authority proved, that Eight hundred Vessels built on purpose, of a large Size, were laden at once from hence with Corn, which on a moderate Computation must have amounted to between Two and Three hundred Thousand Quarters.

<sup>i</sup> In order to the regular Collection of this Tax, a Register was necessary, in which the Name of the Farmer was set down, and the Number of Beasts which he kept. This Register was called *Scriptura*, whence the Name of the Tax. In this Register the Size and Situation of the Field was likewise described, which was from thence styled *Scripturarius Ager*, and the Comptroller General of this Tax had the Title of *Magister Scripturæ*. These Circumstances are mentioned to give the Reader an Idea of the methodical Accuracy of the Romans in Things of this Nature, which will fully support what we have said in the Text, of the Correctness of their Oeconomy.



It was not from the Surface only, but even from the Bosom of the Earth, that the Romans extracted a Revenue. Britain had been always famous for Tin, and continued so under their Dominion, as a Proof of which some of the Emperors that set up here, coined Money or Medals of this Metal. They extracted also great Quantities both of Lead and Iron, and of the latter especially raised many Manufactures. From all these Mines a Revenue accrued to the State which in other Countries was a Tenth, and very probably it was the same here. It is certain that the Romans knew there was both Gold and Silver in Britain, but it is not certain that they drew any Advantage from them. In their other Provinces Gold Mines were only wrought for the Profit of the Emperor, which might be a good Reason for the Britons concealing them here, that is, the Rivulets in which the Particles of Gold were found, and the Mountains from which they descended <sup>k</sup>.

THE vending of Salt belonged exclusively to the Public, whether made in the Province or brought hither from abroad. This must have produced a vast Income from the general Consumption of a Commodity so necessary to Mankind. Yet it hath been suggested, that this did not originally arise from a Desire of burdening, but rather of easing the People, because those who dealt in it raised it to an extravagant Price, to prevent which the Sale of it was confined to Persons intrusted by the Magistrates, by which Means this Necessary of Life was through the whole Empire supplied in Abundance, and at a reasonable Price <sup>l</sup>.

BESIDES all these, they levied inland Duties and Customs upon all Goods. The former were paid at the Entrance into Cities and Towns; the latter before Goods were either shipped or landed, which were viewed by the Revenue Officers, and paid according to their Value, sometimes

<sup>k</sup> We have in the former Part of this Work said so much of the Metals in this Country, that there is no need of dwelling on the Subject here. The Emperor Claudius struck a Colony Medal of Camarunonum in Tin. There is likewise another of the same Metal of Carausius in the Cabinet of Dr. Sharpe, Archdeacon of Northumberland. The Mines of Carthagenæ in Spain produced to the Romans to the Value of Eight hundred Pounds per Diem, and they wrought a Gold Mine in Dalmatia which brought in more than twice that Sum. We may therefore safely conclude, that if they had wrought any such, we should have heard of them in Britain.

<sup>l</sup> As in regard to Taxes as well as every Thing else, this great people were regular and systematic, we may be sure that this Tax on Salt extended to their Provinces here. It was a very ancient Tax, originally imposed by Ancus Martius one of their Kings, but abolished with Monarchy. It was revived again for the Reason mentioned in the Text, as Livy tells us. An additional Impost being laid by M. Livius, he obtained from thence the Surname of Salinator. There were not only Salt-works wrought for the Benefit of the Public, but others likewise that were private Property, the Produce of which however they sold to the State. It is impossible to say what this Tax produced, but however moderate it might be, it must have amounted to an immense Sum, if there were, as hath been asserted, Seventy-five Millions of People in the Roman Empire. As Male Criminals were condemned to work in the Mines, so Women for certain Offences were doomed to the Salinae or Salt-works.

and in some Places at a higher, in others at a lower Rate; what this was in Britain cannot with any Certainty be determined, but according to the best Lights that we have, it might be sometimes at Five per Cent, and at others about Half as much. Whatever it was, it amounted to a very large Sum, and was always considered as a principal Branch of the established Revenue <sup>m</sup>.

THERE were besides these capital and constant Imposts, others which were personal, and which were peculiarly distinguished by the Title of Tribute. The First of these was a Capitation or Poll Tax, as to the Nature of which nothing can positively be affirmed, except that it was levied in Britain, as was also another still harsher upon Burials. These seem to have been incertain in their Nature, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the Exigencies of the State. But it should seem that the Tribute or Poll Tax was constantly levied on those, who submitted to the Roman Power, and possibly not on those who were stiled Allies or Confederates <sup>n</sup>. The Working on the public Roads was another Kind of personal Service, for which, however, such as were employed therein, received competent Wages or at least Subsistence. It hath been already observed, that the Confederates furnished their Contingent of Troops, both of Horse and Foot, but more especially the former, who were placed on the

<sup>m</sup> The inland Duty upon Goods, which the Romans stiled Vestigal in porta, was levied upon whatever passed either by Land or Water, and was collected upon Rivers, Bridges, and at the Gates of Towns. The Duty upon Importation and Exportation was called Vestigal Peregrinum. We learn from a Passage in Cicero, that in the Port of Syracuse it was Five per Cent. in his Time. But from the very Nature of Things, it must have altered, as it was an excellent Engine in the Hands of Government for the proper Regulation of Commerce, in which Light it appears to have been very well understood; for Pliny mentions that the Indian Trade carried on by the Port of Alexandria, drained Rome of between Four and Five hundred thousand Pounds a Year; and we also know, that the Customs of Alexandria rose higher than any other Port in the Empire. As we had many Ports in Britain, some of them very considerable and much frequented, it cannot be doubted that in quiet Times the Customs must have risen, as well as inland Duties, to very large Sums, though the Rates might be very moderate, since it could not escape so wise a People, that the lower the Duty the higher the Revenue.

<sup>n</sup> Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. lxii. It is from the Speech of Boadicea recorded by Dio, that we learn both these Taxes were exacted here under the Emperor Nero. If the Reader discovers any Incertainty or Ambiguity in the Text, he must ascribe it to our Want of Authorities, which puts it out of our Power to be clearer or more explicit. We know that those who submitted to the Romans, were in general taxed by them, so that immense Sums in ready Money were annually sent from the Provinces; but we are far from knowing exactly, how all this Money was raised. Vespasian imposed a Poll Tax upon the Jews. In Gaul this Tax was swelled to such an enormous Degree, that when Julian commanded there, he reduced it to less than One-third Part. It is generally said that Tributum implies an Imposition upon Persons, Vestigal, upon Goods; but perhaps this is not always to be relied on. When Augustus made a Division between the Provinces left to the People, and those that appertained to the Emperor, he directed, that the Money raised in the former should be called Tributa, in the latter Stipendia.

Wings of the Army, and seem to have been commanded by Roman Officers °.

IN the Times of the Republic, all Taxes were imposed by the Senate with great Deliberation, and uniformly levied. But in the Time of the Emperors, they were settled simply by their Edicts, according to their Will, and sometimes, though rarely, suppressed when they grew intolerable. These were mostly a Kind of Excises, such as the Duty on the Sale of Slaves, upon Goods sold by Auction, upon the Admission of Artificers or Mechanics to what might be called their Freedom. For in these Times they had Colleges, as they called them, of Carpenters, Joiners, Smiths, Armourers, Masons, &c. in the Nature of our Corporations <sup>p</sup>. There was likewise a Duty upon Smoke, which was a Kind of Hearth or Chimney Tax, and several others. Amongst these there was One upon Horse's Dung, and Vespasian's famous Tax upon Urine; which Excises must altogether have produced a great Deal of Money, though we have not the smallest Materials to warrant any Computation <sup>q</sup>.

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° The Confederates were sometimes more in Number than the Legions, and it was this made the Precautions mentioned in the Text so necessary. By dividing them, and placing them on the Flanks, their Force was lessened, and by their being commanded by Roman Officers stiled Prefects, it was made still more difficult for them to revolt. Besides the Horse fought immediately under the Eye of the Commander in Chief. In the last Battle fought by Agricola against Galgacus, this Prince in his Harangue observes, that the Roman Colonies were composed only of weak, old, and worn out Soldiers, that the confederate Cities were many of them discontented, and that those in that Army could not fight with a good Will against their Countrymen, so that if once beaten in the Field, the Romans would immediately find themselves oppressed by Enemies on every Side.

<sup>p</sup> It might be easily apprehended at first Sight, that being exposed to such a Variety of Impositions, and these reaching to all Ranks and Degrees of People, the Burden of the Roman Government must have been great, as indeed it was, but not oppressive. For the Multiplicity of Taxes was in a great Measure balanced by the Multiplicity of public Expences in the erecting sumptuous Edifices for public Purposes, building Fortresses, laying out extensive and expensive Roads, exhibiting Shews and Spectacles for the Amusement of the People, all issuing out of the Treasury; besides the Support of the Civil, Military, and Naval Establishments, the Subsistence of the Confederate Troops whenever they were employed, the Construction and Repair of Ships, and a Variety of other contingent Articles, which gradually diffused a very great Part of the Money among the People from whom it had been collected. Add to this the Profits arising from foreign Commerce, which being maintained by the native Commodities and Manufactures of this Country, brought in continual Supplies of Wealth, without which it would have been impossible to have supplied the Sums annually transmitted to Rome, on private as well as the public Account.

<sup>q</sup> Eutrop. lib. vi. cap. 14. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. p. 144. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. xi. It would certainly be more satisfactory if we could afford the Reader so much as a probable Account of the Revenue raised by the Romans in Britain. Some Guess might be formed if we knew certainly what Income they received from Gaul. Eutropius indeed sets it down expressly, that Cæsar drew from thence by way of Tribute, upwards of Three hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds annually. The very learned Lipsius thinks there is an Error in the Figures, and that he levied

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IT would not be difficult to add a great Deal more on so extensive a Subject as this, by pointing out especially the several Alterations made by Constantine and his Successors in the Administration of Government, through the whole Extent of the Empire, and consequently in the Britannic Provinces. But besides our having already spoken on this Head in the former Book, very little could be advanced in Reference to Taxes, and their Produce, but from Conjecture; which, however it might serve to amuse, could contribute scarce at all, to what alone is had in view here, the Information of the Reader. We will therefore instead of launching into a Field of Speculation, proceed to a Point of much more Consequence, and endeavour as succinctly as possible to shew how a Revenue, in Appearance so very complicated, could nevertheless be very accurately assessed, regularly collected, and in general properly applied, so as to answer all those Ends for which it was raised, and thereby justify the Excellence of that œconomic Plan, for which in all Ages the Romans have been so much commended.

WE have already observed, that in the free Cities and Colonies there was an exact Representation in respect to the Magistrates, of the Capital of the Empire, Rome. These Magistrates were not honorary, or simply graced with the same Titles, but within their small Districts were effectually what they were stiled. The Censors at Rome let once in Five Years the public Revenues to farm, and they were enabled to form a true Judgment of the Value of these Farms, from the Reports made to them

Ten Times that Sum, or upwards of Three Millions. Velleius Paterculus speaking of Augustus says, that he rendered Egypt tributary to the Empire, and that the Revenue was nearly equal to what his Father extracted from Gaul, which may be thought to countenance the Opinion of Lipsius. But still there is nothing certain. We must not conclude from hence that the Romans were not very exact in this Matter. On the contrary, Augustus left behind him, as Tacitus inform us, an exact Detail of the Forces and Revenue of the whole Empire, and upon this Plan perhaps other Emperors proceeded. Appian, who flourished under the Emperor Adrian, undertook to give a like Account, which would have fully answered our Purpose. But unfortunately neither of these are now extant.

The Particulars mentioned in the Text have been collected from the best Authorities, so have specified these exactly would have taken up a great Deal of Room, which we have not to spare. Cicero in his Orations affords great Light with respect to these Matters in the Time of the Republic. They are afterwards to be picked up out of the Roman Historians, and such Greek Writers as have also treated that Subject. These have been drawn together in different Collections of Roman Antiquities. But if the Reader is desirous of entering more minutely into any of the Points mentioned, he may very easily gratify his Curiosity by consulting the learned Dictionary of Samuel Pitiscus, who with equal Labour and Accuracy hath collected all the scattered Materials, ranged them under their proper Heads, and adjusted the Whole in alphabetical Order. Our Point, as we said at the Beginning of this Chapter, was to give the Reader a competent Idea of the Roman Revenues in Britain, and the Intention of this Note is to point out to him the Means of obtaining more particular Information if he desires it.

by the Censors in the Provinces, who took each in his own District, a most accurate and distinct Account of every Person residing therein, and of his Condition and Circumstances. They set down his Name and Age, if single or married, his Children, the Lands he possessed, their annual Produce in Corn, Fruit, or Hay, the Number of Cattle he kept on the Domain of the Republic, or on his own Lands. They registered in like Manner the Quantity and the current Price of the several Kinds of Merchandize transported from One Province to another, and the Duties they paid; the Amount of the Impost upon Salt, and the Produce of the Mines. In consequence of their Reports the Censors were enabled to fix the Value of the Farms, and those who took them sent a Number of Officers to receive and collect these Revenues. The Provincial Censors, like those in the Capital, were chosen by the People, who of course took all the Care they could, to elect Men of the strictest Integrity and Honour, as their own Ease and Happiness depended so much on their making a right Choice. The Officers of the Revenue were under the Controul of the Tribunals, and in the last Resort of the Prætor, who determined whether their Claims were well founded, or the Colonists injured by too high a Charge. In like Manner the Questors received the public Money, and accounted for it; the Edils had the Care of public Buildings of every sort, saw that they were kept in good Order and perfect Repair, and the same Assiduity was shewn by other Officers in their respective Stations. This Order of Things, though established at first with Difficulty, grew in a course of Years so habitual, that all Things were conducted with equal Regularity and Facility.

WE must not however conclude from hence, that these wise Regulations were at all Times punctually observed, so that what we have been saying, is to be restrained to those Periods in which they were so, and in which they failed not to have their Effects. But as Laws are framed by Men guided by the Dictates of Reason, and acting from Principles of public Spirit; so the Execution of them must have sometimes fallen into the Hands of such, as acted under the Impulse of their Passions, or from Motives of Self-interest; when the true Tendency of these Laws were of course interrupted. This happened in the Provinces, even in the Times of the Commonwealth, for which the Offenders were frequently punished. But Britain did not become a Province till after the Roman Liberty was subverted; and we know that under the Emperors these Evils were very early felt here. In succeeding Times Abuses of Power were not uncommon, or the Consequences of them Discontent and popular Commotions, unknown. On the contrary, it hath been shewn in the preceding Book, that to compose these Disorders, as well as to repress the IncurSIONS of  
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the unconquered Natives, several Emperors, which is a full Proof of the Importance of Britain, came over in Person, and valued themselves highly on their Exploits here. But all this did not hinder, at least, for a very long Space, the Progress of Improvements, or prevent the Country from wearing a very flourishing Appearance, notwithstanding the Number and Weight of the Taxes, and which was still a greater Mischiefe, the Application of a considerable Part of them to Purposes that had no Relation to Britain.

It is of great Importance to make it clear to the intelligent Reader, that while under their Dominion Britain was in a thriving Condition, because this will shew the Connection between the Increase of public Revenue, and the general Welfare of the People upon whom it was raised. We have already maintained that the raising Corn in Britain was practised before the Coming of the Romans. Cæsar owns this, for he found it standing at his Arrival. Yet there is no Doubt that the Romans instructed their Subjects more perfectly in the Art of Tillage, introduced a Variety of Grains and Pulse, and being themselves as good Husbandmen as any in the World, extended the Practice wherever they settled, and this most effectually by fixing the great Fund of their Taxes on the Produce of the Earth. Their Policy in reference to this extended to Meadows, Orchards, Gardens, all of which they meliorated in many Respects, and at the same Time and with the same Views improved Pasturage, and taught the Method of Breeding a large Size of Cattle for the Plough, and of feeding Sheep for their Fleeces, as well as for their Flesh. They no Doubt taught likewise better Methods of making Cloth, though both the Gauls and the Britons had a coarse Kind before they came amongst them. In like Manner they gave them better Notions of the complicated Arts of raising, preparing, and manufacturing Hemp and Flax. Architecture also, and all the Branches of Ingenuity subservient thereto, they likewise communicated, and no Doubt found the People very apt Scholars, as the Construction of their War Chariots is an incontestable Proof of their Genius in this Respect, and the Building so great a City as Camulodunum in a few Years, a Fact that fully supports what hath been advanced. In a Course of Years they raised Numbers of Mechanics of every Kind, and the Conveniencies of Life thus provided for, they likewise improved their Taste in the finer Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music.

A WELL cultivated Country is a sufficient Proof of its being well inhabited; but something more perhaps may be thought necessary, to shew that these People were in easy and even in affluent Circumstances. This may be effectually done by considering the great Number and apparent Splendour

their Cities. In these, especially such as were free Roman Colonies, or Capitals of Provinces, there were all the Marks of Grandeur, that every where distinguished the Roman Genius. They had for Example spacious Amphitheatres for the Exhibition of public Games and Shows, Things necessary to captivate the Minds, and conciliate the Affections of the common People. Magnificent Basilics or Halls of Justice, which served likewise for the public Meetings of Strangers, and had Shops on both Sides like our Exchanges. Stately Baths, Temples, Porticos, Places for public Exercise, and whatever else could contribute to decorate these Residences of the Roman Officers. Lesser Towns were neat and well built, and all their numerous Forts strongly fortified, and their Walls composed of the best and most lasting Materials, more especially those upon the Coast which were meant to cover and protect their maritime Places. For the Truth of this the Things themselves give Evidence to this Day, as well as of the Taste and Elegance and immense Expence of their splendid Villa's from the Ruins that yet remain, and from the authentic Accounts that we have, of what excited the Admiration and Astonishment of former Times, so that on this Head our Proofs are most conclusive<sup>s</sup>.

\* The easiest Method of gaining a clear and competent Notion of the Size and Splendour of the Roman Cities in Britain, is to consider carefully the Accounts we have of those that are now in Ruins. Of these we shall mention Three, referring the Reader to those Passages in ancient and modern Authors, where he may satisfy himself as to their original State. The First of these shall be Verolanum or Verulam, out of which rose first the Abby, and then the Town of St. Albans in Hertfordshire. Mat. Paris Vit. S. Albani Abbat. p. 40, 41. Lelandi Commentarii in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 95. Lambard's Dictionary, p. 4. Spenser's Ruins of Time. Camdeni Britannia, p. 292, 293. English Translation, p. 351—355. Stukeley's Itinerary, p. 110. and in Plate 95 the Reader may see that the Situation both of the old City, which Boadicea destroyed, and the new One which the Saxons overthrew, are still to be distinguished. The Second is Silchester, which is as much as to say the great City, in Hampshire on the Borders of Berkshire, in respect to the Roman Name of which Authors are not agreed, but Camden's Opinion that it was Vindonum seems the most probable. It is now arable Land, though there was a small Village and Parish Church in it in the Time of Queen Elizabeth. There is an Amphitheatre near it. Lelandi Commentarii in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 47. Itinerary, vol. vi. fol. 56. Lambard's Dictionary, p. 320. Camdeni Britannia, p. 195. E. T. p. 147. Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 39. Stukeley's Itinerary, p. 169, 170. Pl. 61. The Third is Rhotupium, Rutupium or Rhitupis Portus, now Richborough, of which having said so much in the former Volume, only the Writers who have preserved Accounts of it shall be mentioned here, and these are Lelandi, Geneth. Ead. Principis, p. 39. Itinerary, vol. vii. fol. 138. Lambard's Dictionary, p. 287. Harrison's Description of Britain, Book i. chap. viii. fol. 12. Camdeni Britannia, p. 240. E. T. 243—245. Somner's Roman Forts and Ports in Kent, p. 4. 17. 89. Battely Antiquitates Rutupina. Lewis's History and Antiquities of Tenet. Stukeley's Itinerary, p. 117. 119. From these it will be apparent that what has been said in respect to their Choice of Situations is exactly true. In regard to the Strength of their Buildings neither the Teeth of Time or the Violence of Men have in the Course of so many Ages been able utterly to efface them, and in respect to their Riches and elegant Decorations, notwithstanding the Plunder of so long a Period, they are not yet absolutely exhausted.



ANOTHER and no less cogent Argument, if it was necessary, might be drawn from the vigorous Efforts made by several Commanders in Britain to raise themselves to the Imperial Dignity. Clodius Albinus was very near effecting this against Severus, and in his Defeat there perished the Flower of the British Youth. Carausius seized and kept Britain with the Title of Emperor for several Years, performing great Things both by Land and Sea, and doubtful it is how much longer he might have kept it if he had not been murdered by Allectus, who for a short Time wore the same Title. Constantine was saluted Emperor here, and manifested through his whole Reign a great Kindness for this Country. Lastly, Maximus assuming the Purple carried over a great Army from hence, and after murdering the Emperor Gratian, penetrated into Italy, where he perished. All these were supported in their Designs by the Fleets, the Forces, and the Treasures of Britain, which fully demonstrate the Wealth and Strength of this Country under the Dominion of the Romans. It may be these frequent Revolts might induce the Emperors to adopt for their own Security the Maxim of withdrawing such Troops as were formed in the Provinces, that they might be in less Danger from the Officers who commanded here. Whether this was the Case or not, certain it is, that however the great Captains before-mentioned might raise and extend the Fame, they exceedingly enervated the natural Strength of Britain, and thereby contributed to leave her in that weak and helpless State, in which she appeared when deserted by the Roman Legions.

AFTER having thus incontestably established the Fact, that in the Time of Peace, and of well settled Government, the People in the Roman Provinces here lived much at their Ease, and enjoyed all the Blessings of Life in great Abundance. I say, having established this, let us have leave to enquire a little into the Causes, which are in truth the proper Business of this Chapter. In the First Place, the fortified Line which made their Northern Frontier, secured the Country behind it from the IncurSIONS of the uncivilized Natives, and the interior Parts were likewise covered by Fortresses, and when Occasion required by Winter Camps, which were very strong and so well chosen, that they were commonly succeeded by Villages when deserted. The Communication throughout all the Provinces was effectually provided for by their excellent Roads, and in some Places where it was more commodious by Canals. This exceedingly facilitated the Conveyance of Provisions and all other Necessaries, for which there was a constant and a regular Demand; which uniform Correspondence was of the highest Utility to the Inhabitants, as it enabled them to carry their Commodities where-ever there was a Market. The Plan of Government also, being every where the same, kept all Ranks and Degrees of  
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People in due Subordination. At the same Time this seldom gave Occasion to Oppression, as it was a constant Maxim of theirs, to encourage by every Method the Exertion of Talents of every Kind for the common Benefit of Society. As their domestic Trade was perfectly well protected, so the like Care was taken, as we have already hinted, of their foreign Commerce, which was as extensive as the Bounds of the Empire; and to all this we may add, that their very Taxes, Impositions, and Duties of every Kind contributed not a little to the public Welfare, by discouraging Idleness, exciting Industry, and promoting an active, regular, and continual Circulation.

### C H A P. III.

#### Of the Revenues of the Saxon Monarchs.

**T**HE Saxons, in Proportion as they founded and secured their Principalities, applied themselves assiduously to the Improvement of the Countries they possessed. By their steady and general Application to Husbandry they very soon procured Plenty, and in consequence of that rendered their several Kingdoms populous. They were at the same Time far from being negligent as to maritime Affairs, which at first arose from Necessity, and became afterwards very convenient. Their political Constitution was formed upon their old Customs applied to the Change in their Situation, which created an uniform System of fundamental Laws in each State. This Establishment formed from the very Beginning for the common Benefit, such Ties upon Individuals as proved in effect a public Revenue. The Provision made for their Chief Magistrate or King consisted first in Lands allotted to him as his Demesnes. The Fines for great, and the Mulcts for lesser Offences, composed another Branch of the regal Revenue. The Tolls, Duties, and other Impositions on the inland Trade of Boroughs, and the Rents of Houses in them built upon the Royal Demesne, became a Third Branch. The last consisted in the Customs or Duties levied on the Exportation of native Commodities, and on the Importation of foreign Goods into their respective Kingdoms. These Revenues, as their History shew, were fully answerable to the Occasions of their Monarchs. They without any extraordinary Aids or Assistance lived with Dignity and Splendour, beloved by their Subjects, and revered by their Neighbours. The Mode of Perception rendered their Revenues a Means of improving the Country. At the same Time that they contributed to the Ease, Emolument, and Welfare of the People.

**A**T the First Entrance of the Saxons and their Confederates into this Island, and after their turning their Swords upon those, who are said to have invited them hither, there followed, as we have elsewhere shewn, a dismal Scene of Desolation and Destruction. But when these Nations had established themselves by Force, they began, as it was natural, to think of preserving and improving their Possessions. Their First Principalities being small, their Rulers or Kings were able to visit and to superintend the different Parts of their Dominions, which they settled and governed according to the Customs of their Ancestors, with such small Alterations as became requisite from the Change in their Condition, as they were now no longer under the Necessity of quitting their Abodes as they had formerly done, which Alteration in Circumstances introduced Notions of Property, and with them a Necessity of dividing and assigning separate Portions of the Country, that it might be the more speedily cultivated, for their Subsistence. In this the Prince did not act according to his own Will, but by the Advice of his principal Commanders, who, as they had been the Companions of his Victories, were Sharers likewise in his Conquests, and Partakers in the Labours requisite to their Security and Improvement<sup>a</sup>.

IN order to this, after the Division and Subdivision of the Country they possessed, amongst the several greater and lesser Leaders and their Dependents, they took the best Measures in their Power to cultivate the Lands, and to raise from their Produce the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, in which from the Nature of their free Government, which afforded every Encouragement to Industry, they became quickly very successful, and in Proportion as their Abilities and Numbers increased, began to repair many of those Cities and Towns, which in the Heat of their War against the Britons they had overthrown, being invited thereto by the Convenience of their Situations, and the Plenty of Materials they afforded. In the Con-

<sup>a</sup> The First Leader of the Saxons, Hengist, after various Struggles erected the Kingdom of Kent. He appears to have been a Person as much distinguished by his political as by his military Talents. He contented himself with that small but fertile Territory, fixing the East Saxons on one Side, and the South Saxons on the other, by which it was effectually covered. His Successors adopted his Maxims. His Son Esk, Oisc, or Osca, who hath been stiled the Saxon Numa, settled a regular Plan of Government, so much to the Satisfaction of his Subjects, that they stiled themselves Eskins. His Son and his Grandson pursued his Measures, so that for the Space of near a Century they lived in profound Peace, and so effectually settled and improved their Country, that Ethelbert the Fifth in Succession from Hengist, who proved a more active and ambitious Prince, stretched his Dominions, or at least his Influence, as far as the Humber. It was from hence, that Kent, as it was the first was also the most flourishing of all the Saxon Kingdoms, and the Inhabitants, from a Sense of their own Felicity, the most strongly attached to their own Customs.

struction of these, and of such Fortresses as were requisite to secure them, in the Building of Bridges, and other necessary Means of Communication, the Direction of the King, assisted by his Council, was punctually obeyed; for as these Directions were dictated by Prudence and Experience; and were visibly intended for the common Good, they were willingly submitted to by the People, who felt the Advantages that flowed from them, and thus these Kingdoms gradually increased, and as the principal Object in Time of Peace was Cultivation, the Country grew populous of course, and as from their Plan of Policy, Power and Rank attended Property, a Spirit of Emulation every where produced Plenty, so long as there was no Interruption of Peace <sup>b</sup>.

THESE People before their Entrance into Britain were famous for their Exploits at Sea, and were esteemed the hardiest and the most enterprising Seamen in those Days. The Recruits that from time to time they received, and which enabled them to keep, and to extend their Possessions here, came to them likewise by Sea. When more thoroughly settled, they kept up a constant Correspondence with their Neighbours; and all this induced them to be very attentive to the Ports in their little States, which they fortified early, and built Towns in their Neighbourhood. They received foreign Merchants with great Kindness, allowed them to trade freely, and when any Vessels were wrecked upon their Coasts, behaved with Justice and Humanity to such as escaped. These were among the Customs they had learned from their Ancestors, and which had the Force of Laws in the Countries with which they had an Intercourse. A Spirit of Commerce prevailed amongst them from the very Beginning, and of course enlarged in Proportion with their other Improvements, so that Trade was ever esteemed amongst them as a very honourable Occupation; and though their Vessels were not very large or strong, yet they were very numerous,

<sup>b</sup> It hath been proved, that Gavelkind signifies properly Land yielding Rent, or in other Words a Country thoroughly improved. In order to this, almost every Rank of People had some Kind or other of Property, which encouraged their Industry, and was the Cause of that general Cultivation before-mentioned. Many Portions of Land were let out by great Proprietors on a reserved Rent, and this was stiled Gaffoland. These again had their Undertenants, as well as the great Proprietors, who had small Pieces of Land in Consideration of the Services they performed, such as reaping their Landlord's Corn, mowing his Grass, carrying his Grain to Market, which had all their proper Names, Work-land, Cot-land, Aver-land, Dros-land, Swilling-land, the Explanation of these and many more may be found in the very learned and industrious Mr. Somner's Treatise of Gavelkind, p. 115. This may serve to convince the Reader of the Truth of what is said in the Text, and to shew him that what hath been advanced in the former Book and elsewhere, in respect to the Application of the Saxons to Husbandry is perfectly well-founded. It may not be amiss to add, that though the Custom of Gavelkind is now chiefly to be found in Kent, yet in the Time of the Saxons it prevailed generally through the whole Kingdom.

and served to find Employment for a great Body of Seamen, as is evident from the Fleets that they occasionally fitted out c.

THE People who settled here after their driving out the Britons, though of different Nations, had the same Language, and in general the same Customs, of which they were very tenacious, and of course these had all the Force and Efficacy of Laws. But though in general they were the same in respect to their Nature, yet they might and did vary in particular Circumstances, and these Variations subsisted even after the several Principalities were united into One Kingdom. In each of these there can be no Doubt that the Prince had a competent Revenue for the Support of his Dignity, and this in virtue of their ancient Customs arising from the Reason of the Thing, for with regard to written Laws they had none for a Century and a Half after their coming hither, and even these enact nothing upon that Head, because, as we shall see, it was unnecessary. In reference to this as well as other Things, the same Rule it is likely prevailed in every One of their States, which made no Alteration requisite upon their Coalition, of which we do not perceive any Traces. All that hath been said regards the pure Saxon Constitution while that remained unaltered, and the People unmixed with Danes and other foreign Nations; for in consequence of this many Alterations were made, and many Innovations took Place, for want of attending to which many Things have been represented as such, which in reality, though they happened in the Time of the Saxons, were by no Means Part of the Saxon Constitution. For this appears to have been very simple in itself, very regular in its Forms, and very uniform in its Ope-

c It is generally agreed, that the peculiar Privileges granted to the Cinque Ports are to be referred to the Times of the Saxons, and were probably a political Institution of the Kings of Kent, and it is also generally allowed, that Earl Godwin exercised the Office of Warden in the Time of Edward the Confessor. Ethelbert, who is mentioned in a former Note, married a French Princess, which shews that there was a friendly Correspondence between the Two Kingdoms. In Process of Time we find that a Door was opened to the Acquisition of Honour, by Trade as well as by the Improvement of Land. A Merchant who had Thrice crossed the Sea in a Vessel of his own, and had acquired a competent Property, became thereby worthy the Rank of a Thane. The Voyages of Saxon Princes on the Score of Devotion must have opened their Minds, and made them acquainted with foreign Countries. The Expedition by the Command of Alfred, for the Discovery of the North West Passage, more than once mentioned already, is an incontestable Evidence that in those Times they were by no means ignorant of maritime Affairs, and this being so, we can no way so probably account for that Knowledge as from their Correspondence in the Way of Trade with foreign Countries, and especially with the Northern Parts of Europe. The historical Accounts we have of their Affairs are so few, so short, and from thence in many Places so obscure, that very little can be known on these Subjects but by Way of Deduction.

rations so long as it continued to subsist upon the Basis of its original Principles <sup>d</sup>.

THE First of these was, that to whatever regarded the common Safety or Welfare of all, every Man was bound to contribute in his Person or in his Property. In case of a War, every Freeman was considered as a Soldier, and the necessary Levies were made by the Direction of the King, assisted by his Council or Senators, who were presumed to be the fittest, and were therefore considered as the legal Judges of the Manner in which the Force of the Nation was to be exerted. In reference to Fortresses that were to be constructed for the public Security, and in every Thing of the like Nature the People were obliged to bear the Expence, not in an arbitrary Manner, or at the mere Will and Pleasure of the King, but according to a certain Rule, that is, in Proportion to their respective Shares of Property, which being founded in natural Equity, and their Possessions being known with great Certainty, met with a ready and general Submission. These Regulations might very properly be said to constitute a public Revenue, as they were raised only for public Purposes in such Seasons only, as they were apparently requisite, and in such a Manner as could never tend to Oppression. It was in consequence of this, that in succeeding Times, when Alfred framed what hath been justly stiled his Constitution, he regarded these fundamental Laws as the Groundwork of his System, and only modified them in such a Manner as to render them more easy and more effectual, in which having the Concurrence of the Legislature as it then stood, and the general Approbation of all his Subjects for his Wisdom and public Spirit, he met with no Opposition. He seems indeed in this Respect to have done no more than his First Predecessors in their Establishment of the original Saxon Principalities, to each of which there is no Doubt that:

<sup>d</sup> In the former Book the Authorities are given which support the Facts that are delivered here, and therefore it is unnecessary to repeat them. The very Nature of the Subject renders it impossible to be circumstantial, but this by no Means destroys or even weakens the Certainty of what is advanced in the Text. The Heptarchy is universally allowed, and there seems to be as little Dispute in regard to the Similarity of these States, so long as they remained free and independent. This must have arisen either from copying the original Establishment of Hengist, who, Nennius says, Hist. Brit. cap. xxxvi. was a learned, subtle, and crafty Man, or which is much more probable, that these Governments were framed according to their ancient Customs, and therefore we have so stated it in the Text. These Customs were indeed the Dictates of common Sense applied to the Situation of their Affairs. Their First Object was the driving out the Britons, and in prosecuting this they acted with Violence and Fury; but when they had once gained Possession, and considered the Country as their own, they altered their Conduct, and took the most natural Method for preserving what they had acquired, by distributing the Lands amongst their Chiefs, as these again divided them amongst their Dependants, and as their Strength increased by an Accession of Recruits from Abroad, they extended their Conquests, and divided them in the like Manner.

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they gave the Form of Rule, which they in Conjunction with their Council esteemed fittest for the Situation of their respective Countries, and the State of their Inhabitants e.

THE proper Revenue of the Saxon Kings arose in the First Place from Lands assigned them, or otherwise acquired in different Parts of their Dominions, which they let out to farm, and had their Servants upon them in the same Manner with other Proprietors. This was very convenient or rather requisite, as for the Sake of inspecting public Affairs, holding Courts of Justice, and other Purposes, they travelled through different Parts of their Territories, and took up their Residence either in Towns or in the Houses belonging to their Royal Demesnes, which, as some old Writers inform us, were commonly such as had been the Villas of Roman Governors, very probably on account of their well chosen Situations. These Possessions were partly of a private Nature, such as came to these Princes by Descent, or were acquired by Purchase, which they might bestow by Gift, dispose of them by Will, or alienate in any other Manner they thought proper. Others again were considered as Crown Lands, which the King could not part with, or bestow even upon the Church, to which most of these Monarchs were very liberal, without the Consent of their Nobility. In Proportion as their Dominions were extended, these Crown Lands became very considerable, and afforded the Monarch who possessed them no contemptible Income. They had also an Opportunity of gratifying their younger Children and other Relations, such of their Nobility as married their Daughters, and others who stood high in their Favour, with these Mansions and the Lands belonging to them, which by this Means

\* These general and indisputed Obligations of every Landholder, are what we find generally comprized under the Term of *Trinoda Necessitas* of the Saxons. These were defending by the Sword what had been gained by the Sword, contributing to Fortresses, and to the Construction of Bridges, which were not looked upon in the Light of Services, but as Things necessarily connected with landed Property. This Notion strongly confirms what has been advanced in the Text, and in the former Note, as not being founded in any Law, but existing as a universal Custom through all their little States, and therefore constantly respected as a fundamental Principle of Government. The Rule in this and in all other Cases that respected the Public, was the Proportion of every Man's Property. This was measured by Hide Lands. The Quantity of Land which composed this was uncertain; that is to say, in some Places it was more, in others less; but the Idea it conveyed was very clear, it was such a Quantity of arable Land as would serve to maintain a Family, with a competent Proportion of Meadow and Pasture for the Support of the Beasts requisite to till it. In succeeding Times every Five Hide Lands were bound to furnish a Man for the public Service, and this is said to have constituted a standing Army, or rather a standing Militia, of near Fifty thousand Men. The directing the Manner in which these were to be employed, made Part of Alfred's Constitutions, and possibly beside these the King and his principal Officers might have small Troops of Soldiers either in constant Pay, or bound to this Service by Lands bestowed on them with this Condition.



were always kept in good Order, and in consequence of this, however rich the Prince might be, it was without any Detriment to or laying any Burden upon the Subject <sup>f</sup>.

THE Temper of the Saxons was fierce, and their Manners rough at their coming here, whence Quarrels were very frequent, and sometimes attended with Bloodshed, which though they held worthy of Punishment, yet it was not by Death or Imprisonment, but by a Fine proportioned to the Rank of the Person slain. Lesser Offences were in the same Manner punished by Mulcts, and no corporal Punishment (for a long Time) inflicted on any but Slaves. The Customs they brought with them, were consequently established in their several Principalities, and though they might be afterwards regulated by, were certainly more ancient than any of their written Laws. Of these Fines a large Share was appropriated to the King's Use, and though this Proportion might, as indeed it did, differ in different Principalities, and this Difference continued to subsist when they were united under One Monarch, the Part appropriated, whatever it was, remained the same. These Fines for greater and Mulcts for smaller Offences were paid in Money, and consequently this is to be regarded as another, and very considerable Branch of the Revenue of these Saxon Kings. True it is, that this Income was uncertain in respect to its Produce, but then it was equally certain and general in its Nature, and so reasonable, and of such apparent Utility, that it was adopted in succeeding Times upon the original Principle, that those who violated the King's Laws made for the Benefit of his Subjects, should pay a Compensation to the King, in Proportion to the Nature of the Offence <sup>g</sup>.

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<sup>f</sup> As to the Demefne Lands of the Saxon Kings, their Royal Manors and Houses upon them, we have the clearest and most authentic Evidence from a Variety of Laws relating to them, and the Privileges annexed to them. Besides these, all the Royal Charters for granting these Lands to Churches and Monasteries, with the Consent of the Nobles, are so many additional Proofs. Besides these we have a Variety of Testaments, particularly that of Alfred the Great, printed at the End of Asser's Life of that Prince, in which he recites also his Father's Last Will, and his particular Title to those Lands which he assigns to his Children and Relations. We are also told that he made a general Description of the Country, or a Kind of Survey, in which the Royal Demefnes and all the other landed Property in the Kingdom was set forth; and this is supposed to have been the Model of the Conqueror's Doomsday Book, which likewise affords sufficient Testimony as to the Truth of what is laid down in the Text, and though very probably the Crown Lands might be much diminished by the Revolutions that had happened in the State, yet it appears from thence, as we shall hereafter see, that Edward the Confessor was possessed of a large landed Property.

<sup>g</sup> All Ranks of Men amongst the Saxons had a certain Rate or Sum set upon their Heads, which were to be paid in the Manner their Laws directed in case they were killed. This Fine was termed Wergild, that is, Man's Price; the King's Head was estimated at Twenty thousand Thrimfa's, as to the Value of which there hath been many Disputes, but the judicious Doctor Clarke seems to have made it clear that the Thrimfa was Three Pence. The Archbishop, the

At the First Erection of the Saxon States, their Monarchs found it requisite to appoint certain Places, where People might live together in Safety, and carry on their Dealings with each other with Facility and Freedom. These were called Burghs, that Word in its primitive Signification implying a Place of Strength. These were all mediately or immediately of Royal Creation; for though many of them belonged to Prelates, Monasteries, or to Lay Lords, yet even those were erected by Licence from the Crown. For the Ease and Commodity of the Inhabitants open Markets were fixed in them, with certain Privileges, and in consequence of this Tolls were received and Duties imposed upon the Goods carried thither for Sale, which Impositions were collected by a Bailiff, and in Process of Time, for the Conveniency both of the Crown and of the People, the Produce of them was let to the Burgessees themselves, at a stated annual Rent, which was stiled a Fee-farm, and this being paid, the Tolls and Duties were collected for the Benefit of the Inhabitants. Besides their Fee-farm, or the Tolls and Duties, if they were not so let, such of the Burgessees as lived in Houses built upon the King's Demesne, paid him Rent, as others did to their respective Lords; and from these Two Branches there arose a Third Kind of Revenue to the Crown, more certain but perhaps not more considerable than the former. We might speak more fully, and enter more at large into these Points, if we were possessed of better Authorities. The best and surest Guide we have, is the Book of Doomſday, but this Record being settled some Years after the Conquest, and reciting only the State of Things in the Time of Edward the Confessor, when great Alterations had been made, and many foreign Customs adopted, we cannot with any Certainty collect from thence what the State of these Places were in earlier Times, or when the Saxon Government was in the most flourishing Condition <sup>b</sup>.

IT

Prince, the Thane, and so down to the lowest Freeman, had his Value. But this was not all, every Limb was also valued, and every Kind of Wound or Injury. These were punished by Mulcts, called in Saxon Wites. In some Cases the Wergild was divided: The King had the First Part, which was called Frith-bote, which was for the Breach of his Peace, and for the Loss of his Subject. The Lord of the Person slain, if he had One, had another Part, which was stiled Man-bote, for the Loss of his Man. The Third Part belonged to the Relations, and was called Cengild, that is, Kindred's Money. By this Price of their Heads, the Ranks of Men were distinguished into Twelfthind, Sixthind, and Twyhind. The last was an ordinary Person whose Head was estimated at Two hundred Shillings, the Second at Six hundred, and the First at Twelve hundred Shillings. What very plainly proves, that this was an original or fundamental Law which the Saxons brought with them, is its prevailing among other Northern Nations, for the Danes had it likewise, though their Wergild seems to have been One Fifth less than that of the Saxons. King Alfred raised the Price of an ordinary Man's Head from Thirty to Two hundred Shillings.

<sup>b</sup> It is hoped, that the Account given in the Text will give the Reader a competent Notion of Saxon Burghs, which was their general Name for Towns of what Size soever. They were

appropriated

It hath been elsewhere very fully shewn, that from the First Settlement of the Saxon Kingdoms, their Subjects held a Correspondence with those of Foreign States for their mutual Conveniency. Indeed if we had no Authorities it would be impossible to conceive Things otherwise, or to apprehend that an Island abounding with fine Ports inhabited by a Nation accustomed to the Sea, and gradually possessing all the natural Commodities of this Country, should not avail themselves of foreign Trade. It is no Objection to this, that in the Saxon Laws Artificers and Tradesmen are stiled Merchants. They made indeed no nice Distinctions in those Days, yet we find even in these Laws Mention of Traders who crossed the Seas in their own Vessels, and those Vessels freighted on their own Account. The Truth certainly is, that Commerce there was in all maritime Parts of the Kingdom, but it fluctuated like other Things, sometimes flourished, and sometimes decayed, according to the State the Nation was in. But in every Condition of Trade, the Kings levied Customs on Goods imported and exported, and the Person who collected these was stiled a Port-reeve, though very possibly he might also collect the Tolls, Inland Duties, and Rents in the same Place. Of all this we have as much Certainty as the Nature of the Thing requires, and therefore this is allowed to have been another Branch of the Saxon Revenue <sup>i</sup>.

## THESE

appropriated for the Habitation of such as got their Living by buying and selling, and the Burghesses or those who dwelt in them were Mechanics, Tradesmen, and Merchants. They had Privileges suitable to their Mode of Life, elected Magistrates, and transacted other Business in their General Meeting, which was stiled a Burghmote. These Privileges, and their having regular Markets and Fairs, distinguished them from Villages, which were solely inhabited by Persons employed in Husbandry. The latter were more numerous, the former of greater Consequence. In Time of War however they were exposed to all its Inconveniencies, were frequently plundered, and sometimes destroyed, more especially by the Danes. It is from thence, as we have hinted in the Text, that there is no speaking with Certainty or Precision of their Size or Number of Inhabitants, as the Reader may be convinced, by consulting what is said of Stamford, Camdeni Britannia, p. 401. All that we shall add farther upon this Subject is, that most of the local Customs, many of which are very singular, are derived from these Times, and in several Places have been continued in Practice, though the Reasons of their Institution are no longer known. If the Reader is desirous of entering farther into this Matter, he may consult the *Convetudines et Jura Anglo Saxonica ex Libro censuali, dicto Doomesday*; which is printed at the End of the First Volume of Dean Gale's Collection of ancient Historians.

<sup>i</sup> The Attention shewn to Trade and Commerce did not consist solely in the providing proper Places for the Residence and Accommodation of such as were concerned therein, but appeared likewise in the Diversity of Weights for different Kinds of Goods, and for the Disposal of them in Wholesale and Retail. The Variations in the Saxon Money which hath given so much Trouble and Perplexity to our Antiquaries, arose from the same Cause. It is evident that before the Time of Alfred, the Saxons employed their Vessels chiefly, if not wholly in Trade, and as we have shewn in the former Book, this obliged him to construct Ships of greater Capacity and Strength for guarding the Coasts. The great Fleets, which, if any Credit be due to all our Histories, were employed by Edgar, required many thousand Sailors, and these could not have been found if there had not been an extensive Commerce, in consequence of the Care taken, of which, ac-

THESE are all the Branches of the Saxon Revenue, that with any Certainty are known, and we may have leave to say, shew the Excellency of that Constitution, which was alike applicable to the Support of the regal Dignity when confined to the little Sovereignty of Kent, and when extended to all England. From the Nature of their Government, these Princes, though they had a Place of peculiar Residence, were obliged nevertheless from a Variety of Causes to visit different Parts of their Dominions, which by the Distribution of their Demesnes, they were enabled to do without any Inconvenience to themselves or Burden upon their Subjects. These also afforded them, as we have before remarked, competent Provisions for their younger Children, and put it also in their Power to reward their faithful Servants. We find them likewise in a Capacity to erect and endow Monasteries, and to make other considerable Donations to the Church, in which they had the Concurrence of the Nobility, who were certainly the proper Judges of their Prudence in such Alienations, and would very probably have prevented them if they had appeared incompatible with the public Good, which is the more likely, as they actually interposed when it was done without their Consent, treating such an Alienation as illegal and invalid <sup>k</sup>.

IN other Respects it is very apparent, that they were in a Condition to support their Dignity, to build Palaces, to live according to the Mode of those Times in Ease and Affluence; to send Alms and to make Journies to Rome at no small Expence; to keep up a Correspondence with foreign Courts, and to make Intermarriages with Princeesses of the most respectable Houses in Europe. The Adversity and Prosperity of Alfred was in

according to the original Principles of the Saxon Constitution, the King levied Customs and Duties, and upon this Ground stands the Opinion of our ablest Judges, that they were due to the Crown by Common Law. Dyer's Reports, 43. 165. Davis's Reports, 8.

<sup>k</sup> There are many Circumstances that would render this Subject clearer and more satisfactory, if they could be ascertained. For Instance, if we knew what the Royal Demesnes were, in any One of the Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, which we do not. Conjectures are no Evidence, yet we may be permitted to hint, that the Saxons affected a certain Proportion in their Establishments of every Kind. The Head or Life of a Freeman had its Value assigned, that of the Thane was Six Times as much; and the King's Life was valued at Six Times that of the Thane. We know that Five Hides of Land was thought a competent Estate for a Man of that Dignity; but, though we may suppose some Proportion observed, we cannot conclude from thence, what in the original setting out of these Principalities might be assigned to the King. The Hide was an incertain Quantity of Land, supposed to be sufficient for the Maintenance of a Family, that is, of a considerable Landholder, who, as we have seen in a former Note, parcelled it out on various Conditions to his Tenants, all of whom drew their own and their Family's Maintenance out of it. As to the King's Royal Demesnes being considered as the Patrimony of the Crown, and not alienable at the mere Will of the Prince, we have an Instance in King Baldred, who gave the Manor of Maling in Suffex to a Monastery in Canterbury without the Consent of his Nobles, which was declared void, and granted again by King Egbert with their Consent. Concil. Britan. 340.

common with that of his Subjects. When they were reduced to Indigence so was he, and when by his Conduct and Courage, and their Assistance, the public Affairs were retrieved, he of course recovered his former State and Revenue. The One was the natural Consequence of the other, and both were effected by the natural inherent Force of the Saxon Form of Rule. The Grandeur and Magnificence of Edgar's Court was the apparent Effect of the flourishing State of his Dominions, and of the general Tranquility and Opulence of his Subjects. It was not till the unfortunate Reign of Ethelred that we hear of any extraordinary Aid or Imposition, and this when done was done by the Consent of the States. In the succeeding Distractions the Saxon Constitution was very much weakened, and in many Instances altered, as we have already shewn. But even in the Reign of Edward the Confessor, the Revenue seems to have been very sufficient for his Support, and upon his Demise Harold made very great Efforts without any other Assistance, than he derived from what yet remained of the Saxon Constitution<sup>1</sup>.

THIS Revenue was not only at all Times adequate to the Purposes for which it was given, without being oppressive on the Community, but which was its greatest Excellence, turned very much to their Advantage. The settled Principle of drawing the necessary Supports of the State from Land made a general Improvement of it requisite, into whatever Hands it fell, for which the Saxon Oeconomy was admirably calculated; and the Possessions of the Crown and of the Church, being as well or better cultivated than the Rest, what they held could be no Loss to the Nation. In the next Place, the Appropriation of Fines and Mulcts rendered it the Interest of the King and his Officers to be very attentive in the Execution of Justice, as the Provision made by Appeals from inferior Courts was very wisely calculated to prevent Abuses. The erecting of Burghs was beneficial to the King and to the Lords of the Soil, and at the same Time of great Utility to the Bulk of the People, who resorted to the Markets and Fairs in them for the Disposal of their Commodities and the Pur-

<sup>1</sup> We may form some Judgment of the constitutional Power of the Saxon Princes, before the Junction of their Kingdoms, from the famous Ditch called by the Britons *Klawdh Offa*, which that Monarch drew for the Security of his own Dominions, and which was a most stupendous Work, no less than Ninety Miles in Extent. Charlemagne corresponded with that Prince, and Egbert, who united all the Saxon Kingdoms, was bred up in his Court. The Journeys made by our Monarchs to Rome were not solely on account of Religion; for that City was in those Days the School of Learning and of Arts; and Alfred in Commemoration of his Retreat, in the Island of *Æthelingey*, built there, as William of Malmesbury tells us, *de Gestis Pontif. p. 255.* a Monastery, which from his Description seems to have been constructed after the Model of the Pantheon. In succeeding Times, several beautiful and costly Structures were erected, particularly the Abbey at Westminster, to which Edward the Confessor devoted the Tenth Part of his Revenues.

chafe of Necessaries. The King likewise found his Account in cherishing Commerce, not only from the Duties he received, but for the public Service in raising of Seamen; and in all Probability some of these Monarchs having it more in their Power than their Subjects, might become Traders themselves, and thereby increase their Income <sup>m</sup>.

Upon the Whole it must be evident to every candid and considerate Reader, that from the whole Frame of the Saxon Government, the Interests of the King and Kingdom were thoroughly and inseparably united. The whole Current of their History, as sufficiently appears from the Sketch given of it in the former Book, and which was there given for that Purpose, very clearly proves this to be a Fact, and not a Conjecture. If to this we add, that these Saxon Monarchs, at least so far as credible History reaches, were not much disposed to foreign Wars or foreign Conquests, that is, without the Bounds of this Island, we may from thence discern the Credibility of themselves and their Subjects becoming rich, at least for those Times, since by far the greatest Part of what their Commerce brought in must have remained in their Hands, and though it is agreed that all Ranks of People lived (at least in Times of public Quiet) in great Plenty, yet this was from their own Produce, and being the Result of their Industry could never impoverish them <sup>n</sup>.

## C H A P.

<sup>m</sup> It appears that the Number of Villages in England at the Time of the Conquest was nearly equal to that of the standing Militia, so that to raise an Army of Fifty thousand Men, there was only One taken out of each, which fully proves the Populousness of the Country, and of course that it was thoroughly cultivated. It hath been already remarked, that the State of this Kingdom was declining before the Survey called Doomesday was taken, and yet many Proofs might be produced from thence to shew the Utility of the Burghs, in all Respects sufficient to support what is said of them in the Text. As to our Princes carrying on some Degree of foreign Commerce, the History of Alfred seems to be conclusive; for he, as we have frequently had occasion to mention, employed Ships for Discovery in the North Seas; sent Alms to the distressed Christians in the East, and received Presents from thence, which are clear and uncontroverted Proofs of what is the usual Effect of Trade, an extensive Correspondence, and the great Resort of Foreigners to the Court of Edgar, may well be considered in the same Light. Lord Bacon indeed tells King James, that his Kingdom was much better suited thereto than either Portugal or Tuscany, if his Predecessors had not despised it as beneath them, in which he forgets Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh, who enriched themselves and their Subjects by this Practice. Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 255.

<sup>n</sup> As the fundamental Laws of the Saxons were in Use from the Institution of their respective States, so they lasted as long as their Dominion: For we find by the Record of Doomesday, that Edward the Confessor was possessed of One thousand four hundred and Twenty-two Manors in several Parts of the Kingdom. What his Interest was in the Boroughs we find therein likewise expressed. In the Days of Alfred, as himself and his Historian tell us, this Realm was plundered of every Thing valuable by the Danes, so that both the Monarch and his Subjects were reduced to the most abject State of Poverty that can be conceived. Yet in the Compass of a few Reigns, the Country and the People were so recovered as to be able to pay the same barbarous Invaders, within less than Thirty Years, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, Tributes to the Amount of

Two hundred thousand Pounds of their Money, which I freely acknowledge I know not how to value in ours, though much better Judges than I have computed it at several Millions. If this is not as strong and as convincing a Proof as could be wished in respect to the Truth of what is advanced in the Text, it will be very hard to find one; for if we consider it maturely, we must see that nothing but the Balance of a very lucrative foreign Trade, could have repair'd in so short a Space, a Country so totally exhausted. It may however add some Weight to what hath been said, if we farther observe that a Norman Monk affirms, that the Revenue of William the Conqueror amounted to upwards of One thousand Pounds per Diem, or about four hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, making upwards of a Million in our Coin, and if all the Circumstances be taken in that make a Difference in the Value of Money in those Days and in ours, it will amount to a very great Deal more. Ælfredi Regis Prefatio ad Pastorale Sancti Gregorii. Affer. Menevens. p. 15, 27. 31. Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 11. Chron. Saxon. p. 126—151. Oder. Vital. Hist. Eccles. p. 523.

## C H A P. IV.

### The public Revenue from the Coming in of the Normans to the Restoration.

**T**HE Methods employed in raising the Revenue under the Normans, very complex. The landed Estate of the Crown composed of Demesnes and Escheats. The Issues and Profits from the Counties farmed by the Sheriffs. Fines, Amerciaments, Licences, &c. formed another Branch of the Income. Casualties of various Kinds brought in also considerable Sums. Danegelt, Aids, Scutages, &c. were Taxes of a more general Nature. Customs and other Impositions rigorously exacted. The Monies on various Pretences levied upon the Jews, brought into the Exchequer, which bore their Name. The Operations of these Taxes on the Circumstances of the People considered. Many Accidents concurred with these in producing sinister Effects. The Weight of these Grievances at length produced Magna Charta. The Clergy tax themselves separately in Convocation. Parliamentary Taxes differently modelled. The Rise and Nature of Tonnage and Poundage. The Frequency of foreign Wars the great Source of national Calamities. This Evil received a Check from Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh, which gave a new Face to Affairs. The old System being revived produced the former Effects. The State of Things during the Reign of Edward the Sixth. Condition of the Revenue in the Time of Queen Mary. The Wisdom of Elizabeth's Administration in a Variety of Instances explained. The judicious Measures taken to promote Industry and to extend Commerce. The perfect Restitution of the Coin to that State in which it has ever since remained. The Revenue as it stood in the Time of King James. The Methods employed for raising Supplies by Charles the First. The Manner in which



*which the Parliament levied Money during the Civil War. An Account of Cromwell's Revenue before and after his assuming the Title of Protector The Conclusion, with Remarks.*

**A**S the Mode of providing for the public Service, and defraying the Expences necessary for the Support of Government, was, as we have already seen, very simple and regular so long as the Saxon Constitution remained in full Vigour, the Change made by the Norman Conquest was in nothing more conspicuous than in this, which was equally complicated and oppressive. To enter fully and minutely into this Matter would require a Volume, and at the same Time would be unnecessary, as it hath already exercised the Pens of very able Writers, who have very fully shewn the Truth of what hath been asserted, though they have not treated it in its utmost Extent. What is proposed in this Chapter, is to point out a few of the many Instances in which the Manner of levying Money upon the Subject affected the Cultivation of Lands, the Industry of the People, their Commerce, and in a Word Property in general. In this we may be the more concise, as having been obliged to touch many of these Points already, more especially in the former Book, as the History of our Norman Kings is continually perplexed with Disputes about the Claims of Prerogative to raise Money at Pleasure, and the Endeavours used to reduce these Claims within proper Bounds<sup>a</sup>.

IN order to form some Notion of the Revenue of our Norman Kings, we must take Notice in the First Place of their Crown Lands, into the Possession of which the Conqueror entered as Successor to Edward the Confessor. These, or at least a very great Part of these he retained in his own Hands, letting out most of them to Farm, for the Supply of his Household, and for other Purposes, converting others into Forests, to gratify his Passion for hunting, and transmitting both to his Posterity, who employed them in the same Manner<sup>b</sup>. Besides these ROYAL DEMESNES, himself and

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Brady in his History, and in his Treatise of Boroughs; Mr. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer; and Mr. Stevens, in his Account of Taxes, have ranged the several Materials they met with in our Records, in our ancient Historians, and in the Works of our old Lawyers, in such Order as the Nature of the Pieces they published required. To these, and to the ancient Dialogue on the Exchequer we refer, as in these all that we have Occasion to mention is to be found. What is principally intended here, is to afford the Reader such a View of the Norman Policy in this Respect as may enable him to compare its Effects with the Methods of raising a Revenue in preceding and succeeding Times, and from thence form a true Estimate of the Operations of this System of Government on the Country and its Inhabitants, which is the only proper Test of the Merits or Demerits of any Constitution.

<sup>b</sup> The Royal Demesnes, as we observed in the Text, were those which had belonged to the Saxon Monarchs, and consisted of Cities, Burghs, and Farms. But upon this Change they were

and his Successors held many other Lands by Forfeitures, Extinction of Heirs, and various other Circumstances under the general Title of ESCHEATS; and these, when in the Crown, were as much the Property of the King, and the Profits arising from them as duely brought into the Exchequer as those that arose from the former. These Monarchs therefore had not only as large, but a much larger Land Revenue than the Saxon Kings, to which we may add, their having a greater Plentitude of Possession, since they were, or at least acted as if they were at full Liberty to alienate them at Pleasure. A Prerogative considered at first as highly advantageous to their more potent Subjects; but which in Process of Time, and when the Constitution came to be better regulated, was found very inconvenient and prejudicial to the People c.

THE Conqueror indeed made a very free Use of this extensive Power, and distributed the far greatest Part of the Lands of England to those by whose Assistance he had acquired them. But this Liberality, as it proceeded from political Motives, and secured to him a standing Force without Expence for the Preservation and Protection of what he and they had acquired; yet it was not so absolute a Gift, as to be held simply by that Condition, but was likewise subject to several others, which were readily submitted to, not only for

were put under new Regulations. The Cities and Burghs paid their Rents, and had some Privileges and Exemptions, and in particular they were not liable to the Danegelt; but on the other Hand they were talliated as the King's Occasions required, at such Times and in such Proportions as he and his Council thought fit, and the Sums assessed upon them were sometimes levied upon the Community, sometimes by a Poll Tax, and sometimes by compounding both Methods. As to those who cultivated the King's Lands, they were so hardly treated that they deserted them, for being Freemen they were unwilling to become Villains; at length however they returned, and submitted to take them again on the Tenure of privileged Villenage, by which they preserved the Freedom of their Persons, and their Services, though reputed base, were however certain. Hence, though these Lands have been long since alienated from the Crown, this Tenure still remains, and those who hold by it are stiled customary Tenants, that is, not holding at the Will of the Lord, but by the Custom of the Manor. Dial. de Scaccario, lib. i. cap. 7. Bract. lib. i. cap. 11. Blackstone's Commentaries, book ii. chap. vi. sect. 4. It is easy to conceive how much these arbitrary Taxes, uncertain in Point of Time as well as Proportion, and oppressively levied, must have distressed Trade and disturbed Husbandry.

c Escheats, coming by so many different Ways into the Hands of the Crown, afforded a very large Revenue, more especially as the feudal System admitted many Forfeitures, of which the Crown took advantage, and if upon Petition the Lands were restored, a considerable Fine was exacted. When Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, or Abbies of Royal Foundation became vacant, our Norman Kings seized the Lands belonging to them, and not only enjoyed the Profits, but treated them as if they had been their own Demesnes, till the Successor was restored by the King's Writ to his Temporalities. The Lands of Englishmen who adhered to Harold, or who afterwards attempted to shake off the Norman Yoke, were considered as Escheats, and under this Colour were granted to the Norman Chiefs, who divided them again amongst their Followers according to that System, which was natural to them, though new to the English. In succeeding Times it was said, that though the Crown might grant Escheats; yet the Demesnes could not be alienated; but these by Degrees were so confounded as not to be easily distinguished.

the Sake of acquiring such ample Possessions, but because Lands had been generally held under the like Tenures in Normandy; and some of the Conditions introduced by the Danish Monarchs, were not totally unknown in England before the Conquest<sup>d</sup>. The Crown also let out to Farm the Profits arising out of Counties and Boroughs, for which the Sheriff, now become a ministerial Officer, accounted regularly to the Exchequer, Court, which, as some of our ablest Antiquaries assert, was also derived from the same Country, though others think that the Norman Exchequer rather was regulated according to that of England; which Sentiment though they seem so repugnant, may possibly be reconciled, by allowing the Court to have come from thence, and the subsequent Regulations may here adopted there. However this be, the Exchequer seems clearly to have been coeval with the Conquest, and the First Officers therein, such of the Norman Nobility as were capable of those Employments, from whence the Judges to this Day retain the Title of Barons. The Jurisdiction of this Court was at first very extensive and embraced almost all Kinds of Causes, though in Process of Time, and in consequence of other Judicatures being erected, it became merely a Court of Revenue<sup>e</sup>.

ANOTHER

<sup>d</sup> As to the Earls, Barons, and great Men who held of the King in Capite, the Number of them as collected from Doomsday was about Seven hundred. Their Dependents held of the Knights Fees, both by the same Military Tenure of serving the King in the Field, the only Order in those Days reputed free and noble, as if this Appearance in the Field, when summoned, had been their sole Service. This however was not the Case, for on certain Occasions they furnished AIDs, of which hereafter. If at the Tenant's Decease his Heir was of full Age, he paid what was called a RELIEF, which was at first arbitrary, at length fixed to a Hundred Shillings for a Knight's Fee. Besides this he paid, if he held immediately from the King, PRIMER SEISEN, which was One Year's Value of the Land he immediately inherited, and Half a Year of Land expectant, and this he did before he could sue out his Livery, by which he came into Possession. But if the Heir was under Age he became a Ward to the King, or to his Lord till he was of the Age Twenty-one, during which Space his Guardian had the Profits of his Lands, and those of a Female to Fourteen. The Guardian was besides entitled to the Value of his Marriage, that is he might propose it, and if refused, the Value was to be ascertained by a Jury; and if the Heir married without Consent, the Guardian had Double the Value of the Marriage. When of full Age the Heir sued out his Livery, for which he paid Half a Year's Rent, but no Relief. If he held a Knight's Fee he received that Honour, or paid a Fine if he declined it. If the Tenant found himself obliged to part with any of his Lands, this could not be done without Licence from the Lord, who for that exacted a Fine. Lastly, the Fee was subject to Escheat on the Extinction of the direct Heirs from the First Possessor, and to Forfeiture in case of Treason, Felony, &c. Such was the Nature of this free Tenure, and such the Methods taken to extract a Revenue from it.

<sup>e</sup> The Rents, Issues, and Profits of the Counties were farmed by the Sheriff, who accounted for their Produce to the Barons of the Exchequer in Michaelmas and Easter Term. His Power was very great, and he executed all Writs directed to him from the King. In the Time of William Rufus, who kept Bishopricks long vacant, and took the Profits of them as if they had been his own Demesnes, he levied large Sums by Way of Reliefs on several Persons by his Writ, and in case of Refusal or Non-Payment directed their Lands and Effects to be seized. Heming  
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ANOTHER Branch was that of Proffers, Fines, Amerciaments, &c. these and a Multitude of other Impositions, the Names and the Nature of which can only be known from the old Records, were levied upon the Subject by the regal Authority, and for the King's immediate Profit, which shew that there was scarce any Transaction of a public or even of a private Concern, in which the Crown did not take Occasion to interfere, and this always for its Emolument. Men in those Days paid not only for their Offences, but for Favours, for obtaining Justice, for the accelerating of it, or if that suited them better, for delaying it, for the Crown's Interposition in certain Cases, or for preventing such Interposition; sometimes People were allowed to bid against each other; Instances of all which still remain upon the Rolls, though without Doubt many more have perished. It is on the Whole very apparent, that though the Particulars of which this Branch of the Royal Income was composed, were frequently inconsiderable, yet Numbers of them occurring continually, must have swelled it to a very large Amount, and when attentively considered, affords us a very strange Idea of the Times, as well in respect to the Crown as in regard to the Subject <sup>f</sup>.

As this of which we have been speaking was, though uncertain, yet a permanent Income, so there was another Branch, and that too not inconsiderable, which was casual, and like the former, comprehended under a Variety of Heads, such as Treasure-trove, Waifs, Wrecks, Forfeitures of Felons, Fugitives, Outlaws, Usurers, and other Delinquents, with several more of a similar Kind, which gave Occasion to many severe Proceedings, and to no small Oppression <sup>g</sup>. For as the Power of the Crown was not to be

Chart. Wigorn. p. 79. It is easy to apprehend that in such a State of Things, and when every Kind of Possession was so insecure, there could be no great Attention paid to Cultivation beyond what immediate Necessity required. It is true that in Process of Time some of these Inconveniencies were removed, as we have elsewhere shewn, but this serves only to prove, that from the Light of Experience it was gradually discerned that this System, as originally framed, was found to be intolerable.

<sup>f</sup> Besides those mentioned in the Text there was an ample Revenue raised out of the Defaults, Trespases, and Pourprestures of the Forests, exclusive of the harsh and cruel Punishments inflicted upon Offenders. In the History of the Exchequer, there are Four Chapters spent in the Enumeration of the several Kinds of Fines and Amerciaments, and numerous Instances given under every Head, some so singular, so small, and of such a Nature, as nothing but the Authorities there produced could induce us to believe. They reached not only to Individuals, but to Corporations, and the little Guilds or Fraternities of Tradesmen in Corporations, which must have created infinite Trouble and Perplexity. It may not be amiss to observe, that with regard to legal Proceedings, a Remedy was promised in the Great Charter, wherein the King engages not to deny, sell, or delay Justice, which did indeed moderate in succeeding Times, but did not entirely eradicate this Evil.

<sup>g</sup> The Reader who wishes to be more clearly informed in respect to these Particulars may be gratified by consulting Mr. Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 234. The Instances he

be directly resisted, and all Applications for Mercy or Mitigation, however well founded, only involved the unhappy in a long Train, perhaps of fruitless Expence, it as frequently served to enhance as to alleviate the Misfortune. Besides, this Variety of Claims afforded an Opportunity to the inferior Officers of the Crown to disturb and harass the Subject on Pretences that in those Days were seldom wanting, to such as were disposed to gratify either their Avarice or their Resentment at the Expence of their Neighbours.

As these several Branches reached gradually to a Number of Individuals, by which large and continual Supplies were brought into the Royal Coffers, so there were likewise Means of levying still larger Impositions, as spreading wider in their Influence, and which were practised only on extraordinary Occasions, and such as were suggested to be of public or national Concern. These were stiled Danegelt, Aids<sup>b</sup>, Scutage, Tailliage, Gifts. Of these Danegelt seems to have been the most general, being in effect what is now called a Land Tax through the whole Kingdom, certain in its Extent, though not in the Rate, which varied according to the Cause for which it was levied, or rather according to the Will of the Prince. It had been remitted, as hath been mentioned in the former Book, by Edward the Confessor, but was revived by the Conqueror, and frequently, if not constantly levied by the first Three Norman Kings, and then, at least, under that Name, which was exceedingly odious, discontinued. The Rest were not so universal, but they fell notwithstanding

will meet with, plainly evince the Profligacy of those Times, the Poverty of the People, the Avidity and Meanness of heaping Distress upon Distress, which also evidently shews that the Crown itself was necessitous and needy.

<sup>b</sup> Aids were originally voluntary Assurances which the Tenants gave to their Lord on pressing Occasions, but in Process of Time came to be exacted as of Right. They were Three. First, to make the Lord's eldest Son a Knight, which was done with much Solemnity, and at a great Expence. Secondly, to marry his eldest Daughter; and Thirdly, to ransom his Person if taken in War. The King had these Aids from his Tenants, and inferior Lords from their Vassals, from which none were exempted, since even Abbies paid them to the Descendants of their Founders. They were all founded on One general Principle, that the Lord being a Military Man concerned not himself in pecuniary Affairs, and was therefore to be helped out of his Necessities by those who held under him. On this Principle inferior Lords demanded Aids to pay their Reliefs to the Crown, and sometimes to pay their Debts. But this was not the only or the greatest Grievance. There was no fixed Rule or Rate by which they were to be regulated. King John's Magna Charta restrained them to the Three ancient Aids; but this was omitted in the Charter of Henry the Third, and the old Evils revived till they were again removed by Edward the First. By the First Statute of Westminster the Aid of a Knight's Fee was fixed at Twenty Shillings, and the like Sum on Twenty Pounds a Year held by Socage. This however was understood to relate only to inferior Lords, which however was remedied by a Statute of the Twenty-fifth of Edward the Third. It may not be amiss to observe, that we find this Term frequently, though improperly applied to other Taxes.

very heavy on those who paid them, and were highly detrimental, as may be easily conceived, to Industry in general, and to the Cultivation of Land in particular; for in those Days the drawing Money out of the Pockets of the Subject for the Purposes, whatever they were, of the Crown was alone attended to, and the Interests of the People, or the Consequences such Taxes might produce, were never, or at least seldom considered.

CUSTOMS upon Merchandize were likewise levied, and levied according to the Temper of those Times with much Incertainty, and under a Diversity of Denominations, which could not fail to render Commerce languid and precarious. To this several other Circumstances concurred, such as the Confusion attending so sudden and so total a Revolution. The Wars in which our first Norman Princes were continually involved with their Neighbours, the Distress and Desolation of this Country, which of course diminished its Produce, the Variety of Duties exacted from foreign Merchants, the Severity of the Penalties imposed, and many others<sup>k</sup>. It was natural from such Discouragements that Trade should decline, and it actually did so, the very Means employed for raising a Revenue from it, defeating the End proposed. In Process of Time however this Evil cured itself, at least in a Degree, for when from the State Land was in, grazing came to be considered as the general Improvement, our Monarchs found

<sup>i</sup> It is generally said that Scutage, which was a Sum more or less levied on every Knight's Fee, in Place of personal Service, was first introduced in the Reign of Henry the Second. But it was probably more ancient, though from that Time it came more generally into Use. By this Acceptance of a pecuniary Compensation for personal Service, it hath been justly observed by a very learned Writer, that all the real Utility of the feudal System was really taken away, and nothing but the Burdens that attended it left behind. As the King had Scutage from his Tenants, so they again demanded it of theirs. As this was occasionally levied, and the Rate uncertain, it became very oppressive, and therefore in King John's Magna Charta it was provided, that it should not be taken but by the Consent of the Legislature. It was in effect a Land Tax; though not completely so, for it did not reach Lands held in Socage. In Process of Time this, like the Word Aid, came to be improperly used, and at length both were laid aside to make Way for new Terms of more general and extensive Import, which became absolutely necessary for the Support of Armies beyond the Seas, for which the old System of Knight's Service was found very inadequate.

<sup>k</sup> All that can be known concerning the Duties raised in the Reigns of the Six first Monarchs of the Norman Line, must be collected from Records, of which there are not now many extant, however there are enough to shew, that there was a great Diversity in them, and that they were levied with great Strictness. Prifage of Wines seems to have been One of the oldest. Besides there were Dismes and Quinzies on different Sorts of Merchandize, on the Imports and Exports. As to the former we find Mention made of Woad, Silks, and other Things, and as to the latter Wool, Leather, Tin, Honey, Salmon, &c. There were Duties also paid Coastwise, and for the Passage of Goods on navigable Rivers. It may well be supposed, that these Impositions were more moderate in some Reigns than in others, which had of Course an Effect upon Trade. See Madox's History of the Exchequer, cap. xviii. p. 525.

themselves constrained to be more attentive as well as more favourable to Commerce, that by the Exportation of the great Staple Wool, they might repair in some Measure the Treasures that their Predecessors had so imprudently wasted<sup>l</sup>.

THERE is one Article more of Revenue that deserves to be mentioned, and this is what arose from the Jews. They belonged in a peculiar Manner to the King, living here solely by his Permission, and entirely subject to his Will, so that he disposed of them, their Wives, their Children, and their Substance at his Pleasure. They were settled in great Numbers in many of the most considerable Towns in the Kingdom where they dealt in Merchandize, lending Money on Mortgages, Pawns, and other Securities, by which not a few became for those Days very rich. At some Periods and under some Monarchs, they seem to have been highly favoured, being allowed a Chief Priest and a Kind of Rulers among themselves, which did not however exempt them in the least from the absolute Power of the Crown, or the universal Hatred of the People, who suffered deeply by their Extortions. These unhappy Men were frequently punished for Frauds and Offences, sometimes with and sometimes without Reason, and at all Times taxed and pillaged without Mercy, and without Pity. In a Word, they lived in a slavish and miserable Dependance, being the mere Instruments of merciless Princes, who sometimes stripped Individuals, and at others squeezed the whole Community, a separate Court being erected for the Receipt of these Exactions called the Exchequer of the Jews. At last, as hath been mentioned in a former Book, the whole Race to gratify popular Resentment were exiled and plundered, with which the Nation was so well pleased as to grant a considerable Subsidy to the Crown<sup>m</sup>.

THE

<sup>l</sup> In the former Note we have observed that there was probably a Degree of Moderation exercised by our ablest Princes, such as Henry the First and Henry the Second, in whose Time from the Extent of his foreign Dominions, Commerce must have increased, and that this is not mere Conjecture, appears from the Laws of Oleron, made by his Son Richard. It is generally agreed that legal or Parliamentary Duties commenced in the Reign of Edward the First, who was a wise Prince and inclined to fortify his own Authority by Parliamentary Concessions. The Perusal of the Charta Mercatoria published by Prynne sets this Matter in a clear and full Light.

<sup>m</sup> In the First Law we have that mentions these People it is laid down, that *JUDÆI, & omnia sua regis sunt*: The Jews and all that they have belong to the King. They were however permitted not only to acquire Estates in Money, but also in Land. On the Decease of a Jew, a Sum was paid to the King by way of Relief. If his Children were under Age they were the King's Wards. Judges were assigned to hear Causes between them and Christians; and if tried for any Crime, One Half of the Jury were to be Jews. They were however under some severe Restrictions, being obliged to wear a Mark of Distinction upon their Cloaths, no Christian could sleep in their Houses,



THE public Revenue must always arise from the System of public Policy, and therefore both in its Nature and in the Mode of levying, become, as we have frequently observed, a very material, and if the Expression may be allowed, a very characteristic Mark of that Policy from which it arises, and upon which the Stability of Government, and of course the Safety and Happiness of the Subject, must depend. The Norman System was evidently calculated to support, at the Expence of the Multitude, the Grandeur of a few, who were to defend the vast Property thus given them by the Sword, and thence the Military was the only honourable Tenure, and those who cultivated the Lands these Nobles possessed were reduced to the meanest and most servile Condition<sup>n</sup>. The Clergy, to whom the Conqueror was so much obliged, retained their ample Possessions; but these were no longer exempt from public Burdens, and consequently those who lived under them were but Villains like the Rest. We need not wonder, that in this State of Things all Kind of Husbandry declined, and Famines frequently ensued. The Cities and Towns were harassed by the Crown, and

Houses, they could not live in any City but by the King's Licence, and some Cities purchased a Privilege from the King that no Jews should live amongst them. Many Individuals became exceedingly rich, as appears by the Sums taken from them. In the Reign of Henry the Third, Loricia, the Widow of David the Jew, fined to the King Five thousand Marks to have the Chattels of her deceased Husband. The same King took from the Community of the Jews a Tailage of Sixty thousand Marks. They remained here between Two and Three hundred Years, for which Mr. Madox assigns this Reason, "They fleeced the People, and the King fleeced them." It is indeed clear that they were introduced and tolerated purely for the Sake of the Revenue raised from them. Statutum de Judaismo 4. E. 1. Coke, Second Institute, p. 506. Third Institute, chap. 70. Selden's Works, vol. vi. col. 1459. History of the Exchequer, chap. 7. p. 150.

<sup>n</sup> These Points have been considered at large in the former Book, and are only mentioned here to shew in what Manner they were connected with the Revenue. It hath been very justly observed in respect to this System, that the whole Kingdom was in effect One great Barony, and that every Barony was a Sort of Diminutive Kingdom. The same Spirit of Rule pervaded the Whole. The King filled his Coffers by Reliefs, the Profits arising from Wards, the Sale of Marriages, &c. at all Times, and on extraordinary Occasions by Aids and Taillages. The Barons and Lords of Manors did the like in regard to their Tenants. As for the Body of the People they worked not for themselves, but for their Lords, depending solely upon their Will, and passing upon any Change of Property with the Land they tilled. The Consequences attending such a State of Things are very obvious. The great Men, when not engaged in foreign, or which was too often the Case, in civil Wars and Quarrels with their Neighbours, employed their Time in Jufts and Tournaments, in hunting in their spacious Parks, or in building strong and stately Castles, looking upon all other Cares as absolutely beneath them. These were to the full as much above the Reach of the meaner People who had no adequate Interest to prompt them, enjoying only a small, and that too a precarious Benefit, from what they earned. So that though there was much Labour there was but little Industry, and that little only amongst Manufacturers, and in Cities and great Towns, defended by Royal Charters and Incorporations, which from thence appear to have been of great Use in those Times.

their respective Lords, by which they gradually decayed, and War affording a better Subsistence than Work, the Number of Artificers and Mechanics diminished. The Loss of People and Discouragement of Industry necessarily affected Navigation and Commerce, which suffered likewise by the Frauds and Exactions of the Jews, and was no-ways relieved by their Punishments and Confiscations, which served only to carry the Produce of their Extortions into the Coffers of the Crown, and left the Evil unremedied°. To our Histories we may appeal for the Truth of these Assertions.

THERE wanted not many other Causes to heighten these Disasters. The Norman Kings had a violent Passion for Hunting, which induced them to convert vast Tracts of Country, in former Times well inhabited and cultivated, into Desarts. Their Example spread this Humour of depopulating amongst their Nobility, and became a new and dreadful Source of Oppression on the Subject. Civil Wars on account of disputed Titles to the Succession, and those against the Scots, laid many Parts of the Kingdom waste, and rendered the Northern Counties almost a Wilderness. But what contributed most to exhaust the Blood and Treasure of the Nation were foreign Wars and foreign Dominions, which were so many continual Drains upon the People, whatever Events attended such Disputes. If we lost, it produced new Levies of Men and fresh Taxes for the Support of Armies in other Countries. If we gained, it only added to the national Expence of preserving these Conquests. Such were the bitter Fruits of a Military Government, the martial Genius of our Princes, and the political Delusion of the Times, in which the Substance of the State was sacrificed to Shadows, and the Splendour of unavailing Victories so dazzled the Eyes

• The general Welfare could not be interrupted without its being felt by Men in every Degree. The Barons were the first who complained and resisted because they had more Power. In Process of Time, both the Crown and the Barons discovered the Necessity of relaxing in favour of their Tenants and the middle Sort of People, but this was done slowly, and only in particular Cases where the Evils were glaring and intolerable. The Reigns of Henry the Second and Richard the First gave an Insight into the many Advantages that might be derived from an insular Situation in respect to Commerce and naval Power. The continual Troubles of the long Reign of Henry the Third, though they might interrupt, did not extinguish these Ideas. On the contrary, the Barons for the Sake of their Support courted and caressed the Cities and Boroughs. Edward the First was a Prince of great Parts and Penetration, he saw and felt the Benefits that arose from Customs, and perceiving the Mischiefs done by the exorbitant Usury of the Jews, he restrained that by a Law in the Fourth Year of his Reign, punished them afterwards severely for debasing the Coin, and at length finding his Revenue from them decrease, and the Odium against them still stronger, he at length banished them all at once, and seized their Effects in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign.

of our Rulers, that they neither discerned the Miseries of the People, or formed any Plans for the common Good p.

BUT if the True Causes of these Mischiefs were not clearly discerned, their Effects however were severely felt, and gave Birth to very loud Complaints. These produced Charters of Liberties from our Kings, sometimes flowing from themselves, to quiet the Minds and conciliate the Affections of their Barons, and while these were tolerably observed Things went on in the old Channel, and the Body of the People who had none to represent their Grievances, suffered in Silence. But when Monarchs ventured to violate their Engagements, and to transgress those Bounds which they had prescribed to themselves, the Barons, though they acted little better towards their Tenants, were notwithstanding able to assemble a Force sufficient to compel their Princes to grant new and more explicit Declarations of the Subjects Rights, and to submit to their being held to a due and constant Performance of them. In this Manner was that Instrument obtained, deservedly, as well as emphatically, stiled the GREAT CHARTER, the Basis of our civil Liberties, by opening a Way to the Removal of those Fetters which the Conqueror had forged and his Successors had rivetted upon all Ranks of their Subjects. Yet the perfecting this Scheme was a Work that required both Time and Labour, and the Ability of another Sort of Artificers than those who took it first in Hand. A Variety of Incidents contributed to the Progress of the Design, after the Foundation was once laid; the Circumstances, Temper, Interests of all Degrees of People changing, gave an Opportunity to our English Justinian Edward the First to new model the Laws and the Constitution, by giving a more regular Form and a more solid Consistency to Parliament, which in a long Course of Years, by sometimes adding, sometimes demolishing, and frequently altering, at length, as we have in another Place

P In the former Book there are Proofs sufficient of these Particulars, and the candid Reader, by comparing the State of Things in this Country in these Times, and in those of the Saxons, will be convinced of the Truth of all we have advanced. The turning so great a Part of the Kingdom into Forests is a striking Instance of the Neglect of Cultivation. The Condition of the Northern Counties was such, as exempted them from being taken into the Conqueror's Survey. Foreign Dominions belonged to the King, not to the Kingdom; and whatever Profits arose from them went into the royal Coffers, whereas the Charge of the Wars which they occasioned fell upon the People here. Their Numbers were diminished in foreign Service, and the vast Sums levied to transport and to maintain them never returned. Pasturage took Place of Agriculture, in consequence of the Decay of Inhabitants, and the Products of this Improvement, Wool, Woolfells, and Leather were the staple Commodities exported to employ the Industry of our Neighbours, and to repair in some Degree the Want of it amongst ourselves, which it might have done more amply, if a large Proportion even of this had not been converted into a Revenue.

observed, constructed a fair and beautiful Edifice, out of the Materials of the old Gothic Pile 9.

THE principal political Points agitated in these unsettled Times, and the Consequences resulting from them to this Country and Nation, have been briefly but truly represented in the former Book, and from thence it sufficiently appears, that the Revenue was a Subject of very great Perplexity. For, though in appearance, the Crown had renounced its Claim to the Power of levying Money but by Consent of Parliament, yet even there, the Power of giving was not well settled, and as for the Clergy, they as a separate Body granted their Supplies in Convocation 1.

At certain Junctures the Parliament followed the old feudal Method of Taxing, sometimes they combined it with some other Mode, and at length finding it inconvenient and ineffectual had Recourse to Subsidies of several Kinds. These they at last reduced to a Tax on Lands, and an Imposition on personal Property, which were the usual Grants when the Necessities of the Crown required them. However on some extraordinary Occasions they tried other Means, such as raising a certain Sum on every Parish throughout the Kingdom, or a general Poll Tax. But these

1 The First Struggles with the Crown, as we have more than once observed, arose from the Nobles, at a Time when they were almost in full Possession of all the landed Property. In Process of Time, and by a Variety of concurring Circumstances, the Crown and the Great Lords, from a Principle of Interest, abated of their Rigour in respect to Tenures. This being visibly attended with good Effects disposed the Nation willingly to receive those salutary Alterations that Edward the First thought fit to make, and as these were the Fruits of great Penetration, so were they conducted with consummate Prudence. He reduced the Laws into Order, devised proper Methods of Proceeding, took care that these should be carried into Execution, and Justice so impartially administered, as to excite Industry by securing Property, and to encourage the Commerce of his People by a Distinction of the Duties imposed upon them and upon Strangers. As these Changes were wrought by the Authority of Parliament, it raised a great Degree of Reverence for and Confidence in the Wisdom of the Legislature. At the same Time these Changes, and the happy Consequences following from them, clearly shew the Defectiveness of that System introduced by our first Norman Monarchs, on whatever Pretences they might be founded.

2 The Clergy, as appears plainly by our Records, were not so easy under the Norman as they had been under the Saxon Government, the Prelates and Abbots who were summoned to the King's great Council in Right of their Baronies, were obliged to furnish Aids for the Number of Knight's Fees they held, and were in other Respects subject to the Power of the Crown. But their being allowed to form a separate Body gave them an Opportunity, which the Crown readily embraced, of granting Money in Convocation. Sometimes this was done by One Province only, generally speaking by both. Their usual Grant was a Tenth, which Lord Coke says amounted to about Twenty thousand Pounds. But however this Grant in Convocation was confirmed by Parliament, and this Mode of Taxing continued so low as the Fifteenth of Charles the Second, since which Time the Clergy have been admitted to vote as Freeholders, and in consequence of this are now like other Subjects liable to the Land Tax in whatever Proportion that is granted by Parliament.

were not at all relished by the People, who disliked such Novelties as much as they did Taxes. The Land Revenue of the Crown was frequently increased by parliamentary Attainders, and when diminished by imprudent Grants, restored again at least in some Measure by Acts of Resumption<sup>s</sup>.

FOR the Support of the Sea Service (ever regarded as a Point of national Importance) they granted Tonnage and Poundage, at first occasionally and in different Proportions, then for a Term of Years, and at length to some Kings for Life. They regulated also the Customs, appointed staple Ports, and sometimes took the Keeping of the Seas and the Protection of the Coasts upon themselves. All this however necessary, chiefly from the Manner of employing it, bore hard on the landed and trading Interest, and would have been insupportable if our Kings had not consented from time to time to such good Laws as by the Sagacity of Parliament were devised for the Ease and Emolument of the Subject, and this chiefly by abolishing those Hardships, that at and after the Conquest had been introduced.

\* The Reader may find in the Seventeenth Chapter of the History of the Exchequer, and in *Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, Instances of the various Methods taken by the Legislature to grant Assistance to the Crown, from which it will sufficiently appear that this, as we have said in the Text, was often a Matter of great Perplexity. At length, about the Reign of Richard the Second, the Mode of giving by Subsidies and Fifteenths was adopted, and continued, though not invariably, long after. The Subsidy was not a direct Imposition on Land, but Commissioners were appointed to make Examination by Oath, and to tax Persons in every County according to their reputed Worth at the Rate of Four Shillings in the Pound for Land, and Two Shillings and Six Pence personal Estate. A Subsidy, Lord Coke informs us, amounted to about Seventy thousand Pounds. The Fifteenth was invariable, being levied according to an ancient Estimate, so that when granted by Parliament, the Sum that every Place was to pay was certain, and amounted in the Whole to about Twenty-nine thousand Pounds or thereabouts. Attainders and Resumptions, however beneficial or necessary to the Crown, or whatever temporary Relief to the People, made such frequent Alterations in the State of landed Property, and brought along with them such other Inconveniencies, as were very highly detrimental to the Subject.*

† The Origin of Tonnage and Poundage seems to have been this. About the Twenty-first of Edward the Third, Complaint was made, that Merchants were robbed and murdered on the Seas. The King thereupon, with the Consent of the Peers, levied a Duty of Two Shillings on every Tun of Wine, and Sixpence in the Pound on all Goods imported; which was treated as illegal by the Commons. About Twenty-five Years after the King, when the Knights of Shires were returned home, obtained a like Grant from the Citizens and Burgesses, and the Year after it was regularly granted in Parliament. These Duties were diminished sometimes, and sometimes increased, at length they seem to have been fixed at Three Shillings Tonnage, and One Shilling Poundage. In old Times these were distinguished from Customs, which were considered as Duties on Staple Commodities, though they have been long since blended together. The fixing of Staple Towns had its Advantages and Disadvantages, and even the great Staple at Calais, which rendered the Loss of that Place so much regretted, cramped our Navigation. By successive Acts of the Legislature, the Liberty and Property of the Subjects of all Ranks being better secured, promoted domestic Industry, and thereby the Welfare and Happiness of the People.

OUR long and repeated Wars with France gave an Opportunity to some of our able and victorious Monarchs to resume in a great Degree the Prerogative of raising Money, or what was equivalent to Money, taking Commodities, Provisions, Ships, for their Service, under the specious Pretext that they were requisite to accomplish Ends that had been approved in Parliament. When the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons remonstrated, they gave fair Words, and when Parliament interposed, yielded very prudently to their Authority. Weak and ill-advised Princes, misled by these pernicious Precedents, excited civil Wars to their own Destruction. The Nation however suffered alike by both, through a Diminution of Inhabitants, the Spoil of the Country, the Decay of Husbandry, and in consequence of general Licentiousness, universal Poverty. But though the Causes of these Evils were too obvious to be concealed, yet from a strange Fatality they continued through several Reigns, and which is still more extraordinary, were often countenanced, or at least supported by the Legislature<sup>u</sup>. At length, from an Attention perhaps as much to his own Situation and Safety, as to the national Good, Edward the Fourth gave a Check to this Spirit of making foreign Conquests, turning his Views to domestic Improvements. In this Plan he was followed by Henry the Seventh, and though both of these Princes were sufficiently disposed to extend their Prerogatives, and to divert large Sums into their own Coffers, yet being wise enough to discern, that this could never be done from an indigent People, they promoted the public Welfare as the surest, and indeed as the only Means of promoting their own<sup>w</sup>. What effects this Change

<sup>u</sup> It must at first Sight seem very surprising, that Measures so repugnant to Reason, and the ill Consequences of which had been so often manifested from Experience, should yet be so obstinately pursued. A little Attention to the State Things were then in, will however explain this. Foreign Wars were often suggested by, and generally concurred in by the Favourites and Council of our Kings, from private and partial Views. The Nobility had a natural Interest in such Expeditions. War was their Trade, they grew rich and great by it, obtaining lucrative Governments Abroad, drawing large Ransoms from their Prisoners, and spending these in erecting Castles and Palaces at Home. Their Retainers rose likewise by these Means, which was the plain and almost the only Path whereby Men of Courage and Parts could elevate themselves from a private to a public Station. Add to all this, that amongst other Ranks of People there were Numbers also who found their Account in it; so that upon the Whole, as the most powerful and the most active Spirits were impelled by Inclination and Interest, there is the less Room to wonder, that little Regard was had to the milder Dispositions of such, as either from Choice or Situation were employed in Husbandry, or in Manufactures, though these raised the Supplies and bore the Burdens of these expensive Wars, without receiving any Benefit from them whatever.

<sup>w</sup> In the former Book we have sufficiently expatiated on the Policy of Edward the Fourth, and explained the Motives of his Conduct. By Resumptions and Forfeitures he recovered a great Land Revenue to the Crown. He made himself well acquainted with Trade, encouraged it, together with Manufactures and Industry of every Kind. He was the First who turned a foreign War to the Emolument of his People, and added an annual Tribute from France to his Revenue.

He

Change of Conduct had, and that too in a very short Space, hath been already very fully shewn, and this from the unanswerable Evidence of Facts.

BUT if any Shadow of Doubt could have remained, it must be removed by even a transient View of what happened under his Son and Successor Henry VIII. a Prince of a martial and magnanimous Spirit. He revived the old System, and placed his Glory in being sometimes the Terror, sometimes the Umpire of contending Princes on the Continent. Grand Confederacies, continual Negotiations, expensive Embarkations, Expeditions, Battles, Sieges, and all the Diversities that distinguish an active and busy Reign appeared in his, which rendered him often dreadful to his Foes, and almost always a Dupe to his Allies. Successful he was against the French and against the Scots, but these Trophies of his Glory cost his Subjects dear. That immense Mass of Money which his Father left, was quickly dissipated, and after this he made continual Demands upon his People, most of which were answered through the Complacency or Timidity of his Parliaments. Yet not trusting solely to this, he had frequent Recourse to his Prerogative, not only reviving Methods condemned in former Reigns by the Legislature, but venturing on new Modes of Exaction, such as must have been injurious to every Species of Industry, by rendering all Property precarious\*. It must be acknowledged, that considered

He engaged himself in Commerce, and left behind him a considerable Treasure, whatever became of it. Henry the Seventh availed himself of all these Resources, and devised besides several Others. Most if not all his Statutes, as a learned Lawyer has observed, had either a direct or a remote Relation to his Exchequer. He took Advantage of the feudal Tenures, and by false Verdicts procured by his Instruments Empson and Dudley, who were afterwards attainted for these Practices, exacted large Sums from his Subjects. By these and the Sale of Offices he brought into his Coffers annually about One hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds. By Licences to export and import contraband Commodities, by granting Monopolies and other such Methods, as well as by carrying on in his own Ships a great foreign Trade, he amassed that amazing Sum which he left behind him.

\* It has been suggested by some of our Historians, that at the Beginning of his Reign, and so long as his Father's Money lasted, which was about Three Years, he was tender in respect to the Purse of his People. The Fact however was otherwise, for his First Parliament granted him Two Tenths and Two Fifteenths. When in Want of Money for his foreign Expeditions he issued Commissions for levying Loans after the Rate of Two Shillings in the Pound, but finding some Difficulty in raising them, he had Recourse again to Parliament. When Sir Thomas More was Speaker, Four Shillings in the Pound were demanded, which it seems to be agreed on all Hands would have raised about Eight hundred thousand Pounds. This met with great Resistance, and when a Subsidy, to which a Poll Tax was annexed, was at length granted, to be paid in Four Years, the King caused it to be levied in One. The Mode of raising Money by Loan was again attempted, but the Success being doubtful, it was disowned by the King, and the Blame thrown upon his Minister the Cardinal. What had been raised by the former Loans upon Privy Seals or Letters Missive, acknowledging the King's Obligation to repay it, was afterwards



sidered in another Point of View, many Things were done by him in his Parliaments, which were very advantageous. Such as freeing us from papal Tyranny, opening a Way to Reformation, enacting many Statutes for the Amendment of the Law, in Points respecting Property; encouraging the Woollen Manufacture, giving a Beginning to the Royal Navy, and fortifying his Coasts against Invasions. The good Effects of these were chiefly felt in succeeding Times. But after all the Fame of his Victories, the Splendour of his Triumphs, and the matchless Magnificence of his Interviews with foreign Princes, it is certain that he left to his Son a Minor, an exhausted Treasury, a debased Coin, and a debilitated Kingdom.

It is not at all strange, that being left in such Circumstances, the Reign of Edward the Sixth should be such as it really was, exceedingly embarrassed. The War with Scotland brought that Part of the Island to the Brink of Ruin, without doing any Good to this, or effecting the End for which it was begun. The State of foreign Affairs was through the whole very perplexed. The Crown was oppressed with a heavy Debt (for those Times) at Home and Abroad. Factions in the Court created a continual Fluctuation in Measures, and the Grievances arising from thence excited several popular Insurrections, attended with much Bloodshed. Parliaments relieved the King's Necessities, made repeated Grants, and endeavoured to vary them in Hopes of easing the People; but were obliged, from the Difficulties they found in levying them, to return to the ancient Modes again. The greatest Mischief of all, and which was in Truth the latent Cause of most of the Rest, was the miserable State of the Coin. Yet in this Reign and in the

wards discharged, that is, released by Parliament on a Suggestion, that the King borrowed and expended it for the public Service. He had likewise large Supplies from the Clergy, particularly in the Twenty-second Year of his Reign, when, as Sir Robert Cotton says, they granted him a Moiety of their Lands and Goods to be paid in Five Years, which Moiety, according to his Computation, amounted to Four hundred Seventy-five thousand Pounds. The Monasteries and other religious Foundations suppressed by Parliament, and given to this Monarch, according to the Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who seems to have taken great Pains in his Enquiries, yielded an annual Revenue of One hundred Sixty-one thousand Pounds. Mr. Ephraim Udall, who was also very diligent in his Researches on this Subject, tells us (Historical Account of Taxes, p. 191.) that the Lands belonging to the Abbey of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, which at the Suppression were estimated at Sixteen hundred Pounds, were in his Time let for one hundred thousand; and if this Computation be any Thing near the Truth, the Value of all the Abbey Lands must have been about One Million per Annum above One hundred Years ago. To this may be added the Saving to the Nation those immense Sums, which under a Variety of Pretences were annually sent from hence to Rome. These Particulars are mentioned, not simply to explain and support what is said in the Text, but also to afford the intelligent Reader an Opportunity of collecting from them the Circumstances of the Nation and the Clergy in these Times.

Midst of these Perplexities, a strong Spirit of Commerce continued to appear, and as we have elsewhere shewn, produced many good Effects, and in the last Year of the King's Life there was an Amendment of the Coin; so sudden however in its Operation, as must have been attended with very considerable Inconveniencies  $\gamma$ .

THE short and unhappy Reign of Mary was disturbed with civil and religious Commotions, and when these were a little appeased, new Discontents arose from a foreign Marriage, and in consequence of that a foreign War, which brought on the Loss of Calais, then regarded as an irreparable Misfortune. She obtained, notwithstanding these untoward Circumstances, considerable Supplies from Parliament, which proving inadequate to her Expences, she had Recourse to Loans and other Methods of raising Money, not very consistent with her natural Regard to Justice. But Manufactures, particularly that of Cloth, were attended to and encouraged, foreign Commerce was likewise protected and extended, and a new Trade opened to Russia. The best Thing however done in her Time was the regulating the Silver Coinage, and putting it on the most proper Standard, in which she was certainly well advised  $z$ .

THE

$\gamma$  The profuse Grants of Abbey Lands to the Nobility and Gentry in this, as well as in the former Reign, may very well be supposed to have operated upon the Temper of Parliaments. They had also another Operation, which exceedingly disturbed the public Peace. Those to whom they were given being desirous to make the greatest and speediest Profit from them, demolished Farms, and turned them by making Inclosures into Pasturage, which depriving Multitudes of their Living, excited the Insurrections that we have mentioned above, and brought on such a Scarcity of Corn, and all Kinds of Provisions, as could not be remedied by Proclamations for fixing their Prices and preventing Exportation; which Expedients being at length found ineffectual, were recalled. As to the Coin, Henry the Eighth, at his Death, left the Pound reduced to less than One Half; that is to say, Twenty Shillings of his Money was worth but Nine Shillings and Four Pence of ours, and the Proportion of Gold to Silver was as Five to One. His Son in the last Year of his Reign reduced the Pound to less than a Fourth, Twenty Shillings being worth no more than Four Shillings and Eight Pence of ours, and brought down the Proportion of Gold to Silver as Two to One. It is evident that this must have occasioned the Hoarding of old Money or exporting it, and the raising all Kinds of Necessaries to exorbitant Prices, that is in Appearance. At the Close of his Reign, the Pound was raised to the Value of One Pound and Seven Pence of our Money, and the Proportion of Gold to Silver became as Eleven to One. See Folkes's Tables of English Gold and Silver Coins, p. 29—45.

$z$  In the last Parliament of King Edward they granted him Two Tenths, Two-Fifteenths, and a Subsidy towards the Payment of his Debts. Mary by Letters Patents released the Subsidy, which she declared by Proclamation, and some Doubts yet remaining, discharged her Subjects by Act of Parliament, promising at the same Time to pay her Brother's Debts at Home and Abroad. Yet to support the French War she borrowed, as is said, on Privy Seals, more certainly from the City of London, Twenty thousand Pounds at Twelve per Cent. for which she mortgaged Crown Lands. Stowe's Chronicle, p. 632. The vigorous Support given to King Philip gained him the Victory of St. Quintin; but occasioned such Negligence in regard to Calais, that

THE Wisdom of Queen Elizabeth's Government hath been always and very justly celebrated, since the Affairs of the Nation were never in a more distracted State than at her Accession. The Minds of Men exceedingly agitated at Home by religious Dissensions, an unfinished War Abroad, few or no Allies, an heavy Debt subsisting from the Time of her Father, the Crown Revenue impaired, and an exhausted Treasury. When these Difficulties were in a great Measure got over, by the Moderation and Dexterity of her Management, new and not less formidable Mischiefs arose. Discontents of several Kinds, and from various Causes, rising sometimes into Rebellions, Disputes with Scotland, a long and dangerous War with Spain, repeated and perilous Insurrections in Ireland, secret Conspiracies, and almost perpetual Factions in her Council. All these were combated and gradually subdued by the Prudence of her Ministers, which was in nothing more conspicuous than in the Management of her Finances. She called few Parliaments in her long Reign, and yet managed these in such a Manner as to obtain from them, in Comparison of former Times, very considerable Supplies, the Subsidies both of the Clergy and Laity being to be levied in a Course of Years, which rendered them more useful to her and lighter to the People. She shewed great Address in declining extraordinary Aids, when offered with a View of altering her Measures. Asked them at all Times with great Tenderness, received them with much Thankfulness, and employed them with great Frugality; supplying their Deficiencies on critical Occasions, by exciting the public Spirit of her Nobility, accepting the voluntary Assistance of her Subjects, and having frequent Recourse to Loans, which were punctually paid \*.

MANY

that without much Difficulty it was taken by the Duke of Guise. The commercial Spirit introduced in the Reign of Henry the Seventh exerted itself so strongly that our Exports of Woollen Manufactures, diminished the sending abroad the raw Commodity, to almost nothing. The Merchants of London, Bristol, and Hull were indefatigable in opening new Channels of Trade, and the Charter to the Russia Company granted in this Reign is a Proof of the Attention of the Queen's Ministers in this Respect. The Coinage of Mary is commended, because it rendered the Pound in Tale, aliquot Parts of the Pound Weight. At the Time of the Conquest, the Two Pounds were the same, by the Queen's Coinage, though a little less Fine than that of her Brother's last Year; Four Ounces of Silver were divided into Twenty Shillings, and so it continued till towards the End of her Sister's Reign. The Proportion between Gold and Silver was not altered.

\* The great, and indeed the sole Object of this able Princess through her whole Reign, was the Security of her own Person and Government, and her Wisdom consisted in perceiving that this must arise from the Prosperity of her Subjects. The Difficulties she had to encounter immediately after her Accession, taught her Vigilance, Circumspection, and Parsimony, and these strengthened into Habits. She kept One of her Parliaments near Eleven Years, by a Multitude of Prorogations, by which she had them always ready, if Necessity required, and yet demanded their Assistance as seldom as she could. Her Crown Revenue was under Two hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum. Yet before she entered into the War with Spain, she had, as Sir Robert

Cotton

## of GREAT BRITAIN.

MANY good Laws were made for encouraging, promoting, and supporting the Credit of our Manufactures. A judicious Lenity, but no Partiality was shewn to foreign Merchants settled here. The distressed Protestants from France, Flanders, and indeed from all Countries were kindly received, and settled in different Places to the great Benefit of the Nation. Improvements and Inventions of every Kind not only met with a favourable Reception, but were forwarded and protected by her Ministers. She was like her Ancestor Edward the Fourth, exceedingly gracious to Merchants, eminent Citizens, and Persons of distinguished Abilities in useful Professions. In her Time the Turkey, East India, and African Branches of Commerce were opened. Expeditions to, and Discoveries in America, countenanced and supported. By these Methods Trade was exceedingly increased, and with it the public Wealth<sup>b</sup>.

THE Firmness and Uniformity of her Conduct, visibly directed to public Good, qualified the Uses of her Prerogative, of which she was as jealous as her Predecessors. She completed the Restoration of the Coin, which had been begun by her Brother and Sister, by the total Extinction of base Money. She rather chose to diminish the Crown Revenue for the Support of public Measures than press too hard upon her Subjects, and with the Assistance of Parliament, would have revived and encouraged Agriculture,

Cotton assures us, Seven hundred Thousand Pounds in her Treasury. In the Course of upwards of Thirty Years she had from the Commons Twenty Subsidies, and Thirty-eight Fifteenths, and Eighteen Subsidies from the Clergy, which did not amount to Three Millions in the Whole, and yet out of this she lent Eight hundred Thousand Pounds to the poor States of Holland, and upwards of Half that Sum to the French King Henry the Fourth, by which she kept War for the most Part at a Distance, and acquired a high Reputation with all the European Powers.

<sup>b</sup> The Commerce of England had been growing for near a Century, and though it had received various Checks from the ill-judged Policy of several of our Princes, it quickly recovered from them, and exerted itself with fresh Vigour. But in this Reign, meeting with all possible Encouragement, it rose to a prodigious Height, as Camden informs us from a very exact Enquiry, *Annal. Eliz. p. 108.* The Queen was also very attentive to her Navy, made several Laws for promoting and encouraging Navigation, treated Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, and other Seamen with much Kindness and Respect. She was remarkably frugal in every Thing but her Apparel, and though she laid out nothing in Buildings, was pleased to see the Marks of her Subject's Riches, in sumptuous Edifices public and private, visiting such as were wealthy, as well to do them Honour, as to save Expence. The Customs she raised from Fourteen thousand Pounds, at which they were farmed by Sir Thomas Smith, to Forty-two thousand, and obliged him to pay a large Sum for having them at that Price, and afterwards raised them to Fifty thousand, as Camden tells us, *p. 615,* and this in Opposition to the Sentiments of her principal Ministers. She had Credit enough with the City of London to procure the Bonds of the Corporation as a joint Security for the Money she borrowed Abroad, and these Bonds discharged and cancelled she delivered up, which enabled her for the future to borrow at Home.

if that had been practicable while the old Tenures remained. On the Whole she left the Nation much better settled, richer and more prosperous in every Respect than it had been before her Time.

JAMES the First, though he succeeded without Opposition, and seemed to be received with general Satisfaction, found himself very soon embarrassed in Point of Revenue, and these Difficulties grew upon him through his whole Reign. The late Queen left a considerable Debt, and had besides disposed of a very large Proportion of the Crown Lands. It is true his First Parliaments were liberal, but it is as true that the King became profuse, and afterwards upon so bad Terms with the House of Commons, that though he opened his Necessities to them, he received no adequate Relief. This reduced him to have Recourse to Monopolies and Projects, which at his Entrance on Government he had suppressed. He likewise attempted Benevolencies and Loans, but with little Success, and being at last driven into War, proposed that the Supplies given for his Support should be appropriated, and the Application of them put out of his Power. But though the Crown was distressed, the Nation was very prosperous. He made very early a good Treaty with France, and a very advantageous Peace with Spain. In consequence of these Trade flourished, and though, from Merchants mistaking their Interest, Navigation was for some time checked, yet it quickly revived and extended itself in a high Degree; the Navy also was augmented. Virginia, New England, and Barbadoes were settled, Discoveries were encouraged. The Nation became more and

\* There was nothing on which the Queen valued herself more than on the utter Destruction of this Monster, as she stiled base Money. Her Predecessors had coined some good, and reduced by Proclamation the debased Money to the same Value. But Elizabeth called this in, and without any Charge to the Subject recoined all to the Amount in the Course of her Reign to Five Millions and a Half, besides the Portcullis Pieces which were struck for the Use of the East India Company. As long as Cecil lived she resisted all the Overtures frequently made her to relieve her Necessities, which were sometimes very great, by again tampering with the Coin. Towards the Close of her Reign however she made a small Alteration, but without Injury to the Standard, by coining Sixty-two Shillings instead of Sixty out of the Pound of Silver. The Acts for promoting Tillage proved in a great Measure ineffectual. We may easily guess at the Condition of the Tenants from the Account given us by her Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Smith, of that of their Landlords. "He who had a Father, who kept a good House, and had all Things in order to maintain it, shall come to his own, after he is out of Wardship, Woods decayed, Houses fallen down, Stock wasted, and Lands utterly worn, and plowed to the barren, and to make Amends shall pay yet One Year's Relief, and sue ouster le maine, beside other Charges, so that not of many Years, and peradventure never, he shall be able to recover, and come to the Estate where his Father left it." Commonwealth of England, B. iii. chap. v. and the curious Reader will find the whole Chapter very well worth his Perusal.

more populous; but notwithstanding this Tillage remained in a low Condition <sup>d</sup>.

CHARLES came to the Crown in a State more embarrassed than that of his Father. Great Part of the Crown Lands were sold, much of the remaining Revenue anticipated, a heavy Debt at Home and Abroad, and a War entered into by the Advice of Parliament, from whom for that Reason the King had great Hopes. They gave him some Supplies, and brought in a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage for only One Year, which for that Reason was rejected by the Lords. The King met the same Parliament at Oxford, but differing with and dissolving them endeavoured to carry on the War as well as he could. In order to this he continued to exact the Customs as if they had been a Revenue inherent to the Crown, had Recourse to Loans, Privy Seals, and other Methods of the same Kind, which prejudiced him in the Minds of his People, and these Discontents were heightened by an unsuccessful Expedition against Cadiz. To these Misfortunes were added a Breach with France, precipitate in its Commencement, and unfortunate in its Progress. Another Parliament, though inclined to grant Supplies, totally disapproved the Measures taken to raise Money without their Assistance, and the rigorous Steps by which these Measures were enforced. This produced the PETITION of RIGHT, by which these Evils were prevented for the future. The King assented to it

<sup>d</sup> As the Queen left a Debt, so she left also a Part of the last Supply that had been given her unlevied. The King had a great Family, and the Rate of Living was very high. The Whole of his Income never reached Five hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, of which the Crown Lands made less than a Fifth, and the Profits arising from the Tenures about Two Fifths. In the Course of his Reign he sold Crown Lands to the Value of near Eight hundred thousand Pounds, and by the Help of this, parting with the Cautionary Towns in Holland, the Debt received from France, Benevolences, and other Means, raised about Two Millions. The Supplies granted him by Parliament (the last excepted, which he did not receive) amounted to Six hundred and Thirty thousand Pounds. The Customs at the Beginning of his Reign were about One hundred and Twenty-seven thousand Pounds. He raised them afterwards to One hundred and Sixty thousand, and towards the Close of his Reign higher. The Coinage in his Reign did not amount to quite Five Millions and a Half, Part of which was from Silver melted out of Lead in Wales. He made some Alterations in the Value of Gold Coin, in consequence of a like Alteration in other Parts of Europe. The Mistake of the Merchants with respect to Navigation arose in the Queen's Time, and continued through a Part of his, and consisted in their making Use of large foreign Ships for the Sake of saving Freight, of which the Seamen heavily complained. But when it was perceived that Foreigners made an Advantage of this, and found Means to import Goods hither for their own Profit, the Merchants took the Alarm, and the King by Proclamation forbidding all Commerce but on English Bottoms, many and large Ships were quickly built in several of our Ports. The Hardships arising from Tenures being complained of in Parliament, the King readily agreed to give up that Part of his Revenue for an Equivalent, and the Bargain was at last made for Two hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, but never carried into Execution.

with Reluctance, and finding the Parliament determined to trust him with Tonnage and Poundage only for a very short Time, dissolved them. He then made Peace with Spain and France, which was highly beneficial to the Nation, by restoring a lucrative and extensive Commerce. The King continued many Years to govern without Parliaments, supplying his Wants by the Strength of Prerogative, and in order to support the Sovereignty of the Sea, levied Ship Money, which, though it enabled him to carry his Points Abroad, and to destroy the Sallee Rovers, who had disturbed and distressed our Trade, yet it excited such Discontents as threw all into Confusion at Home. A War with the Scots, and other Misfortunes brought him to call a new Parliament, which he precipitately dissolved, and not long after called another, in which, though he consented to abolish the Star Chamber, and High Commission Courts, and made great Concessions, yet his Disputes with them terminated in a Civil War; in consequence of which the Monies raised for the public Service were both levied and applied by the Authority of that Parliament.

As the Cause of the Parliament was considered by those who adhered to them as the Cause of Liberty and of the People, they were in a Condition by

\* At the Time of his Accession the Debts of his Father were computed at Seven hundred thousand Pounds, and he was besides himself indebted in Thirty thousand. The Parliament gave him about a Tenth Part of the Sum that he declared to be requisite for his immediate Service. This obliged him to borrow from the City on the Crown Lands a large Sum at Eight per Cent. He pawned his Jewels in Holland for Three hundred Thousand Pounds, and by other Methods of the like Kind ran himself deeper in Debt. When disappointed the Second Time by Parliament, he had not only recourse to many irregular Methods of procuring Money, but committed likewise such as refused to lend, and by this Means heightened extremely the Discontents of those who were most able to embarrass his Affairs. By his Assent to the Petition of Right, he put an End to these Practices, and declared them illegal; however being again disappointed, he had recourse to other Prerogative Measures of Supply, such as erecting new Corporations, Charters, Compositions with Recusants, confirming defective Titles to Crown Lands, Fines for Knighthood, and the like. As to Ship-money, which produced Two hundred thousand Pounds per Annum for Four Years, it was strictly applied to the Purpose for which it was raised, powerful Fleets were sent out, the Coast scoured from Pirates, the Dutch obliged to pay Thirty thousand Pounds for Licence to Fish, the Navy Board regularly established, new Ships built, particularly the Sovereign, of upwards of Ninety Guns and Seventeen hundred Tons. Commerce flourished wonderfully; the East India, African, and Turkey Trades were improved and extended. The Plantations began to thrive exceedingly. Ireland was reduced into Order, and yielded a considerable Revenue, as a Proof of this the Customs rose, and the Coinage at the Tower amounted to upwards of Twelve Millions. This large Sum was exclusive of what was coined by the King at his several Mints of Aberistwith, York, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Exeter, and other Places out of his own Plate, that of the Universities, the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, who adhered to him, and which we have reason to judge must have been very considerable both in Gold and Silver, from what yet remains in the Cabinets of the Curious; and though some of the Pieces are but of coarse Workmanship, yet others are very fair and neat, and all of them of due Fineness and Weight; which by adding to the Circulation must have been of great Utility to the Nation even in these dismal Times. This shews that what Clarendon, Rushworth, and Coke affirm, that the Nation at the breaking out of the Civil War was in a most prosperous Condition, is a certain Truth.

their



their own Authority to raise competent Supplies, which from their perfect Knowledge of the real Situation and Riches of the Nation they were enabled to do by a Variety of Means, and by spreading their Impositions wide, rendered them lighter to Individuals, though they were very heavy in their Amount, and being again gradually dispersed for the Maintenance of their Forces, and the Support of their Government, this Circulation rendered their Continuance practicable, till their Power was fixed beyond the Possibility of Resistance. The Reduction of Scotland and of Ireland was attended with great Expence, but both being accomplished, extended, and augmented their Authority. The Sense they had of their own Strength, and the Appearance of a general Submission encouraged them after the Death of the King to undertake a War against the Dutch in Support of the Sovereignty of the Sea, by which they in a great Measure ruined the naval Power of their Rival<sup>f</sup>.

At length being dispossessed of the Government by their own Army, their General Cromwell found it very difficult to raise Money without the Assistance of Parliament, and still more difficult to obtain it from those Assemblies which he called by that Name. He was obliged therefore to raise Supplies as well as he could; and it hath been thought highly probable that he broke with Spain that he might replenish his empty Treasury by foreign Spoils, in which he was not altogether unsuccessful; though even with this Help he died in Debt, and left his Son so embarrassed, that he was not long able to maintain his Seat. The Remains of the Long Parliament then resumed Power, and levied the Sums requisite for their Support in their accustomed Manner, till the City of London refused to pay

<sup>f</sup> History of Independency. Account of Taxes, p. 295. Selden's Works, vol. iii. p. 2070. Before the Civil War actually broke out the Parliament gave Six Subsidies and a Poll Tax, which they computed made together Six hundred thousand Pounds, for Payment of Debts, and settling with the Scots. After the Civil War began they raised weekly and monthly Assessments, introduced Excises, took Tonnage and Poundage, imposed new Duties, called in Silver Plate, for the Value of which they allowed Eight per Cent. borrowed occasionally immense Sums from the City of London, the Merchant Adventurers, and other public Companies. When their Power was established they found new Resources in Sequestrations, Compositions, Sale of Crown and Church Lands, &c. When Cromwell was declared General, an Assessment of One hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds a Month was raised for the Army and Navy. Mr. Walker in his Preface to the Book first cited, after enumerating the Methods taken by them asserts, that what they raised in Six Years, amounted to Forty Millions. Other Computations may be found in Stevens's Account of Taxes. The Dutch War was entered into upon Motives that had induced the King to levy Ship-money, that is, for maintaining the Sovereignty of the Sea, the Right of the Flag, and the Fishery. The Parliament might have secured all these by a Peace and the Satisfaction due to the Nation for the Injuries in the East Indies. But they insisted on a Coalition of the Two Republics. The War was detrimental to Commerce, left the Army idle, and the large Rewards given by the Parliament to their own Members, raised that Spirit of Discontent, which in the Midst of their seeming Plenitude of Power enabled their own General, to turn them out.

any Taxes till a free Parliament was called, and General Monk being drawn to concur with them, put an End to these Confusions, by the Method which the City had proposed; and which produced the Restoration.

Thus the Reader hath seen by as succinct a Deduction as it was in my Power to make, the Connection between the public Revenue and the Condition of this Country through a long Series of Ages. The ~~the~~ small British Principalities, as they had a regular Constitution, had also undoubtedly Revenues suited to their Occasions and Extent. The Romans while they held it, shewed in every Respect of what this Island was capable, and from their great Improvements of all Kinds, raised an immense public Revenue. The Saxons proceeding on a different Plan, restrained their Views to the same Bounds within which Nature had confined their Dominions. By this Policy they rendered the Country populous and well cultivated, the Inhabitants according to their several Ranks in easy Circumstances, and the Crown Revenue ample. The Danes destroyed the Kingdom, and deranged the Saxon System so much, that it was unable to bear up against a new Invader. The Normans not only introduced a strange and severe Form of Rule, by which they changed the Manners, and in some Degree the Language of the People, but also from their

§ The First Parliament called by Cromwell was composed of Members appointed by him, who finding themselves able to do nothing resigned the Power again into his Hands. After this he made Peace with the Dutch upon Terms much better in Appearance than they were in Reality, in which it is thought he found his Interest. When he had taken the Title of Protector, he called a Second Parliament, with whom he parted in Disgust. His Third Parliament settled a Revenue upon him, but it was inadequate to the Expences of his Government. He by his own and his Council's Authority restored the Exchequer, took Tonnage and Poundage, Excise, Monthly Assessments, and the casual Revenue, all which did not suffice. In an Account stated April 7th 1659 by Richard's Parliament, the whole national Charge amounted to Two millions Two hundred and One thousand Five hundred and Forty Pounds, which exceeded the Revenue by Three hundred Thirty-two thousand Eight hundred and Twenty-three Pounds, and the public Debt was reported to be Two millions Four hundred Seventy-four thousand Two hundred and Ninety Pounds. These respective Sums regard the whole Three Kingdoms. It was not simply the Degrading of Richard after forcing him to dissolve his Parliament; recalling the old Parliament, turning them out again, that revolted the Minds of the Nation, but many other Circumstances concurred, such as the declining of Trade, from the Captures in the Dutch, the Seizure of the Merchants Effects on the breaking out of the Spanish War, and the violent Proceedings of the Sectaries, who equally oppressed the Church and the Presbyterians, and thereby excited a Desire of recurring to the old Constitution. Before the King's Death the Money coined by the Parliament at the Tower bore his Stamp, thence forward the Arms of the Commonwealth was used even during the Time of Cromwell, and afterwards; but the Whole did not amount to Half a Million. Some very fine Pieces were struck by him both in Gold and Silver, but it is doubted whether they were ever current. The Spirit of Husbandry and Cultivation which revived in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, continued from that Time, but through the public Confusions and the Inclemency of the Seasons Corn bore a very high Price during this Period.

Connections with the Continent, fell into Measures repugnant to the Interests of England. Their foreign Wars impoverished, their Civil Dissensions desolated, and the continual Repetitions of both depopulated the Country to such a Degree, that at the Close of the Reign of Henry the Sixth both the Crown and Nation were equally distressed. But by the Intervention of new Counsels, the relinquishing foreign Quarrels, an Attention to domestic Concerns, excited a Spirit of Industry and Commerce, that in spite of some temporary Interruptions, opened the Eyes of both the Prince and People to their true Interests, which ever were and will be the same. The Consequence of this was a gradual Increase, and a due Distribution of Property, and in Virtue of that the Demolition of the still remaining Checks on rational Freedom; how effectually this operated in the Close of this Period, may appear from hence, that the Parliament raised more Money on that Part of the Kingdom under their Dominion in One Year than there was Specie in the whole Nation a Century before. This amazing Alteration arose from our possessing in effect the whole Trade of Europe for about Fifteen Years. A very sensible Difference was soon after felt from our imprudent Conjunction with France against Spain, which greatly altered the political and commercial Balance which had been so long in our Favour.

## C H A P. V.

Of the public Revenue from the Restoration to the late Peace.

*THE favourable Disposition of the Nation at the Opening of this Period, and the Motives on which it was founded. The State of the Revenue, and the Care taken by the Legislature for promoting the public Welfare during the Reign of Charles the Second. The very ample Establishment made by Parliament on James the Second, and the material Occurrences during his short Reign. The real Causes of the improved Condition and prosperous State of this Country at the Time of his quitting the Government. A summary Account of the Money raised, and a short Detail of public Affairs during the Reign of King William the Third. A like Deduction in respect to the Finances and other Concerns of these Islands under Queen Anne. A succinct Review of the Revenue, and of the principal Events that happened in the Reign of King George the First. The Means that were employed for bringing the Debts of the Public into Order, with a brief Relation of the Origin and Issue of the South Sea Scheme. A concise View*

*of some salutary Statutes for the Ease and Emolument of the commercial Interest. A succinct Detail of the principal Events in the first Thirteen Years of his late Majesty King George the Second. The Measures pursued in that Time for the Benefit of the Public, and their Effects. The War with Spain and afterwards against both that Crown and France, which continued for about Six Years. The Laws enacted, and other Methods used for promoting the public Weal within this Space. A Review of what passed from the Peace of Aix-la-chapelle to the Breaking out of the last War. The Progress thereof to the Demise of his late Majesty. The State of the Nation considered through this Period. The Prosecution of this Subject from the Commencement of the present Reign to the Conclusion of the Peace of Paris. The Nature and Consequences of the public Debt truly stated and impartially considered. The Rise and Progress of the Sinking Fund in like Manner fairly represented, and its Utility explained and established. The Conclusion of this Book and Chapter, with some necessary Remarks.*

**T**HE Horrors of a Civil War, the long Series of Commotions that followed, and the numerous fatal Consequences that visibly attended them, brought the Nation in general to a true Sense of its own Interests, and convinced them by Experience, that the overturning their ancient Constitution had subverted the Basis of their Happiness, by removing those wise Provisions, that by a due Temperament of rational Liberty with Sovereign Authority constitute the best of all Governments, a limited Monarchy. Experience had convinced them likewise of many Truths, to a just Sense of which they could never have been persuaded by Arguments. They perceived plainly that for the Security and Prosperity of the State, it was requisite that Government should be supported by an ample Revenue. They discovered that in a flourishing Society, Taxes judiciously laid and properly applied, might promote the Welfare, instead of distressing the Circumstances of the Subject. They were rendered fully sensible of the Oppression, as well as Danger of a numerous Army, from which they were consequently very desirous of being freed. They saw clearly the great Utility of Cultivation, and they felt from the Removal of the feudal Tenures, and the Increase of Inhabitants, that this was fully in their Power. They began to have more enlarged Notions in regard to the Benefit arising from Manufactures, the lowering the Interest of Money, and the removing all Obstructions to the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce. They were therefore disposed, from these and other Considerations, cheerfully to embrace any Measures that had a Tendency to promote these salutary Views, and to prevent their falling again into those Confusions, from which they were so lately recovered.

AT the Return of King Charles the Second, the Convention Parliament, as it was called, made an immediate Settlement for the Support of the Crown, provided for the disbanding the Army, and though by no means disposed to be profuse in their Grants, shewed an Inclination to do whatever was necessary. The succeeding Parliament was more liberal till disgusted by the Miscarriage of the First, and the bad Intention of the Second Dutch War. After this Time, though the King received occasionally much Assistance from Parliament, yet his Conduct brought him into Necessities that involved him in Disputes with his People as well as in perpetual Difficulties, and induced him to incur a Debt, which he found it out of his Power to discharge. But notwithstanding these Mistakes and Misfortunes the Nation received some Advantages from that Monarch's Disposition, and many more from the Attention and public Spirit of the Legislature. His Temper and Experience inclined him to take great Care of the Navy, to promote the Interests of the Plantations, to countenance useful Inventions and Improvements of different Kinds, and particularly Discoveries, in which his Views were seconded by several Persons of Quality and Distinction. On the other Hand the Parliament took many laudable Steps for the Security of the Protestant Religion, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Maintenance of Justice. They removed by wise and well-weighed Statutes, all those Impediments that had so long continued to impede the Cultivation of Land, and took the most effectual and salutary Methods to promote it, and were not wanting in their Endeavours, though these were not so successful, to support and extend our Fisheries. They encouraged Manufactures, afforded a kind Reception to Foreigners that might be instrumental in this Respect, brought the Customs into Order, were zealous in promoting a free Trade, and by the Act of Navigation and subsequent Laws to support and enforce it, provided effectually for the Security of Commerce, and took the wisest Methods for maintaining a Conjunction of Interest between the Colonies and their Mother Country, from which many beneficial Consequences speedily ensued to both.

JAMES

\* His First Parliament passed an Act for affording his Majesty a speedy Supply of Seventy thousand Pounds, settled on him Tonnage and Poundage, the hereditary Excise in Compensation for the legal Abolition of Wards and Liveries and Purveyance; the temporary Excise for the Support of Government, the Revenue arising from the Post-office, and afterwards Hearth-money. But it ought to be observed that many Years elapsed before these Revenues were brought into Order. This was done at first by farming, which gradually discovered their true Value. The Customs (Davenant on public Revenues, vol. ii. p. 42.) yielded A. D. 1666, Three hundred and Ninety thousand Pounds; but were raised by Degrees to Five hundred Fifty-five thousand Seven hundred and Fifty-two Pounds per Annum. The Excise, as the same Author tells us, vol. i. p. 127, rose in like Manner from Two hundred Seventy-five thousand Nine hundred Fifty-two Pounds, to Six hundred Forty-four thousand Eight hundred Fifty-four Pounds per Annum. The Post-office, as we have already observed, vol. ii. p. 256, 257, advanced from Twenty-one thousand

JAMES the Second, notwithstanding the Difficulties to which he had been exposed in the Reign of his Brother, succeeded to the Throne with greater Advantages than almost any Prince that had ever sat upon it. He found the public Revenue much improved, and put into better Order than it had ever been. He added to this the established and ample Income which he had possessed as Duke of York. His Parliament was so complaisant as to settle both upon him, notwithstanding he had by Proclamation directed the Payment of the Customs before that Assembly met. They likewise granted him several considerable Additions for the Repair and Support of the Fleet, and for suppressing the Duke of Monmouth's Insurrection. As he was naturally a good Economist, well acquainted with public Affairs, and a Prince of indefatigable Application, He very soon brought his Revenue into so good a State, as to be able to make annually very considerable Savings. That Spirit of Cultivation and Improvement which had prevailed for many Years, still exerted itself with the greatest Vigour, and the French Refugees who were kindly received and very prudently encouraged, perfected some and introduced many new Manufactures, which in Process of Time proved of infinite Benefit to the Nation. The peaceable State of Europe, and the Removal of those Disturbances that had long subsisted in America, was exceedingly favourable to Commerce, to the promoting of which he shewed great Attention. He was particularly careful in protecting the East India and African Companies, which were then in a very flourishing Condition. The Navy, in the Management of which he was perfectly well versed, he directed himself with the Assistance only of a Secretary, and had brought it into excellent Order, when his excessive Bigotry to the Popish Religion,

and Five hundred Pounds, to Forty-three thousand Pounds. Hearth-money in his Time brought in One hundred Sixty-two thousand Pounds. The King, notwithstanding this Income, and several large Grants from Parliament, amounting in the Course of his Reign to Eleven Millions Four hundred Forty-three thousand Four hundred and Seven Pounds, found himself obliged to sell Dunkirk to the French for a Million and a Half of Crowns, which were coined into Three hundred Thirty-six thousand Seven hundred and Thirty-three Pounds. He also sold the Fee-farm Rents in virtue of Two Acts of Parliament, but for what Sum is not a little incertain, and at his Death stood indebted to the Bankers, who had advanced Money on the hereditary Revenue, in the Sum of One Million Three hundred Twenty-eight thousand Five hundred Twenty-six Pounds, and also owed his Household Sixty thousand Pounds. The Test Act, the Habeas Corpus, the Law for preventing Frauds and Perjuries, and many others prove the Truth of what is advanced in the Text. In consequence of these, Property was so well secured, and Industry so effectually encouraged, that our Trade became both extensive and lucrative; the Plantations flourished, the Royal Navy was doubled, and Land rose from Twelve to Sixteen and Eighteen Years Purchase. The Coinage of Gold and Silver in this Reign was very near Eight Millions. By an Act passed in the Eighteenth of his Reign, a Duty was imposed upon Wine, Brandy, &c. to defray the Expence of Coinage; which Duty being by subsequent Statutes continued still subsists, so that Gold and Silver are assayed and coined at the Mint in the Tower free from all Charges.

and those Innovations in Government into which that led him, excited the Disaffection of his Subjects, and obliged him to abandon his Dominions <sup>b</sup>.

BESIDES those Circumstances that have been, and many more, that if we had Room might be mentioned, which contributed to increase the Substance as well as Credit of the Public, there was also a wonderful Concurrence of favourable Events which human Wisdom could not foresee, or human Policy bring about, that conducted to the same desirable End. Such as the general Situation of Christendom at that Period, the great Need that Spain had of our Friendship, the Advantages accruing to our Commerce after the last Peace with the Dutch, whilst they were still engaged in a War with France, and the Security with which our Vessels navigated the Mediterranean, while those of other States were exposed to the Depredations committed by the Barbary Corsairs. These excited and maintained a more general Spirit of Enterprize than had been ever seen, and that Success which attended these Efforts was really amazing. Our very Errors turned in several Instances to our Benefit. The Attempts made to introduce arbitrary Power produced new and effectual Barriers against it. The prohibiting of Irish Cattle inspired the People of that fertile Island with Views which they prosecuted to their own Advantage. The hard Usage of Dissenters of different Denominations filled our Plantations with Numbers of sober, intelligent, and active Inhabitants. It was from these and a Variety of other Causes, that not only the Stock of this Country was augmented much beyond what it had been in former Times, but the Seeds of universal Industry so effectually sown, as to promote

<sup>b</sup> The Revenue granted to King James amounted to full Two Millions per Annum, whereas that of his Brother did not exceed One million Two hundred thousand, and this was so well managed by him, that he is supposed to have saved about Three hundred thousand Pounds a Year. A long Continuance of Peace, an increasing as well as extensive Commerce, and many other favourable Circumstances concurred to the Improvement of the Country, and the enriching of its Inhabitants. The French King having revoked the Edict of Nantz, many Thousand Refugees came over hither, who were not only well received and protected, but highly encouraged also by the King, on account of their bringing with them many valuable Manufactures. To the East India Company he granted a new and very ample Charter, which was the Sixth they had received since the Restoration, and at this Time their Trade was so flourishing, and their Credit so great, that they borrowed Six hundred thousand Pounds at Three per Cent. He was also very indulgent to the African Company, in which while Duke of York he had a large Concern. But as both these were exclusive Charters by the sole Power of the Crown, the Legality of them was disputed, and several private Merchants endeavouring on this Ground to interfere with them, were filed Interlopers. In respect to the Navy, it was at the Time he left the Kingdom in admirable Condition, consisting of One hundred and Seventy-three Vessels of different Rates, for the Manning of which Forty-two thousand Seamen were required. The Coinage during his short Reign was in Gold Two Millions One hundred Thirteen thousand Six hundred Thirty-nine Pounds, and in Silver Five hundred and Eighteen thousand Three hundred Sixteen Pounds. Amounting together to Two Millions Six hundred Thirty-one thousand Nine hundred Fifty-five Pounds.



lasting Prosperity, which was truly fortunate for the Nation, as she was thereby enabled to support soon after those glorious Struggles, in which she was involved, for the Preservation of her own and the Liberties of Europe c.

THE Reign of King William and Queen Mary opened with an extensive and expensive War with France, undertaken and carried on with great Difficulties for the Space of Eight Years. It was however a War of Necessity not of Ambition, and was supported with a Spirit that did Honour to the Nation. Repeated Customs, Excises, Poll-taxes, Impositions on Windows, Joint-stocks, Marriages, Burials, Manufactures, and Land, bore heavy upon all Ranks of People, and these were much aggravated by high Premiums, large Interest, Mortgages for long Terms, and other oppressive Circumstances. It is very probable that many of these Difficulties might have been lessened, and some of them avoided, but we wanted Experience in Things of this Nature, and which was still worse, there was a Want of Unanimity, and of consequence of public Spirit. The War was at first unsuccessful in its Operations, and disastrous in its Consequences;

c It will not be Time mispent to enquire a little more minutely into the Causes of these Effects, in order to have a clearer Conception of both. The Nation had been certainly in many Respects improving and growing more wealthy for at least Forty Years before the Restoration, and though this might and certainly did receive some Check from the Dutch and Spanish Wars, and though very large Sums might be hoarded in those Days of Confusion, yet from incontestable Marks it appeared that the Public was still in a healthy State, and capable with a competent Degree of Attention of recovering its former Vigour. Many excellent Treatises in regard to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce were published, which by explaining the true Principles of them all had singular good Effects. The First, because the easiest Improvements were made in Pasture and Meadow Lands, which by taking in large Quantities of what had been esteemed waste and barren Grounds, occasioned in some Places a Fall of Rents, whence arose the Clamour against Irish Cattle, but the Rental of the Kingdom was raised, and Estates in general increased in their Value. Corn continued dear, which gave the First Hint for giving a Bounty on Exportation, as we have shewn elsewhere. A Native of the Low Countries brought over hither the Secret of dying Woollen Cloths to the highest Perfection, which till then we still wanted. The Art of making fine Glafs was at the Expence of the Duke of Buckingham brought from Venice. We became better skilled than formerly in whatever related to Metals. The Manufacture of Hats was gained. The Silk Trade became very considerable. The Manufactures of Linen and Cotton were introduced and encouraged. The Taxes were so laid as to promote Circulation, which was still farther increased by the joint Stock Companies, and by the Loans to them and to the Crown. It is very true that the Two Dutch Wars, the Plague, and the Fire of London produced Losses that have been computed at Twenty-seven millions, which however duly considered amount to a convincing Proof of the Truth of what hath been said. For after this our Commerce augmented; the City was very soon, as well as very splendidly rebuilt; and the Number of its Inhabitants within this Period increased more than One Half. Add to all this, that our Shipping doubled in the same Space, all which could never have happened, if Things had not been as we have stated them, as in Points of this Nature no Arguments are so conclusive as those that arise from Facts.

but our Perseverance at length changed the Face of Affairs. The Action at La Hogue was fatal to the naval Power of France, her Commerce did not enable her to repair it, her Manufactures declined, her Finances were gradually exhausted; and the Peace of Ryswick clearly proved that she was sensible of her decaying Strength. On the other Hand there were many Circumstances that turned to our Advantage. The Bill of Rights declared and established our Constitution. The Minds of Men were quieted, the Protestant Interest strengthened by the Toleration, and at the Close of the Reign by the Establishment of the Protestant Succession. Some very salutary Alterations were also made in the Administration of Justice. A Bounty on the Exportation of Corn was settled by Act of Parliament. The Subject was restored to Freedom in the important Business of working Mines, and in the Midst of all our Distresses that which threatened us most, the miserable State of our Money, was effectually removed by a Re-coinage. The Bank of England was erected, and its salutary Operations promoted by an Engraffment. The Board of Trade was established, our Manufactures enlarged at the Expence of France, the Length of the War delivering us from a Trade with that Country, and a Fondness for its Fashions, which had been highly detrimental. In a Word, national Credit gradually revived, Circulation increased, and the Benefits flowing from it began to be understood. At the Close of the Reign our Navy was doubled <sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>d</sup> At this great Crisis, in consequence of the despotic Power of her Monarch, France was become terrible to all Europe, and nothing but Union in Sentiments, and that Conjunction of Interests which the Revolution brought about, could have restrained its Force within proper Bounds. The Parliament having assigned their Majesties a Civil List, undertook to provide for the Expences of the War, which they considered as absolutely necessary for the Support of that Government which they had established. As they had the Power of controuling the Disbursements, as well as raising the Supplies, they were able to proceed with Vigour, and in the Course of Thirteen Years raised the Sum of Fifty-nine Millions Two hundred Fifty-one thousand Seven hundred and Fifty two Pounds Fourteen Shillings and Nine Pence. But as they judged it unsafe at least, if not impracticable, to raise the Sums requisite within the Year, they had Recourse to Loans at the Rate of Eight and of Seven per Cent., and notwithstanding this, and the granting Annuities at as high or higher Rates, they were obliged sometimes to give Premiums, in consequence of which the whole Sum borrowed amounted to Forty-one Millions One hundred thousand Seven hundred and Ninety-five Pounds. For the satisfying the public Creditors, they mortgaged Funds for long Terms, the Produce of which went in Discharge both of Principal and Interest. By this Means there was repaid Thirty-four Millions Thirty-four thousand and Eighteen Pounds. Among other Helps towards carrying on the public Service, Exchequer Bills were invented, but in the Year 1697 Things were in so bad a State, that Tallies were from Fifty-five to Sixty-five per Cent. Discount, and the Discount on Bank Notes at the same Time Thirteen or Fourteen per Cent. At this Juncture the Engraffment took Place, which made an Addition of Five Millions One hundred Sixty thousand Four hundred and Fifty-nine Pounds to the Capital of the Bank of England, Four Fifths of which was subscribed in Tallies and other Government Securities, and the remaining Fifth in their own Notes at Eight per Cent. Interest, which

AT the Time Queen Anne ascended the Throne the Nation was preparing for a War on Motives of political Prudence, in order to prevent France from giving Law to us and to the Rest of Europe, for which Purpose the Grand Alliance had been formed. This War, into which we soon after entered, as it was more extensive and of longer Continuance, so it was more expensive than the former. To support these Expences the same Methods were pursued that had been taken in the preceding War, probably from the Experience of their Practicability, though many Objections had been raised against them, on account of their bearing hard upon our Manufactures, raising the Price of Necessaries, and producing other Inconveniencies. These however being esteemed lighter in their Nature than the Evils that were apprehended from what the War was meant to remove, occasioned their being adopted by Parliament, and the great Success of our Arms made them more tolerable to the People. Besides this there were other Circumstances that contributed to keep up their Spirits. Several Laws were made of visible Utility to the Public, such as for the preventing the Alienation of Crown Lands, the encouraging Tillage and Manufactures of different Kinds, the promoting inland and foreign Trade, by a Variety of salutary Measures of which we have already taken Notice. Some Obstructions were removed that impeded the free Course of Justice, a farther Security given to the Freedom of Parliament, by requiring certain Proportions of landed Interest as a Qualification for the becoming Members of the House of Commons. We may add to this the Union between the Two Nations so often attempted without Effect, and now happily concluded. Some just Steps were likewise taken for promoting the Welfare of Ireland, for encouraging the Commerce of our Colonies, and the bringing from thence naval Stores, and to assist these by facilitating general Correspondence, a new Form was given to the Post-office, which diffused the Benefits arising from it through all the British Dominions, and as a Proof of the prosperous State of the Nation, notwithstanding the vast Charges she had sustained, the legal Rate of Interest was reduced from Six to Five per Cent<sup>e</sup>.

KING

which in a very short Space brought every Thing into Order with the Assistance of the Re-coinage at the Tower, and at the Mints established at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York, in all which were coined Six Millions Four hundred Thirty-five thousand Thirty-nine Pounds, and the total Coinage in this Reign both of Gold and Silver amounted to Ten Millions Five hundred and Eleven thousand Nine hundred and Sixty-three Pounds, and the Whole of the Debt was by the Means before-mentioned reduced to Ten Millions Sixty-six thousand Seven hundred and Seventy-seven Pounds.

The same Provision was made for the Queen upon her Accession as had been granted to King William, viz. Seven hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, out of which the Queen gave One hundred thousand Pounds a Year towards the Expences of the War. She was likewise empowered to settle One hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, and the Palaces of Kensington and Southampton upon

KING George the First, in virtue of the Act of Settlement, came to the Succession on the Demise of the Queen. But he had not been long seated on the Throne before a formidable Rebellion broke out, which however though speedily suppressed, occasioned the making some severe Laws for preserving the public Tranquillity. Soon after a Misunderstanding arose with Sweden, and the unsettled State of Things in Europe gave Occasion to the quadruple Alliance, which brought on a War with Spain, and the Destruction of the naval Force of that Kingdom. Some Differences we likewise had with Russia, and their Imperial and Catholic Majesties having concluded a Treaty at Vienna, his Majesty thought proper to counterbalance this, by what was stiled The Treaty of Hanover. These Disputes made it requisite to send Fleets into the Baltic, to the Mediterranean, and to the Coasts of Spanish America, which, though expensive, seem to have answered the Ends intended by them, by preventing the Mischiefs with which we were threatened, so that we had no War of any Continuance during this Reign <sup>f</sup>.

## THE

upon Prince George of Denmark, in case he survived her. The Money requisite for carrying on the War was raised upon easier Terms than in the preceding Reign, as public Credit was now better established. As in order to effect this the great Companies were equally ready and useful, they were treated with great Indulgence. The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies were thoroughly established in the Beginning of her Reign, and their Capital afterwards augmented to Three Millions Two hundred thousand Pounds, the Interest of this Sum being reduced from Six to Five per Cent. The Bank having discharged the great Sum engrafted in the former Reign. and being very serviceable in circulating Exchequer Bills, were allowed to increase their Capital to upwards of Six Millions and a Half, and their Term prolonged to the Year 1746. After the Conclusion of the War the South Sea Company was erected, with a Capital of between Nine and Ten Millions, composed of a Subscription of public Debts, on the same Plan with the Engraftment on the Bank Stock in the Reign of King William. At the Union the Produce of the Customs in England was stated at One Million Three hundred Forty-one thousand Five hundred and Fifty-nine Pounds, and the Excise at Nine hundred Forty-seven thousand Six hundred and Two Pounds per Annum. In the Course of the War the French Marine, which had been once so formidable, was in a great Measure ruined, whereas ours was greatly increased, most of our Manufactures were exceedingly improved, many new Ones erected, and our Commerce in general and with the Colonies in particular much extended. The Supplies granted amounted to Sixty-nine Millions Eight hundred Fifteen thousand Four hundred and Fifty-seven Pounds Eleven Shillings and Three Pence Half-penny. The Expences of the War were stated by the Commissioners for taking the public Accounts at Sixty-five Millions Eight hundred Fifty-three thousand Seven hundred Ninety-nine Pounds Eight Shillings and Seven Pence Half Penny. The Coinage in this Reign amounted to Two Millions Six hundred Ninety-one thousand Six hundred and Twenty-six Pounds.

<sup>f</sup> At the Accession of King George the First the Parliament gave his Majesty a Revenue of Seven hundred thousand Pounds per Annum in clear Money to defray the Expences of his Civil List, and assigned for this the Funds that had been given to his Royal Predecessors. But it being found that these Funds were incumbered with several Charges and Pensions to the Amount in the Whole of Two hundred and Seventy-six thousand Eight hundred Pounds per Annum, it was thought requisite to assign the annual Sum of One hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds from another Fund to make up the Seven hundred thousand Pounds in clear Money. As ample as this Provision

THE bringing the Funds into proper Order for the effectual Support of public Credit was often recommended from the Throne as a Point of the highest Importance, and was for some Years prosecuted with so much Prudence, as to produce a Reduction in the Interest paid to the public Creditors &c. This Success however made Way for that Calamitous Project called the South Sea Scheme, which under a Variety of fallacious Pretences ruined the Fortunes of Multitudes, and brought no small Disgrace upon the State. The most effectual Remedies were as speedily applied as possible, and by Degrees the Evils this Project had introduced were thoroughly removed, that public Credit revived, and the national Interest was at length reduced from Five to Four per Cent. which was highly beneficial to Society <sup>h</sup>. There were likewise several good Laws made for preventing Delays

Provision might seem, it was found necessary in the Course of this Reign to grant about One Million for paying the Debts of the Civil List. The Whole of the Supplies raised during the Life of this Monarch for the public Service amounted to Thirty-five Millions Four hundred Forty-eight thousand One hundred and Thirty-five Pounds. At the Time of the King's Demise the public Debt was about Fifty Millions. The Coinage during his Reign amounted to Eight Millions Seven hundred Twenty-five thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-one Pounds. It may not be amiss to remark that in the Year 1718 there was a Coinage of Nineteen thousand Five hundred and Eighty Pounds in Quarter Guineas.

<sup>g</sup> The State of the public Funds was at this Time, as indeed it is at all Times, a Matter of the utmost Consequence. We have before observed, that in the Reduction of legal Interest at the Close of the Queen's Reign from Six to Five per Cent. there was an Exception in favour of the Stipulations made with the public Creditors. But the Situation of Things being much altered, it was thought both reasonable and practicable to relieve the Public in this Respect, as well as in another, which was then considered as a great Inconvenience on account of the Number of private Persons holding Annuities at high Interest, with whom it was difficult to treat separately. But the engrafting Act in the Reign of King William, and the Mode of establishing the South Sea Company in the Queen's Time affording Precedents, there passed in the Third Year of this King, Three Acts known by the Names of the General Fund Act, the Bank and the South Sea Acts. By the First of these such as held Annuities were allowed to subscribe them into the Bank Stock, and to receive Five per Cent. for the future. By the other Two Acts the Bank (excepting their original Fund) and the South Sea Company agreed to reduce respectively the Interest they received from the Public, from Six to Five per Cent. and to advance, the former Two Millions and a Half, the latter Two Millions, to pay such of the private Creditors as chose rather to accept their Money, than to continue it at the reduced Interest. This had so good an Effect, that upwards of Nine Millions and a Half were subscribed into the Bank, and those who chose to receive their Money were paid with less than Five hundred Pounds.

<sup>h</sup> The great Success attending the Subscription to the Bank before-mentioned, and another Operation of the same Kind by the South Sea Company, excited a strong Desire of putting all the Rest of the public Debts, if possible, into such a State as might render it practicable to pay them in so reasonable Time. These Debts were of Two Kinds, Irredeemables and Redeemables. The former were also of Two different Sorts, some for very long Terms, others for a shorter Number of Years, which taken together, cost the Public very near Eight hundred thousand Pounds per Annum. The latter were also of Two Sorts, that is, Annuities bearing Five per Cent. and others Four per Cent. amounting together to upwards of Sixteen Millions and a Half. A Proposal was made by the South Sea Company, to take in the Whole by the Consent of the Proprietors, and for the Liberty of doing this they offered a large Sum to the Public. Upon this the Bank offered Five Millions for the Bargain. But the South Sea Company outbid them,

Delays in the Courts of Justice, for abolishing pretended privileged Places, a Grievance which had long prevailed, and was now effectually removed, and for giving Ease to Sheriffs in the passing their Accounts, all of which were of great public Utility. Care was likewise taken of the general Tranquillity by effectually suppressing Pirates Abroad, by several Laws against Deer Stealers, and Persons committing Acts of Violence in Disguise, as also for suppressing Smuggling, which had rose to an enormous Height.

THE Woollen, Linnen, and Silk Manufactures were promoted, regulated, and encouraged by several Statutes; and the wearing printed Calicoes to the Prejudice of our own Manufactures prevented. There was much Attention paid to the Fisheries of North Britain, and a particular Treaty made with the City of Hamburgh in respect to their pickled Herrings. The like Notice was extended to the Government and Trade of Ireland, and many Favours granted to the Colonies in order to preserve a useful Supply of Timber for Ship Building, encouraging the Making of Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, and other naval Stores. But what may be justly stiled the peculiar Honour of this Reign, was the exempting most of our native Commodities from Duties on Exportation, an heavy and most impolitic Burden, and at the same Time the Duties were abolished on a great Variety of foreign Drugs imported for the Use of Dyers, which gave no small Assis-

and obtained an Act in the Sixth of the King, upon such Terms as would have cost them Seven Millions, and likewise agreed that at Midsummer 1727 the Interest of their whole Capital should be reduced from Five to Four per Cent. This was most certainly highly advantageous to the Public, and the Terms they proposed to the Proprietors of these Debts were so specious, that upwards of Twenty-six Millions were actually subscribed, and the Capital of the Company thereby raised to upwards of Thirty-seven Millions. On the Conclusion, and even before the Conclusion of this Bargain, South Sea Stock rose to Three hundred per Cent. This Madnes was cherished by taking in a Money Subscription at Three hundred, a Second at Four hundred, a Third and Fourth at One Thousand per Cent. each, to which Price Stock had gradually risen. The Company also made Loans upon their Stock and declared very high Dividends, and these for a Term of Years. The Fallacy with respect to the public Creditors lay in paying them for their Property in Stock at a very high Price, so that when the Infatuation was over they found themselves by the Fall of that Stock in a deplorable Condition. The Parliament took several Methods for their Relief, in consequence of which the Proprietors of the Redeemable Debts had somewhat more than Fifty-five per Cent. The Proprietors of the Irredeemables had better Terms, and the old Proprietors of South Sea Stock had upwards of Fifty-five per Cent. added to their respective Capitals. The Public lost the Seven Millions that had been promised, but upon the Whole were no Losers by this Project, since thereby upwards of Twelve Millions of the Irredeemables were converted into South Sea Stock, and the Interest at the Term before mentioned was to be reduced to Four per Cent. It would have required a Volume to discuss this Matter thoroughly, but it is hoped that what is here said will be sufficient to explain the Text.

tance to our Manufactures, which Indulgences were recommended from the Throne<sup>i</sup>.

At the Accession of King George the Second, the political Hemisphere of Europe was overcast with very thick Clouds, for dispersing which we entered into a long Train of Negotiations. Preliminaries in a little Time were signed with his Catholic Majesty. A Congress for discussing all Disputes was afterwards held at Soissons. To this succeeded the Treaty of Seville, and in order to execute the Engagements contracted thereby we were obliged to conclude another Treaty at Vienna, by which we guaranteed the Succession of the Dominions of the House of Austria agreeable to the Pragmatic Sanction. The Spaniards, notwithstanding all the Complaisance that had been shewn them, continued to take our Ships in America under Colour of their being employed in an illicit Trade, and for compromising the Disputes on this Head we concluded, after many tedious Altercations, a pacific Instrument stiled a Convention. These different Transactions involved us in a very considerable Expence, by obliging us to keep foreign Troops in our Pay, granting Subsidies to several Princes, and employing large Sums to facilitate our Views with respect to different Courts.

By these Means however it must be acknowledged, that we avoided an actual War, and thereby gained Time to make Abundance of necessary Regulations for the visible Benefit of the Nation, by some convenient Provisions in respect to the Funds, by taking Measures to secure their Stability, and by Discharging several Millions of the public Debt. Many prudent Laws were also enacted for the Support, Encouragement, and Extension of our Manufactures, as also in regard to the Fisheries. Great Attention was paid to the interior Police of the Kingdom, the Emendation of the Laws in several Respects, and particularly by putting all the

<sup>i</sup> The Statute referred to in the Text is the 8th Geo. I. cap. 15, by which it was enacted, That from and after Lady-day 1722, the Subsidies and other Duties payable on the Exportation of any Goods or Merchandize of the Product or Manufacture of Great Britain should cease and determine, except those payable on the Exportation of Alum, Lead, Lead Ore, Tin, Leather tanned, Copperas, Coals, Wool Cards, white Woollen Cloths, Lapis Calaminaris, Skins of all Sorts, Glue, Coney Hair or Wool, Hares Wool, Hair of all Sorts, Horses, and Litharge of Lead. Then as to Importation, the several Sorts of Drugs and foreign Goods used in Dyeing were in this Act particularly enumerated and made free from all Duties, but if again exported, to pay upon Exportation Sixpence in the Pound ad Valorem, according to the Rates fixed by this Act. The Duties upon Importation also of several Sorts of Goods were reduced, upon Beaver Skins from Sixteen Pence to Sixpence per Skin, upon Pepper from One Shilling and Eleven Pence Halfpenny per Pound to Four Pence per Pound, upon Mace from Ten Shillings to Three Shillings, on Cloves from Five Shillings to Two Shillings, and on Nutmegs from Four Shillings to One Shilling and Six Pence per Pound.



Proceedings in our Courts of Justice into English. The like Care was extended in most of these Particulars to North Britain and Ireland, and Industry cherished in every Part of the British Dominions. The Welfare of the Colonies was likewise considered, several Bounties continued, some new Ones granted, more especially in regard to naval Stores, and at the same Time that Measures were taken to render them useful to themselves and to their Mother Country, the Legislature provided likewise by proper Restrictions against such Practices amongst them as might be prejudicial to their Interests<sup>k</sup>. But notwithstanding all the Pains taken, and the many different Methods tried in so many Years to prevent the Interruption of Peace, it was at length found necessary, for the Support of the Honour of the Nation and the Freedom of our Commerce, to enter into a War with Spain.

AT the Beginning of this War, our Squadron in America took Porto Bello, which struck the Spaniards with great Consternation. But we were not so fortunate in our Attempt upon Carthagena, or in some other naval Enterprizes. However so long as we were singly engaged against Spain, and of consequence carried on all our Operations by Sea, the War was less burthensome to us, and more distressing to our Enemy. But the Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth exciting a War in Germany, in which we were obliged to take Part, the Dispute became more complicated, and of course more expensive and more doubtful in its Event. The Battle of

<sup>k</sup> At the Entrance of this Monarch's Reign the Parliament settled his Civil List in such a Manner, as that if the several Funds, which were the same granted to his Royal Father, should not produce Eight hundred thousand Pounds, the Deficiency was to be made up to his Majesty. The Total of the Supplies within this Period of Thirteen Years amounted to Forty-three Millions Seven hundred Twenty-eight thousand Seven hundred Twenty-nine Pounds. The East India Company, besides a considerable Sum paid for the renewing her Charter, consented to the Reduction of Interest on her Capital from Five to Four per Cent. The Proprietors of South Sea Stock were, at their own Request, permitted to convert Three-fourths of their Capital into Annuities, stiled New Annuities, to distinguish them from the Old, the whole Capital, some Years before having been divided into One Moiety Stock, and the other Moiety Annuities. A Law was likewise passed to prevent Stock-jobbing, and the Mischiefs attending it. Great Encouragement was given to the Manufacture of British Sail Cloth, a Thing in many Respects of the greatest Consequence to the Nation. The most effectual Means were employed for promoting the Whale Fishery which was become so much the more necessary, as it had failed when attempted by the South Sea Company. The several Proprietors of Carolina (except the late Earl of Granville) surrendered their Charter for a valuable Consideration, and the Province was divided into Two Royal Governments with very happy Effects. The new Colony of Georgia was settled. The free Exportation of Rice to all Places South of Cape Finisterre was permitted, which hath been highly beneficial to the Two Colonies last-mentioned. An Act also passed for encouraging the Sugar Colonies. By another Statute effectual Means were provided for the speedy Recovery of Debts due from the Inhabitants of the Plantations to the Merchants of Great Britain, and a Law was likewise made to prevent the Exportation of Hats manufactured in any of the Colonies.

Dettingen was very glorious to our Arms, and so also was the naval Engagement near Toulon, in which the combined Fleets of France and Spain were beaten, and might have been destroyed. Our Enemies sensible of their Inferiority instigated a Rebellion here, which operated in their Favour, as a Diversion, but was very quickly crushed. The War on the Continent was then resumed with Vigour. The Battles of Fontenoy and Laval shewed the Valour of our Troops; and though the French were in some Instances successful against our Allies, yet they began to be weary of the War, more especially after we rendered ourselves Masters of the life of Cape Breton, and threatened both their Dominions on the Continent of America and their Islands in the West Indies with formidable Invasions, which however was prevented by a Peace that put all Parties nearly in the same Condition they were at the Time of the Commencement of Hostilities.

YET our Councils were not so entirely occupied with Military Affairs as to neglect our domestic Concerns. For as at the Beginning of the War proper Measures were pursued to procure the Seamen requisite for our several Fleets, so at the same Time very just Precautions were taken to render this as little detrimental as possible to our commercial Navigation. The great Companies continued to be very useful in raising the necessary Supplies, and in raising them on easy Terms. Salutary Laws were passed for promoting our Manufactures, particularly Sail Cloth, already become very considerable from former Bounties. The Linnen Manufactories in North Britain and Ireland were considered with Attention and liberally encouraged. A Royal Charter was granted to a Company formed in order to facilitate the Progress of the First, and the most effectual Means used for supporting the latter. The Colonies likewise continued to be considered by Legislature, and the Alacrity and Courage they had shewn in the Reduction of Cape Breton, met, as it merited, with proper Regard, as well as Applause from the Mother Country. The Province of South Carolina having struck into the Culture of Indigo, a Bounty was granted for its Support, which hath been attended with great Effects. The most liberal Methods were used to increase the Number of Inhabitants in the Plantations by inviting foreign Protestants to settle in them, and to prevent the People there from being imposed on by plausible Projects, a Stop was put to Banks when on the Point of being erected<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The War with Spain, which began by the Court of Madrid's refusing to pay what had been stipulated by the Convention, unless the South Sea Company complied with a certain Demand made on them by the Court of Spain, was declared here October 19th 1739. In the Three Years which the naval War continued, the Supplies voted amounted to Sixteen Millions, Six hundred Fifty-three thousand

THE Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, and even the Definitive Treaty with Spain, though they delivered us from many Inconveniencies and all the Hazards of War, left us still under such Embarrassments and Apprehensions as created greater Expences than had been usual in Time of Peace, and hindered in some Measure those Alleviations of public Burdens, that in such a Season might have been expected. In this pacific Period, comprehending the Space of about Six Years, it must be however acknowledged that several prudent Measures were taken for the public Benefit, and that these were attended with considerable Success. The farther Reduction of Interest on the public Funds, a Measure which but a few Years before had been in Agitation, and then laid aside, was resumed and carried into Execution, which demonstrated at once the Spirit and the Substance of the Nation. The favourable Opportunity was taken of relieving the People of North Britain from the Hardships they laboured under from their ancient Tenures, and by the same wise Provisions that were thought necessary for preventing future Disturbances in that Part of the Island, the most effectual Encouragements were given to almost every Species of Industry, and the great Hopes that were conceived from these Expedients were very speedily, as well as very perceptibly accomplished. The Attention of the Legislature was likewise shewn afresh in the Support of those Manufactures which had been raised by former Bounties. They still extended their Care and Protection also to the Fisheries, because the Situation they were in evidently required Assistance. The Colony of Nova Scotia, which had been too much and too long neglected, began to be settled at a large Expence, and other Steps were taken to promote those

thousand Six hundred Seventy-two Pounds. After we were involved in continental Measures, which was before France declared War against us, the Supplies in the Space of Six Years amounted to Forty-seven Millions Three hundred Seventy-nine thousand Two hundred Eighty-five Pounds. The Supplies in the whole Nine Years came to Sixty-four Millions Thirty-two thousand Nine hundred Fifty-seven Pounds. The Peace of Aix-la-chapelle was concluded October 11th 1748, by which the French restored to us Fort St. George in the East Indies, as we did to them the Isle of Cape Breton. The Disputes between us and Spain were not very long after adjusted by what was called the Definitive Treaty, and thereby a Period was put to the Assiento with the South Sea Company, and the Sum of One hundred thousand Pounds given in full Satisfaction for her Claims. The public Debt at the Close of the War was swelled to above Seventy-four Millions, which in the Year 1740. was somewhat under Forty-six Millions. Within this Period, our Taxes were also very considerably increased in the several Branches of Customs, Excise, and Inland Duties, which could not fail of checking in some degree both domestic Industry and foreign Commerce. It hath been before remarked, that the original Capital of the Bank being One million Six hundred thousand Pounds still continued at Six per Cent. but upon a Prolongation of her Charter the Company advanced the like Sum upon the same Annuity, which reduced the Interest on both to Three per Cent. The East India Company also advanced a Million at the same Interest. Farther Bounties during this Juncture were granted on the Exportation of British, and Irish Linnen, and in regard to the latter, it may not be amiss to remark, that in the Space of Fifty-two Years the Exportation of that Commodity advanced in its Value from Six thousand Pounds to Six hundred thousand Pounds annually, and hath been increasing ever since.

Enterprizes of the Inhabitants in the Plantations which were calculated for their own and for the Benefit of Great Britain, and these had and continue still to have very happy Consequences in respect to both. We may add to all this the Zeal of Individuals for promoting the public Interest which appeared in several Instances and afforded indisputable Testimonies of that heroic Genius, which is the distinguishing Characteristic of a free People, and which, though confined to their own Country and their own Concerns, does them more Honour than the most extensive Conquests.

FROM Pursuits of this Nature the Attention of the Nation was diverted by the Dangers impending over her Colonies, from apparent Marks of the Jealousy and Ambition of the French, who saw with equal Envy and Regret the continual Advantages we derived from them. The Disputes that began in that Part of the World soon brought on a War, the most extensive and the most expensive in which we were ever engaged, attended with a Variety of interesting Events in every Part of the Globe.

The Incumbrances left upon us by the War, the Discharge of a large Navy Debt, Deficiencies on new-created Funds, Subsidies to foreign Princes, and the Charges incurred by constructing Fortifications in America, were the Causes of those extraordinary Expences mentioned in the Text, so that the Supplies in these Six Years amounted to Twenty-one Millions Eight hundred Ninety-five thousand Six hundred and Eleven Pounds. Besides the Reduction of Interest on the Funds to Three per Cent. which though it did not take Place immediately, was a very extraordinary Thing, considering the Charges which the Nation had so lately born, some other Alterations were made in respect to the public Companies. These were with a View to relieve Commerce from the Restraints that were supposed to be prejudicial to it. The Terms of Admission into the Turkey Company were made easier, as well as the Manner of trading, in Hopes of restoring it to its former Vigour. The old African Company was dissolved at no small Expence to the Public, and a new One substituted upon a more free and enlarged Establishment. The Duties upon China Silk were reduced, farther Bounties were allowed in Favour of British Sail Cloth, the like was done with respect to British Linnen. In a former Note we have shewn the Effects of these Bounties in respect to Ireland, it may therefore not be improper to mention here the surprising Progress of this Manufacture in North Britain. The Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Fisheries, Manufactures, and Improvements, was constituted by Authority of Parliament, A. D. 1727, and the next Year the Linnen made for Sale was 2,183,978 Yards, in Value One hundred Three thousand Three hundred and Twelve Pounds, and in A. D. 1754 (that is, in the Space of Twenty-seven Years) the Quantity of Linnen made was 8,914,369 Yards, and its Value Four hundred Six thousand Eight hundred and Sixteen Pounds. The Importation of Wool and Woollen Yarn, which hitherto had been permitted only from certain Ports in Ireland to certain Ports in Britain, was now laid entirely open for the Benefit of both Countries. An Act was made for encouraging the Importation of Pig and Bar Iron from America. The Bounties allowed on Whale Fishing were extended to those Seas, and Foreigners employed in that Fishery for Three Years were naturalized. A voluntary Society for carrying on the Herring Fishery was incorporated, and received repeated Encouragements from the Public. The British Museum was erected, and endowed at the national Expence, and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, a most laudable Design, was begun and prosecuted for the public Benefit, at the Expence of Individuals. It may help us to form some Idea of the Extension of our Power at Sea, to remark that the Tonnage of the Navy had doubled in the Space of the last Forty Years.

At first we were unsuccessful in our Operations from the Enemies being earlier and better prepared. The Check we received in America, the Loss of the important Island of Minorca, the indecisive Battle in the Mediterranean, roused at once the Indignation and Spirit of the People, which produced such an Exertion of our Power as will scarce appear credible in succeeding Times. Our Troops were employed on the Continent, our Fleets were spread even to the remotest Seas. The Valour and Activity of our Soldiers and Seamen were every-where conspicuous, and triumphant in most. The French were dispossessed of their Forts on the Coast of Africa, which put us in Possession of the Gum Trade. We became once more Masters of Cape Breton, and not long after the Capital of Canada was reduced. The Isle of Guadaloupe submitted to our Arms. We more than once insulted the Coasts and spread Terror into the very Heart of France. We wasted her Strength, and exhausted her Wealth in Germany, where Valour and Military Skill proved too hard for the Superiority of Numbers, and we at length destroyed her whole naval Force in Sight of her own Ports. These great and glorious Achievements demanded immense Disbursements, and these were cheerfully supplied in a great Measure from the Profits of our Commerce, which our Maritime Force secured. In the Midst of these Military and Naval Expeditions, the Legislature was not inattentive to Affairs at Home. The Militia was settled, disciplined, and rendered truly respectable. Our Humanity was displayed, in generously relieving the Portuguese on the Subversion of Lisbon by an Earthquake, and in the kind Treatment of a Multitude of Prisoners, which perhaps procured the Blessing of Providence on our Arms. Our Prudence appeared in the Measures that were taken to prevent the Scarcity with which we were threatened, and which in other Countries was severely felt. At the same Time our Manufactures, Fisheries, and Colonies experienced in many Instances the public Care; so that while many other Countries were during the Whole of this Period exposed to innumerable Calamities, this happy Island escaped them all, and its Inhabitants continued in the full Possession of undisturbed Prosperity<sup>n</sup>.

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<sup>n</sup> The Supplies granted within these Five Years amounted to Fifty-four Millions Three hundred Nineteen thousand Three hundred Twenty-five Pounds. All this immense Sum was raised by a Duty upon Plate, Licences for selling Beer, a farther Duty upon Cards and Dice, an Imposition of Five per Cent. on Offices and Pensions, additional Duties on Houses and Windows, a new Poundage of Five per Cent. and an additional Malt Tax of Three Pence per Bushel, with the Assistance of Loans, Lotteries, and the Application of the Sinking Fund. The Total of the Supplies during this whole Reign amounted to One hundred Eighty-three Millions Nine hundred Seventy-six thousand Six hundred Twenty-four Pounds. Laws were made for encouraging our own Woollen Manufactures, and preventing the pernicious Practice of British Merchants exporting French Cloths from Leghorn to the Levant. The British and Irish Linens had still farther Encouragements given them in order to support that amazing Progress they had already

AT the Accession of his present Majesty King George the Third the War was in the most critical Situation, and notwithstanding all our past Successes, required such an Exertion of our Force as might bring it both to a happy and a speedy Period, which was the more difficult from the Remoteness and the Diversity of the Scenes of Action. This arduous Undertaking was accomplished by the Zeal, Unanimity, and Firmness of the Nation. The War in Canada was ended by the complete Conquest of that Country, and the entire Submission of its numerous Inhabitants. In the East Indies the Power of the French, which had been once so formidable, was absolutely extinguished by the Reduction of Pondicherry. Nearer Home the Terror of our Arms, and the Sense of their own Weakness was increased by the Capture of Belleisle, which was as humiliating at the Close, as it would have been fatal at the Beginning of the Dispute. In the West Indies many of their smaller Isles, and one of their largest, Martinico, fell into our Power, whereby an End was put to the troublesome Depredations of their Privateers. The War in Germany was carried on with Vigour. In the Midst of these complicated Efforts we nobly succoured the Portuguese, and after all milder Measures had been tried in vain, we declared War against the Crown of Spain. This new Object was prosecuted with a Spirit that convinced all Europe that Magnanimity was the sole Motive of our Forbearance. Our Fleet, the greatest ever seen in the American Seas, passing through the dangerous Channel of the Bahamas, appeared on the Coast of Cuba, where our Forces besieged, and after a gallant Resistance made themselves Masters of the Havannah, the Key of the Spanish Commerce, and of all the Ships of War and other Vessels in the Port. Providence favoured our Endeavours against the same Power in the East, where, having made a Descent on the Island of Luconia, we reduced its Capital the City of Manilla. These decisive Strokes had the desired Effect, and compelled our Enemies to yield to a Peace, which gave absolute Security to our old Colonies, and left us

already made. The Cultivation of Madder, as we have shewn elsewhere, received, as it highly deserved, the Protection of the Legislature. Farther Assistance was afforded to the Whale and White Herring Fisheries, and the latter was in North Britain relieved from some Oppressions that had continued for Ages. The Bounties upon Indigo were continued, and Pig and Bar Iron from the Plantations, the Importation of which had hitherto been restrained solely to the Port of London, was allowed to be brought into any Port. The Encouragements given to the Sugar Colonies were likewise continued. If in Addition to these visible and incontestible Marks of the Increase of domestic Industry, and the Extension of foreign Commerce, we advert likewise to the several Statutes made within this Period for embellishing and improving the Cities of London and Westminster, and other Cities and great Towns throughout the Kingdom, for draining Fens, inclosing Commons and waste Lands, erecting Bridges, improving old and making new Roads, constructing Hospitals, Infirmarys, and other Edifices for public Convenience, with many more Instances of a like Nature that might be mentioned, we can entertain no Doubt of the Truth of what is asserted in the Text.

in quiet Possession of those vast Acquisitions, the Value of which will hereafter appear, and must continue gradually to improve. The Conduct and Success of this War incontestibly demonstrate the Excellence of our Constitution, the unshaken Intrepidity of its Subjects, with the amazing national Resources arising from Freedom and Commerce. All these afford us a probable Assurance, that by a constant and steady Adherence to these Principles, all these invaluable Advantages may be preserved to us, and transmitted to our latest Posterity°.

WE are now come to the Close of this Period, and it is hoped that the candid Reader will discern from the Comparison between the public Income, and the improved State in all Respects of this Country, how exactly they have corresponded with, or rather how much they have contributed to support each other. The Power of raising Money on the Subject, and of controuling the public Expence, being both lodged in the Representatives of the People upon whom it was to be levied, and for whose Benefit it was to be spent, produced a Facility of furnishing Supplies adequate at all Times to the Necessities of the State, without Danger of their being squandered or misapplied; and as this was done without interfering with, or lessening the Force of the executive Power, the Advantages of a popular and of a monarchical Form of Government have been happily united, without our being in any great Degree exposed to the Inconveniencies of either. After having from the Evidence of Facts established these very important Points, it would be expedient to put an End to the Chapter, if there were not some collateral Matters of Consequence to the full Illustration of the Subject which still remain to be dis-

° At the Time of the present King's Accession, a very considerable Change was made in the Settlement of the Civil List by his Majesty's Consent, on account of the Alterations that it had been found necessary to make in the Course of the late Reign for the public Service in respect to the several Funds appropriated thereto; which Alterations are recited in the Act, all of which Funds, to prevent for the future these and other Inconveniencies, were given up to the Public, and instead thereof an Annuity granted to his Majesty out of the Aggregate Fund of Eight hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, being the Sum granted to the late King including therein Seventy-seven thousand Pounds per Annum settled on the Princess Dowager of Wales, and other Branches of the Royal Family. In the Course of the first Three Years the Supplies granted by Parliament amounted to Fifty one Millions Four hundred Thirty-seven thousand Three hundred and Fourteen Pounds, and some of the Taxes imposed in order to raise these vast Sums bore heavy upon the People, more especially the additional Excise of Three Shillings a Barrel on strong Beer, on which Twelve Millions were borrowed. By this and other Loans the public Debt was swelled to an enormous Height, which however was far from depressing the Spirit of the Nation, for that was sustained not only by a continued Flow of Success in all Parts of the World, but by a visible Increase also of internal Improvements and of foreign Commerce, which afforded just Hopes, that upon the Conclusion of an honourable and advantageous Peace, such Measures might be pursued as would support Great Britain in the full Possession of that Superiority, which through the Blessing of Providence on her Councils and Arms, she had so gloriously acquired.



cuffed, and therefore we will endeavour to set these also in as clear a Light as may be before we conclude.

We have in the Course of this Deduction seen the Origin, the Mode of Increasing, and in Process of Time the immense Accumulation of our PUBLIC DEBT. At the Juncture in which it was first contracted those who were the sole, and at the same Time properest Judges, held it necessary for many Reasons, some of which are still sufficiently obvious, and others which are not now clear to us might be so to them. The Weight of it was felt from the Beginning, and several Circumstances concurred to render it at that Time more uneasy to the People than it hath been since. The Facility of increasing it arose from the Augmentation of national Wealth, the Opinion entertained of Parliamentary Security and that strict Regard which hath been always paid to public Faith. The War in the Reign of Queen Anne, as it prevented the Removal of the Incumbrances then lying on the Public, so the Expences attending it swelled the Debt to a Size that rendered the immediate or even the speedy Discharge of it impracticable; and therefore all that could be done in the succeeding Reign was to take such Measures as might render the Load less felt, and we may without Injury to Truth affirm, that such Measures were taken, and taken with Effect. This will appear less extraordinary, if we consider that the far greater Part of the public Creditors are Natives of this Country, and consequently the Sums they hold therein, though a Debt on the Public, is at the same Time the Property of Individuals, and the monied Men have the same natural as well as legal Title to their Interest that the Land-owners have to their Rents; and as the Situation of Things have varied, the former have submitted to Reductions, as well as the latter (at all Times) to the Weight of Taxes. We are likewise to observe that this Species of Property, being in constant Circulation, hath in regard to the Community been attended with great and manifest Advantages. Gentlemen have by this Means an Opportunity of improving the Savings out of their Income; Tradesmen vest their Money occasionally in the Funds, and in like Manner Merchants, so that (though always ready) it never lies idle, when there are no immediate Demands in respect to retail Trade, Manufactures, or Commerce. Besides the Funds have been found equally safe and convenient for depositing the Money left to Widows, Orphans, and public Trusts, and all these together have excited a peculiar Kind of Industry unknown to our Ancestors. Foreigners also are no inconsiderable Proprietors, at which, if duly considered, we have no Reason to repine. In the first Place it is the highest Mark of Confidence in our national Substance and Credit, that Strangers can give. In the next, we have their Money at a low Interest, and this passing into the Hands of our Subjects, is employed by them in a great Variety of Ways to their own Advantage. We had

had it formerly, at higher Interest, for the same Purposes, on private Credit, and if we have more of it now, so much the better. Add to all this, that whatever the Amount of the public Debt may be, the Nation in respect to Payment can never be distressed by it, for though the Interest may yet the Principal cannot be demanded. But notwithstanding all that hath been and much more that might have been said on so copious a Subject the public Debt, more especially as it is increased of late Years, must have been considered as an heavy (and as most of the Funds for paying the Interest of it, though at first granted only for certain Terms of Years, are long since for the Security of the Creditors rendered perpetual, might have been esteemed an intolerable Burden, if a Method had not been happily contrived for its Discharge. Of this we are next to speak, and are thereby obliged to take Things a little higher, and to recapitulate some Particulars, that for other Purposes have been already mentioned p.

THE PUBLIC DEBT, as we have already observed, became at the Entrance of the Reign of King George the First, a principal Object of the Attention of the Legislature from a laudable Desire of rendering the public Creditors easy, and of reducing their Demands into such a Situation as that they might be managed with more Facility, and transferred with

P It would no doubt be very satisfactory to shew by what Means and in what Manner the signal Events mentioned in the Text have been and are continually brought about; which however would require much more Room than we can spare. We will notwithstanding endeavour, by stating a few leading Principles, to put it in the Power of any intelligent and inquisitive Reader, who will reflect on and pursue them, fully to satisfy himself upon this Head. The Sums raised, whether by Levies or by Loans, are immediately expended for the public Service, or in other Words, what was drawn from the Nation issued again to Individuals. By this Means a constant, regular, and increasing Circulation is kept up, and Multitudes of all Ranks usefully employed in their different Occupations, which creates a continual Demand for Provisions, raw Materials and Manufactures. This Circulation necessarily lightens the Weight of Taxes, for the Money being no sooner collected by them, than again spread abroad for the Purposes before-mentioned, enables those who receive it to contribute afresh without any considerable Inconvenience. As this Expence promotes and supports Industry of every Kind, so constant and certain Interest draws out Specie from every Hoard, where it lay as useless as in the Mine, and of course quickens Circulation, and by its visible good Effects invites Foreigners to participate in these Advantages. That all this is not plausible Conjecture, but founded on the Basis of Truth, is evident from those Difficulties found originally in funding speedily decreasing, and still more fully appears from the Increase and Improvement of our Manufactures, the Enlargement of our Commerce, the Augmentation of our Marine, and above all the Rise of landed Property, and the repeated Falls of Interest. These are Facts too visible to be denied, and cannot be referred to any other Causes than those that we have assigned. But we must not conclude from what hath been said, that our public Debts are not productive of some Inconveniencies, for we have shewn as well as allowed the contrary, yet their being liable to Rust, was never urged against the Use of Metals. Much less can it be inferred, that our national Credit is without Limit. It is our great and singular Happiness that we have not hitherto been convinced of it by Experience, and it will be a strong Proof of our Wisdom to secure those good Effects that flow from it, and at the same Time maintain and accelerate this salutary Circulation by a regular and judicious Reduction, which is certainly in our Power.

greater Ease. It was with this View that an Act passed in the First Year of that Reign, by which, for the Purposes therein assigned, a Number of Duties which had been formerly granted, were now combined and afresh appropriated under the Title of the AGGREGATE FUND<sup>9</sup>. About Two Years after this, and when the Efficacy of that Arrangement was clearly discerned, it was judged expedient to pursue this Method still farther. To this End several Laws were passed, of which, so far as they regarded the Reduction of Interest, we have already taken Notice, but besides that, they had other important Points for their Objects. The South Sea Company having consented to a new Regulation of their Concerns on such Terms as are clearly stated in the Act which regards that Company, had also a Number of Duties appropriated, or rather re-appropriated for the Payment of the Interest, as it became due to their Proprietors, which from thence assumed the Title of the SOUTH SEA FUND<sup>r</sup>. A similar Disposition being made in Reference to those Branches of the public Debt, which for the Convenience of the Public were to be put thenceforward under the Management of the Bank, many of the Duties formerly granted, were in like Manner appropriated to that Company, and these Duties from the Time of this Appropriation were distinguished by the Name of the GENERAL FUND<sup>s</sup>. By these wise and well concerted Measures

<sup>9</sup> This Fund took its Rise and Name from Stat. 1 Geo. I. cap. 12, which enacts, That a great Number of Duties, Customs, Excise, and inland Impositions therein very accurately stated, which had been granted to his Majesty's Predecessors, should be accumulated, and such of them as were not before granted for ever, are unless redeemed by Parliament, rendered perpetual, and all Sums coming into the Exchequer, and being unappropriated, after Michaelmas, A. D. 1715, are directed to be carried to this Fund. The Services to be answered by it are next assigned, and it is provided, that after their Discharge, if any Surplus shall remain, it is to be at the Disposition of Parliament, and in case of any Deficiency it was to be made good out of the next annual Supplies. The Tenor of this Act plainly shews that these Duties and Impositions, and consequently the Materials out of which they arose, had, notwithstanding the Two long and expensive Wars in the Reign of King William and Queen Anne been continually increasing.

<sup>r</sup> This was established by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. 9, which, though intituled An Act for redeeming the Capital of the South Sea Company, continues and establishes to them the Duties originally granted them by the 9th of Anne, cap. 21, and for the Security of their Interest granted for ever. The Scope of this Act was to reduce with the Consent of the Proprietors of this Company their Annuity of Six hundred thousand Pounds to Five hundred thousand Pounds upon their Increased Capital of Ten Millions. It was also provided, that if there was any Deficiency it should be made good by Parliament, and that with regard to any Surplus that might arise, it should be at the Disposition of Parliament. It is evident that by this Act, exclusive of other Advantages which have been before-mentioned, the Public gained, or at least saved One hundred thousand Pounds per Annum.

<sup>s</sup> These Duties were accumulated and appropriated by Stat. 3 Geo. I. cap. 7, which was intituled, An Act for redeeming the Duties and Revenues which were settled to pay off Principal and Interest on the Orders of Four Lotteries in the late Reign, &c. The total Amount of the Duties which were to constitute this general Fund was computed at Seven hundred Twenty-four thousand Eight hundred Forty-nine Pounds. The Design of this new Arrangement was to procure some Ease to the Public, by engaging the Possessors of these Lottery Orders to subscribe them

Measures the redeemable Debts of the Nation were at least in some Degree reduced into Order, and brought into such a Method as was at once satisfactory to the Proprietors, and convenient in regard to Government. In pursuance of these Alterations, and a clear Conception of the Effects that must follow from them, the Legislature very prudently enacted, that the Surplusses of these several Funds should from time to time as they arose constitute another, which from the End and Design of its Institution hath been ever since known by the Appellation of the SINKING FUND, as being solely appropriated to the Discharge or sinking of the national Debts contracted before Christmas, A. D. 1716<sup>t</sup>. The great Sagacity of this Disposition appeared in many Respects very conspicuous, but in none more than in the visible Disproportion between the public Debt and the inconsiderable Fund assigned for reducing it. This shewed that

them into the Bank, and to receive Annuities at the Rate of Five per Cent. or if they declined this to be paid off. They chose the former, and accordingly upwards of Nine Millions and a Half were so subscribed. For the Security of this general Fund it was provided, that if at any Time the Duties fell short of the Sum before-mentioned, the Deficiency should be made good out of the next Aids granted by Parliament.

There is still another Law, of which it is necessary that Notice should be taken, and this is 3 Geo. I. cap. 8, intituled, An Act for redeeming several Funds of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and for securing to them several New Funds and Allowances, &c. by which many Things were stipulated that the Bank were to do and perform in Consideration of the new Security they obtained, and by which the Public, as in the Case of the South Sea Company, saved upwards of One hundred and Thirty thousand Pounds per Annum, and the Surplus of these Funds thus appropriated, was reserved to the Disposition of Parliament. But as all these Acts were Part of One great System, by a Clause in the general Fund Act all these Surplusses, viz. of the Aggregate, South Sea, and General Funds were directed to be set apart and applied to the national Debt, and are from thence, as we observed in the Text, stiled The Sinking Fund. This, though at first inconsiderable, yet being gradually increased by Abatements in Interest, and the augmenting of the several Duties appropriated to the Three Funds so frequently mentioned, constantly growing, as at its Institution had been foreseen, and is in this Respect, as might be easily shewn, the truest and best Criterion of the State of the Nation. In order to explain this we shall observe, that at Michaelmas 1719 these Surplusses stood thus: On the Aggregate Fund Two hundred Eighty-six thousand Four hundred Ninety-five Pounds Seven Shillings and a Penny; on the South Sea Fund Ten thousand Six hundred Sixty-eight Pounds Sixteen Shillings and Eleven Pence Farthing; on the General Fund One hundred Twenty-seven thousand Seven hundred Forty-two Pounds Six Shillings and Nine Pence Three Farthings, making in the Whole Four hundred Twenty-four thousand Nine hundred and Six Pounds Ten Shillings and Ten Pence. Twenty Years after this, viz. at Michaelmas 1739, the Account stood thus: On the Aggregate Fund Seven hundred and One thousand Four hundred Ninety-two Pounds Eleven Shillings and Four Pence Halfpenny; on the General Fund Three hundred Eighty-five thousand Seven hundred and Forty Pounds Eighteen Shillings and Four Pence; on the South Sea Fund One hundred and Eight thousand Sixty-one Pounds Six Shillings and Three Pence Halfpenny, amounting in the Whole to One million One hundred Ninety-five thousand Two hundred Ninety-four Pounds Sixteen Shillings. At the Close of this Period, A. D. 1763, the Sinking Fund with the Additions carried thereto in virtue of subsequent Acts, had produced from its Commencement Sixty-nine Millions Seven hundred Seventy-two thousand Three hundred and Sixteen Pounds Five Shillings and Seven Pence Halfpenny.

those who formed this Provision thoroughly understood the Nature and the Consequences of all the preceding Regulations, had at the same Time a perfect Knowledge of the Circumstances of the Nation in all Respects, and a true Foresight of the gradual Increase and Operation of this seemingly small Engine destined to remove so ponderous a Weight. Experience hath fully justified the Efficacy of this Provision, if it had been invariably applied, and all possible Precautions were taken at its Establishment to secure the Permanency of its Effects, as well as to ascertain the End and Mode of its Application<sup>u</sup>.

As in regard to natural Knowledge, the surest Principles are those deduced from Experiments; so in reference to political Researches, the clearest Lights are such as we derive from Facts. There are not many Countries that have undergone more Revolutions than this, and however remote in Point of Time we still retain more or less of their Effects, which Circumstance rendered it necessary to give distinct historical Details of them all, that from thence it might the better appear how our present Constitution had been formed and gradually improved, by the purging out of old Errors, and adopting new Measures as the Change of Affairs required, and carefully remarking the Consequences they produced, as esteeming these the best Indications of their Nature, according to that unerring Rule, that as Trees are known by their Fruit, so the Excellence of a Government is to be discerned and determined from the Condition of the Subjects who live under it.

It hath been laid down as a just Position, that the most perfect System of Rule is that which makes the most People happy. This can be only

<sup>u</sup> The enacting Clause referred to in the Text runs in these Words, " That all the Monies to arise from time to time, as well of or for the said Excess or Surplus, by virtue of the said Act made for redeeming the Funds of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, viz. the Aggregate Fund, and of or for the said Excess or Surplus by virtue of the said Act for redeeming the Funds of the said Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the South Seas, &c. and of or for the said Excess or Surplus of the said Duties and Revenues by this Act appropriated as aforesaid, viz. the General Fund, and the said overplus Monies of the said General Yearly Fund by this Act established or intended to be established as aforesaid, shall be appropriated, reserved, and employed to and for the Discharging the Principal and Interest of such national Debts and Incumbrances as were incurred before the Twenty-fifth of December 1716, and are declared to be national Debts, and are provided for by Act of Parliament in such Manner and Form as shall be directed and appointed by any future Act or Acts of Parliament to be discharged therewith or out of the same, and to and for none other Use, Intent, or Purpose whatsoever." If the Reader is desirous of entering more minutely into this most important Subject, he may consult a Treatise intituled, " An Annual Abstract of the Sinking Fund from Michaelmas 1718, when it was first stated to Parliament, to the 10th of October 1763. By a Member of Parliament many Years in the Treasury, London 1764, 4to.

done by leaving to Individuals as much of their natural Freedom as is consistent with the Welfare of Society, and the Submission due to the Laws made for its Support, and without which no Society can subsist. This rational Liberty excites the full Exertion of the human Faculties, and enables Men to display their several Capacities to the utmost, in order to procure for themselves and their Families the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life. This active Spirit of Industry, being encouraged, supported, and protected by the Powers intrusted with Government for that Purpose, is ever attended with the most favourable Effects, as contributing to whatever hath a Tendency to public Welfare. This it is that constitutes the Difference between One Nation and another; and in like Manner the different State and Condition of the same Nation under different Circumstances.

INDUSTRY, as we have always asserted, is the sole Source of national Riches; and as Liberty is the Support of Industry, so where this prevails, a Spirit of Independency, that is, of subsisting from their own Acquisitions, pervades the whole Body of the People. Every Citizen according to his Abilities and Situation employs his Skill and Labour to useful Ends, and the Produce of these, in whatever Kind, are Riches. The Proofs of this are never equivocal or uncertain. In a Country filled with such Inhabitants the Lands are cultivated, Manufactures flourish, Situations are improved, Rivers navigated, Ports opened, Commerce extended. The whole Community is in continual Motion, the Success of one exciting the Emulation of another. Old Arts are improved, new Ones invented, Colonies are sent out into the remotest Parts of the World, and these distant Citizens carrying with them the same Dispositions, not only provide plentifully for their own Subsistence, but by administering fresh Motives to Industry employ, and consequently enrich those they left at Home. Such are the Effects of Freedom, Diligence, and Oeconomy, which cannot either be counterfeited, or concealed. Wherever therefore these appear, and appear with Splendour, they are indisputable Characteristics of the Genius of the Nation, and the Temper of the Government, and are sure to continue and to increase so long as these remain unchanged.

THE  
POLITICAL SURVEY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

Of Colonies in general and their Utility.

*THE wisest Nations in ancient Times set us the Example of establishing Colonies for promoting Commerce. The barbarous People who subverted the Roman Empire relied solely on Force for the Preservation of their Conquests. In more civilized Ages Factories were settled, and gradually attained such Immunities as rendered them a Kind of Colonies in Effect. The Spirit of Discovery introduced into this Country by Henry the Seventh and prosecuted by all his Descendants. The Plantations by a Concurrence of different Events*



*Events became considerable in a short Space of Time. The Propriety and Utility of such Settlements hath been controverted upon different and even contrary Principles. In our own Times the Advantages accruing from our Plantations are too evident and numerous to admit of Dispute. Some Instances of their extraordinary Utility to the Mother Country more particularly pointed out. The Reasons for entering into a succinct Detail of them in this Work, and of the Method in which it is proposed to treat them.*

**T**HERE are certain Principles so clear and so self-evident as to strike the Understandings of Men in general upon their making any Matter of Importance the Object of their particular Attention. To this we may attribute the Idea of fixing Settlements in distant Countries for the Sake of Commerce. We may even look upon this as a Matter of Certainty, when we consider that the wisest and most intelligent Nations in early Times who acted systematically upon Maxims of sound Policy, and not from Caprice, universally adopted this Measure. This we find to have been the Case with regard to the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Phœnicians, the commercial States of Greece, the Romans and the Carthaginians. It is true that their Colonies differed in certain Circumstances, but the leading Principle, that of maintaining a Correspondence between the Mother Country and the Colony, was the same.

THE Warlike Nations, who by Numbers, Hardiness, and Valour overrun and ruined the Roman Empire, aimed only at Conquests, and after overcoming the Inhabitants of the Countries in which they seated themselves, either extirpated them or held them in Vassalage. This unfeeling and unpolished military Disposition lasted long, was the constant Source of Bloodshed

\* What is said in the Text must be understood of the ancient Egyptians. For how much soever the Accounts we have of Osiris, Sesostris, and other Monarchs of theirs may be mingled with Fable, yet they certainly had a Ground of Truth. Under them the Egyptians settled Colonies in the Indies, in Arabia, in Colchis. Herodot. Euterpe. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. Strabo xvi. The Chinese, in the Opinion of the judicious Bishop Huet and many other learned Men, were themselves a Colony from the Egyptians. Before the Europeans navigated those Seas the Chinese visited all Parts of the Indies, settled many Colonies, and particularly in the Island of Ceylon. The Two great Republicks of Tyre and Sidon maintained their Power and extended their Commerce by their numerous Settlements. In reference to the Maritime States of Greece, and particularly of Athens, the Reader may find a very curious and instructive Account in Clark's Connection of Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, chap. ii. p. 55. The Romans, though their Colonies were chiefly Military, made Use of them likewise for the Purpose of Trade, as hath been already shewn at large. The Carthaginians were a Colony from the Tyrians, and for a Time divided the Commerce both of the East and West with their Mother Country. They likewise settled many Colonies, and are by some supposed to have discovered America. These Instances are sufficient to shew both the Sentiments and the Practice of the wisest Nations as to this Point.

and Devastation, and whenever Princes enlarged their Dominions at the Expence of their Neighbours, they had Recourse to Garrisons in strong Places, and to flying Camps in the Field in order to preserve these Acquisitions, as judging rightly enough on their own Principle, that what by Force had been obtained, Force only could retain. For this they have been however blamed by a celebrated political Writer, as in his Judgment they might better have attained their End by establishing Colonies <sup>b</sup>.

BUT when in Process of Time this ferocious Temper abated, and Monarchs began to have better Notions of Policy, they returned gradually, though slowly, to something of this Sort. Edward the Third when he besieged Calais made even his Camp a Kind of a Mart, and when he became possessed of the Place very prudently fixed his own Subjects therein, and made it the great Staple for English Commodities of all Sorts. The Factories established in the Low Countries, with extensive Privileges, and the Settlements made in different Parts of Europe by the Merchants of the Hanse Towns were of the same Kind, and were made with the like View. Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth extended these mercantile Establishments in favour of their own Subjects into several foreign Countries. Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, as we have shewn in its proper Place, settled Consuls and Factories in Countries still at a greater Distance, and particularly in Italy, and secured to their Subjects very extensive Privileges by Treaties, as we have likewise shewn <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The Author alluded to in the Text is the famous Machiavel del Principe, cap. 3. where he labours to shew that the settling Colonies would have been a cheaper and a more secure Method than that of building Fortresses in order to bridle conquered Countries. He hath advanced the same Doctrine, and supported it by very solid Arguments in his History of Florence, and in some of his other Works. All these are very justly and properly applied in regard to Republics; but One would think he had little Reason to suppose that Princes, more especially such as he has represented them, would ever have Recourse to such Expedients, because in their very Nature Colonies require Ease and Freedom, and are consequently not very compatible with the Maxims that prevail in despotic Governments.

<sup>c</sup> The establishing Factories in Foreign Countries was One of the First Effects that followed from the Revival of a Spirit of Commerce, and the Consequences that attended them were so beneficial that when they were once introduced, they quickly increased. In consequence of the Privileges granted them, the Merchants who composed them lived according to the Laws and Customs of their own Country, and were governed by Magistrates of their own chusing, or appointed by their own Sovereigns, wherever they were placed. In Process of Time they became still more like Colonies, for it appears that in virtue of Treaties English Subjects settled in Bergen, and in other Parts of the Danish Dominions, were allowed to purchase Lands, to erect Warehouses, to vend their Goods wholesale or retail, according to their own Choice, and were exempt from all Duties, except such as were consented to previous to their Establishment. See Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 381.

HENRY the Seventh, as might well be expected from a Prince of his Temper and Genius, entered deeper into Things of this Nature, readily received Bartholomew the Brother of Christopher Columbus, and accepted his Propositions for Discovery before they were agreed to in Spain. He afterwards took John Cabot into his Service, who may be justly stiled the Author of our Title to all that we possess on the Continent of America, and to whom by Letters Patent he granted the proper Powers to settle Colonies in remote and new found Countries. His Son Henry the Eighth had the same Objects in view, and encouraged his Subjects to Enterprizes of this Sort, in consequence of which they sailed to the Coasts of South America, traded to Guinea, and visited Newfoundland. In some of these Expeditions Sebastian the Son of John Cabot was employed, who was in such Favour with Edward the Sixth that he granted him the Office of chief Pilot of England with a handsome Salary. He settled at Bristol, where he kept up this Spirit among the Merchants, and it was chiefly by his Credit that the Russia company was formed, of which, for his great Services, he was in the succeeding Reign declared by Charter Governor for Life; and indeed the Discovery of Archangel and the settling a regular Correspondence with that Empire hath been considered as the most fortunate Event of Queen Mary's Administration <sup>d</sup>.

IN consequence of these Beginnings, and the Increase of our Navigation and Commerce, Discoveries and foreign Settlements were more vigorously pushed in the Time of Elizabeth, as that heroic Princess had many Motives to give them as she did all the Countenance possible, and thereby, as we have already mentioned, excited a Multitude of bold, active, and enterprising

<sup>d</sup> It is equally curious and pleasing to contemplate the dawning of those Speculations which in their Process and Practice have been so useful and beneficial to Mankind. Henry the Seventh hath been most unjustly censured for letting slip the Offer of Columbus, which was his Misfortune, not his Fault. His Patent to the Cabots is an incontestible Proof how ready he was to listen to any thing of this Nature, and it is not a little surprizing to find how quick these Arts advanced. Mr. Robert Thorne, a Merchant who had resided long in Spain, addressed to Henry the Eighth Two hundred and Fifty Years ago, a Request that he would attempt opening a Passage to China, by navigating directly through the North Pole; which Scheme he supported by Arguments equally rational and striking. It was probably by his Advice that Sebastian Cabot, who had made a Voyage in the Service of their Catholic Majesties, returned hither, which shews that he had more Dependence upon Encouragement here, neither was he deceived in his Expectations as we have shewn above. We may indeed be said to owe as much to the Father and Son as Spain did to Columbus. They gave the Nation a Turn to these Kind of Studies, which very quickly grew fashionable, and Persons of the First Quality became not only Patrons and Proficients in these Sciences, but undertook Voyages in Person, or caused them to be undertaken at their Expence. This maintained the like Disposition amongst the Merchants, and excited an Emulation in fitting out Vessels for Discoveries from several Ports. We may likewise add, that the Fame acquired by these Enterprizes kept up their Credit till by the Advantages flowing from them it came to stand upon firmer Ground.

Persons to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in such Undertakings. In the Days of her Successor they were prosecuted from Motives of Profit. Companies were formed for promoting them. Noblemen and Gentlemen of large Estates obtained Grants of Islands and Tracts of Country which they undertook to settle at their own Expence. The same Steps continued to be taken in the Reign of Charles the First, and whoever attentively considers the Situation of Things and the Dispositions of Men in these Three Reigns will easily discern how our Colonies came in so short a Space to acquire that Strength and Consistency which rendered them of so much Consequence, and so justly an Object of national Concern as we find them to have been a little before, and at the Restoration, when that Provision was made which hath been so highly advantageous to them and to their Mother Country by the Act of Navigation.

WE must not however conceive that these Settlements, many of them in wild and desert Countries, and at a vast Distance from this Island, were made with general Consent and universal Approbation. The Nature of Mankind does not admit of Unanimity in Matters of this Sort, and therefore we need not be surprized that both in their Origin and Progress they have been exposed from several Motives, and from several Quarters to many Objections. At the Beginning they were turned into Ridicule by those who were very incompetent Judges of their Utility. Their slow Growth and the Miscarriages that happened to some of them occasioned their being treated by some others as rash and chimerical Projects, by which the Persons and Fortunes of Numbers were exposed to be shipwrecked on

\* John de Witt, who was One of the ablest and most disinterested Statesmen that ever committed his Sentiments to Writing, though he knew perfectly well how much Population contributed to the Welfare of Holland, yet zealously recommended Colonies, as affording a Refuge to such as had been unfortunate in Trade, who becoming poor after having been rich were doubly miserable; as opening a Field in which such Men might exert their Abilities, as through want of Interest could not rise to Power and Places in their own Country; and as a Supplement to Hospitals and other charitable Foundations which he thought in Time might come to be overcharged. He also highly commended the free Spirit of our Plantations, which as we have hinted in the Text were settled by very different Sorts of People. Under Elizabeth Men of Figure and Family, of bold adventurous and enterprizing Tempers, led the Way, and left behind them a Succession of Men less considerable in Point of Rank, but of the same Turn of Mind. Under James a more sober Race of People, preferring the Freedom of their Consciences to all other Considerations, embraced the Opportunities that were offered them of removing into these remote Countries rather than live under Constraint in their own. Under Charles political Malcontents took Shelter in the Colonies. Afterwards the distressed Royallists retired in great Numbers to Virginia. The Parliament and Cromwell increased their Number, by transporting such as were obnoxious to them. Whoever wishes to see upon what Principles these Things were conducted in their Origin may consult Lord Bacon's Works, vol. i. p. 493. vol. ii. p. 273. where in his Advice to Sir George Villiers upon this Head will be found as much good Sense and solid Reasoning as perhaps was ever delivered upon this Subject.

inhospitable Coasts and in unwholsome Climates from the Views of avaritious Men, who made no Scruple of sacrificing public Welfare to private Gain. When all these Pretences were not only fully refuted by solid Arguments, but what admitted of no Reply, the Test of Experience, new Clamours were raised from very different Topics, and it was surmised that the Growth and flourishing State of the Colonies must operate to the Detriment of this Island, and become the Source of gradual Depopulation, with many other sinister Insinuations of a like Nature which never did or can make any Impression on the Minds of sensible Men, and who from their comprehensive Knowledge are enabled to be proper Judges of Things of this Nature f.

BUT whatever might be the Case in reference to this Subject in Times past, yet in our Days the Value, Utility, and Importance of the Colonies in respect to this Island have been by the Evidence of Facts put beyond all Dispute. The British Inhabitants in them draw some of the Necessaries and many of the Conveniencies of Life from hence. The supplying them with these is a new and very great Source of Industry, which by affording Employment to Multitudes, cannot but have an Effect in augmenting the Numbers as well as contributing to the Ease and Happiness of our People at Home. The having a certain, constant, regular, and increasing Market for our Commodities and Manufactures hath had a very visible Effect on almost every Branch of our domestic Trade. Besides, as the Correspondence between us and our Countrymen in these remote Parts is carried on by Sea, this extends our Navigation, and hath added amazingly to the Num-

f In regard to those who made a Jest of the Advantages proposed by Plantations, they could not well receive an Answer, for as there is nothing so important that Men of quick Wit and light Minds may not ridicule, so there is something ridiculous in affording them a serious Consideration. Lord Bacon says truly, that foreign Plantations may be compared to those of Trees at Home, from whence immediate Profit cannot be hoped, and if it is, the Absurdity lies not in the Thing, but in the Expectation. Such as went to the Colonies were not forced thither, but went of their own Accord, and if they had not gone thither would not or could not have stayed here. Before we had any such Settlements, Multitudes went from this Island to the Continent from a Variety of Causes, and in the Time of Queen Elizabeth many Thousands of Brownists into the Dominions of the States. This is a clear and a true Answer to what had been said of our Loss of People, and without having Recourse to other Reasons that will hereafter appear, it must be evident to every candid and judicious Reader, that our Colonies are so far from being the Causes of Depopulation, that they are quite the contrary. By our having Plantations we preserve our People and their Posterity. They remain as much our Subjects there as if they had remained at home, and as will be shewn hereafter, not only remain Subjects, but become more useful Subjects. Upon this Principle was built the Toleration of religious Opinions in our First Settlements, and in consequence of this most of the Brownists who had retired to Holland and Zealand quitted those Countries and went to take the Benefit of that Toleration into New England. In order to receive farther Satisfaction upon this Head, William Penn's excellent Discourse on Plantations may be consulted, as also Sir Josiah Child's Remarks in his Discourse on Trade, and a Treatise on the same Subject by Joshua Gee.

ber of our Shipping, which is another Article very advantageous and profitable to the Inhabitants of Britain. At the same Time by raising and subsisting Numbers of hardy and experienced Seamen, it evidently contributes to the Support of our Naval Power g.

THESE, though signal and shining Advantages, as plainly conducing to the increasing our Riches and Strength, are far, very far from being all the Benefits that have resulted and continue to result from our Settlements. By the Returns they make us for Goods of every Kind that we send them we are enabled, after furnishing our Home Consumption, to manufacture and export immense Quantities of their Produce to other Countries, which is a farther Addition to our Commerce, and swells not a little the Profit that arises from it. We likewise receive from them many Things which we formerly purchased from other Nations at their own Prices, and which were frequently brought to us in their own Bottoms, neither in some Cases were these the greatest Inconveniencies. Their inexhaustible Fisheries are also pregnant with innumerable Benefits. The Number of our Subjects in these Parts have been and may be increased without Danger, by permitting foreign Protestants to settle in them, from whose Skill and Labour new Improvements may with much Probability be expected to arise. What considerably advances the Value of these, and many more Advantages that might be enumerated is, that they are not only solid and permanent, but belong exclusively to Great Britain, and of which, while we retain our Freedom and Naval Power, we never can be deprived h.

As

g It must give no small Pleasure to a curious and judicious Enquirer to reflect upon and investigate those Points in order to satisfy his own Mind, as to the Manner with which they are brought about. It is from hence that our Planters in general, their Servants and Slaves, are supplied with Apparel of all Kinds, with most Sorts of Furniture, with a vast Variety of Tools and Instruments for their several Occupations; which of course gives Business and Bread to our Artificers and Manufacturers. The directing and collecting of these employs Merchants, Factors, and their Servants. All the Trades that are connected with building, rigging, and supplying Materials of every Kind for Ships and fitting out Seamen are indebted to the same Causes for their Subsistence. The Freight also both out and home is a Matter of great Consequence, amounts often to as much and sometimes more than the Value of the Goods. The Provisions and other Necessaries consumed by the Seamen in these long Voyages, with many more Articles which would be tedious to enumerate, concur to promote and to reward almost every Species of Industry exercised amongst us. All this arises chiefly from the Difference of Soil and Climate, and from the Remoteness of our Plantations; and that these are not fallacious Suggestions or plausible Conjectures, the Rise of our Customs, the Improvement of our Lands, the Numbers of our Ships, and the gradual Increase of our Fleets, are Testimonies that leave us not a Shadow of Doubt, but on the contrary demonstrate clearly that this Representation is in all Respects founded in Truth.

h Amongst many other Articles that are the Product of our Colonies, and sent from hence into other Parts of the World are Tobacco, Sugars, Rice, Cotton, &c. to a very great Value; which being the Returns of our own Goods and Manufactures are clear Gain to this Nation, and

to.

As from this very slight and slender Sketch of the Emoluments flowing from our Plantations, it is incontestibly evident, that they have contributed greatly to increase our Industry, and of course our Riches, to extend the Commerce, to augment the Naval Power, and consequently to maintain the Grandeur and support the Prosperity of the Mother Country; the Propriety clearly appears of inserting a succinct Detail of them in a Political Survey of Britain, which would be indeed otherwise very incomplete. This then being the sole Point of View in which they are here to be considered, it is by no means necessary to enter any farther into their Description than is requisite to this Purpose, and to afford a Series of incontrovertible Proofs of the Truth of what hath been asserted in relation to them in this Chapter. We may be the rather dispensed with on this Head, as there are already several general and very many particular Histories of the Colonies in the Hands of the Public, where all the Information that can be farther sought in respect to them may be obtained. As these Settlements were made in very different Parts of the World at very different Times, and for very different Purposes, so the most easy and obvious Method of treating them seems to be, at least in regard to our Plan, ranging them under the several Quarters of the Globe in which they have been established, and pointing out particularly by what Means, in what Manner, and to what Extent they are or may be rendered beneficial to Britain.

to this, as most of them are exported in our own Bottoms, we are to add the Freight likewise, which is very considerable. Most of these Goods before we had Plantations of our own we bought from Foreigners at very high Prices, as for Instance, Brazil Sugar at Seven and Eight Pounds by the Hundred, Tobacco from four to Eight Shillings a Pound. Indigo, of which we now receive much, and are like to receive much more from our own Colonies, we still purchase from the French and Spaniards to a large Amount. What may serve to set this Point in a stronger Light is the Case of Pitch and Tar, which we formerly bought from the Swedes at what Price they pleased to set upon it, and even at this high Rate they insisted on sending in their own Ships. At the Beginning of Queen Ann's War we found ourselves in so precarious a State with respect to these Commodities so necessary for our Navy, that Dr. Robinson, afterwards Bishop of London, then our Minister at the Court of Sweden, recommended the procuring them from our Colonies upon any Terms. This produced a Bounty for the obtaining them, and that soon brought them not only at a Third Part of what we had paid for them to Sweden, but also in such Quantities as enables us to export them to the Straits, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Bremen, and Hamburgh. Upon the same Principle we have since by the same Means obtained great Quantities of Iron, and in Time are likely to draw all our Naval Stores from our own Settlements.

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing can more fully or more sensibly evince the Truth of our Assertions in respect to the commodious Situation of this Island, the superior Genius of its Inhabitants, and the Excellence of our Constitution, than the performing the Promise made in the Text, of giving a concise View of the Establishments we have made in all Parts of the World. For these must be considered as so many distinguishing Testimonies, so many shining Trophies of our maritime Skill and naval Strength. These maintain regular and constant Correspondence under our Auspice between Countries the most remote from each other, and thereby while they extend the Fame, display the Power and support the Commerce of Great Britain.



## C H A P. II.

## Of the British Territories in Europe.

## S E C T. I.

*Of the Fortrefs, Town, and Port of Gibraltar.*

**T**HERE are few Places of fo small an Extent, that have made fo fhining a Figure in History as this. It lies in the Province of Andalusia, the fairest and finest in Spain, in the Latitude of Thirty-five Degrees Fifty Minutes North, though some place it higher by near Twenty Minutes, and in Five Degrees Thirty-five Minutes Longitude West from London. It is a Promontory or rather a Peninsula, joined to the Continent of Spain by a narrow, flat, and sandy Isthmus. The whole Extent of this immense Rock, for such it is, rising in its perpendicular Height about Four hundred and Forty Yards, measures from North to South about Two English Miles and Three Quarters in Length, and is scarce One in Breadth. The Mountain which gives Name alike to the Town, the Straits, and the Bay, is called Gebel-Tarek, that is, the Mount of Tarek, from the Moorish General, who landed here in the Beginning of the Eighth Century. This Promontory was known to and famous amongst the Ancients by the Name of Calpe<sup>a</sup>.

ON the East Side which is washed by the Mediterranean, the Rock is so steep as to be esteemed utterly inaccessible. On the West which looks to the Bay it is less rugged, and on this Side lie the Town and Fortifications, by which it is now thought to be rendered impregnable. In regard to the Climate, the Air when the Weather is serene is very thin and pure, and consequently wholesome; but from the Beginning of June to

<sup>a</sup> The Spanish Historians say, that the Egyptian Hercules built Cadiz, and that the Grecian Hercules came with the Argonauts, and built a City here. The very learned Bochart derives the Name of this Promontory Calpe from the Phœnician Word Galpha, which signifies a hollow Vessel. The learned Reader, if he desires to enquire farther in regard to its Antiquity may consult Strabon. Geograph. lib. i. p. 51. lib. iii. p. 139, 140. 148. 170. Mela de situ Orbis, lib. ii. cap. 8. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 1. or if he would see the Subject at One View, Cellarii Geographia Antiqua, lib. ii. cap. 1. p. 90. The Arabs call it Gebal al Tharek, from Tharek ben Ziad, General of the Moors, who conquered Spain under the Caliphate of Walid the Son of A'bdalmalek in the Year of the Hegira 92.

the Middle of September, it is exceedingly warm. In the Winter it is subject to very heavy Rains, and the Weather is sometimes cold. Snow seldom falls, and does not lie long. Ice is rarely seen, and only on the Summit of the Rock, where it is very thin. The Soil is various; where the Town stands, it is red Sand, but in some Places, and more especially in the Clefts of the Rock it is black and rich, so that Oranges, Lemons, Grapes, Pomegranates, and other Fruits grow in the highest Perfection, and the whole Mountain is covered with Shrubs of different Kinds, and a great Variety of aromatic Plants. There is also, which is a great Blessing, Plenty of excellent Water <sup>b</sup>.

THE Town of Gibraltar lies along the Bay on the West Side of the Mountain, on a Declivity, by which, generally speaking, the Rains pass through it freely and keep it clean. The old Town was considerably larger than the new, which consists at present of between Four and Five hundred Houses, many of the Streets are narrow and irregular, the Buildings of different Materials, some of natural Stone out of the Quarries, some of a factitious or artificial Stone, and a few of Brick. The People are supplied with fresh Provisions chiefly from the Coast of Barbary, with Fruit, Roots, and Vegetables of all Sorts from thence or from their own Gardens. Besides what is properly called the Town there are several spacious and commodious public Edifices erected, such as Barracks for the Soldiers with Apartments for their Officers, Magazines of different Kinds, Storehouses for Provisions, Warehouses, Yards, and proper Accommodations for the Commander of the Mediterranean Squadron, and for repairing and heaving down of Ships, with very airy, spacious, and noble Hospitals for the Use of Soldiers and Seamen when sick. The Inhabitants, exclusive of British Subjects dependant on the Garrison, or who reside there from other Motives, consist of some Spaniards, a few Portuguese, a considerable Number of Genoese, and about as many Jews, making in the Whole between

<sup>b</sup> The Air of Gibraltar is justly celebrated as remarkably wholesome, but its Thinness renders it less so to Persons of consumptive or broken Constitutions. In the Summer and Autumn the Weather is very sultry and close, and the Inhabitants are likewise exposed to Thunder and Lightning. The Levant Winds are violent, but do not continue long. The Rock in some Places resembles Portland Stone, in many is true Lime Stone, and in others there is a Kind of coarse Marble. There are many Caves, some of them very capacious, in that of St. Michael towards the Southern Extremity of the Promontory. Five hundred Spaniards concealed themselves, having taken an Oath to become Masters of the Place or perish, as they did. The Mountain had many more Trees upon it formerly than at present, particularly Locust or Carob Trees, by the Help of which the Spaniards before-mentioned ascended, and therefore they were destroyed, and the Soldiers have also cut down Numbers on the Summit for Firing, so that at present except in the Gardens, there are few.

Two and Three thousand (though some make them much fewer) without reckoning the Garrison <sup>c</sup>.

THIS Town may be said to have Two Ports, the First lying to the North, and which is proper only for Tartans and small Vessels, covered towards the Land by the old Mole. The other lying to the South of this between the little and the new Mole, is very commodious for larger Vessels, and hath a fair Stone Quay. The Bay of Gibraltar is very beautiful and capacious, being in Breadth from Europa Point to Point Cabrita about Five English Miles, and in Depth about Eight or Nine, with several small Rivers running into it. The Isthmus between this Bay and the Mediterranean, on which are the Spanish Lines, is about a Mile in Breadth, and between it and the Mountain there is a Morass, which is now rendered an Inundation <sup>d</sup>.

THE Strait of Gibraltar through which the Ocean passes into the Mediterranean, thereby dividing Europe from Africa, runs from West to East, about Thirteen Leagues, though others make it longer. In this Strait there are Three remarkable Promontories or Capes on the Spanish,

<sup>c</sup> The old Town extended farther to the North and higher up the Mountain, consisting of many more Houses than the present. There was a Parish Church, several Convents, and many Chapels both within and without the Town. It made a very pleasing Appearance from the Bay, but after all was but a poor Place. It was probably both larger and better in the Time of the Moors, for upon their Foundations the Spaniards built, and there are still the Remains of many Moorish Structures all over the Mountain, some of which even now convey very clear Ideas both of Strength and Magnificence. The present Town has a Church for the Service of the Garrison and Protestant Inhabitants; but the Parish Church remains in the Hands of the Papists conformable to the Capitulation. All possible Attention hath been shewn to the Ease and Convenience of the People consistent with the Safety of the Place, and for the necessary Accommodation of those who are to defend it. The Town is now well secured from the Attacks of the Spaniards on the Land Side, if they should again besiege it, and in regard to the Bay, supposing an Enemy's Fleet there, besides the natural Defence of shallow Water and Rocks, which will always keep Ships of War at a Distance, they must even there be exposed to the Fire of the Ramparts, on which there are mounted between Three and Four hundred Pieces of Cannon besides Mortars.

<sup>d</sup> The old Mole was built by the Spaniards to cover their Vessels. Our Battery erected thereon was exceedingly serviceable in both Sieges, and of course the Enemy did their utmost to destroy it, and not altogether without Effect. Since the last Siege however it hath been exceedingly improved, the Head taken down, carried out Thirty Yards farther into the Sea, the Gun Battery new constructed and rendered more commodious, with the Addition of a Platform for Mortars. The new Mole is about Two thousand Five hundred Yards distant, and is a very capital and elegant Work. The Bay of Gibraltar is a very fine Body of Water in which our Squadron may lie in great Safety, as in the Midst of it there is no Ground to be felt at a hundred Fathoms. It is every Way advantageous to the Place, affording a most pleasing and delightful Prospect, the Breezes from it are very refreshing, and it contributes likewise to the Subsistence of the Inhabitants by supplying them with Plenty of different Sorts of fine Fish. The Town of Old Gibraltar on the opposite Side is distant somewhat more than a League.

and

and as many opposite to them on the Barbary Side. The First of these on the Side of Spain is Cape Trafalgar, opposite to this is Cape Spartel, near which stood the Fortress of Tangier, once in our Possession. Between these is the Western Entrance of the Straits about Eleven Leagues in Breadth. The next on the Spanish Side is Tarifa, and over against it lies Malabata near the Town of Alcaffar, where the Straits are about Five Leagues broad. Lastly Gibraltar, facing the Mountain of Abyla near the Fortress and Town of Ceuta, which make the Eastern Entry of the Straits. It is commonly said that Gibraltar absolutely commands the Straits, which is in a great Degree, though not absolutely true, for with a strong Levant Wind, which brings with it very dark Clouds, Fleets have passed through the Straits without being discerned by a Squadron in Gibraltar Bay.

IN the War occasioned by the disputed Succession to the Crown of Spain Vice Admiral Sir John Leake proposed to Sir George Rooke who commanded the English Fleet in the Mediterranean, and to Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt, an Attempt upon Gibraltar, the Reduction of which he judged would be of the greatest Consequence to the carrying on the War. The Admiral and the Prince concurred in Opinion with him. The Fleet entered the Bay on the Twenty-first of July One thousand Seven hundred and Four. The Prince landed a Body of Men on the Isthmus, the Fleet cannonaded the Town from the Bay, a Detachment of English Seamen debarked at Europa Point, and with some Loss carried the Outworks, which made such an Impression on the Inhabitants and the Garrison, that the Governor the Marquis de Salinas capitulated, and the Prince of Hesse took

\* This famous Strait which makes so great a Figure in ancient History is stiled in Latin *Fretum Herculeum*, or sometimes *Gaditanum*, by the Spaniards *Estrecho de Gibraltar*. *Diodorus Siculus* and other ancient Writers are very copious on the Subject, and on their Authority an Opinion hath been propagated that *Hercules* placed somewhere hereabouts Two Columns with an Inscription, purporting that it was impossible to pass further. But where he placed these Columns is a Matter of great Doubt, except to the People of Cadiz who actually shew them. The Tradition that they were there is indeed ancient, but as for the Two Pillars that are now shewn *Father Labat* (*Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tom. i. p. 383.) who actually saw them at the Beginning of the present Century, asserts that they were no more than the Bodies of Two old Windmills. The most probable Opinion is that the Two Mountains *Calpe* in Europe and *Abyla* in Africa were from their Figures stiled the Columns of *Hercules*, and it is not unlikely that from the blowing of the West Winds which hindered the Entrance into the Strait, the Notion arose in early Times, that it was impassable. The Reader who would investigate this Matter still farther, as from thence great Lights may be derived in respect to the Navigation of the Ancients, may consult *Diod. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 20.* *Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 308.* *Arrian de Exped. Alex. Magn. lib. ii. p. 126.* *Appian. de Bello Hisp. p. 425.* *Apollodor. p. 125.* The Arabians call this Strait *Bab al Zocak*, i. e. the Gate of the Road, and the Turks call it *Bab Bogazi*, literally the Throat of Passage, which with them is the common Name of all Straits, but they call it also *Sebtah Bogazi*, that is, the Strait of Ceuta.

Possession of the Place on the Twenty-fourth of the same Month with the Loss of less than One hundred Men. The Truth is that it was in a poor Condition of Defence with scarce One hundred Guns mounted, and a Garrison not more in Number than the Guns. The Fleet landed Eighteen hundred Marines for a Garrison, and supplied them with Ammunition and Provisions for three Months <sup>f</sup>.

THE Spaniards extremely sensible of the Loss, immediately marched an Army of Ten thousand Men under the Command of the Marquis de Villadarias to besiege it, and at the same time the Count de Thoulouse who commanded the French Fleet in the Mediterranean put to Sea to cooperate with the Spaniards. This produced the Battle of Malaga August the Thirteenth, in which the French were beat, though Sir George Rooke was forced to draw Nine hundred Marines from Gibraltar to man his Ships, and was in such Want of Ammunition from what he had spared to the Garrison, that he was unable to prosecute his Advantage and totally destroying the French Fleet. The Siege however went on, and the Place was so much pressed, that if Sir John Leake had arrived a Day later in the Bay of Gibraltar it must have been taken, Five hundred Men having scaled the Rock with Rope Ladders, all of whom were destroyed. Marshal de Tessé with a Body of French Troops joined the Spanish Army, and continued the Siege for near Six Months, when the French Fleet under the Baron de Pointis being beat by Sir John Leake they were forced to change the Siege into a Blockade. The good Correspondence between Sir John and the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, and the excellent Conduct of both saved the Place. At this Port the late Emperor Charles the Sixth

<sup>f</sup> It is but just to observe that this very important Conquest was planned by Two of our most able Admirals Sir George Rooke and Sir John Leake, who knew its Value, more especially at that critical Conjunction when there was the utmost Necessity of obtaining a Port in Spain, and of all its Ports for the Purpose of the War, this was the most commodious. As it was planned by Admirals, it was entirely executed by Seamen, and conducted with great Judgment: By a furious Cannonade in which the Fleet expended Fifteen thousand Shot, the Enemy were driven from their Works. This gave an Opportunity to the Captains Hicks and Jumper to push on Shore, and with an Intrepidity celebrated even by the French Writers, scaled a Redoubt near Europa Point, of which they kept Possession notwithstanding the Governor Don Diego de Salinas sprung a Mine under it by which Two Lieutenants and Fifty Men were killed, and Sixty more wounded. It was on a Sunday, and most of the Women were at their Devotions in a Chapel without the Town, which threw the Inhabitants into such Consternation that they constrained the Governor to capitulate. After the Reduction of Gibraltar, the Fleet stood over to the Barbary Coast, with a Design of making themselves absolutely Masters of the Straits, by prevailing upon the Garrison of Ceuta to declare for Charles the Third; but the Marquis de Gironella who was then Governor rejected the Proposal, and the Fleet having taken in Water sailed in search of the Enemy: Life of Sir John Leake, p. 83; 84. Memoirs du Regne de Philippe V. par le M. de Sainte Philippe, vol. I. p. 271, 272. Pere Daniel. Histoire de France, tom. x. p. 218, 219.

then stiled Charles the Third King of Spain landed. On the Conclusion of the Peace his Catholic Majesty Philip the Fifth yielded this Town and Fortrefs in full Property (but without any territorial Jurisdiction) to Great Britain for ever &c. The Spaniards notwithstanding this continued to behold it with a jealous Eye, and are said to have meditated several Attempts to recover it. At length in the Spring of the Year 1727 they again besieged in Form with a great Army under the Conde de las Torres, but after lying before it near Four Months, during which they made but a very small Progress, a Cessation of Arms took Place, and we have since remained in quiet Possession<sup>h</sup>.

THE Preservation of this Fortrefs, more especially after the perpetual Cession of it to the Crown of Great Britain, became and will be ever considered as a Point of the utmost Consequence. The First Siege, in which it ran a great Hazard of being taken, was however of great Utility in pointing out the most proper Means for providing for its future Defence, by repairing or rather reconstructing most of the old Works, and adding new wherever it was thought requisite, scarping the Rocks where the scaling them was in any Degree practicable, elevating and increasing the Number of Batteries so as effectually to protect the Town and Ports. In these Works the ablest Engineers were employed, and no Expence spared in rendering them solid and complete, the good Effects of these Precautions

<sup>g</sup> The Cession of Gibraltar is contained in the Tenth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht concluded between her Majesty Anne Queen of Great Britain and his Catholic Majesty King Philip the Fifth; our Ministers did indeed demand an Extent of Ground of Two Cannon Shot round it, but the French King answered, he could not prevail with the King of Spain to part with One Inch of Land more than the Town itself; but if the giving up the whole Island of Minorca would be taken as an Equivalent, he would endeavour to obtain it. This was accepted, and the Cession of that entire Island is contained in the very next Article of the same Treaty. In respect to both it must be observed that the Cessions are as full, clear, and absolute as Words can express, so that no Room is left to controvert the Title of the Crown of Great Britain to either, for the only Condition annexed is (which if possible strengthens the Title) that in case Great Britain shall be inclined to Part with them, his Catholic Majesty is to have the First Offer.

<sup>h</sup> The Spaniards, as we have said, were very near succeeding in the First Siege, when the Town and Fortifications were in a very indifferent State of Defence, and when the Enemy suffered their Affairs to run almost to ruin else where in Hopes of taking it. The Second Siege was owing to the Hopes given to Philip the Fifth by the Regent Duke of Orleans that he would procure the Restitution of this Fortrefs and the Island of Minorca, and when it was found that this could not be effected, it was resolved to attempt the Reduction of Gibraltar by Force. The Governor was the Earl of Portmore, the Lieutenant Governor Colonel Clayton; the Garrison consisted of about Twelve Battalions, and as the Place was now well fortified, well supplied, and a Fleet in the Bay the Spaniards, though they did all that could be expected from them, had themselves little Hopes of Success. In this Siege we had Two Officers and Sixty-nine Men killed, and about Two hundred wounded. The Loss of the Enemy was between Three and Four hundred Men.

tunity or Temptation to invade or injure either, though at the same Time it certainly enables us to gain the most early and certain Intelligence of any of their hostile Preparations, and at the same Time, as we have before observed, puts it very much in our Power to obstruct, distress, and to defeat them, as Experience hath fully and repeatedly demonstrated, and from thence gives us a Degree of Security that could by no other Means be obtained. The holding this Fortress, and the holding it in so respectable a Manner as hath been shewn we do, does Honour to the British Arms and to the Councils of this Nation in the Eyes of all Europe, which we may say with Probability at least hath been from this Circumstance indebted more than once for the Preservation of the Public Peace. Upon the Whole, from this short and plain State of Things every candid and competent Judge will be able to satisfy himself, that considering the Inconveniencies it prevents, the Respect it excites, and the Benefits it procures, the Fortress of Gibraltar fully merits all the Care that hath been taken, and all the Attention that can be shewn to it<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There hath been an Opinion advanced and at sometimes very warmly insisted upon, as if Gibraltar might be made a Place of Trade, at least in such a Degree as to diminish its Expence. In this View it should seem that her late Majesty Queen Anne, very soon after it came into our Possession, declared it a free Port without any great Effect. In the Year 1740 a civil and criminal Jurisdiction to be established here was in Contemplation, but never carried into Execution. It may be, that the very small Extent of the Place, and the Difficulties that might arise between a civil Administration and a Military Government have hindered such a Design from taking Place. But certainly if any Method could be found to render a Thing of this Kind in any Degree practicable the Situation of the Place is so favourable as to promise great Advantages. But the procuring these must be left to those who have a Power of examining into and removing those Obstructions that have hitherto prevented it. The Number of Ships that entered this Bay A. D. 1770 were Eight hundred and Twenty-seven.

## S E C T. II.

### The Island of Minorca.

**T**HE small but pleasant Island of Minorca, which the Natives write Menorca, is situated in the Mediterranean in the Latitude of between Thirty nine and Forty Degrees North, and in the Longitude of near Four Degrees East from London. It lies Ten Leagues to the North East of Majorca, about Sixty South West from Barcelona, having France to the North, the Italian Isles of Sardinia and Corsica, and the Kingdom of Naples on the East, Spain to the West, and Barbary to the South. In  
Length



Length from South East to North West, it is about Thirty-three Miles, in Breadth from Eight to Twelve, but in general about Ten Miles, so that in point of Size it may be nearly equal to the County of Huntingdon or to Bedfordshire. The Form of it is very irregular, and the Coasts much indented by the Sea, which forms a Number of little Creeks and Inlets that might some of them be rendered very advantageous <sup>a</sup>.

THE Climate is temperate, except from June to the Midst of September, when it is very hot, the rainy Season follows ; but it is admitted by our Officers who have resided there, that for Seven Months in the Year it is as pleasant a Country as can be wished. The North, North East, and North West Winds generally blow from the Middle of September to the Middle of March, and though wholesome to the Inhabitants yet are very unfavourable to the Fruit Trees that are exposed to them. The Face of the Island is diversified with rising and sloping Grounds, for though there are many Hills, yet there is not properly speaking a Mountain, or at most but One in the Island. In the Vallies, for Want of a sufficient Declivity, the Rains settle in many Places and the Grounds are marshy. The Soil in the flat Country is thin and sandy, on the Sides of the Hills and in the Valleys, black, rich, and fertile, and may be every where cultivated without any great Degree of Labour. The great Defect is in respect to Water, of which, except what is saved from Rain in Cisterns, there is little either palatable or healthy <sup>b</sup>.

THIS

<sup>a</sup> The Islands siled Baleares by the Ancients were only Two, the One larger and the other less, from whence they derived their Names, the former of Majorca and the latter Minorca. The Epithet Baleares arose from their Inhabitants being more dextrous Slingers than any other Nation, in which the Shepherds of this Isle still excel, and the Inhabitants in general are very excellent Marksmen. These Isles made a very great Figure in early Times, as the learned Reader may be informed by consulting Diod. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 17, 18. Strabon. Geograph. lib. iii. p. 167. Mela de Situ Orbis lib. ii. cap. ult. If he wishes to see a Continuation of their History he may find it in Johan: Gerunden: Parilip: Hisp: lib. ii. they have besides had Two Historians of their own Juan Dameto and Vincent Mut, the Works of both printed in Majorca. But without taking this Trouble his Curiosity may be gratified by perusing Armstrong's History of Minorca, which is very entertaining as well as very methodical and exact.

<sup>b</sup> Though the Climate of this Island is certainly very warm, yet through the Favour of Providence it is in many Respects so qualified as not to be intolerable. For in regard to Men the Eminencies scattered over the whole Island afford them the Means of fixing their Habitations where the Air is cool and serene for the greatest Part of the Year. In respect to Animals Nature hath provided almost every where sufficient Shelter for them by Trees, Shrubs, and Brush Wood growing on the Sides of the Rocks. Both participate of the Breeze from the Sea which follows the Course of the Sun, being strongest at Noon, and dying gradually away as the Day declines. The Marshes which are in many Respects noxious might be easily drained and turned into Meadows, as in that State they certainly were in earlier Times, when this Country was more thoroughly inhabited and by a more industrious Sort of People. See Dr. Cleghorn's Observations on the Diseases

THIS Island, small as it is, contains many Commodities that are or might be rendered of considerable Value. In the Bowels of the Earth are Iron, Copper, Lead Ores, of none of which except the last hath hitherto any Use been made, and even the Working of this it is said hath long been discontinued. Great Quantities of Marble, very beautiful and finely variegated. Free Stone and Lime-Stone in Plenty, and an excellent Kind of Slate that might be raised in any Quantities, and is very near the Water. The Surface thin as it is produces excellent Wheat, though not enough for the Consumption of the Inhabitants, as also Barley, and some India Corn, not inferior to any in America. In respect to Fruits they have great Plenty of Vines which bear both white and red Grapes, from which they make a considerable Quantity of Wine. They have also Olives, Dates, Almonds, Oranges, Lemons, Limes, Pomegranates, Figs, &c. Hemp and Flax grow in great Perfection, and from some Trials that have been made it is known they might have large Quantities of admirable Cotton. They grow likewise some very good Tobacco, but not Half as much as they consume, as also Capers and Annis. Their Kitchen Gardens are exceedingly well stocked, and the Vegetables they produce are not inferior to those of any other Country.

As to Animals that serve for Food, there are in this Island black Cattle, small in Size, and in general poor and lean, which arises chiefly from the Carelessness of the People who dislike fat, for with proper Attention they have been and may be rendered as good as any of their Size. Sheep also are small, their Wool neither very coarse or very fine, yet such as furnishes the Inhabitants with Cloth for their own Wear, and some of their Wool likewise they export. Goats are larger in Proportion, but are eat only by the poorest People. Their Swine are large, and as the Minorquins have a Relish for their Fat, they are well fed and afford great Plenty of excellent

in Misorca. London 1762, 8vo. *Reflexions Générales sur l'Isle Minorque, sur son Climat, sur la Maniere de vivre de ses Habitans, & sur les Maladies qui y regnent*, par M. Claude François Passerat de la Chapelle. Paris 1764, 12mo.

There are in this Island Clays of different Colours, of which they make Tiles, and some coarse Earthenware, and of which much finer might be made by Persons better skilled in the Art of Pottery. Their Free Stone is of the same Nature with that of Bath, and is generally cut in the Quarries into what they call Cantoons, being a Double Cube of a Foot. A Dozen of these cost but Half a Crown, and might be exported as Ballast. They have likewise an excellent Cement called Gush, which is a grey coloured Gypsum, and with this they join their Cantoons, and it hardens in a Moment. By the Help of these Materials their Houses are very quickly built at a very small Expence, and in that Climate are very lasting. Their Lands would produce much more if well dunged, which might be easily effected, if they were more attentive to their Cattle. Their numerous Fruit Trees might be improved to the highest Perfection as Experience hath shewn, and indeed hardly any Kind of Improvement attempted here and properly pursued ever failed. But Things of this Sort being done by Persons who did not long reside in the Island have never been either lasting or of much Utility.

Meat.

Meat. They have no Deer or Hares, but Rabbits in great Plenty. In reference to Beasts of Burthen they have a Breed of small Horses, which for want of Grass and Hay are fed with chopped Straw and a little Barley mixed with it, so that though they seem to have Spirit they have little Strength. On the other Hand their Asses are large, and are made use of both for the Saddle and Plough. Mules are large, strong, and fit for all Kinds of Service, being esteemed full as good as any on the Continent of Spain. They have all Sorts of domestic Fowl, and these very good in their respective Kinds. Wild Fowl and Water Fowl of all Sorts, and many Birds of Passage, with which their Tables are plentifully supplied in all Seasons. They have Eels and Smelts, with a great Variety of Sea and Shell Fish in as great Abundance as they can wish. They have no wild Beasts,<sup>d</sup> but many Birds of Prey, such as Eagles, Hawks, and Owls. There are also Snakes, Vipers, Scorpions, with some other venomous and troublesome Reptiles and Insects; yet not in such Numbers as might be expected in so warm and moist a Country <sup>d</sup>.

THE Island is divided into what they stile Termino's, of which there were anciently Five, now reduced to Four, and resemble our Counties. The Termino of Ciudadella at the North Western Extremity of the Island is so stiled from this Place which was once a City and the Capital of Minorca. It makes a venerable and majestic Figure even in its present State of Decay, having in it a large Gothic Cathedral, some other Churches and Convents, the Governor's Palace, and an Exchange which is no contemptible Pile. There are in it Six hundred Houses which before the Seat of Government and the Courts of Justice were removed to Mahon were fully inhabited, and there are still more Gentlemen's Families here than in all the Rest of the Island. It hath a Port commodious enough for the Vessels employed in the Trade of this Country, which though in the Possession of a Maritime Power is less than it formerly was. It is still in the Stile of our Officers, the best Quarters (and there are none bad) in the

<sup>d</sup>All the antient Authors describe the Animals in this Island as remarkably large, which is so far from being contradicted, that it is really verified by their present Condition. In remoter Ages, as the Remains of them shew to this Day, the People built Walls round their Hills at certain Distances to prevent the Earth from being washed down, and cultivated those Hills to their very Summits. This gave them Plenty of all Kinds of Grain, and as Marshes are every where the Effects of Idleness, we may fairly presume that in those Days these were Meadows in which Cattle were fed to their full Size. An additional Proof arises from their domestic Poultry, for which they stand indebted to Governor Kane. He brought them from different Parts, distributed them amongst the Peasants, gave first a Premium for hatching and afterwards set a Price upon Eggs, which very soon produced Plenty, and shewed what might be done in other Things. Their Honey is the best, their Wax as good as any in Europe, and so universally acknowledged, and yet their Exports of both do not exceed Three hundred Pounds annually.

Country, and if there was a Civil Government, and the Place made a free Port, the best Judges are of Opinion would very soon become a flourishing Place again, and the Fortifications if it should be found necessary might then also be easily restored and improved <sup>e</sup>.

THE Termino of Fererias is the next, a narrow Slip reaching cross from Sea to Sea, and the Country little cultivated, it is therefore united to Mercandal. In this last Termino stands Mont-toro in the very Center of the Isle, and the highest Ground, some say the only Mountain in it, on the Summit of which there is a Convent where even in the hottest Months the Monks enjoy a cool Air, and at all Times a most delightful Prospect. About Six Miles North from Mont-toro stands the Castle that covers Port Fornelles, which is a very spacious Harbour on the East Side of the Island. There are in it Shoals and foul Ground which to those who are unacquainted with them, render it difficult and dangerous, yet the Packets bound from Mahon to Marseilles frequently take Shelter therein, and while the Spaniards were in Possession of the Isle large Ships and Men of War frequented it. At a small Distance from this lies another Harbour called Adaia, which runs far into the Land, but being reputed unsafe, and being so near Fornelles, is at present useless. The Country about it is however said to be the pleasantest and wholesomest Spot in the Island, and almost the only One plentifully supplied with excellent Spring Water, so that the Gardens are well laid out, and the richest and finest Fruits grow here in the highest Perfection. Alaior is the next Termino, in which there is nothing remarkable but the Capital of the same Name, well situated on an Eminence in a pleasant and tolerably cultivated Country <sup>f</sup>.

THE

<sup>e</sup> As Ciudadella was for a long Series of Years the Seat of Government and the Center of Commerce in this Island; so it is generally allowed that the Inhabitants both of the Town and of the Termino are the most civilized and polished of any in the Country, which hath been justly ascribed to their Intercourse with other Nations, and to that small Degree of Trade with Majorca and other Places that they still retain, and which from the Appearance of their Exchange and the Circumstances of some of its principal Inhabitants appears to have been much more extensive in former Times. It hath therefore been the Opinion of some British Merchants that if a civil Government of a Mayor and Aldermen was established here, and Matters of Commerce decided by a Court of Merchants, the commercial Spirit of the People might be revived, more especially if it was declared a free Port under such Regulations as those of Leghorn or Marseilles. It is also conceived that this would have a very beneficial Effect in exciting Industry amongst the People in this District, which is still the most numerous after that of Mahon. See Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, chap. 33. See also as to its Commerce in the last Century, Roberts' Map of Commerce, chap. cclix.

<sup>f</sup> It is observable that all the Towns in these Terminos are built upon Eminences, by which they are rendered both healthy and pleasant. The Communication however between them was very difficult as well as disagreeable, and in some Places dangerous till Mr. Kane, who commanded here several Years, made a noble Road as strait as the Situation of the Country would allow from Mahon

THE Termino of Mahon at the South East End of the Island is at present the most considerable of them all, containing about Sixty thousand English Acres, and nearly One Half of the Inhabitants in Minorca. The Town of Mahon derives its Name from the Carthaginian General Mago, who is universally allowed to be its Founder. It stands on an Eminence on the West Side of the Harbour, the Ascent pretty steep. There are in it a large Church, Three Convents, the Governor's Palace, and some other public Edifices. It is large, but the Streets are winding, narrow, and ill-paved. The Fortress of St. Philip stands near the Entrance of the Harbour which it covers, is very spacious, of great Strength, with subterranean Works to protect the Garrison from Bombs, large Magazines, and whatever else is necessary to render it a compleat Fortification, and hath a numerous and well disposed Artillery &c. Port Mahon is allowed to be the finest Harbour in the Mediterranean, about Ninety Fathoms wide at its Entrance, but within very large and safe, stretching a League or more into the Land. Beneath the Town of Mahon there is a very fine Quay, one End of which is reserved for the Ships of War, and furnished with all the Accommodations necessary for careening and refitting them, the other serves for Merchantmen. On the other Side the Harbour is Cape Mola, where it is generally agreed a Fortress might be constructed, which would be impregnable, as the Castle of St. Philip was esteemed before we took it

hon to Ciudadella. This Gentleman, who finished his Life here, was the Author of almost all the beneficial Regulations that have been made, and was deservedly stiled the Patron of his Officers, the Parent of the Soldiers, and the Protector of the Natives. There was before him a Spanish Governor, I am sorry I cannot mention his Name, who compelled the Inhabitants to take some Pains with regard to their Olives, as well in pickling as in expressing their Oil, but notwithstanding the Benefits that arose from thence all Attention to them expired with his Authority. The Gardens in the Neighbourhood of Adala shewed plainly that their Fruits might be brought to as high Perfection, and consequently become of as great Value as in the Southern Provinces of France or the Islands of Hieres. The Truth is that Attention and Encouragement might do any thing in a Country where Nature has already done so much, as evidently to shew that with a moderate Proportion of Skill and Care she might be brought to do more.

§ The Town of Mahon derives many Advantages from its elevated Situation, for besides an extensive Prospect and a cool Air, it is even in Summer almost entirely free from Musquitoes. It is at present the Seat of Government, the Residence of the Governor who hath a large irregular Palace here, and withal the principal Place of Commerce in the Isle, to which some attribute the indifferent and neglected Condition of the other Districts. It must however be allowed, that the Merchants have great Accommodations. Their Vessels come as close as can be desired to the Quay; there is a very convenient Place, (which is a Matter of the utmost Consequence) for the Performance of Quarantine, and are easily supplied with naval Stores. But as there is a Regiment quartered in the Town this Mixture of Military and mercantile People is liable to some Inconveniencies. The French settled here, and the Commodities they import, and which, from a Variety of Causes they are enabled to sell cheap, is by no Means acceptable either to the English or Minorquins, who from Motives of Interest probably would be glad to see French Fashions and French Fopperies discouraged, which by the Example of the Governor and the principal Persons about him might be easily effected.

and .

and bestowed so much Money upon it, that though some Works were erected at Cape Mola, it was not judged proper to proceed in the Fortifications there at a fresh Expence, at least this is the only Reason that hath been assigned <sup>b</sup>.

THE ancient History of this Island and its Inhabitants belongs by no Means to this Place. It was reduced in September, A. D. 1708, by Major General James Stanhope, with the Assistance of the Fleet under Sir John Leake. The General was afterwards created Earl Stanhope, and to preserve the Memory of this important Service, Viscount Mahon. In the Summer of the Year 1756, through a shameful and inexcusable Infatuation it was suffered to fall into the Hands of the French, but was again restored to Great Britain by the Twelfth Article of the Treaty of Paris, A. D. 1763, in Conformity to the original, absolute, and perpetual Cession of this Isle by the Eleventh Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, so that except this very small Interruption it hath remained Part of the Territory of this Nation upwards of Threescore Years. A Space fully sufficient to make us well acquainted with the Minorquins and the Minorquins with us, and with the Advantages they derive from their being British Subjects, of which it is but doing them Justice to say, that they are very highly sensible <sup>i</sup>.

By

<sup>b</sup> At no great Distance of Time after this Island was restored to our Possession it was visited by Lord Hope eldest Son to the Earl of Hopeton, a young Nobleman of quick Parts and great Observations, who listened willingly to the Informations given him by the Natives, and undertook to convey them as he did to the Persons in Power here. Amongst other Things it was suggested that if Commerce was properly encouraged, a Fortrefs might be built at Cape Mola, less in Extent, and consequently requiring a smaller Garrison than that of St. Philip's, having an equal, if not a better Command of the Entrance of the Harbour, and answering in all other Respects to the full as well as that immense Fortification. In such a Case they conceived that a considerable Part of the subterranean Works under St. Philip's might be converted into Warehouses and Magazines, for the Possession of which perhaps the Merchants might undertake to defray the Expences of constructing the new Fortrefs. How far this Notion deserves to be considered must be left to better Judges, but that it might be mentioned here with Propriety, will be evident to any Reader who consults Armstrong's History of Minorca, p. 39.

<sup>i</sup> The Natives of the Island are well enough apprized of the Advantages they derive from their being British Subjects. The Island produces Five Times as many Articles of Consumption since it came into our Hands from the Demand for Provisions and other Necessaries, and this is continually increasing. In respect to Wine, though sold very cheap, what is drank by the Troops hath been computed at Twenty Thousand Pounds per Annum, which is Ten Times as much as the Value of what they drink themselves. The Pay of the Garrison makes the greatest Part of their Circulation, and to the Instructions afforded them by the Officers, and the Examples given them by the Soldiers under their Direction, they owe the few Improvements they have. They know very well the Advantage of Billing under our Flag, which not only secures them from Corsairs, but procures them also a free Admittance into the Ports of Barbary, and they are considerable Gainers by both. But they would still reap much greater Benefits from the Establishment

By the Capitulation made with General Stanhope at the Time this Island came into our Hands, the free Exercise of their Religion was secured to this People, and at their own Desire, though it hath been their heaviest Misfortune, their ancient Form of Government which still continues, and is entirely modelled on the feudal System. The Land Revenue, by which is to be understood the total Rental of the landed Property in Minorca, doth not exceed Twelve thousand Pounds per Annum, and the public Revenue amounts to about One Third of this. The Number of Priests secular and regular and the Nuns are about Three hundred, and the Number of the Inhabitants about Two Years after the Island was restored to us was between Eighteen and Twenty thousand. There have been some Greeks brought into Minorca, and as they were a very industrious and useful Race of Men, might have contributed much to the Improvement of the Island, if their Undertakings had not been disturbed by the French coming into Possession. Our usual Establishment consists of a Governor, Deputy Governor, &c. with Five Regiments, the Expence of which, including the Staff and Subsistence, may amount to about Seventy thousand Pounds a Year, exclusive of the Expence of the Ordnance and Marine, the Repairs of Buildings and other Contingencies <sup>k</sup>.

AFTER having thus given a very short, though it is hoped a very plain and intelligible Account of this very valuable Island, it will be proper to insist next on the actual Importance of it to this Nation, and then to point out what farther Advantages might be expected from it. In reference to the First, it must be observed, that it would be very difficult fully to ex-

ment of an English civil Government, and having their Choice to seek Relief in our Courts or in their own. A decent Ecclesiastical Establishment at Mahon and at Ciudadella, with Schools for teaching English, would have many good Effects, and Intermarriages with the Natives still more.

<sup>k</sup> The Form of their Government, the Nature and Numbers of their Magistrates may be seen in the Ninth Chapter of Armstrong's History, where he takes Notice also of the Hardships resulting from their Constitution, such as Fines on the Alienation of private Property, on the granting of Leases beyond the Term of Nine Years, and the Impositions on almost all their Produce, in consequence of which Taxes and their Inability to pay them they have contracted a large public Debt which bears Interest at Eight per Cent. There is however an Absurdity beyond all those of which he does not take Notice, which is, that an Appeal lies from their supreme Court to the Tribunal at Perpignan in Roussillon, and that as they are very litigious, their Lawyers are a greater Burden to them than their Priests. As the Value of the landed Property is so small Purchases might be easily made in favour either of English or of Greeks, or for any other useful Purposes, and the People might be readily drawn to follow their Examples in any Improvements. They are naturally very attentive to their own Interests, and if properly managed it would be our Interest that they should be so. A strong Proof of this is the Care and Diligence they use in manuring, pruning and fencing their Vineyards, though at the same Time they neglect the Culture of every other Kind of Fruit, because no immediate Advantage could be derived from it.



prefs the numerous Benefits that we derive from having so noble, so capacious and so safe an Harbour as that of Port Mahon, more especially in so happy a Situation, where our Ships may be at all Times relieved, our Squadrons meet with Refreshments, and not only these but also with every Kind of Accommodation and Repairs, and where our Armaments may be carried on with equal Security and Secrecy when necessary. The Sense and the Experience of this hath struck such an Awe into all the piratical States of Barbary, who with the Emperor of Morocco have all acknowledged by Treaties this Island Part of the Dominion of Great Britain, that we have never had any Dispute with them since, except as to Mediterranean Passes, in respect to which perhaps we have not been always in the Right. Our holding this Island hath a very strong Influence on the Italian Powers, and indeed may be said to render us an Italian Power, to whom in that Light, our maritime Force considered, due Respect will be at all Times paid. It is in Time of War a constant Bridle on the Ports of Marseilles and Toulon; the former of which for that Reason furnished the French King with a very large Sum towards defraying the Expences of the Fleet that was employed to invade it. Its Vicinity to the Ports of Spain is another Circumstance of Consequence, and with regard to other Benefits flowing from it, it would require too great a Space, even supposing it proper, should we attempt to enumerate them<sup>1</sup>.

THIS Representation, with the Reflections that it must necessarily suggest to a judicious Politician, would clearly convince him that Minorca ought by no Means to be considered as a Burthen or dead Weight upon Britain. But independant of these it is certain that many other, and those also very considerable Benefits might be derived from thence, if due Attention was shewn to this Country, and proper Care taken of its Inhabitants. A few intelligent Persons sent thither and kept there for some Years would put the Natives in the Way of improving their Pastures, which are now miserably bad, and also their arable Lands for Agriculture must be surely at a very low Pass in a Country where an Ass and a Hog sometimes draw

<sup>1</sup> While the French were Masters of this Place they took Pains to persuade the States of Italy that they were their Deliverers. They insisted that Gibraltar and Minorca in the Hands of Great Britain were to be considered as Badges of Slavery, that by the Reduction of Minorca they had removed One and had a Title to expect the Assistance of the Italian Powers to make themselves Masters of the other, and by this Means the Mediterranean would be entirely free, and by the proper Arrangement of a naval Force the English excluded the Entrance into that Sea. To supply the Want of Facts, as to the Tyranny which the English had exercised over the Italian States, they suggested that their Moderation was the Effect of Negligence, and not understanding the Extent of that Power which they had in their Hands. All this and much more the Reader may find in the following Treatise, "Essay Politique sur les Avantages que la France peut retirer de la Conquête de l'Isle Minorque. A Citadella, 1757, 12mo".

together the Plough <sup>m</sup>. Their Gardens and their Orchards with the Help of a little Skill and Application would furnish them with near as great Profits as they now draw from their Estates. They have many staple Commodities, or at least might have them amongst them, which would supply Exports to a very considerable Amount. Salt, which not only may be made but hath been made, and which is the sole Support of the neighbouring Island of Yvica, might be obtained in any Quantities with little Trouble and less Expence; which Salt, if it was employed in their own Fisheries under proper Directions, would be more than sufficient to balance all their Imports, at least upon their own Account <sup>n</sup>. All this will

<sup>m</sup> We have before remarked more than once, that this Country, as appears from History, was formerly in a much better Condition, to which there is certainly nothing absurd or improbable in supposing that by Skill and Industry it may be restored. The Marshes, by cutting proper Channels might be drained, and with due Care converted into Meadows, which would facilitate the breeding a greater Number of Cattle, and this again would furnish greater Plenty of Manure for their arable Lands. Indeed I have been (and I hope truly) informed, that Agriculture is now in so good a State, that Corn is very seldom imported. But more may be still done. The Culture of Indian Corn might be encouraged, and in Places not suited to Wheat or Barley, Rice, Millet, and other Grains might be introduced. But due Care should be taken in all Improvements to have constantly in view the Dependence of Minorca upon Great Britain, so that the Interests of the Natives should, in consequence of such Improvements, be so united to this Country as that they might ever find their own Happiness closely, and if possible, inseparably connected with their remaining British Subjects, and then the Increase of Inhabitants would be an additional Strength to our Interests.

<sup>n</sup> It would require much Room to enter into a minute Detail of what might be done to render the Productions of Minorca more valuable than they are at present. It may suffice to say, that from their Gardens and Plantations we might be supplied with Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds, Figs, Prunes and Raisins, in as high Perfection as any we import from Spain and Portugal. It is amazing that they have never attempted to draw a Spirit from any of these rich Fruits, though they consume annually to the Amount of Ten thousand Pounds in Aguardiente or strong Waters. Besides these, all those odoriferous Oils, Essences, &c. which we have now from different Parts of Italy, might be as well imported from hence. We might also, if a little Encouragement was given, receive much greater Quantities of Honey and Wax than we have hitherto done. In regard to valuable Commodities, we shall out of many, mention only Three, which it is indisputable might be obtained, because in small Quantities they have been obtained, and these are Silk, Oil, and Cotton. As to the First, they have a vast Number of Mulberry Trees over the whole Island, lying in the same Latitude with the Kingdom of Valentia, which produces the best Silk in Spain. In regard to the Second, large Quantities are annually exported from Majorca, as a Century ago they were from hence. In reference to Cotton, it grows to the full as well here as in Malta, where it is the staple Commodity of the Island. To these may be added several valuable Drugs, particularly Mastic, Aloes, and some think Cochineal; for the Opuntia or prickly Pear grows wild over the whole Country. In reference to Fish, the Tunny Anchovies and Sardins come there annually in immense Shoals, the Art of pickling and barrelling them might be easily acquired, and they might be cured with their own Salt; and great Quantities of Fish-oil might be likewise made. They have also on their Coasts great Abundance of Coral, the Nacar, a large Kind of Muscle, the Inside of the Shell more beautiful than Mother of Pearl, and on the Outside there is a Kind of long Hair, or as they call it Wool, which is manufactured in Italy and in Spain. The Orchilla, of which we import great Quantities from the Canaries, grows unnoticed upon their Rocks.

appear to the Reader the more practicable, if he recollects the Port that there are in this Island and their Situation, and is farther told that the Inhabitants are as expert Seamen, that is, for the Mediterranean, as any of their Neighbours.

### C H A P. III.

#### Of the British Settlements in Asia.

##### S E C T. I.

###### *Of the Island of St. Helena.*

**T**HE numerous Places occupied by British Subjects in this Quarter of the Globe were acquired at different Times, in very different Manners, settled for very different Purposes, and are held by different Tenures, all of which it is of no small Importance to know, and which therefore it shall be the Business of this Chapter concisely to explain. The Commerce of the East hath been ever esteemed to be in its Nature and Consequences superior to all others, and in Point of Fact the Nations who have possessed it, have been, so long as they retained it, the most considerable Traders in the World. In early Times the Tyrians and Sidonians, in succeeding Ages the Carthaginians and Romans were Masters of it. When after a long Series of Barbarism Arts and Sciences began to revive in Europe, the States of Venice and Genoa engrossed it, and thereby rose in Reputation, accumulated immense Riches, and acquired a great naval Power. It fell next into the Hands of the Portuguese by their discovering a Passage round the Cape of Good Hope, which opened the Way to other Nations, and to us among the First. In so long a Navigation it was found of absolute Necessity to have some Place of Refreshment in the Route, and this it was that recommended to Notice and even raised into Consideration a little unpromising Isle, or as some have stiled it, a rugged inhospitable Rock, which, purely from the Convenience of its Situation, is and hath been long looked upon as a Place of the utmost Consequence, and as such it is our Duty to describe <sup>a</sup>.

THIS

<sup>a</sup> The Dutch have for the same Purpose made a Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, which, by the Assistance of some Hundreds of French Refugees, they have from an inhospitable Wilderness rendered

THIS Island derives its Name from St. Helena, the Mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great, and she is said to have been a Native of Britain. In the old Maps it is laid down in the Latitude of Fifteen Degrees Fifty-five Minutes South, and in the Longitude of Seven Degrees West from London. Modern Observations place it in the Latitude of Sixteen Degrees or Sixteen Degrees Fifteen Minutes South, and in the Longitude of One Degree West from the Lizard, about Three hundred and Fifty Leagues from the nearest Coast of Africa, Five hundred from that of Brazil, Five hundred and Fifty, though others say Six hundred and Twenty North West from the Cape of Good Hope. It is full Six Miles long, hardly Four in Breadth, and about Seven Leagues in Circumference. In point of Size scarce so big as the Isle of Bute. As it rises very high it is seen at a great Distance, and being full of Rocks of different Heights looks like a vast Fortrefs in the Sea <sup>b</sup>.

THE Climate of this little Island may be justly stiled excellent, for notwithstanding its Vicinity to the Line, the Heat is so qualified by Breezes continually flying over the Rocks, and the Air is so frequently cooled by short refreshing Showers that it is equally pleasant and wholesome, as appears from the Inhabitants being in a Manner free from Diseases, and of as clear Complexions as in Europe. It is said that they never have the Small Pox in their own little World, but are extremely apt to catch the Disease, if they remove out of it. It is also very remarkable that they are exempt from Thunder and Lightning. In its Appearance St. Helena seems to be no more than a Congeries of rude rough Rocks, amongst which the natural Soil is red, friable, and resembles Ashes, from which Circumstances, and the finding of Sulphur in many of the Cliffs, some have conjectured there was once a Vulcano. To the Windward it is utterly inaccessible.

rendered a fine and fertile Country. Yet we Twice sent People thither before them, who made so bad a Report both of the Place and the Inhabitants that we desisted from the Design of fixing there. The French have established themselves in the Isle of Mascarenhas, which they call Bourdon, and since that on the Island of Maurice, which they stile the Isle of France; we might have had both or either of these. Indeed we had the latter even before the Dutch, who Twice deserted it, and from our Voyages made thither to cut down Ebony, it was for some Time stiled the English Forest. The Portuguese retain their original Settlement for Refreshment at Mozambique. It may appear inaccurate to treat of this, which is commonly esteemed an African Island, in the present Chapter, but as it belongs to the East India Company, and is connected with their Settlements, there seemed to be no Impropriety in placing it here.

<sup>b</sup> The Reader if he is inclined to search more thoroughly into this Matter, may consult the Decades of John de Barros. The noble Collection of Voyages by Ramusio. The Voyages for establishing the Dutch East India Company. Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 89. Lockyer's Account of the Trade to India, p. 304. Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. i.

To the Leeward there are but few Landing Places, and those difficult and dangerous from the Surf; so that the People may be said to live in a Place which Nature has impaled with Rocks, and surrounded with the Ocean. The Interior of the Island hath also many high and steep Cliffs, but there are some little pleasant Vallies between them, and rude and dangerous as these Rocks are, the Inhabitants with very little Assistance from Art have made Roads through them, which they and more especially their Slaves pass with great Speed and Facility, and which is much more wonderful, have taught their Horses to do the like, so that how dreadful soever their Journeys may appear to Strangers, yet it is generally agreed that very few Accidents happen to the Natives, who think all these Inconveniencies are balanced by their living in perfect Security.

ALL the Advantages which this Island derives from Nature have been stated in the former Paragraph, whatever is found in it beside may be truly stiled Exotic. The Soil is generally very thin, though in some of the Vallies it is now become near Two Feet deep, and from the regular Intervals of Rain and Sunshine very fertile. Hitherto they have not been able to raise Wheat, but of late Years (if I am rightly informed) they have sown Barley with Success. Their Gardens produce Yams, Plantains, Bananas, Water Melons, as also French Beans, Purslain, Sorrel, and many other wholesome Herbs, most of them Antiscorbutic. As to Trees, they have Oranges, Lemons, Apricots, Peaches, Pomegranates, Apples, and by the Care of the Company in sending a French Gentleman, Mr. Porier thither, Vines which produce excellent Grapes, of which hitherto however they have not been able to make Wine. In reference to Animals they have a sufficient Stock of Black Cattle, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs, with a Breed of spirited little Horses, admirably suited to their rugged Roads. They have also Plenty of domestic Fowl, such as Turkeys, Geese, Ducks, Guinea Fowl, and other Poultry; and for Game they have Pheasants, Partridges, Woodcocks, and Plenty of Sea Birds. Yet the chief Support of the Natives is drawn from the Sea, which abounds with a vast Variety of excellent Fish, amongst other Mackrel, Bonetta's, Conger Eels, &c. It is a Kind of negative Advantage that they have not either Beasts or Birds of Prey, or venomous Creatures of any Kind. But with Rats and Mice the Island is exceedingly infested, for the Destruction of which no effectual Method hath been yet found. In the Cavities of the Rocks, the Sea Water by the Help of the Sun is turned into the finest white Salt. Let me have Leave to add, though none of our Writers mention it, my Conjecture, that they have also upon these Rocks the  
Orchilla

Orchilla Weeds, as it is certain they have a Kind of wild Tobacco which might possibly by transplanting be improved. We must not omit the principal Blessing of St. Helena, which is Plenty of most excellent Water streaming from the Rocks, and wandering in little Rivulets through every Part of the Island. It is true that after heavy Rains the Water is apt to be a little brackish occasioned by the washing down the Salt incrufted on the Rocks, but with a very little Attention in collecting Water in Cisterns in milder Seasons, this Inconvenience is easily avoided.

THE English East India Company settled this Island in the last Century, that their Ships, more especially Homeward-bound from the East Indies, might meet with Refreshments and Accommodations there as the Dutch did at the Cape of Good Hope. In the Second Dutch War in the Reign of Charles the Second it was taken by a Dutch Squadron, the Fort being in no Condition of Defence, but the Governor and Garrison retired on board the Ships with their Effects. The next Year Captain Richard Mundane, being sent with Four Men of War to escorte our East India Ships, came to take in Water in the Road of St. Helena, when perceiving that the Dutch were Masters of the Place where he had formerly been and with which he was well acquainted, he sent some of his Boats well manned round to a small Creek where they landed, and scaling the Rocks with infinite Labour and Hazard came down upon the Dutch Fort, at the same Time that the Ships made a Descent and a brisk Cannonade, which soon obliged the Governor to surrender May the Seventh 1673. It was indeed not only a very short-lived but also a very unlucky Conquest to the Dutch, for the Europa, a rich Outward-bound East India Ship coming soon after into the Road was seized, and the Whole of the Dutch Outward-bound East India Ships were very near sharing the same Fate, being decoyed by the Dutch Flag which the Governor kept flying, and Two of the largest Ships were actually taken. At his Return the King knighted Captain Mundane, and as the Property of the Island was vested in the Crown by Conquest, his Majesty was pleased to grant it to the East India Company by his

\* This Orchil, which the French call Orseille, both Corruptions of the Italian Word Roccella, grows on all the Rocks in the Canary Islands, from whence they usually export Two thousand Five hundred Quintals every Year, most of which is bought for the London Market at Four Pounds a Quintal. It likewise grows on the Rocks in Barbary, and very probably on the Rocks here, but being much of the same Colour with them is seldom discovered but by such as are well acquainted with it. Mr. Nieuhoff, a very sensible Dutchman, who was here in 1658, (See Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 193) tells us, that the Island of St. Helena produces nothing valuable except a very fine red Colour, which seems to support my Conjecture, though it may also have another Meaning. The best Method for preparing Orchil is to be found in an Italian Book, intitled *Del' Arte Pintora*, p. 210.

Charter, bearing Date the Sixteenth of December in the same Year, under which Grant they have possessed it ever since<sup>d</sup>.

IN Chapel or James's Valley, which though a difficult is the most commodious Landing Place in the Isle, there is a little Town consisting of between Fifty and Sixty Houses, a small Church, which with the Governor's Residence were rebuilt at the Company's Expence with Materials sent from England somewhat more than Twenty Years ago. Most of these Houses are or at least are turned into Places of public Entertainment when the Shipping arrive, at which Season most of the Inhabitants repair thither to furnish the Seamen with fresh Provisions, and to purchase Necessaries for themselves, when no Pains are spared to render those Strangers all the good Offices in their Power. Lemon or Apple Valley where there is also excellent Water, is a very pleasant Place. Besides these there is in the interior Part of the Isle a larger Spot of tolerable plain Ground, to come at which however from the Town in Chapel Valley it is necessary to pass Ladder Hill near the Fort. This Plain is called Long Wood, in which the Governor hath an handsome Country House, with pleasant Walks planted with Fruit Trees, and here also are kept the Company's Stock of Black Cattle for the Service of their Ships. The Inhabitants have their Houses, which are generally small and neat, in the little Vallies between the Cliffs with a Garden, a small Field, and a Hovel for their Slaves behind each. In the whole Island there may be about One hundred and Fifty Families, and these have amongst them about Three hundred Slaves, exceedingly serviceable to their Masters, who live comfortably and in great Tranquility.

THE Company for the Security of a Place of such Importance to them have constructed a strong Fort, well provided in all Respects, and furnished with a numerous Artillery. This Fort completely commands the Road (for there is no Harbour) and Ships come up to and ride at Anchor al-

<sup>d</sup> It is generally asserted that this Island was discovered by Juan de Nueva, a Gentleman of Galicia, in the Service of Portugal, on the 21st of May A. D. 1502, but there is Reason to think it was seen by Vasquez de Gama in his First Voyage Four Years before. The Portuguese left here Hogs, Poultry, and planted some Fruit Trees, which was their usual Custom. They were however so far from making a Settlement, except that now and then they left some sick Men there, that they made a Point of driving out a few Negroes that took Shelter therein. A. D. 1588 it was visited by our famous Circumnavigator Capt. Cavendish, who hath given a very good Account of it. It was also visited by Sir James Lancaster, who made the First Voyage in the East India Company's Service. The Portuguese erected a Chapel in which they deposited Instructions for their homeward-bound Ships. Other Nations followed their Example, but upon their taking away the Dutch Letters, the Seamen of that Nation were so exasperated that they demolished the Chapel and destroyed most of the Trees. But about 1643 Two great Portuguese Carracks being wrecked here, their Crews got on Shore, and once more replenished the Island with Cattle, Hogs, Goats, &c. and it was not long after that we took Possession of and settled it.



most close to the Shore. At Chapel Valley, where considering the constant Difficulties and sometimes Accidents that happen in bringing Goods on Shore, a Quay would be a great Conveniency, and might be made at no great Expence. The other Landing Places are in like Manner perfectly secured by strong Batteries of heavy Cannon. The Garrison consists of about Three hundred Men, who are generally healthy, and make a very good Appearance. In case of Danger all the Inhabitants may be put under Arms, and their Slaves are furnished with Iron Crows, with which they might be enabled to roll Showers of immense Stones from the Rocks upon any Invaders. The Company besides other Officers maintain likewise a Chaplain and a Schoolmaster for teaching English, Writing, and Arithmetic, with competent Salaries. The Governor supplies the People's Wants from the Company's Storehouses, allowing them Six Months Credit for what they purchase. These Debts they are enabled to discharge by the Money they receive from the Seamen and Passengers, to whom they furnish fresh Provisions, which is all the Trade they have, as except Fishing Boats there are no Vessels belonging to the Island.

THE flourishing Condition of this little Isle is a very singular and striking Proof of the Benefits that are to be derived from Situation, which, as we have observed, hath raised into so much Consequence a Rock destitute of every other Advantage. In its present improved State, there may be some Doubt made whether its Strength and Size, from both which it derives an almost absolute Security, do not compensate for all other Defects, and render it to the full as valuable to our Company as any Establishment of this Nature their Competitors possess, though they make a much better Appearance. The annual Ship which carries the necessary Stores of every Kind is the only Outward-bound Indiaman that touches here, but as the Refreshment of the Crews of Homeward-bound Vessels is the principal Use of this Settlement, any possible Improvements in Agriculture would be highly advantageous. The discovering there, or introducing any valuable Drugs, or Plants that yield a rich Dye, might be also very beneficial to the Inhabitants, by enabling them to live better, and to make more vigorous Efforts in the Cultivation of their small Farms; some have also thought that Means might be found by the Help of this Island to keep a more regular and constant Correspondence between the Indies and Europe than hath been hitherto established. But as to the Utility and Practicability of this the Company must be the proper Judges.

C H A P.

\* The Dutch, who were very well acquainted with this Island assert, that in the Clefts between the Rocks there are Veins of very valuable Kinds of Boles or Earth. Some of the Nature of the Terra Lemniã, and not at all inferior to it. Some in the Rocks towards the South-west.

west of the Isle of a rich bright red, which may possibly be what Nieuhoff mentions, and toward s the East Veins of a very fine Azure. It is not improbable that by the Offer of a Premium these Earths might be recovered ; for though the Inhabitants are not in any high Reputation for their Industry, yet from Habit they are very dextrous in traversing the Precipices of their native Country. The Company have always shewn an Inclination to promote Improvements ; with which View, A. D. 1705, they caused to be transported from Gambron, some of those Animals that bear the Caramania Wool, which however it is probable did not succeed. The annual Expence of the Company in respect to this Settlement, if I am rightly informed, amounts to upwards of Twenty thousand Pounds, whereas their Income falls short of One thousand Pounds. In a State of the Company's Accounts dated 30th September A. D. 1771, it appears that the Expence of their Buildings to that Period amounted to 28,128l. The Cash in their Treasury was 8852l. The Value of their civil and military Stores was computed at 37,558l. Their Plantations at 11,166l. and their Slaves at 4595l.

## C H A P. IV.

### S E C T. II.

#### *Of the Presidency of Bombay on the Coast of Malabar.*

**T**HE Description and History of the East Indies affords a spacious Field, that would require much Room, great Talent, and very extensive Information to treat with a Degree of Accuracy and Precision. These Circumstances, together with the Importance of the Subject hath, of late Years more especially, produced from many Persons of distinguished Abilities, a Variety of Works that do Honour to their respective Authors, as well as contribute to the ample Satisfaction of the Public. As the Scene is continually changing from Revolutions that happen there more frequently than in any other Part of the World, these must continue to furnish Materials which will call forth new Performances of the same Nature, and these without Doubt will be equally well received. What is here proposed is to exhibit a concise View of our Settlements in the East, with such Circumstances as may best serve to point out their Consequence relative to Great Britain. To perform this with all possible Brevity and Perspicuity, the easiest and plainest Method that can be pursued is to speak of the several Presidencies the Company have established, and their subordinate Factories, in that Order in which they lie according to the Geography of the Country<sup>a</sup>.

FIRST

<sup>a</sup> The principal Objects here considered are the Situation of the Company's Possessions, their Extent and Condition, the Time and Manner in which they were acquired, the particular Purposes

FIRST, then with regard to the Coast of Malabar, the Company have established their Seat of Government at Bombay. This is an Island lying in the Latitude of Nineteen Degrees North, and in the Longitude of Seventy-two Degrees Eighteen Minutes East from London; One hundred and Thirty Miles South from Surat, and Two hundred North from Goa. It is, though in many Respects a Place of great Importance, yet of very small Extent, being not more than Twelve Miles in Circumference. The Climate was heretofore esteemed very unwholesome from a Variety of Causes, the principal of which were a vast Number of Coco Trees which hindered the free Circulation of the Air, the Manuring these Trees with Fish, from whence arose putrid Exhalations, and from those also of Sea Ouse and Pools of stagnated Waters. These Causes being now in a great Measure removed the Island is at present esteemed tolerably healthy, and those who live temperately spend many Years there without any extraordinary Inconvenience. The Soil is not very fertile, producing only Fruit, a great Quantity of Coco's and a little Rice, insomuch that the Inhabitants depend in a great Measure for their Provisions upon the neighbouring Continent and Islands. The Water also is but indifferent, there being but few good Springs in the Island <sup>b</sup>.

THE City or Town of Bombay, which is about a Mile in Circuit, is very pleasantly and conveniently situated, and in its present State is large, commodious and well built. The Harbour is equally safe and capacious, pro-

poses they are intended to answer, and in consequence of these their Importance to Great Britain. These are all solid and permanent Points, from the Contemplation of which we can at all Times form a Judgment of the State of Affairs in these far distant Countries, as well as of the Tendency of the Events that happen in them, to which there will be always such Attention due as is proportioned to the Benefits resulting from them to the Commerce, Navigation, and Revenues of this Nation.

<sup>b</sup> The Climate in Bombay is at present by no Means so intemperate as some of our old Writers represent it. The dry Season lasts for eight Months, during which the Heat of the Day is generally tempered by alternate Land and Sea Breezes. Towards the Close of May they have usually a terrible Storm which brings in the Rains that last to the Beginning of September, refresh the Air, restore Moisture and the Power of Vegetation to the Earth, and are by no Means unhealthy. The Country by Dirt of Cultivation produces Abundance of Cocos in which the Wealth of the Inhabitants consists; some Rice, and great Abundance of excellent Onions, which with Variety as well as Plenty of good Fish, supply no inconsiderable Part of their Subsistence to the Natives. In this Respect they might be much better accommodated if vast Quantities of Fish caught upon the Coasts of these Islands were not salted and sent to Surat and other Places, in which Trade there are many large Boats employed. The Salt likewise expended in this Fishery is manufactured here, and a great Part of it made for the Account of the Company; this is certainly much better than laying the Fish to the Roots of the Trees and corrupting the Air, as was formerly practised. The Company have Two fine Gardens, One of them a little Way out of Town, the other at the Governor's Country-seat, both very pleasant and well cultivated. The Company have likewise an Estate in Land, the Profits of which are brought to their Account.

tested by a regular Fortrefs very strong, and to which at different Times Alterations and Additions have been made at a great Expence. These, though every way sufficient for Defence against the Country Powers might, from their being commanded by an adjacent Eminence, have been exposed to great Danger if attacked by Europeans, but that Inconvenience is now removed. There are also some other fortified Posts in the Island, by which it is rendered perfectly secure. This with the Excellence of its Port, in which there is a fine Dock that will admit a Seventy Gun Ship, together with other Docks and convenient Places for building and repairing Ships, much superior to any in other Parts of India, have been highly advantageous to the Settlement, in Time of War more especially when his Majesty's Ships come thither to repair, and are readily supplied with all Necessaries. Merchant Ships are at all Times repaired here, and some even of Seven or Eight Hundred Tons Burthen are built here either for the Company's Service as Cruizers, or to be employed in Trade. Gunpowder is likewise made in great Quantities not only for the Use of the Ships and Settlement, but also for supplying Madra's and Bengal. These are Circumstances which render this Island wonderfully populous. Amongst its Inhabitants there are many rich Merchants, and formerly a Multitude of Weavers, of whom some remain, the Rest of the People are Planters and Farmers, who under the Protection of the Company enjoy Plenty and Peace<sup>c</sup>.

BOMBAY was for a long Series of Years in the Possession of the Portuguese, who notwithstanding the Convenience of its Port, derived little Benefit from it. This induced them upon the Marriage of their Infanta Catherine, to make a Cession of it to our King Charles the Second; who sent a Fleet with a considerable Body of Land Forces to receive it, and at length, though not without much Reluctance, it was put into our Hands. The chief Difficulties were raised by the Clergy, and especially by the Jesuits, who, at length, by an equivocal Interpretation of the Grant, kept the Island of Salfet, which hath been since conquered by the Marattahs. Our King had not the Island long in his Hands before it was evident that

<sup>c</sup> We were in Possession of the Island, Town, and Haven, many Years before they turned much to our Advantage, owing to a Variety of Accidents, but more especially to an ill-judged War with the Mogul, and to our Disputes with the Dutch. These produced two Invasions, which the Strength of the Place enabled us to repel. But when once our Presidents began to have a true Notion of the Company's Interest, and in consequence of this encouraged Trade, received Strangers kindly, and treated the Inhabitants with Justice and Lenity, the Number of People gradually increased. There is a general religious Toleration of Portuguese, Moors, Persees, Gentoos, and other Nations, so that every Man is free in Opinion, secure in his Person and safe in his Property. The State of this Island therefore candidly considered is a decisive Proof of his Effects that might be produced by the Excellence of our Government in any Part of India.

the Revenues were by no Means adequate to the Expence, and therefore at the Request of the East India Company his Majesty relinquished all his Rights to the Island, Port, and Fortifications to them, reserving only the Sovereignty and a very small Quit-rent, and under that Grant it hath been enjoyed ever since <sup>d</sup>.

AFTER this valuable Acquisition came thus into their Hands, it was very wisely judged expedient by the Company to transfer thither the Presidency from Surat, where it had been established under the Protection of the Mogul, which was done for many weighty Reasons. The Place was their own in which they were absolute Masters. The Harbour so commodious, as under a good Government to attract Merchants from all Quarters; and the Situation of the Place exceedingly convenient for managing the Commerce of the whole Coast. The supreme Power is lodged in the President and his Council, composed generally of Nine Persons appointed by the Company, who have the Management of all Affairs Civil and Military. Judicial Proceedings belong to the Mayor's Court, created by Charter, which with proper Regulations might be rendered exceedingly useful to the Settlement. The Members of the Council have also the principal Offices in the Company's Service allotted to them, that is, to such as are resident there, some being always absent in Quality of Chiefs at their subordinate Factories. These hold a constant Correspondence with the President and Council; which Correspondence, together with their Deliberations and Resolutions, are regularly transmitted Home to the Directors <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> The Portuguese came into Possession of Bombay and the Islands dependant upon it, A. D. 1537. They held them for above a Century with very little Improvement, except maintaining a Multitude of Priests, and carrying on but very little Trade, so that it was considered as of no great Consequence to the Crown when it was given up to us. We did not enter into Possession till the Year 1665. The Treaty of Marriage, by the Eleventh Article of which the Cession was made, was dated the 23d of June 1661. The Fleet and Forces sent by King Charles under the Command of the Earl of Marlborough and Sir Abraham Shipman the next Year, cost the Crown One hundred Thousand Pounds, and when we did get Possession we were defrauded of Salfet and Caranjar, because not mentioned by Name, though included as Royalties belonging to Bombay and inserted in the Map which was delivered to the King. The Grant of the Crown to the Company bears Date the 27th of March 1668. We had from that Period continual Disputes with the Portuguese, till they were dispossessed of Salfet and the other Islands by the Marattahs, which Conquest however could not destroy our previous Claim of Right.

<sup>e</sup> The Crown and the Company were equally desirous that a Court of Justice should be established here conformable to our Laws. The Mayor's Court was accordingly erected by Letters Patent in the Thirteenth of George I. and again by the like Power in the First of his late Majesty's Reign. It is at present established by virtue of Letters Patent dated the Eighth of January, in the Twenty-sixth of his late Majesty, all expressing the great Consequence of maintaining Order, Justice, and Equity amongst the Inhabitants; and if by any Regulations these can be more effectually secured, there is no Doubt that the Crown, which is the Fountain of Justice, will afford all necessary Assistance to the Company to render those under their Jurisdiction happy.

THE most Northern Place in which we have any Resident is Scindy or Tatta, once the Capital of an independant Kingdom of the same Name, on the River Indus. At present this Place is possessed by one Golam Shah, who stiles himself Prince of Scindy, and notwithstanding the Confusion that hath so long reigned in these Parts, there is still a very considerable Commerce carried on here in some of the richest Commodities, and in many of the finest Manufactures in the East. The Trade of the Company however hath been very much embarrassed from a Misunderstanding with the Prince, for removing of which there was a Treaty made some Years ago, but we are not able to say what Effects it hath produced. We have also a Resident at Cambay, in the Latitude of Twenty-three Degrees, at the Bottom of the Gulph of the same Name, in a very fertile Country, abounding with a Variety of rich Commodities and Manufactures. Some very judicious Persons have thought that greater Advantages might be drawn from both these Places than have accrued for some Time past, and it is in Hopes of this that our Correspondence with them is still continued. Surat lies in the Latitude of Twenty-one Degrees Ten Minutes, it was formerly One of the most famous Ports in the East, but is at this Time much declined, and what Commerce still remains is owing to its being immediately under our Protection, a Circumstance that may hereafter possibly become of greater Consequence than it is at present. As in this Part of the World Countries and Cities change their Appearance and Conditions much more frequently than in any other<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> The City of Surat stands upon the River Tapi. The Port is at Suhali. It rose into Consequence from its happy Situation, which drew to it the Commerce of all that Part of India, and our Factory was fixed there A. D. 1612. Besides this it was the Place from which the Moors embarked for Mecca, which also caused a great Resort thither. Aurengzebe when he became Master of it, surrounded it with a Wall, built a Fortrefs, and kept a Fleet to protect the Inhabitants from Pirates, allotting the Revenue arising from a large District of Lands for the constant Support of this Force. On the Declension of the Empire Things fell here as in other Places into great Confusion, so that compelled by the Depredations committed on our Trade from thence, we made ourselves Masters of it in our own Defence. The Mogul recognized this Action and made a Grant to the Company, 4th September 1759, of the Castle and of the Office of Deroga or Admiral of the Fleet, with the Tanka or Salary of two Lacks of Rupees for its Maintenance, to which with the Lands before-mentioned we have a legal Title. The Rents of those Lands assigned for the Support of the Governor and the Salary of the Deroga are ill paid, and the Marattahs have an Agent to receive their Chout or Proportion of the Revenue, to prevent their harrasing the Inhabitants. But under all these Disadvantages the holding this City is of some Consequence as well as Credit to the Company. The Investments are chiefly in such Goods as are fit for the Guinea Trade, and in large Quantities of Cotton for the Bengal and China Markets. Considerable Merchants here buy up European Commodities which they send into the interior Parts of India, and there is good Ground to hope, if the Country Government was once well settled, the Commerce of Surat would speedily revive.

AT Carwar which lies to the South of Bombay in the Latitude of Fifteen Degrees, we had formerly a Fort seated in a fine healthy Country, and upon a pleasant River, but we have not any Thing to do there at present. Onor in the Latitude of Fourteen Degrees is likewise seated in a good Country abounding with Pepper, for the Purchase of which we have still a Resident there. Tillicherry in the Latitude of Twelve Degrees Thirty Minutes, hath a small Fort and a Town near it, the principal Object of Trade here is Cardemoms, a Spice peculiar to this Part of the World, but on account of the Expence the Company it is said is disposed to withdraw from thence. Ajengo is a little neat Fort about Thirty-five Miles North of Cape Comorin, erected about Fourscore Years since for the Sake of the Pepper Trade, but the principal Use now made of it is for the Slaughter of Black Cattle for the Subsistence of the Inhabitants of Bombay. The whole Extent of the Malabar Coast is about Nine hundred Miles, in which we had formerly several more Factories than at present, but the Pepper Trade being of less Consequence since our Improvements made at Bencoolen, they have to save Charges been withdrawn. The Trade to Arabia, the Red Sea, and the Gulph of Persia were also with great Propriety put under the Direction of this Presidency, when in a much more flourishing Condition than they are at this Juncture, though in process of Time perhaps they may recover.

THE Company's Servants, private Traders, and Merchants of all Nations residing here carry on a constant and extensive Commerce through all Parts of the Indies, which in many different Circumstances proves exceedingly beneficial to the Inhabitants of Bombay. This Commerce consists in supplying several Ports on the Malabar Coast, on that of Arabia, and in the Gulph of Persia with Provisions, Goods, and Manufactures brought from Madras, Bengal, and other Places, as well as European Commodities, and carrying the Produce and Manufactures of these Places, according as they are in Demand to those Settlements respectively. This

\* The Company had formerly a very considerable and profitable Trade in Persia, for the Management of which they had Factories at Ispahan and some other Places, but particularly at Gombroon or Gombroon on the Coast, where they annually sold from Five Hundred to a Thousand Bales of Cloth. This Commerce was very much decayed when the French under the Count d'Estaing plundered the Factory A. D. 1760, and it has not been judged expedient to re-settle it. The only Place in the Gulph in which we have now any Settlement is Bussoorah, which belongs to the Grand Signior, where we still vend some Woollen-goods. There is also a great Resort to this Port from Bengal, Surat, and other Places as well as Bombay, and these Vessels pay a Consularage to the Company for their Protection. There is Reason to hope, that if the Affairs of Persia were once more in a settled Condition our Commerce there might revive. A Ship is sent once in Two Years to Mocha on the Coast of Arabia from Bombay to purchase between Three and Four thousand Bales of Coffee, each Bale being above Three hundred Weight.



it is which constitutes what is stiled the Country Trade. Besides this the Gentlemen at Bombay send usually an annual Ship to China, and distribute their Returns from thence through the several Places before-mentioned. As in the Management of so much Business a great and constant Circulation of Specie becomes requisite, a Bank under the Direction chiefly of the President and Council hath been created here, and there are besides many private Persons who are Dealers in Money, and very frequently acquire as large Fortunes by lending at Respondentia as are raised by being concerned either in Shipping or in Trade. It is by some or by several of these Methods that the British Subjects in this Island accumulate gradually those Estates which center at length in this Country, where the Enjoyment of their Friends and Families can alone compensate for their long Labours in the East <sup>b</sup>.

THERE are many of the little States on the Coasts of Arabia and Malabar that have been from a long Series of Time as much addicted to Plunder and Piracy as those of Barbary, which rendered the Navigation of these Seas equally hazardous and precarious. The Success of these Freebooters sometimes inspired their Chiefs with such Ambition, and at the same Time furnished them with such Accessions of Power as rendered them formidable even to the Europeans, more especially to the Portuguese, and at length to the Dutch and English, till by the Assistance of a Squadron of his late Majesty's Ships their principal Forts were taken and their Naval Force ruined, though not so entirely extirpated as not to be still in some Degree troublesome. This obliges the Company to keep up a regular Marine at Bombay, consisting of several Vessels carrying from Six to Twenty Guns, constructed in a particular Manner to accommodate them for this Service. These armed Vessels are chiefly employed as Cruizers and Convoys, and sometimes for carrying Military Stores and Goods to other Settlements, and bringing back proper Returns. This Marine Establishment is of great Consequence to the Settlement, as it not only gives Security to their Commerce, and keeps their turbulent Neighbours in awe, but also conciliates the Friendship and Ef-

<sup>b</sup> The Cargoes usually exported from Bombay consist of Rice, Cocos, that is, Coco-nuts, which are a great Commodity, Cardamoms, Pepper, and other Goods collected from different Parts of the Malabar Coast. From Gambron or Bussorah they bring Hing or Assafœtida, red Earth, Sulphur, Dates dry and wet, Almonds, Raisins, and several rich Drugs. Mocha and Muscat afford the same Kind of Goods, and frequently a Balance in Money. From Scindy they bring Putchuk, Rice, some Piece Goods and Leather. The Cargo of the China Ship consists in Tea, raw and wrought Silks, China-ware, Sugar and Sugar-candy, the best Part of which is again re-exported to some or other of the Places before-mentioned.

teem, as well as the Respect of other Nations, who very willingly accept of their Protection <sup>i</sup>.

THE unfair and injurious Conduct of the Portuguese in respect to their Cessions to Charles the Second upon his Marriage with their Infanta Catherine hath been already explained. This Conduct of theirs, besides innumerable other Inconveniencies involved the East India Company in continual Disputes and Altercations with the Viceroy and Governors of the Portuguese Settlements for near Threescore Years, as appears by numerous Memorials and other Papers still preserved among the Archives of the Board of Trade, many of which I have perused. They were at length determined by the Marattahs making themselves Masters of Salfet, Caranjar, and the other Isles that in a Manner hem in that of Bombay. This however was only changing One troublesome Neighbour for another, though the less vexatious of the Two, but beyond all Doubt we can never render this Settlement of that Consequence which it ought to be, but by delivering ourselves some Way or other from these Embarrassments <sup>h</sup>.

THE Company seem indeed of late Years to have paid more Attention than formerly to Bombay, but by no Means more than it deserves, or to speak with greater Accuracy, than it requires. They have increased, as the Reader will see at the Bottom of the Page, the Military Establish-

<sup>i</sup> One of the most famous of these Pirates in our Times was Angria, whose Ancestors for a Century had exercised the same Profession, being originally Subjects to Seva Rajah. This Man had gradually acquired not only a great naval Force, and several Islands strongly fortified within Twenty or Thirty Miles of Bombay, but a Territory also on the Continent One hundred Miles long and Sixty broad. Governor Boon after an unsuccessful Attempt concluded a Treaty with him A. D. 1715, which he broke. Admiral Mathews was not more happy in 1723. After this Angria took the Deptford Indiaman, several Dutch Ships, and some Places on the Coast from the Portuguese. He was at length totally ruined by the worthy Admiral Watson in February 1756, who took by Storm his Forts of Geriah, and destroyed his naval Power, which consisted of Fifteen Galls, which carried Six and Nine Pounders, Five Ketches, Two Ships of Forty Guns, and about Forty Gallivats and other small Craft.

<sup>h</sup> This Island of Salfet, exclusive of the smaller Isles that lie about it, is twice the Size of Bombay, separated from it by a Gut of the Sea not a Gunshot over, and extending northwards towards the Continent, from which it is separated by another very narrow Strait. It is a very pleasant fruitful Isle, and if it was in the Hands of industrious Inhabitants the Produce of it would be very considerable. It is at present peopled chiefly by half-cast Portuguese Farmers, who remained there after it fell into the Hands of the Marattahs. They raise a small Quantity of Rice, but what they chiefly depend upon for their Subsistence is rearing Poultry, Hogs, &c. and cultivating Greens and Roots with which they daily supply the Inhabitants of Bombay, who would be grievously distressed if deprived of these Provisions, as they sometimes were by the Portuguese, who in the Time of Governor Phipps entered into an Alliance with Angria and gave Shelter to his Vessels when chased by those of the Company.

ment in such a Manner that when fully complete it will be very formidable, and must at all Events be very expensive. The Motives to this Conduct, if we may presume to developè them, were not only the Security of this Island, but providing also for that of Madras, by keeping such a Force on the Back of the Marattahs, as might enable us to make a Diversion whenever these restless People were troublesome to either Settlement. This however can never be thoroughly effected without the Acquisition of the Islands before-mentioned. Some very judicious Persons, and well acquainted with the State of Things in this Part of the World, have thought that considering the whole Malabar Coast is possessed by many independant Princes, exceedingly jealous of each other, and often at open War, few of them having any better Title than Force or Fraud to their Dominions, and at all Times courting our Friendship, it might be possible for us by Means of Negotiation to obtain such Concessions as might be requisite for the Prosperity of this Presidency. Others again with at least equal Probability are inclined to believe that we have this Alternative only in our Power, to purchase the Places that we want or to conquer them, either of which will be attended with much Expence. If these Methods are declined another must be adopted, which is the reducing the present and proposed Establishments, which otherwise must prove a constant and heavy Burden upon the Company without producing any considerable Advantage. A Matter that certainly deserves great Consideration, more especially in the present State of Things, when the Face of our Affairs in India are so much changed from what they formerly were, and when from Principles of sound Policy it becomes requisite to pursue such Measures as may prevent their changing again<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> The most proper Method of explaining what is said in the Text will be to give the State of the Bombay Account from May 1769, to May 1770, which stood thus. The Number on the civil Establishment was Ninety-six, the Charges 124,428 l. the Military Establishment consisted of 1883 Europeans, and 6301 Seapoys: Total of the Military Charges 182,369 l. Fortifications and Buildings 78,827 l. Total of the Charges 385,624 l. Civil and Military Stores 133,625 l. Goods for Europe 295,429 l. Debts due to the Company 289,792 l. Balance in the Treasury 49,242 l. Investments 117,086 l. Annual net Receipts of the Revenue 66,566 l. (In 1767 it yielded near 80,000 l.) Value of the Ships 74,831 l. Of the Elephants, &c. 1098 l. of the Plate, Household Furniture 15,037 l. Of the Slaves 196 l. Of the Company's Plantations 29,058 l.

## S E C T. III.

*The Presidency of Fort St. George on the Coast of Choromandel.*

**T**HE Eastern Part of the Peninsula on this Side the Ganges called the Coast of Choromandel or Cormandel, is a spacious noble Region watered by many fine Rivers, and beautifully diversified with Hills, Plains, and Woods producing all the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life in the greatest Plenty. The Sea Line of this excellent Country reaches about Two hundred Leagues, and the Fertility of the Soil corresponding with the Industry and Ingenuity of its Inhabitants, it was filled with Cities, Towns, and Villages well peopled, and abounding in the richest Commodities and most valuable Manufactures, which were the Objects of a most extensive Commerce long before the Europeans found a Passage into these Seas. The Kingdoms and Principalities into which so vast a Tract of Land was divided, maintained a mutual Correspondence with each other, and even with the remotest Parts of India. Trade being universally encouraged, and Merchants every where admitted and caressed. Hence it was, that when the Europeans came upon this Coast under this Pretence they met with a friendly Reception, and were permitted for the Conveniency of their Commerce to establish Factories, and afterwards to erect Forts for their Security, with the Licence of the Princes in whose Dominions they were allowed to reside. This affords a probable Account of the Disparity that hath been remarked in point of Situation amongst these Settlements, as they did not in many Cases depend so much on the Choice of those who made, as the Will of those who permitted them to settle where they did <sup>a</sup>.

## FORT

\* The only Way to understand this Subject thoroughly is to look back to and consider the former State of Things, when we shall find that the Sovereigns of India were not so weak, or the Europeans so potent as in succeeding Times, their Maritime Skill and Power being very much improved by their carrying on this Commerce. The Inhabitants of these Eastern Countries are on the other Hand in all Respects very much declined. The Portuguese when they first visited Mofambique found Pilots there so well acquainted with Astronomy and Navigation as to be able to conduct them through the Indian Seas. The Chinese before this Time carried on a Commerce, and settled Colonies in different Parts of the Indies. Nations still more remote visited the Peninsula of Malacca, but gave over that Trade as soon as they heard of the Europeans. The Ship Timber of these Countries is excellent, and though their Vessels are not so neat and elegant as ours, yet they are large and strong, and will last (or as the Sailors phrase it will reign) a Century. Their Boats are so commodious for landing Passengers and Goods, that at Madras and Pondicherry the Europeans employ them in preference to their own. The Merchants in different Parts of India are, or at least were very extensive Traders; and many of them immensely rich. Their

FORT St. George which is our Capital Settlement on this Coast, lies in the Latitude of Thirteen Degrees Fifteen Minutes North, and in the Longitude of Eighty Degrees Seventeen Minutes East from London. The Town was anciently called by the Moors Jenna Patnam, or as it is commonly written China Patnam, that is, the little Town, but at the Time we settled there, it was stiled Madras Patnam. It lies Twenty-five Leagues North from Pondicherry, and near Fourscore Leagues South from Masulipatam. The Climate is very warm, but the Heat is tempered by the Land and Sea Breezes, and by the Contrivance of Verandas, a Kind of Piazzas to the Houses, and shady Walks without Doors, is rendered very tolerable, so that it is esteemed in point of Health equal to any Part of the Indies. The Soil immediately on the Sea Coast, and for some Space round it, is sandy and of course barren, but within Land fertile and well cultivated, so that at no great Distance from the Town there are many pleasant and agreeable Retreats, to which the wealthier Inhabitants retire in the Summer.

THE old Fort of St. George was a regular Square, with Four Bastions all of Stone, looking directly upon the Sea. In this Fort was the Governor's House, a very stately Pile of Building, in which the junior Servants lodge, Councils are held, the public Records kept, and all other Business of Importance transacted, though the Governor no longer resides therein. The White Town as it is called, and which is inhabited by the English, that is, those in the Company's Service, their Families and Dependants, is very neat and compact, with good Houses, several fair Streets, and some very handsome public Edifices. It forms a long Square in which Fort St. George is included, is well fortified, hath a numerous Artillery on the Bastions, a deep Fosse, and a spacious Esplanade between it and the Black Town. The latter is what is properly called Madras, is much larger, though not so well built as the former, the Streets wide, the whole surrounded with a strong Wall, and that by a broad and deep Ditch, on the other Side of which there is a Rampart and a very thick Fence or Quickset, through which Apertures must be cut before an Enemy can approach the Ditch. The Whole makes a very beautiful Appearance at Sea, affords a fine Prospect at Land, and hath many delightful and well cultivated Villages in its Neighbourhood. It must however be acknowledged, that

Abilities so conspicuous that we constantly use them as Brokers in transacting our Business. But in respect to Policy, the Art of War, and civil Prudence we are certainly their Superiors. By the First we have created some, and availed ourselves of every Opportunity to increase our Strength. By the Help of the Second, that is by our Military Discipline, we have made Use of them to subdue themselves, and in virtue of the last, by treating them with Justice and Lenity, paying them regularly, and affording them Protection, we have secured, and shall, while we pursue this Conduct, be always able to secure the Advantages we have gained.

through

through inclement Seasons, and the Multitude of People in Madrafs who subsist by Manufactures and Trade, there is sometimes a Scarcity of Provisions, which are supplied from other Parts, and there have been Instances of Famines. But the Northern Parts of this Coast being now in the Company's Hands, and very plentiful Countries, they might, by erecting Granaries, provide effectually against these Calamities not only without any Expence, but with a certain and considerable Advantage to themselves, besides doing an Act of the greatest Beneficence to the poor Inhabitants, who are immediately under their Protection. There is indeed no Port at Madrafs, but the Road is good, and though the Surf runs high the Country Boats, which are always ready, land both Goods and Passengers from the Ships with great Safety <sup>b</sup>.

THE English Company settled here and built their Fort somewhat more than a Century ago with the Permission of the King of Golconda, in whose Dominions it then was. The most probable Reason for their fixing here was the Vicinity of St. Thomas or Meliapour, at that Time a Place of great Trade, in which they were willing to have a Share, and to which upon the Reduction of that Place by the Moors, who took it from the Portuguese, they have happily succeeded. The Encouragement they gave to Manufacturers, their kind Treatment of the Natives, and other Circumstances, rendered it in a few Years a very considerable Place. It was notwithstanding exposed to many Difficulties and Inconveniencies from the Troubles that happened in the Country from time to time, and from the Avarice of the Governors after the Country first became Tributary, and in Process of Time was absolutely subdued by the Mogul. In our own Days, since the Declension of that Empire, and the Governors of Provinces setting up for themselves, it hath had a full Share of those Disturbances which this occasioned, more especially after the French began their Intrigues with the Country Powers and thereby put the President of Fort St. George under the Necessity of entering also into Alliances with them for the Preservation of the Company's Concerns. In consequence of this in the War before the last

<sup>b</sup> If we reflect a little on the Description given in the Text we shall find it a Kind of historical Type of the different Circumstances of this Settlement. The old Square Fort, which from North to South measured One hundred and Eight Yards, and only One hundred from East to West, points out the Condition we were in when this was sufficient for the Residence of our Factory, the Reception of our Merchandize, and the Security of our Concerns. The White Town, which is sometimes called The Outer Fort from the Strength and Disposition of its Fortifications, exhibits an Idea of the Growth of our Power; as the Extent of the Black Town, and its numerous Inhabitants, very clearly demonstrate the Confidence of the Natives in our Protection. Taken altogether we may justly say that this noble Establishment, by its Splendour and Strength, reflects great Credit on the Company, and at the same Time does Honour to the Nation under whose Auspice that Company is maintained in so flourishing a Condition.

between the Two Nations, this Place was taken by the French, and restored, as we have elsewhere mentioned, at the Peace. It was again besieged in the last War, but so gallantly defended, that the Enemy were compelled to retire, since which it is become in all Respects more considerable and more respectable than any European Establishment upon that Coast <sup>c</sup>.

AFFAIRS are administered here, as in the other Settlements of the Company, by a Governor and his Council, who have under their Direction a sufficient Number of experienced Persons in different Ranks of Service, and thereby in a Capacity of rising gradually to the highest Posts, and by these, as we have said, the White Town is chiefly inhabited. The Company perceiving the Expediency, and conceiving their Charter vested them with sufficient Authority, instituted a Court of Mayor and Aldermen and other Magistrates for the Distribution of Justice, many Years before they had special Powers delegated to them for that Purpose by the Crown in the Letters Patent mentioned in the former Section. This wholesome Institution hath been productive of so many good Effects that the Town of Madras, as we have before observed, is filled with Inhabitants of all Nations, who are glad to reside in a Place where their Persons and Properties are secure, and where Industry and Ingenuity are encouraged and protected. Besides the Business of the Company, their Servants residing here and the Armenian and other Merchants carry on a most extensive Trade to most Parts of India on their own Accounts. As by this Commerce the Servants of the Company in Process of Time acquire considerable Fortunes by Dint of their Vigilance and Experience, so in the End these center here, and the Nation is enriched by their Acquisitions, independent of the great Profits the lucrative Commerce of the Company produces. This Commerce consists in all the rich Goods and Manufactures for which this Country hath been ever famous, such as long Cloths, Salampores, Beteelas, &c. On the other Hand they take from us Woollens, Copper, Lead, Iron, Steel, Coral, Cutlery Wares, Toys, &c. They export also from some Parts of the Coast

<sup>c</sup> The Situation of Fort St. George and its Dependencies will, if maturely considered, appear to be equally commodious and well chosen, inasmuch as it is in the Centre of the Coast of Coromandel, which it may at present be said to command. It was this very Circumstance that made St. Thomas, which is little more than a Mile to the South of it, when in the Hands of the Portuguese, the greatest Mart in these Parts, and as such chosen by the French before they settled at Pondicherry. Madras was taken, as we have mentioned above, on the Tenth of September 1747, Mr. Morse being then President. The Siege before it in the last War was raised the 16th of February 1759, after the French had continued Nine Weeks before the Place, by the wise Conduct and intrepid Behaviour of the present Lord Pigot, and Sir William Draper. In its present State it is found equally convenient for managing the Inland Trade, and maintaining the necessary Correspondence with all the great manufacturing Cities in the Carnatic.



Salt and Cotton. Their Manufacturers are very industrious, ingenious, docile, and ready to imitate whatever is shewn them. Almost every District is distinguished for some particular Kind of Goods, not only on the Sea Coasts but in the Inland Towns, from many of these they are transported to Madras, which is also supposed to be the greatest Mart in the World for Diamonds, though the direct Road to the Mines is from Masulipatam, which is well fortified, and in our Possession <sup>d</sup>.

AMONGST the Factories subordinate to Fort St. George the most considerable was Fort St. David's, at the Distance from it of about Ninety Miles South. The Ground upon which this Fort was built, and a small Territory round it, was fairly purchased from the Natives at a very high Price, and regularly fortified at a great Expence. But as it stood in the Neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and was in point of Trade as well as Strength a Place of great Consequence, when they became Masters of it by the Fortune of War, they levelled it with the Ground, and as they left it it still lies in Ruins <sup>e</sup>. But the Company have a convenient Factory near it at Goudelore or Cuddelore, upon a very pretty River, which answers all the Purposes of Trade perfectly well. Farther to the South the Company as well as the Dutch have a House at Porto Novo, which belonged to the Portuguese, and when taken from them by the Moors was called Mohammed Bander. In the Kingdom of Tanjour, which is a pleasant and fertile Country, they have Davecottee, which is the last Place they have to the South. To the North of Madras the Company have Masulipatam and

<sup>d</sup> The President of Madras and his Council having the Direction of all the Commerce carried on from thence, we may well conceive must require a great Number of Persons in different Stations to assist them. The Oeconomy of the Company's Concerns in respect to Customs, Rents, &c. is a very considerable Department, to which we may add the Distribution of Justice and the internal Police of so large a Place and its Dependencies. Besides all these the political Administration is now become of the highest Consequence, for the Support of which a very respectable Military Establishment is absolutely necessary. This, if I am rightly informed, consists of between Four and Five thousand Europeans, and upwards of Sixteen thousand black Infantry, regularly paid, and very exactly disciplined. A great Part of these are employed in the Garrisons of the strong Places, and in covering the Frontiers of the Carnatic, by which Means the Peace of the Country, the Authority of the Subahdar, and the Safety and Security of the Company's Affairs are very effectually provided for.

<sup>e</sup> It is generally allowed that Fort St. David was One of the fairest and finest Fortifications ever erected by the Europeans in the Indies. It stood Five Leagues South from Pondicherry, and the Chief of the Factory residing there carried on a large Trade in Piece Goods, and in the Commodities of the Country. The French attacked it with great Vigour on the 19th of December 1747, but by the Assistance of the Subahdar of Arcott's Troops they were repulsed and forced to make a precipitate Retreat to Pondicherry. In the succeeding War we were not so fortunate, since after a Siege of Twelve Days it was taken on the 2d of June 1758, by reason, as it was said, that the Works were not Bomb Proof, and that the Garrison was in want of Fresh Water. Goudalore, a Place of no Strength, surrendered at the same Time, and the French destroyed both.

Nizampatnam, with the District belonging to them, in Property. On the River Narsipore they have Madepollam, a little to the Northward Bandermalanka on the Narcapell Ingwam. They have also a Factory at Vizagapatnam, where are manufactured the finest Chintz in India, and dependent upon that One at Gonjam, very famous for spotted and and flowered Muslins, which is the last Port upon this Coast. Besides these they have the Five Northern Sircars granted them in Perpetuity by the Subahdar confirmed by the reigning Mogul. These were formerly possessed by the French, and lying at a Distance from the Subahdar's Territories, and in the Neighbourhood of a mountainous Country in the Hands of Polligars, or little Indian Chiefs, were of small Consequence to him, though they yield a considerable Revenue to the Company, and are besides of great Importance, as lying near the Confines of Orissa <sup>f</sup>.

WE may from this very succinct Account form in some Measure a just Idea of the very great Value of this Presidency from the present happy State of the Company's Affairs therein. The Situation of their Possessions in one of the finest Countries in India affords them the highest Advantages in point of Commerce, which is sufficiently evident from the large and valuable Cargoes they receive from thence. It is of no less Consequence in respect to Security from the judicious Arrangement of their Concerns with the Subahdar of the Carnatic; his Dominions being protected by the Company's Forces maintained at his Expence to the mutual Advantage of both. It is no less advantageous in point of Revenue, which is regularly collected, and amounts to a great Deal more than all the Charges that the Company is at, though these are very large. The Power and Influence arising from these Possessions render the Company highly respectable in the Eyes of their Neighbours. We may add, that when the Affairs of the Bombay Presidency

<sup>f</sup> In consequence of a Treaty between the Nizam of the Decan and Colonel Forde, dated 24th May 1759, a Grant was made to the Company of the whole Sircar of Masulipatnam, with Eight Districts, as well as the Sircar of Nizampatnam, and the Districts of Condavir and Walcalmanner as an Iniam or free Gift in the same Manner they had been held by the French, and in Consideration of the Assistance given by the Company's Troops to dispossess them. The Nabob or Suba of Arcott, by his Sunnud, bearing Date the 16th of October 1763, confirmed to the Company all the ancient Grants of which they were possessed, adding to these many more as a Jaghire, and afterwards granted an Augmentation of these, amounting in the Whole to Twenty-four Districts, comprehending 2201 Villages, by his Sunnud of the 29th of October 1763; which Grant was confirmed by the Firman of Shah Aalum, the present Mogul, dated the 12th of August 1765, for the invariable and never-failing Friendship of the English Company to hold for ever and ever. The Five Northern Sircars, which as is mentioned in the Text, had been in the Possession of the French, were granted by the Subahdar of the Decan, and his Grant confirmed by the Firman of the Mogul, dated the same Day with the former, as an Iniam or free Gift. The Company therefore have the clearest legal Title to these Lands, that is, the Rents and Customs issuing from them, specifically mentioned in those Grants.

shall be as thoroughly and effectually established, and a proper Correspondence maintained for the Support of their mutual Interests, the Country Powers may be so balanced as that the Peace of the Peninsula may be effectually secured, which will equally redound to the Honour and Profit of the Company, and at the same Time procure a Degree of Happiness to all its Inhabitants superior to what they have hitherto enjoyed &c.

\* The following State of the Company's Concerns in this Presidency from the Month of May, A. D. 1769, to the same Month, A. D. 1770, will it is hoped throw a sufficient Light on the Particulars mentioned in the Text, and thereby fully explain to the Reader the very great Importance of this noble Settlement. The Number of Persons on the Civil Establishment were One hundred and Two. The Civil Charges 57,762 l. The Military Establishment consisted of 4642 European Troops, and of 16,674 Seapoys; the Total of the Military Charges 367,652 l. The Expences of Fortifications and Buildings 26,215 l. the Total of both Civil and Military Charges 451,629 l. The Value of Civil and Military Stores 266,966 l. Goods for Europe 132,184 l. Debts due to the Company 879,227 l. Balance in the Treasury 100,664 l. Investment 199,326 l. Annual nett Receipt of Revenue 510,347 l. Value of their Ships 28,654 l. Of their Elephants, &c. 17,492 l. Of their Plate, Household Furniture, &c. 9,019 l.

## S E C T. IV.

### *Of the Presidency of Fort William at Calcutta in Bengal.*

**T**HE Object of this is very different from any of those which have been the Subjects of the former Sections. We are here to consider not merely a particular Settlement and Factories subordinate thereto, but a large, fertile, and pleasant Country, great in its Dependencies, great in its present Productions, and still more so in the Advantages that are and may be derived from it. These however, that is to say the Revenues, the Modes of collecting and Means of improving them, having been already amply discussed by those who were personally and intimately acquainted with all the Points as well Political as Commercial relating to them, there is no Necessity to repeat what they have said, or to enter into the Disputes which different Views and different Notions have excited amongst them. It will be abundantly sufficient for the Purpose of this Work to give a succinct, and according to the best Lights we have been able to obtain, a true Account of the Situation and Extent; the Climate, Soil, and natural Productions of this extensive Territory, to point out briefly those Emoluments that have accrued, and those that may probably and reasonably

reasonably be expected to arise to this Nation from these opulent Dominions being occupied by British Subjects.

THE Provinces of Orissa, Bahar, and Bengal are the most Eastern of those that composed the Mogul Empire. They extend from the Twentieth or Twenty-first to the Twenty-seventh Degree of North Latitude, and from the Eighty-fourth to the Ninety-second Degree of Longitude East from London. They are bounded on the North by the Kingdom of Boutan; on the West by several Provinces of the Mogul Empire, and by a Tract of Country in the Possession of the Mahrattas; to the South by the Gulph of Bengal and the Kingdom of Arracan; and to the East by the Kingdoms of Assam and Tipra, some Part of which is in the Hands of the Company. These Territories comprehend a Space that might be sufficient to satisfy human Ambition, if human Ambition could be restrained within any Bounds; so furnished with necessary and valuable Commodities as to satiate all the Wishes of their Inhabitants, and in so happy a Situation as to put it in their Power by the exporting their own Superfluities to relieve the Wants, and by that Means to draw to themselves immense Riches from the remotest Countries, as well as from their immediate Neighbours<sup>a</sup>.

THIS Description will naturally lead us to conceive, that in so diffused a Country there must be a great Diversity of Climate, independent of the Accidents arising from the Circumstances that attend particular Situations. This will be still more evident if we reflect, that the Tropic of Cancer passes over the Middle of it, so that all on One Side is in the Torrid, and all on the other in the North temperate Zone. In the higher Countries therefore the Weather is temperate, and the Air pleasant and wholesome. In the lower the Heat is great, and the rainy Seasons disagreeable. But notwithstanding this it is very certain, that even in these Temperance and Prudence so effectually defend both Natives and Europeans against their Inconveniencies, as to enable the former to reach to an advanced Age, and the latter, after

<sup>a</sup> These Provinces spread from West to East, that is, from the River Caramnassa to the Borders of the Kingdom of Assam Four hundred Miles at least; and very little less from South to North, that is, from the Gulph of Bengal to the Frontiers of Boutan. This consequently comprehends a Country no way inferior in point of Size to Spain or France, and in general much better watered, and more fertile than either. The Bounds on almost every Side are defended by Mountains, and the Passes through them by which the Mahrattas enter might be easily fortified, and at a very moderate Expence; which, with the Army usually maintained, would render it as defensible as perhaps any Country in the World, more especially if we consider that there is little or no Contest between the Country Powers.

a long Residence there, to return Home in so good a State of Health as to survive many Years<sup>b</sup>.

IN so large a Tract of Country there must be a proportionable Diversity in the Soil; but in general the Whole may be stiled exceedingly rich and fertile, and adapted by the Skill and Labour of the Inhabitants to a Variety of useful Purposes. Grain of different Sorts, but more especially Rice, grows in almost incredible Abundance. Great Plenty and Variety of excellent Fruits. No Country produces more or better Vegetables of every Kind, either for Food or Physic. The Mountains, which are chiefly on the Confines, supply various Sorts of Timber, particularly what is called Shaal, no Way inferior to Oak. As to tame Animals for the Use of Food, for Draught, and for Carriage, this Country affords a sufficient Stock, and the same may be with equal Truth affirmed in respect to Fowl and Fish, both excellent in their Kind, and in amazing Plenty. But at the same Time it cannot be denied that there are Abundance of wild Beasts, Birds of Prey, and other noxious Creatures, more especially in desert or thinly inhabited Places<sup>c</sup>. Besides the celebrated Rivers Ganga, Ganges, and Brimhaputre there are many smaller Streams, so that no Region in the Universe is either better watered, or hath an easier, cheaper, more constant or more regular Communication through all its Parts, and even from

<sup>b</sup> The Seasons in these Provinces, though they may be said in general to be regular, yet are nevertheless subject annually to some Variations. In that Part within the Torrid Zone the Rains are heavier, with less Intermision, and last longer than in those Parts that are in the Temperate, whence Patna the Capital of Bahar is esteemed more healthy and pleasant than Dacca, which was formerly the Capital of Bengal. Besides some Places are incommoded from the particular Circumstances of Situation, as is the Case of Calcutta, from a Lake at a small Distance, which however it is said might be drained at no great Expence, and which in the First Settlement was probably overlooked in favour of other Conveniencies. However the Excellence of the Fruits, the Richness of the dyeing Woods brought from thence, and the great Fecundity of the Women speak sufficiently in Praise of the Climate, the Diversity of which most certainly contributes not a little to the vast Variety of the Productions of this Country.

<sup>c</sup> In the Country about Patna, they grow very good Wheat, and might have a great Deal more if Rice was not generally preferred. Of this they raise such vast Quantities that we find the Word Gunge added to the Name of many of their Towns, which implies that such a Place is a Corn Market. About Fifteen Miles North from Muxadavad there is a Place called Bugwan Gola, that is, the Granary of Bugwan, allowed to be the greatest Mart for Grain in Indostan, the Duties upon which, though very low, amounted annually to Three Lacks or upwards of Thirty-seven thousand Pounds. Besides Rice this Country produces a vast Abundance of Ghee which is Kind of boiled Butter, and is a great Ingredient in all Indian Cookery. To this we may add immense Quantities of Oil extracted from the Seeds or Grains of the Plant Sesamum used in Lamps, in Food, and in Physic. Of all these great Cargoes were sent annually to the Coasts of Coromandel, the Island of Ceylon, to the Maldives, and even into the Gulph of Persia as well as into other Parts of the Indies, and though at present decayed, this Commerce might be easily revived whenever Peace and regular Government takes a Place in those distracted and impoverished Countries, and their Inhabitants shall be restored to a Capacity of Corresponding with other Nations

those the most distant, quite down to the Sea, which is very commodious in respect to the Trade within Land, as well as exceedingly so in regard to foreign Commerce <sup>d</sup>.

THE natural Fertility of the Lands, the Benignity of the Climate, and the Toil of the Husbandman produces almost incredible Quantities of Necessaries, so that their Markets are every-where full of Rice, Honey, Oil, Butter, Ginger, long Pepper, &c. Besides these they abound with many rich Commodities such as Lac, Civet, Opium, Salt Petre, Sugar, Indigo, Wax, Cocos, Salt, Beetle, Tobacco, and a great Variety of Materials for Dyeing, and other Kinds of Drugs. To these we may add their Two great Staples, Cotton and raw Silk. Very large Quantities of the latter are exported, but the former is manufactured into a vast Variety of what we stile Piece Goods, Muslins, &c. and sometimes their own falling short they import, as we have hinted, Cotton from Surat. Their Manufactures of Silk are also very considerable, as the Natives are equally distinguished by their Industry and Ingenuity, which with Plenty of Necessaries and their Sobriety renders Labour cheap, and the Country extremely populous (though less so than formerly) containing, as some have computed, Sixteen Millions; neither will this appear at all incredible, the great Extent of Territory, and the Advantages before recited being maturely considered, since in Proportion it is not so great as in the Province of Holland <sup>e</sup>.

## THE

<sup>d</sup> In order to explain what is said in the Text, it may be proper to mention that large Boats carrying Two hundred Tons of Salt Petre come many hundred Miles down the Stream from Patna at the proper Season of the Year for loading the Ships. Besides the many Rivers and Branches of Rivers that intersect the Country, there are large and deep Canals dug with infinite Labour to connect these Streams, and facilitate Water Carriage from One great Town to another, which shews how fully this Country was once inhabited, and by how industrious a People. In the great Rivers, and particularly in the Ganges there are many, and some large and beautiful Islands, which though now overgrown with Wood and Receptacles only for Rhinoceros's and Tygers were formerly well cultivated, and might be so again, if Peace with a mild and settled Government were once restored.

<sup>e</sup> What hath been said in the Text will sufficiently explain to the intelligent Reader the true Sources of the Opulence of this Country, which hath been deservedly, as well as emphatically stiled The PARADISE OF NATIONS. A fine Climate, a rich Soil, and an industrious People made the whole World, comparatively speaking, tributary to Bengal, and thereby furnished her without the Assistance of Mines, with immense Treasures. Her Commerce with Europe alone produced from the English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Danes upwards of a Million Sterling annually. Her Trade to the Gulphs of Persia and Arabia, by which she supplied not those Countries only but Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, and Lesser Asia brought in vast Sums. Her Exports to the Eastern Parts of the Indies, even as far as the Philippines, were continual Sources of Riches increased by the Coast Trade with Coromandel and Malabar as high as Scindi, and still farther swelled by the Crowds of Merchants who came to purchase her Commodities and Manufactures from all Parts of Indostan, and from the Kingdom of Assam. Abounding in herself with all the Necessaries

THE Mogul Tartars under their Emperor Akbar made their First Impression upon these Provinces, within a short Time after we found our Way into their Dominions. He and his Successors conquered them gradually but not entirely, for large Territories were left in different Places under the Rajahs or Princes of the Natives, who became tributary to the Mogul, but otherwise retained their Sovereignty, and governed the Gentooes according to their own Laws and Customs. These Concessions were very wise, as they preserved a constant and considerable Revenue to the Conqueror, though perhaps not quite so great as if the Conquest had been absolute. The Subahdars or Governors had an Officer under them called the Duan, who collected the Emperor's Revenues, which in Time of Peace were annually sent to Dehli. In the Declension of the Empire these Governors set up for themselves, and very seldom paid their Tribute. Our East India Company formed several Settlements, the Principal of which was at Hughly, which for some Reasons they transferred to Calcutta; towards the Close of the last Century built a Fort there, and had a small Territory assigned them by the Emperor's Firman. They had besides this other Factories, as at Cassimbuzar near the Court of the Subahdar, and at Patna, to which by Fleets of Boats they carry great Quantities of Goods, and from whence they brought great Quantities of Salt Petre. An headstrong Youth, who succeeded to the Government, hurried on by the Violence of his own Passions, attacked our Factory at Cassimbuzar, and afterwards destroyed Calcutta. This produced that War, which by a Variety of successive Revolutions hath thrown the Whole of these Provinces into the Hands of our East India Company, who administer them, and collect their Revenues as perpetual Duans to the present reigning Emperor in virtue of a solemn Treaty. Such is the present State of our Affairs here <sup>f</sup>.

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varies and Conveniencies of Life, she scarce took any Thing in Exchange but Gold and Silver, if we except sometimes for the Supply of Manufactures to be again exported, Cotton from Surat. A clear Proof that this Account is not exaggerated is the yearly Tribute which these Provinces paid to the Mogul, and which in the Days of Aurengzebe amounted to 3,358,178 l. of which a large Sum was sent in Silver, as Tavernier tells us, who was an Eye-witness of it. In the Decline of the Empire, the Sum actually carried out was fixed at 1,250,000 l. of which not a single Rupee returned.

<sup>f</sup> The Emperor Akbar invaded Bengal about the Close of the Sixteenth Century, and the Conquest was not difficult for several Reasons. The Country was divided into many independent Sovereignities, none of their Princes of a martial Spirit, and the People in general, as they still continue, of a mild and timid Disposition. After the Subahdars set up for themselves, Civil Wars and Confusions followed, and the Country was likewise frequently harrassed by the Maharrattas who extorted great Sums. Surajah Dowla sacked the Town of Calcutta on the 20th of June 1756, without any just Cause. It was retaken with the Assistance of his late Majesty's Fleet. When a new War broke out with that Nabob, he was defeated in the Battle of Plassey June



THE Administration in this as in the other Presidencies, is by a Governor and Council, consisting generally of Fifteen Members, in whom the supreme Power is vested, and who have the entire Management of the Company's Concerns. Several of the Members of this Council are sent to reside as Chiefs at the several Factories, or to preside over those Districts the Company holds, each having a Council to assist him. Those who remain at Calcutta, which may be regarded as the Capital, assist the Governor in transacting all Affairs, and the Minutes of their Deliberations are constantly taken and regularly transmitted to the Directors here. For the Security of the Place there is now a noble, spacious, and well constructed Citadel, and in the Town dependent on the English Government a Multitude of Inhabitants of all Nations to the Number of some hundred thousand Souls &c. The several Offices relative to the Commerce of the Company are likewise executed by the residing Members of the Council, who, as we may reasonably apprehend, have a great Number of Persons in the Company's Service subordinate to them, and who are employed to assist them in the Discharge of their respective Duties. The Mayor's Court erected by the same Letters Patent that have been mentioned in the former Sections distributes Justice. But an Appeal lies from them to the Governor and Council. To them also belong the political Arrangements requisite for maintaining Peace and good Order through the whole Provinces. One of the Members of the Council is constantly Resident at the Durbar or Court of the Subahdar at Muxadavad, who as well as the Mogul receives an Allowance out of the Revenues collected by the Company. This Resident, in Conjunction with the Minister of the Subahdar, regulates the letting of Lands,

22d 1757, and Meer Jaffier elevated to the Subahdarry upon his Death. He was deposed by his Son-in-law Cossim Aly Cawn, 20 October 1760, who had more Vigour than his Predecessor, an inveterate Hatred to the English, and a fixed Purpose of rendering himself independent. His Violence and Cruelty induced the Company to restore Meer Jaffier, July 24, 1763, notwithstanding which Cossim, with the Assistance of Sujah al Dowla Suba of Oude, made a new Effort to recover his Authority, but was absolutely defeated at the Battle of Buxar 23d October 1764. Meer Jaffier died the 5th of February following. The several Grants of the perpetual Dewannee of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, bear Date the 12th August 1765, and in virtue of these the East India Company have ever since retained them in their Possession.

§ It may afford some Information to consider the progressive Growth of the Settlement of Calcutta, which at the Beginning of the current Century had by the Firman of the Mogul a Territory of Six Miles in Length and Three in Breadth. The Fort was then very small, and the Company's Troops between Two and Three hundred Men, the Town not considerable, and containing about Ten thousand Inhabitants. The present Fort, which is about Three Miles in Circumference, was erected or rather begun to be erected after the Place was recovered from Surajah Dowla, with a View to preserve it from the like Misfortune either through the Malice of the Moors, or the Attempts of European Enemies, and from that Time to the Close of A. D. 1770, this Fort hath cost the Company 891,267*l*. The Districts granted in Property to the Company by Cossim Aly Cawn, and which it was proposed this Fort should protect, produced an annual Income of 600,000*l*.

and

and the Conduct of those who are employed in collecting of the Rents, Duties, &c. which when received are paid into the Company's Treasury. For the Security of the Province a numerous Army is maintained, composed of Three thousand Eight hundred and Ninety Whites, and Twenty-Six thousand One hundred and Thirty-two Seapoys, regularly disciplined under European Officers, and with the Charge necessary for repairing Fortifications and other Contingencies require, independent of what is paid for the Support of the Civil Government, a very large annual Expence, and this being defrayed the Remainder of the whole public Revenue is the Property of the East India Company <sup>b</sup>.

THIS succinct Account of the State of these Provinces, with the Facts adduced to support them will, it is hoped, be sufficient in some Measure to shew their vast Importance to the East India Company, and in consequence of their being so the Benefit they are likewise to the Nation. Instead of that uncertain and precarious State in which our Commerce remained here for many Years, we enjoy now the most certain and ample Security from the Nature of our Fortifications, and particularly the extensive and highly improved Fortres at Calcutta, the large Body of Troops that we maintain and pay, who from that Circumstance it is hoped may be depended upon, as the Natives, to use their own Expresssion, have been hitherto faithful to those whose Salt they eat. This joined to the Experience of our Officers and their Knowledge of the Country, with the Reputation arising from our Success, may in a great Degree warrant what hath been said. This Security hath enabled and disposed us to acquire a very large Property in these Parts, for such our Fortifications, Magazines, and in general all our Effects there may be considered. The territorial Income arising from the Rents of Lands, Duties on Cattle, Inland Trade, Customs, &c. amount to an immense Sum, from whence all Deductions being made there may, or at least ought to remain in the Company's Treasury what is sufficient for the Purchase of the Company's Investments without sending an Ounce of Silver from hence. To all this we may add the Capacity the Company is in to furnish a comfortable Subsistence, and in a reasonable Space of Time, without either Fraud or Oppression, ample Fortunes to the British Subjects whom they employ in their several Establish-

<sup>b</sup> In the Text we have specified the Number of the Company's Troops as they stood A. D. 1770, and the total Expence of this Establishment amounted to 1,093,006 l. The Number of Servants on the Civil Establishment were One hundred Seventy-four, and the Expences incurred for their Support amounted to 265,984 l. The whole Revenues of the Dewannee in the same Year were 3,561,539 l. and the net Receipt, all Charges of Collection deducted, 2,027,232 l. out of this taking the Civil and Military Establishments, and the Expences on Fortifications, which together amounted to 1,816,615 l. the Residue will appear to be no more than 207,617 l.

ments. The Profits accruing to the Nation arise from the Shipping and Seamen in the Service of the Company, the Price of Freight, the Provisions they consume, the Stores they carry with and are sent to them, and the Commodities and Manufactures of this Country exported thither, and which will continually increase. The raw Goods, especially Silk and Salt Petre, imported from thence, and that give Business and Bread to Multitudes here, the annual Produce of the Company's Sales, which bring in great Sums from foreign Countries, the Customs and other Emoluments that accrue to Government, and in that respect operate in Diminution of our National Expence <sup>i</sup>.

THESE and many other Circumstances that might be enumerated very fully demonstrate how much this Dominion merits the Attention of the Public. It ought not, indeed it cannot be concealed, that the several Revolutions that gave us the Possession, and certain Measures that either were or were supposed necessary to preserve it since, have for the present brought some Distresses on this Country by diminishing the Quantity of Silver that circulated therein, discouraging Industry, and lessening Commerce <sup>k</sup>. But the Wisdom of the Nation to whom this properly belongs, supported

<sup>i</sup> At First Sight it certainly appears strange that we should trust the Natives themselves to support our Power, and it appears equally strange that the Indian Potentates should not be able to employ them with equal Efficacy against us. But besides that Experience hath clearly evinced that it is really so, the Causes may without much Difficulty be explained. Our Seapoys owe their Consequence to constant Discipline, regular Pay, and a Confidence in their Officers. The Forces of the Country Powers are hastily raised, ill paid, and under no Discipline, and when they have attempted to imitate ours their Seapoys could never be brought to entertain any Opinion of the Military Skill of their Leaders, and as these Circumstances have given, so there is great Reason to believe they will preserve our Superiority. To this we may add, that when our Government is thoroughly and properly established on Principles of Equity and Indulgence, the Natives will find it their Interest to support those who cherish and protect them. The being able to carry on this Trade without exporting Silver, obviates the strongest Objection that hath been raised against it. The Investments from Bengal in A. D. 1771 amounted to 980,279*l.* which in our Sales produced Two Millions and a Half at least. When our Government is thoroughly fixed we may very probably be able to extend our inland Trade Northward, which will certainly enlarge the Exports of our own Commodities and Manufactures, and augment thereby in many Respects our national Advantages.

<sup>k</sup> The Silver sent to Madras and Bombay, though certainly detrimental to Bengal, was a Measure necessary to the Company's Affairs, and contributed to extricate those Presidencies from a troublesome and destructive War, since which they are both, but especially the former, brought into a State of Security and Prosperity, and thereby afford a Prospect of what by a right Management may be done in Bengal. The Sums sent to China were likewise a Loss to these Provinces but not to the Company, as the Produce was found by them, from the Goods which these Sums purchased in their Sales. Others, and perhaps greater Drains have arisen from the Treasures carried away by Cossim Aly, and what hath been withdrawn by Persons retiring out of the Three Provinces during the Troubles, which it is to be hoped are now at an End. Several Branches of Commerce have been stopped by inevitable Misfortune, such as the Confusions in

supported by its Authority, may easily restore Order by establishing a mild and settled Government, under which all Europeans in general may enjoy the Protection of our Laws and the Natives be permitted to live according to their own Customs, free in all Respects from Constraint or Oppression. This being once done, the natural Fertility of the Soil, the innate Disposition of the People, and the proper Improvements that may be made with respect to both, will both speedily and certainly lead to Prosperity, and bringing all Things back to their old Channels render the future flourishing State of these Provinces as much an Honour to the Councils of Britain as the Acquisition of them hath been already to her Arms.

the Persian and Turkish Dominions, and the Trade to Manilla hath likewise failed; but there is nothing improbable in supposing that by degrees these will be recovered, or that new Channels will be opened. Agriculture in Time of Peace will certainly revive, and considering the rude State it is in, may and undoubtedly will be improved, and the same may also be expected in regard to Silk and other Commodities. We are but lately become Masters, and have not as yet had Leisure or Opportunities to discover and turn to Advantage those Resources which in a Country like this may, and certainly will be found.

## S E C T. V.

*Of the Presidency of Fort Marlborough near Bencoolen in the Island of Sumatra.*

**T**HE noble and capacious Island of Sumatra, being divided nearly in the Middle by the Equator, extends beyond it on One Side to about Five Degrees Thirty Minutes North, and on the other to about Six Degrees of Latitude South, and reaches from Ninety-four to One hundred and Four Degrees of Longitude East from London<sup>a</sup>. It hath

<sup>a</sup> The Island of Sumatra lies open on the North to the Gulph of Bengal. On the West lie a Range of Islands of different Sizes at the Distance of Eight, Ten, and Twelve Leagues, which break the Waves of the Ocean, and yet have large and deep Openings between them which afford convenient Passages for Ships of any Size. On the South it is divided from the Island of Java by the Streights of Sunda; as on the East it is from the Peninsula of Malacca by the Streights of that Name, which are in some Places not above Eight Leagues broad; to the South East lies the Isle of Banca with the Streights of the same Appellation, and on the same Side, though at a much larger Distance lies the great Island of Borneo. Sumatra stretches from North East to South West. Mr. de Lisle makes it larger than both the British Isles, but as its greatest Length is Seven hundred, its greatest Breadth at the South West End scarce Two hundred Miles, and narrowing all the Way from thence to the Point of Achen in the North East, we may venture to affirm that it is less than Great Britain.

been deservedly famous from very high Antiquity on many Accounts, for in point of Extent it hath been asserted by various Authors to be the Third Island in the World, which however, from the Knowledge we now have of it, seems to be exaggerated; more truly renowned for its rich and valuable Products and still more justly celebrated for its happy and commodious Situation, which rendered it the Center of Commerce in respect to all the trading Countries of the East, before the Europeans found a Passage into those Parts by the Cape of Good Hope <sup>b</sup>.

THE Climate, as may be easily conceived from the Situation of the Island, cannot be either very agreeable or wholesome. The Power of the Sun is great, the Country in general very marshy from the Overflowing of Rivers, so that the Air is generally hot and humid. The rainy Season is particularly dangerous from sudden Storms attended with Thunder and Lightning, which are however but of short Continuance, succeeded by as sudden Calms, which alternate Variations have pernicious Effects, especially upon European Constitutions. Besides there being large Tracts of Fenny Ground, the Exhalations from them which the Land Winds bring down to the Coast, are equally noxious and noisome. But notwithstanding all this, Temperance, proper Precautions, and Custom reconcile People to these Inconveniences, and besides there are several Places on the South West Coast, particularly Sillebar, which from their high Situation are equally healthy and pleasant. The Island in general is frequently subject to Earthquakes.

THE Appearance of the Country from the Sea is exceedingly pleasing, being finely diversified with lofty Hills, covered with Trees, craggy Rocks, wide spreading Plains, verdant Groves, many large beautiful Rivers, and the Coast frequently indented by fine Bays. The Soil is deep, rich, and fruitful, and would be more so, if inhabited by an industrious People, producing Grain and more especially Rice, with all Kind of Herbs; most of the rich Fruits peculiar to the Indies, Forests of good Timber, abounding

<sup>b</sup> This spacious Isle many conceive to have been the Ophir of Solomon, the Taprobana of the Greeks, and the Serendib of the Oriental Writers, while others contend that all these Appellations belong to the Island of Ceylon. The Case seems to be this, the Nations of the remoter Indies brought their Spices and other rich Commodities to Sumatra. Thither resorted the Merchants of the exterior Indies from Ceylon, where having acquired those Commodities, by the Exchange of their own, they returned Home, and disposed of them to the Traders from Tyre, afterwards to the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, who from thence confounded these Islands. Sumatra continued the Center of Eastern Commerce, when the Portuguese first discovered it, and the City of Achen retained the Remains of it even in the Beginning of this Century. When therefore we maturely consider the Description of this Island, consider also what in past Times it hath been, and discern from thence by Reflection what it may again be, it will surely appear a Matter of great Consequence to this Nation that we have a considerable Settlement thereon.

with

with Buffaloes and other Cattle, with a Breed of small but serviceable Horses, tame, wild, and water Fowl in the utmost Plenty, and a great Variety of River and Sea Fish, many of them excellent in their respective Kinds. There are also in the Mountains and Defarts Elephants, Rhinoceros's, Tygers, and Bears, which last are not found in any other Parts of the Indies. Crocodiles, Serpents of several Kinds, and other venomous Creatures are but too common.

WE may be however assured, that it is not from Curiosity, or the Desire of seeing strange or rare Things that Europeans visit, and much less reside in this Country. Their Motive is Trade, and those numerous rich and valuable Commodities which this Island produces. Amongst these the First Place is usually given to Gold, which is washed down in Dust and small Pieces from the Mountains, especially after Storms, which in this Country are very frequent. This was formerly a great Article in Commerce, though we hear little of it now, and yet the Dutch as well as the King of Achen are said to have a Mine there. The Camphire found here is equal to that of Borneo, and much superior to what is brought from China. Sapan and other dyeing and sweet-scented Woods, which are much esteemed and sold at a high Price in the Indies. Benjamin, and a great Variety of valuable Drugs, are and many more likewise might be brought from hence. But after all the chief Staple is Pepper, which grows in small Bunches on a Kind of Vine that creeps up great Trees, or twists round Stakes set for that Purpose. Of this immense Quantities are exported, and it happens very fortunately that the least Grains, which have the mildest Flavour, are in most Esteem in some Parts of the Indies and in China, to which great Quantities are annually sent, as there might be also of those odoriferous Woods that have been before-mentioned <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Besides Gold this Country hath also Mines of Copper, Lead, Tin, Iron, and Sulphur. The Tree that produces Camphire is called by the Natives Caphura, and is a Kind of Laurel, when it is Six Years old they cut it down, as finding by Experience the Resin then becomes less odoriferous. In Borneo, the Tree which produces Camphire is called Sladi, and is a different Kind of Laurel. The Tree which produces it in Japan is called by the Inhabitants Kus no ki, and it is from this that the Camphire is made which is brought to Europe. Yet the Japonese esteem One hundred Weight of the Sumatra Camphire worth Five or Six hundred of their own. The Dutch carry it thither, and when mixed bring it Home. The Venetians possessed for a long Time the Art of refining Camphire, which is now practised with great Profit in Holland, and there is no Doubt it might as well be done here. If we may trust to the Oriental and Portuguese Writers, Sandal or White Sanders of the very best Kind grow here, as also Aloes, the most valuable of all Woods, and which bears a great Price in China. The best Gum Benjamin or Benzoin grows about Barros, and is brought to Europe by the Dutch. Ambergis is frequently found upon the Coasts of Sumatra, and there is no Reason to doubt that many other valuable Drugs might by a diligent Search be discovered in this Country.

OUR Correspondence with the Natives of this Island began very early, and with Circumstances of great Eclat. Queen Elizabeth wrote a Letter to the King of Achen in favour of her Subjects trading in his Dominions, so did her Successor King James the First, who is also said to have made a Present of some Pieces of Cannon to the then reigning Monarch. We continued our Commerce there and in other Parts of the Island for many Years without making any Settlement thereon. But when the Dutch made themselves Masters of the Kingdom of Bantam, to which, though situated in Java, a great Part of the Southern and Eastern Provinces of this Island belonged; it became necessary for us to take proper Measures to prevent our being entirely beat out of the Pepper, as we had already been out of all the other Spice Trade. At the same Time some of the little Princes of Sumatra being with good Reason jealous of the growing Power of the Dutch addressed themselves to the President of Fort St. George and offered him a Settlement in their Territories. This was accepted, and the English accordingly fixed themselves at Bencoolen, where the then East India Company built a Fort at a very great Expence. In Process of Time some Disputes arose between our People and the Natives, which made it requisite to send a Naval Force thither, and to construct a new Fort, which was called Fort Marlborough, of which with some other Places we were dispossessed by the French in the last War. On our regaining Possession, that Fort hath been rebuilt, and Things brought into a much better Condition than they were before, but till this could be done our Settlement proved less beneficial than formerly to the East India Company<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> An Account of the early Transactions of the English at Achen may be found in the First Volume of Purchas's Pilgrims, from whence a tolerable Idea may be formed of the Riches of that Country. In A. D. 1685 we, together with the French and Danes, were expelled from Bantam, and very soon after we formed our First Establishment at Bencoolen, and erected York Fort to protect the Settlement. When the Conduct of the then East India Company was enquired into they were highly commended for the vast Expence they bestowed in fortifying there, but at the same time censured for not taking the like Precautions at Poleron, where there were but Twelve Persons when the Dutch dispossessed them of that valuable Spice Island. Fort Marlborough was built Four Miles to the South of Bencoolen, and from the Causes before assigned proved very unwholesome, but upon cutting down and entirely grubbing the Woods about it, the Place, as I am informed by Persons who have resided there, is become much more healthy. It stands Two Miles South West from the old Factory at York Fort in the Latitude of 4°. S. but the Longitude was not ascertained till the Transit of Venus was observed by several Gentlemen there 6th June, A. D. 1769, when it was determined to be 6 h. 46'. 51". or 101°. 42'. 45". E. from London. It remained a peculiar Subordinate to Fort St. George to the 30th June, A. D. 1760, when it was erected into a Presidency. The Southern Subordinates extend to 5°. 30'. S. Latitude, and the Northern in like manner to Manduta River in 2°. 45'. Fort Marlborough was taken from us by the French in February, A. D. 1760, and was recovered in the Spring of 1762. By the Eleventh Article of the Treaty of Paris, in A. D. 1763, Natal and Tappanooly, which they had likewise taken, were restored.



THE Administration is vested in the Governor and Council, composed of Eight Members, who have the entire Direction of Civil and Military, as well as Commercial Affairs. The Extent of the Company's Jurisdiction is very considerable which they hold by the free Consent of the Natives, who invited them to prevent their being oppressed by the Dutch. The principal Persons in each District contract in Writing to furnish the Company, and them only with Pepper at a certain Price, and for the Reception of this Pepper we have several subordinate Residencies. To the Northward Tappanooly, Nattal, Mocomago, Bantal, Ippoe, Cattowan, Laye, and to the Southward Sillebar, Saloomah, Manna, Cawoor, and Croee. About Fort Marlborough they let their Lands to Farmers who are bound to raise a certain Number of Pepper Vines, and are paid at a certain Rate for every Bahar or Five hundred Weight. They likewise raise a considerable Quantity of Rice, of which Arrack hath been made. They have likewise a considerable Number of Camphire Trees, some of the Produce of which was sent home, but did not turn to account. However large Quantities are annually sent to China, where it is manufactured in the same Manner with what the Dutch carry to Japan. The Company also sent Home Cassia and Benjamin, but the Freight proved so heavy as to prevent their turning to Profit. They receive here annually a Ship laden with Stores of different Kinds, some of which, more especially Iron and Steel, are sold for the Company's Account. There are besides usually Three, sometimes Four Ships sent thither to take in Pepper, and as the Produce of this Commodity is daily increasing, it is expected the Settlement will very soon furnish a greater Number of Cargoes. The Chinese formerly drove a great Trade here, and carried Home considerable Quantities of this Spice. But at present they get little, except it may be a few Junks laden by Stealth from the Dutch, which does not in any Degree answer to the Consumption of the numerous Inhabitants of that extensive Empire, where it is in general Use. We supply them commonly with about Twelve hundred Tons, which amounts to about Sixty thousand Pounds, and is the only Commodity, except Cardamoms and Sandal Wood, furnished by any of our Settlements, though it is not at all improbable that Aloes and other odoriferous Woods highly valued by the Chinese, might be raised in this Country, and exported thither <sup>e</sup>.

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• The following Facts may contribute to give us some Idea of the Expences attending, and the Advantages accruing from this important Settlement. The Number of civil Servants which the Company had there, A. D. 1769, was Fifty-seven, and their Appointments and other Expences on account of the Civil Establishment amounted to 24,843 l. The Military Force consisted at the same Time of Two hundred Forty-seven Europeans, and One hundred Thirty-three Seapoys, their Pay amounting to 14,921 l. the Charge of Fortifications 3,262 l. the Whole of the standing

THE original Design of this Settlement, as we have already observed, was to preserve Pepper from being monopolized by the Dutch as well as all other Spices, and we may form a Judgment of the Importance of the Object at that Time from the large Sum that the then East India Company spent on York Fort, in order to secure their Infant Establishment at Bencoolen. This End it had answered and promised farther Advantages before it was constituted a Presidency. In this Light it is and ought to be considered as a Place of great Consequence. But assuredly there are many Commodities besides this in the Island, which though hitherto they have not, may hereafter be turned to advantage. The Soil and Climate considered, there is certainly nothing unreasonable in supposing that several Trees and Plants of singular Utility in Physic and Manufactures may with due Care and Attention be raised here, especially if we reflect that it is in the same Latitude with the Moluccas, and that the Dutch have practised this very Method with Success in One of their Islands<sup>f</sup>. To this we may add, that in the Vicinity of this Settlement there are various Isles of different Sizes well inhabited, which may probably be found to produce Commodities that are not, or at least have not been observed in Sumatra. At all Events the very happy and commodious Situation of this Place for carrying on a Commerce with the richest Countries of the Indies may without Difficulty be improved. The Dutch at Malacca as well as in Java, are continually traversing these Seas with great and small Vessels, and we are undoubtedly

annual Charges, 43,026 l. The whole Charge of Fortifications from the Time we recovered it to A. D. 1770 amounted to 29,277 l. On the other Hand the annual nett Receipt of Revenue in 1770 was 2,680 l. the Investment 8,918 l. The Civil and Military Stores valued at 50,216 l. Goods for Europe 8,394 l. Balance in the Treasury 43,350 l. Debts due to the Company 30,608 l. Value of their Ships, A. D. 1771, 12,363 l. of their Elephants, &c. 252 l. of their Plate, Household Furniture 1,219 l. of their Slaves 14,197 l. The same Year the Company exported to this Settlement in Bullion 9,773 l. 13 s. 4 d.

<sup>f</sup> The old East India Company made a great Merit of establishing this Settlement, which they asserted cost them in Ten Years no less than Two hundred and Fifty thousand Pounds. They suggested, that if the Pepper had fallen into the Hands of the Dutch they would have advanced the Price of it to what they vend their other Spices at, which on a Consumption of Six thousand Tons in different Countries would have amounted to an immense Sum, and have given them an insuperable Advantage over all other European Nations trading to India. We may add to the Number of the Commodities already specified in different Parts of this Section, Swallow, that is, Canes, Rattans, Cardamoms, Ginger, Arek, or Beetle Nut, Dragon's Blood, &c. It is said that Spices have been brought hither, but that the Plants died; yet surely the Object is of Importance enough to have the Experiment repeated. There are several Sorts of Trees highly valuable in producing Materials for Varnish and Dyeing, which might be easily introduced from the adjacent Countries, and even from China and cultivated in the Company's Plantations in the same Manner as Pepper Vines and Camphire. Besides in a Country like this abounding with all Kind of Metals, there might possibly be discovered some valuable Minerals with the Natures and Properties of which the Inhabitants are not acquainted, and might therefore be obtained and sent to Europe upon very easy Terms.

not inferior to them in Maritime Skill, or in our present Circumstances less likely to succeed in Undertakings of this Nature with any of the oriental Nations. Commerce is the great, the proper Business of the Company and of its Servants, and whatever they acquire in this Channel must in the Issue turn to the Benefit of this Nation <sup>g</sup>.

THE present as well as the old East India Company have at Times shewn a due Sense of the Rectitude and Utility of these Principles, as evidently appeared from their establishing Factories and even Settlements in different Parts of the remoter Indies which however were afterwards withdrawn. But as the Motives on which they were established still subsist, and as very many, if not all the Obstacles which heretofore hindered their Success in these Enterprizes are removed, and the present Circumstances of the Company such as may afford them just Room to expect better Fortune in their future Endeavours, we have a probable Ground of Hope, that these Designs will be resumed, so that all the different Commodities and Manufactures of the East may be brought into this Nation through their Channel only. An Event which would be in various Respects beneficial to the Public as such an Extension of their Commerce might enlarge their Exports, and would certainly increase their Shipping, augment the Number of Seamen in their Service, and very probably by a new Supply of Raw Materials contribute to the Employment of our industrious Poor at Home, at the same Time that it would prevent our Wealth from going out, and possibly add to the Number of foreign Purchasers at their Sales <sup>h</sup>.

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<sup>g</sup> The Islands to the North West are at least many of them subject to the King of Achen, but those to the South West are supposed to be inhabited by the original Natives of Sumatra, who retired into them when expelled the larger Island by the Malays, who have continued Masters of it ever since. The People in these Isles are generally represented as the most brutal and intractable of all Savages, with whom there can be no dealing, as they are said to murder without Mercy all Strangers who come to or happen to be wrecked upon their Coasts. Notwithstanding these Stories, if I have been rightly informed, a late Governor found Means to enter into a Correspondence with some of them, and even prevailed so far as to engage them to come and make him a Visit at Fort Marlborough. It is not at all unlikely that if this Intercourse could be improved, we should be able from these new Countries to derive some Advantages that might very well compensate our Trouble in visiting them. The Commodities they may afford, though not Objects to the Company might be so to their Servants; and it is very well known that the private Trade in the East Indies turns not only highly to the Benefit of those concerned in it, but also to this Nation, on which Account it has been very wisely permitted, and is the Means of carrying no small Quantity of different Kinds of Goods from hence, that would not otherwise find a Passage to the East.

<sup>h</sup> The Causes of our not extending our Trade in these Parts so far as might have been rationally expected may be reduced to Three. The First, our Factories in distant Parts being often exposed

As we have no Establishment in China our Commerce with that Empire does not, strictly speaking, belong to this Chapter; but as we before made a small Trespafs on Geography in speaking therein of the Island of St. Helena, though belonging to another Quarter of the Globe, so for the same Reason, that is, to bring this Subject into one View, we will now trespass a little upon Method in order to treat briefly of this Matter. Our Company sends now many more Ships thither than formerly and brings Home large Cargoes, the most valuable Parts of which consist in raw and wrought Silk, some Cotton Manufactures, Tea, China, and in the private Trade, Variety of Drugs and much lacquered Ware. On the other Hand the Chinese take from us some Broad Cloth and other Woollen Goods by which we get little; Lead, on which there is no great Profit, Sandal Wood, Cardamoms, and Pepper. The Balance, which is much in their Favour, being paid in Silver. It manifestly appears from hence of how great Consequence it would be to diminish this Balance by introducing Commodities from Europe, or other Parts of India, as the Dutch do Spices, and which is certainly a Thing that is or may be at least in some Degree practicable. As for the raw Silk we import, as it is manufactured here, and as the wrought Silks are again exported, this Part of their Cargoes is of Benefit to the Nation, which is the great Point to be attained, and ought therefore to be kept constantly in View <sup>i</sup>.

THIS

exposed to Ruin by Invasions, intestine Confusions, and Revolutions in the Countries where they were settled. In the Second Place, they were not a little hurt by the embarrassed and uncertain State of Things at Home, whence there were at the same Time and in the same Ports Ships of the Company, Permission Ships, and separate Traders or Interlopers all carrying on their Commerce under English Colours. Lastly, (of which many Instances might be given) the superior Power and sinister Arts of the Dutch. To some One or more of these Causes were owing the Loss of those Factories we formerly had in the Kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, as well as at Ilean the Capital of the Kingdom of Tonquin. A Settlement was also established on Pulo Condore over against the Coast of Cambodia, where our Governor and most of the People were cut off by their Macassar Soldiers A. D. 1705. We had a Factory at Succadana in the Island of Borneo in the Vicinity of a Diamond Mine; and another at Ban ar Masseen in the same Island. The former was withdrawn, and from the latter we were driven by the Natives. However A. D. 1714 Sir Gregory Page being then at the Head of the Direction, a large Ship was sent under Captain David Beckman, who made a prosperous Voyage to the same Place, though it is said that a Factory might be much more conveniently seated opposite to the small Island of Pulo Lout, where there is high Ground, a healthy Air, and a good Port. It must be acknowledged in favour of the separate Traders and Interlopers, that they carried on their Commerce very successfully in most of the oriental Islands with which we have little or none at present.

<sup>i</sup> The old East India Companies carried on the Trade to China at their Port Amoy or Emoy, where they were very indifferently treated by the Chinese. They endeavoured therefore to procure leave to erect a Factory at Ning-po, in which they did not succeed. But with some Difficulty they were allowed to settle on the Island of Chufan, according to the Chinese Orthography Tchcou-chan, about Three Leagues from the Continent, and from thence they had a free Trade

THIS very succinct Description and Detail of our Possessions in the East, and of the Advantages arising from them, demonstrates clearly of how great Consequence they are to Great Britain. The Manner in which they have been attained hath been also plainly stated; but without descanting upon that, it is a Point of much more Importance to consider how they may be retained, for this beyond all doubt is become a very important national Object. Their Distance and their Extent may seem to render this exceedingly difficult, but if requisite to national Safety and Prosperity, it ought by no Means to be looked on as impossible. The First Step seems to be so to connect the several Presidencies, as that by a Concurrence of Councils and of Forces when necessary they may reciprocally assist each other, for then all their separate and distinct Interests would in every Instance receive the Support of the Whole. A mild, uniform, and permanent Government should be established in every Presidency, allowing the Natives to live according to their own Manners and Customs, which are suited to the Soil and Climate to which they are enured by Habit, and the altering of which in the End might prove as contrary to our Interests, as in the Beginning it would be to their Inclinations. The Laws of this Country steadily and strictly enforced by respectable Courts of Judicature, would controul the Conduct of Europeans. The absolute Protection from every Species of Oppression in either their Persons or Properties would restore Industry and Manufactures amongst the Inhabitants, as well as conciliate their Affections, increase their Numbers, and induce them from a Sense of their being perfectly secure to bring to Light their hidden and now useless Treasures. Foreign Commerce properly encouraged would soon return, and extending through new Channels augment the Consumption of our Commodities, enlarge the Circle of Correspondence through the Indies, furnish new Articles for our Sales, and bring many of the old Ones hither on easier Terms. The Whole of this Arrangement once thoroughly digested and fully carried into Execution would, under the constant Inspection and Protection of the Legislature, preserve in perfect Harmony every Branch of this political and commercial System.

to Ning-po. This Island they deserted a little too hastily in the Year 1702. The Island was indeed thinly inhabited, and in a very indifferent Condition, but it had been one of the fairest and most flourishing Isles dependent upon that Empire till ruined by the Tartars, and had been re-settled but a few Years. The Port was very good, and the Factory conveniently situated. The great Point the Company had in view was to preserve a Correspondence with the Japonese Junks that resorted annually to Ning-po. This also led them to transfer this Colony to Pulo Condore in Hopes of getting the Chinese and Japon Junks to touch there in their Way to Tonquin, when, as we mentioned in the former Note, they were cut off. The Company since then have resumed their China Trade, and fixed at Canton, at which Port their Servants from Fort St. George had traded for many Years, and at this Port and this Port only the Trade still continues.

## C H A P. IV.

## Of the British Forts and Settlements for the Protection of Commerce in Africa.

**T**HE present Chapter will reach to no great Extent, though the Inter-course with this Part of the World is and hath been highly beneficial, and in Process of Time will probably become much more advantageous to this Nation. Africa is a Peninsula, and the largest Peninsula on the terraqueous Globe. It is bounded on the North by the Mediterranean, on the West by the Ocean, on the East by the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, and joined to Asia by the narrow Isthmus of Suez, which is between Twenty and Thirty Leagues in Breadth. In Longitude it extends from Eighteen Degrees West to about Fifty Degrees East from the Meridian of London, and from Thirty-four Degrees of North to somewhat more than Thirty-four Degrees of South Latitude. It is distinguished by Four remarkable Promontories; Cape Bona to the North, Cape de Verd to the West, the Cape of Good Hope to the South, and Cape Gardesuy to the East. In Extent it measures from West to East One thousand Five hundred and Fifty, and in Breadth from North to South about Fourteen hundred Leagues. It is divided into Two not very unequal Parts by the Equator, and lying almost altogether in the Torrid Zone, the Climate is very hot, and the Soil in many Places parched and barren. This however is chiefly to be understood of the interior Parts of the Country. In many other Places, more especially on the Coast, the Climate is more tolerable, and the Soil very rich and fertile, producing Wheat, Barley, Rice, and other Kinds of Grain in great Plenty and Perfection; the Woods abound in several Kinds of valuable Timber, and other Trees that produce rich Fruits or precious Gums; it abounds in Cattle, Camels, Horses, and with Elephants and almost all Sorts of wild Beasts. The Bowels of the Earth and Mountains afford also Quarries of fine Stones, and most Kinds of Metals, but in particular Gold and Copper in large Quantities. In regard therefore to Commodities, as well as Situation, it is evident that few Countries are fitter than this for foreign Commerce<sup>a</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> The inquisitive Reader, who shall be inclined to go deeper into this Subject, which indeed deserves great Consideration, may consult J. Leonis Africani de totius Africae descriptione l<sup>iv</sup> novem, 8vo. Description de l'Afrique, par O. Dapper. fol. Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Orientale, par le Pere Labat, 12mo. 5 tom. Atlas Maritimus, fol. p. 236—276. Wood's Sur

THE whole Continent of Africa was not always what it is at present, the Seat of unlearned and unpolished Nations. For the Egyptians in the earliest Ages were famous for Arts and Arms, for planting Colonies in distant Countries, and for their Maritime Expeditions. In succeeding Times the Carthaginians were no less distinguished for their Turn to Improvements of every Kind. They penetrated into and built Cities in the interior Part of this great Continent, their Commerce was extensive, and so were their Discoveries, the Records of which Time however hath in a great Measure buried in Oblivion. The Romans who supplanted them, held the Inhabitants in a State of severe Subjection, and were chiefly intent on supporting their Power and raising a Revenue. The Goths and Vandals over-run what the Romans had possessed, without taking much Pains to improve what they had acquired. The Arabs who followed them were as rude Conquerors as their Predecessors, and have defaced and demolished those Remains of Grandeur, which even the Teeth of Time had spared. After Barbarism had long prevailed, when Science revived in Europe, an Inclination quickly arose of exploring foreign Lands, and the Situation of this immense Country naturally attracted Notice. But who first adventured hither admits of some Doubt. The French say that the Inhabitants of Dieppe sailed along a great Part of the West Coast in the Fourteenth Century, and made some Establishments there, which on account of their Civil Wars were abandoned. It is more certain that the Portuguese in the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century undertook this Task, in which they proceeded slowly, and with great Difficulty, and were many Years before they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and made themselves acquainted with the East Side of this Continent. As these Expeditions cost them much Trouble and Expence, they arrogated to themselves the Sovereignty of these Seas in Exclusion of all other Nations. The English were the next who attempted this Commerce; after them the Dutch, who conquered several Places from the Portuguese. The French interfered with them, and when the Nature and Advantages of this Commerce became known, the Brandenburgers and the Danes became also Adventurers therein <sup>b</sup>.

THE

~~of Trade~~, 8vo. p. 179—193. Barbot's Account of the West Coast of Africa in Six Books, in the Fifth Volume of Churchhill's Collection of Voyages. Bosman, Snelgrave, Atkins, Smith's Voyages. Case of the Royal African Company and Supplement, 4to. National and private Advantages of the African Trade, 8vo. A Treatise upon the Trade from Great Britain to Africa, by an African Merchant, 4to.

<sup>b</sup> The French Writers assert that the Normans settled on the West Coast of Africa in A. D. 1364. The Portuguese began their Discoveries under the Auspice of the Infant Don Henry, and doubled the Cape Bojedor A. D. 1415. Vasquez de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope A. D. 1497. The English are allowed to have traded on the Coast of Guinea A. D. 1553. The Dutch began their Commerce thither about A. D. 1609, but their West India Company to



THE Views of the English Nation with respect to this Commerce were earlier than is commonly mentioned. But there is no Certainty that any Vessels were actually sent thither till under the Reign of Edward the Sixth. In that of Queen Mary, and at the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's, it was still prosecuted by private Adventurers only. That great Princess was the First who interposed Royal Authority in favour of an exclusive Company for a certain Term of Years. Under King James the First and King Charles the First Merchants were encouraged to trade thither, and for the Protection of their Ships Sir Nicholas Crispe built at his own Expence a Fort at Cormantin. Another small Fort was also erected in the River of Gambia. The Dutch during this Period had established their West India Company, investing them with an exclusive Right to the Trade of Africa, and this Company having overpowered the Portuguese, assumed the same Prerogatives they had exercised. Soon after the Restoration Charles the Second erected a Royal African Company, notwithstanding which the Dutch confiscated our Ships, and this brought on the First War in that Reign against that Republic. This Company being quite exhausted made over their Rights and Effects to another erected by the same Monarch with exclusive Powers for the Term of One Thousand Years. After the Revolution this Trade was in a great Measure laid open and the Company declining received annual Grants from Parliament for the Support of their Fortifications, till their Affairs falling into Confusion, the Public gave them a Compensation for what they possessed and transferred this Commerce to an open Company under the Direction of a Committee chosen by the Merchants trading to Africa on their own Account, from the Ports of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, in which State, though not without some Alterations, it still remains.

FROM

which they granted this Trade exclusively, with great Privileges and Advantages, was not established till 1621. The French had an Establishment in the River of Senegal A. D. 1626. But their First Company was not established till A. D. 1664.

\* It is generally supposed that we did not trade to Africa till the Reign of Edward the Sixth. But it clearly appears that in the Twenty-second of Edward the Fourth, A. D. 1481, Application was made to that Monarch by the King of Portugal, John II. to stay Sir John Tintam and Pierce Fabian, who were fitting out Ships for the Coast of Africa, and some say they actually made such a Voyage, and were immense Gainers thereby. The First exclusive Company was established by Queen Elizabeth in 1588 for a Term of Years. King James the First, A. D. 1618, erected another Company under the Title of the Company of Adventurers of London trading to Africa. King Charles the First, A. D. 1632, established a new Company. Something of the same Kind was done in 1651 by the Powers then subsisting. King Charles the Second, A. D. 1662, settled this Trade in the Company of Royal Adventurers of England, the Term of Years granted by his Father to the former Company being expired. This Company of Royal Adventurers having obtained a Compensation for their Rights, the same King erected, A. D. 1672, the Royal African Company, as is said in the Text, for the Term of One thousand Years. In 1673 the Sum of Fifty thousand Guineas were coined out of Gold brought from Africa.

Company

FROM Port Sallee where the Limits of the Company began to Cape Blanco, supposed by many to be the most Western Point of Africa, comprehending a Space of Six hundred Leagues, it was generally believed there was no Port. However near Ten Years ago, Captain George Glas, being furnished with a Vessel of Two hundred and Fifty Tons, with a suitable Cargoe by private Merchants, proved this Notion to be false by entering into a good Harbour, which he called Port Hillsborough. It was situated in a wholesome Climate, the adjacent Country plentiful as well as pleasant, where he traded with the Inhabitants for several valuable Commodities, and procured from them a Cession of this Port, and a small District round it to the Crown of Great Britain. But this Gentleman, after suffering a long Imprisonment in the Canary Islands, being murdered on Board the Ship in which he was returning Home, this Discovery hath been no further prosecuted, though it may possible be thought hereafter a Matter of more Importance <sup>d</sup>.

THE next Place of any Note is an indifferent Port called by the Portuguese who discovered it, Rio de Ouro, or the River of Gold, because there they met with this precious Metal, where an English Ship once entered, but no succeeding Attempt hath been made. To the South of

Company was determined April the Tenth 1752, by an Act passed in the Twenty-fifth of his late Majesty's Reign, the new open Company to whom all their Rights were transferred being previously established. In the Year 1764 the Fort of Senegal and all its Dependencies were by Act of Parliament granted to this new Company. But the Traders to Africa conceiving this to be prejudicial to their Interests, this Act was repealed by another in the succeeding Year, and the Forts in Senegal, and all the Forts and Settlements to the North of Cape Rouge, or the Red Cape, were absolutely vested in his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, in which State they remain at present.

<sup>d</sup> This Discovery of Captain Glas, when first proposed, was thought of such Importance that by the Statute last mentioned his Majesty was authorized by the Advice of his Privy Council to make to that Gentleman, his Associates or Assigns, a Grant by Letters Patent, not exceeding Twenty-one Years, of the sole Right to the carrying on Trade to a Port by him discovered on the Coast of Africa called Regeala or Gueder, subject to be redeemed at any Time, for such a Compensation as should be judged reasonable by Parliament. This Port, to which he gave the Name of Port Hillsborough, lies in the Latitude of Thirty Degrees Thirty Minutes North, almost opposite to the Canary Isles, and the Cession thereof with a District of Land by the Natives, together with a Draft of the Harbour, was by him or his Associates deposited with the Board of Trade. When he went from thence with some Goods there unsaleable, to the Canary Islands, his People traded with the Natives till upon some Quarrel between them they were driven from the Coast, and lost much the greatest Part of their Property; however they brought away about One hundred Ounces of Gold, a Tun of Orchilla, as much Bees Wax, Six Tons of excellent Wool, Two hundred Weight of Ostrich Feathers, Twelve hundred Deer and Four thousand Goat Skins. Captain Glas wrote and intended to have published an History of this Part of the Coast of Africa, which would have been both curious and useful, but his unfortunate Death prevented that valuable Work from appearing. It is however to be wished that the Effects of his Discovery should not be lost to the Nation for many Reasons which we have not Room to mention here.

this lies Argouin, first in the Hands of the Portuguese, who built a good Fort there, taken from them by the Dutch, reduced while in their Hands by the French, who demolished it. The Brandenburgers resettled it, the French reclaimed it at the Congress at Ryswick, but it was adjudged as a Derelict to the former, who sold it afterwards to the Dutch. Twenty Leagues to the South of Argouin, where the Fort now lies in Ruins, we meet with Port Andric, where formerly there was a considerable Trade for Gum. But the Sea running very high, the Shore being dangerous, and all the Goods brought on Board in Boats, it is now but little frequented.

We come next to the River of Senegal, which makes the North as the River of Gambia does the South Boundary of the Province of Senegambia, now in the Hands of the British Government. In the First of these Rivers there is an Island of the same Name, which while in the Possession of the French was called St. Louis. In this the Governor resides, with a competent Garrison, and from thence by Factories on the Continent is carried on the Gum Trade which is of so great Consequence to this Country. In the River Gambia there is another Isle upon which stands Fort James, formerly belonging to the African Company, now in the Hands of Government. In this there is a Lieutenant Governor subordinate to the Governor of Senegal. Between the Mouths of these Two Rivers, and in the Vicinity of Cape Verd, lies the Island of Goree, where the Dutch had formerly a strong Fort taken from them by the French, and from the French in the last War by a British Squadron, but restored by the Treaty of Paris, by which Treaty Senegal and all its Dependencies were in the clearest and most explicit Terms given up to Great Britain. The River of Gambia is navigable by Vessels of Two hundred Tons Burden for Six hundred Miles, and the Commerce here and in the Province of Senegambia is certainly capable of very great Improvements. In order to this it hath been suggested as the most proper Expedient, that as the interior Country is very unhealthy in respect to Europeans, to breed up some of the Children of the Natives in such a Manner as to enable them to transact Business with

\* Cape Blanco lies in Twenty Degrees Thirty Minutes North Latitude, from thence the Coast turns Eastward, making a deep Bay, in the Bottom of which lies the Island of Argouin, about Three Miles long and Two broad, and at the Distance of Two Miles from the Continent. Rio de Ouro lies to the South almost under the Tropic of Cancer. Port Andric, or as the French spell it Portendric, is, as we have said in the Text, a very poor Place in a rocky Bay, of which they took Possession, and built a miserable Fort, which they abandoned as useless after the Cession of Senegal. The Gum Coast begins at Cape Blanco, and is supplied from Three Forests, Sahal, Lebiar, and Afatak, belonging to Three Arab Tribes, who draw from them a considerable Revenue. These Forests are about Ten Leagues from each other, and about the same Distance from Port Andric, much nearer to the Factories belonging to Senegal, by which Means that valuable Trade centers there.

their Countrymen at the Posts within Land; and from thence also other Advantages might arise.

AT Cape Roxo, Cape Rouge or the Red Cape; the Windward Coast begins, upon which the Portuguese have a few Settlements, some of them within Land, though we have none. Yet our Vessels trade there, though with great Caution, from the Perfidy as well as Ferocity of the Natives. In the ~~River~~ of Sierra Leon, the only Place that we now hold; is Bance Island, in which the old African Company had a strong Fort, which they abandoned when their Affairs declined, and being occupied and repaired by some Merchants, it is now become private Property. In Cerbera, or as we usually call it Sherbro River there are the Ruins of an English Fort, and we still send Ships thither, and carry on a considerable Commerce with the Inhabitants. The Grain, Malaguetta, or Pepper Coast begins at Cape Monte, and ends at Cape Palmas, comprehending about Sixty Leagues, along which we drive a considerable Trade with the People, who are of a quiet Disposition, though we have no Forts in any of the Rivers. The Ivory or Teeth Coast succeeds next, in which our Commerce is carried on in the same Manner without Settlements, and the Number of our Ships that resort thither, together with the Interest that the Natives have in preserving our Correspondence, enable us to deal largely in Elephant's Teeth,

The Isle on which our Fort stands in the River of Senegal, is in the Latitude of Sixteen Degrees or thereabout, the Isle of Goree in 14°. 40'. North Latitude. James Fort in the River of Gambia in Thirteen Degrees Twenty Minutes nearly. The Gum from whence this Coast derives its Denomination, is sometimes called Gum Arabic, and sometimes Gum Senega. The Reason of the First Name was its being imported from Arabia and Egypt into Europe, and is generally esteemed to be the Produce of the Acacia vera. But from the great Quantities brought from the Forests before-mentioned, it acquired the Name of Gum Senega. There are Two Sorts of it, which seem to differ only in Colour, the One being White, the other Red. We will give the Reader a more satisfactory Account than hath hitherto appeared from a Person perfectly well acquainted with these Forests. "The Woods where the Gum Senega grows begin about Ten Leagues E. S. E. from Portendaric, and from thence stretch a great Way to the Eastward. "The Tree or rather large Bush that produces this Gum is an Evergreen Thorn, the Season when it is gathered is in the Months of December, January, February, and March, according as the Season is early or late. The Quantity produced depends upon the Season. The Years when they have the greatest Crops are when it rains plentifully, and when the Locusts come immediately after, and devour all the Leaves of the Gum Trees. This it seems prevents those Juices of which the Gum is composed from being drawn out of the Trunk and Branches into the Leaves; when it is ripe for gathering it bursts the Bark of the Tree and forms into clear Balls about the Size of a Pigeon's Egg. But the Azanaga in order to procure a greater Quantity help it out by making an Incision in the Bark with their long Knives." Immense Quantities of this Gum, which the Natives frequently use for Food, are consumed in Europe in Medicine, in several Trades, and in some Manufactures, to which it is absolutely necessary. A. D. 1771 there were Forty-three English Ships on this Coast, who besides Three thousand Three hundred and Ten Slaves, brought from thence Four hundred Tons of Gum Senega.

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in Cam Wood, and Drugs, but chiefly in Negroes for the Service of our Plantations in the West Indies &c.

AT Cape Appolonia the Gold Coast begins, and ends at the River Lagos. This hath been always considered as of great Consequence to Britain. The Two last African Companies built at different Times the following Forts, Appolonia, Dixcove, Succondee, Commenda, Cape Coast Castle, Annamaboe, Tantomquerry, Winnebah, Accra, Prampram, and Whidah. which still subsist, and are under the Direction of the African Committee, who receive annually from Parliament not less than Ten thousand, sometimes Thirteen thousand, and even Fifteen thousand Pounds for their Support. These were formerly, and may be now of singular Utility in maintaining the Credit and Honour of the Nation, in protecting our Vessels that trade upon the Coast, and in affording them Shelter and Protection in their Dealings with the Natives, which is the more necessary as there are several Dutch and Danish Forts upon this Coast, and at Whidah the English, French, and Portuguese have Forts within Gunshot of each other. Great Care therefore should be taken to inspect our Forts from time to time to see that they are in good Condition, and if any of them are of little Use it would be prudent to demolish these in order to preserve the Rest in a more respectable State at the same Expence <sup>b</sup>.

AT the River Lagos commences what is called the Bite or the Bite of Benin, which ends at Cape Lopez. In this long Tract of Coast there

<sup>8</sup> This Tract of Coast from Cape Rouge made formerly a greater Figure in our Accounts than it does at present. The constant Demand, the great Profits produced, and the quick Returns from the Slave Trade seem to have lessened the Attention to any other, at least in this Part of Africa. What is yet carried on, is chiefly by private Traders settled on the great Rivers, who purchase Ivory, dyeing Woods, and other Things from the Natives, and sell them to the Ships that repair annually to the Coast. The Property of the Merchants who settled Banse Island is secured to them by that Act of Parliament which establishes the New Company. It might perhaps be advisable to bring the private Traders under some Regulation, and by granting them certain Advantages, to secure their Correspondence with British Ships only. In A. D. 1771 the Number of Ships that visited this Coast was Fifty-six, and they carried away Eleven thousand Nine hundred and Sixty Slaves.

<sup>a</sup> The principal Fortress we have is Cape Coast Castle, which with the Rest ought certainly to be maintained in a proper State of Defence to support the Honour of the Nation in the ~~Trade~~ of the Natives and Foreigners. They ought also to be made constantly serviceable to the Purposes for which they were erected, and are maintained at the Expence in a long Course of Years of immense Sums to the Nation upon a Trust and Confidence that they would be so employed. The Parliament upon the Petition of the African Traders have, more especially in the present Reign, done much, and have shewn great Readiness upon proper Information to do more. A. D. 1771 there were sent to this Coast Twenty-nine Ships, who carried away Seven thousand Five hundred Twenty-five Slaves.

are

are the Rivers of Benin, New Callabar, Bonny, old Callabar, and several others, and notwithstanding that in these we have not either Fort or Settlement, yet our African Traders send thither more Ships, and purchase more Negroes thereon, than in any of the several Coasts we have mentioned. This is the more extraordinary, as the Shore is dangerous, the Navigation of the Rivers difficult, and most of the Inhabitants, who are very numerous, equally perfidious and barbarous <sup>i</sup>. To the South East of Cape Lopez lies Majumba, where some Ivory and much Cam Wood is purchased. Loanga lies next, then Malemba about Thirty Leagues South. About Seven Leagues farther lies Cabenda, where the African Company had a Fort, which hath been destroyed by the Portuguese. The River Congo lies Ten Degrees from hence, beyond which we have no Trade. The Portuguese are Masters here, having on the Coast of Angola the City of Loanda St. Paul's, from whence they carry on a great Inland Trade by Caravans to their Colony at Mozambique on the East Side of Africa. The Coast from the River Congo to the Cape of Good Hope is Seven hundred Leagues in Extent, and possibly some commodious Ports may be discovered thereon, though seldom or never visited at present <sup>k</sup>.

AFTER this short Detail of the State of the British Commerce on the Coast of Africa, from Port Sallee to the Cape of Good Hope, containing an Extent of about Three thousand Leagues of Coast, it is natural to conclude with shewing the national Advantages arising from this Trade. To represent these fully would be a Work of extreme Difficulty, to trace them

<sup>i</sup> The numerous Difficulties and perpetual Hazards to which Ships trading on this Coast are continually exposed, and their having no Assistance or Protection but what arises from their own Force, makes the Resort hither a Thing almost incredible. The Ships however being properly equipped, well manned, under the Command of Officers of great Caution and long Experience, brave those Dangers annually for the Sake of Profit. They are however sometimes cut off, and Mutinies attended with much Bloodshed are more frequent. Yet in the Midst of these Embarrassments the Trade to this Coast is constantly increasing; so that in 1771 the Number of Ships employed thereon were Sixty-three, and the Number of Slaves purchased by them Twenty-three thousand Three hundred and One.

<sup>k</sup> The Ivory bought upon this and upon the other Coasts, for in smaller or greater Quantities it is bought on all of them, consists of larger and lesser Teeth. But where they come from is hardly known, except that they are brought from the interior Part of the Country. The former are supposed to be the Teeth of old Elephants, the latter of young, or sometimes the Sea-Tortoises, which are remarkably white and fine, but brittle. The red Wood is excellent in its Kind, and other Drugs for Dyeing might be easily had, since the Use of many of them is known even to the Natives. The Gold is either wrought for the Ornaments both of Men and Women in small Pieces. Lump or Rock Gold, which they pretend is brought from the Mines of a larger Size, but from its being frequently mixed there is great Reason to doubt that it has been melted and cast. The greatest Part however is in Dust, in the falsifying of which they are very dextrous, and villainous Art they have been taught by the Europeans. On the Whole of this Coast, A. D. 1771, there came but Four Ships, and these carried away a Thousand and Fifty-one Slaves.

minutely, would employ a considerable Volume, and in any Degree to state their true Value requires such a Measure of Information as very few possess. It may suffice for the present Purpose to make the candid and judicious Reader fully sensible that these Assertions are well founded. In the First Place then this Trade is carried on for the most Part by the Export of our own Commodities and Manufactures, and these arising from their Labour rewards the Industry of our own People. In the next it is entirely carried on in our own Shipping, which is another great Advantage, and this too in many Respects. What is wanting to compleat the Assortments for the Ships thus employed, exclusive of our Home Produce, is made up from Manufactures brought by our own Subjects from the East Indies. Add to all this that we import no Articles of Luxury, but on the contrary such as are absolutely necessary to our own Manufactures, or which being wrought up here are for the most Part re-exported. Hence it appears that the Amount of this Trade, which viewed in this Light only is very considerable, must be esteemed so much clear Profit to the Nation, which is more than can be said of many others<sup>1</sup>.

ALL this however is but a Part, and not the most considerable Part of the Benefit arising to Great Britain from the African Commerce. For it is to this that we owe the greatest Part of the Advantages derived from our Plantations in America, in which the Labour is chiefly performed by Negroes. To be convinced of this we need only consider that the clearing of Woods, the Cultivation of Sugar, Rice, and Tobacco, can in those sultry Climates be performed only by them. If any Thing farther be necessary we may compare the State of these Colonies and the Returns made by them to the Mother Country before and since the Introduction of Negroes, which will very clearly demonstrate that both their Subsistence and

<sup>1</sup> The constant, regular, and increasing Demands of this Trade have had wonderful Effects upon our Manufactures, and have kept Multitudes employed in them, which will be more easily conceived, if we consider in a few Instances only what go to make up their Cargoes, which are composed of Woollen, Silk, Linnen, Cotton Goods of many Sorts, Leather, Brats, Steel, Iron, Glafs, Earthen Ware, Fire Arms, Gunpowder, &c. In A. D. 1771 there were employed in this Trade One hundred and Seven Ships from Liverpool, Fifty-eight from London, Twenty-five from Bristol, Five from Lancaster, besides several small Vessels, in the Whole One hundred and Ninety-five Ships, of the Burden altogether of Fifty thousand Tons, exclusive of Vessels employed in the same Trade from the Plantations. The Quantity of East India Manufactures exported is also very great, and for their more effectual Supply in them, special Powers have been granted to the East India Company within these few Years. To the Articles already mentioned of their Imports, we may add Rice, Indes, Wax, different Kinds of rich Gums, Ebony, and other fine Woods, and a Variety of valuable Drugs, which sufficiently justify what hath been said on this Subject in the Text.



## of GREAT BRITAIN.

their Extension depends and must depend upon this Commerce, of how great Importance this is will be shewn in the next Chapter<sup>m</sup>.

THERE is still another Point that merits Notice, which is, that even these great and numerous Emoluments arising from the African Commerce are capable of being very much augmented. In the First Place by adopting proper Regulations and granting necessary Encouragements for the more effectually carrying it on. By causing judicious Enquiries to be made as to new and valuable Commodities that may be brought from that vast Country, which hitherto from our slight Acquaintance only with its Coasts have escaped all Knowledge, or are but imperfectly or incertainly known. By attempting to make further Discoveries on what is called the Coast of the Desert, and of that long Tract from the River Congo to the Cape of Good Hope, which could hardly fail of producing farther Advantages. To this we may add, that if some at least of our Forts were put in a more respectable Condition, and the Natives properly encouraged to settle about them, the Soil and Climate might induce us with great Probability to hope that some very rich and valuable Commodities we now take from Foreigners might be raised there, which would come to us sooner and of course in greater Perfection than we can have them at present. These Settlements would have also this peculiar Circumstance to recommend them, that nothing which could be cultivated there could possibly interfere with the Produce of Britain<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> In order to form some Idea of what is above-mentioned, it will not be amiss to remark, that in the Year 1771 the whole Number of Negroes exported was 47,146, and of these the Liverpool Merchants carried 29,250. The Produce of these, to say nothing in this Place of the numerous Advantages derived from them, which will however, as hath been already mentioned, appear in the next Chapter, according to a moderate Computation amounts to One Million and a Half Sterling, and the Produce of the other Branches of this Commerce have been computed at Half a Million more, that is, Two Millions in the Whole.

<sup>n</sup> It is somewhat more than Threescore Years ago that the Merchants of Liverpool entered into this Trade, which they began by sending only a single Ship. In A. D. 1752, the whole Number of Ships employed in this Commerce were but Eighty-eight, and of these Fifty-eight were from Liverpool. As an Instance of what might be expected from One or more Colonies that might be established in some Part of this Country it may be remarked, that the French brought from thence Indigo superior to any of their own from the West Indies, and affirm. that growing there almost every-where it might be had in any Quantities. Guineas were first coined A. D. 1663, and to give Credit to the new Company by shewing whence the Gold was brought, were marked with an Elephant. Formerly it was computed that we brought annually from One hundred to One hundred and Fifty thousand Ounces of Gold from Africa, what we now bring is not known.

## C H A P. V.

## The British Colonies and Settlements in America.

**T**HE Spirit of Discovery we may safely affirm, appeared as early in this Age in any Part of Europe; and in respect to the Continent of America our actual Discovery was the earliest of all. For Sir John Cabot visited so much of that Continent as we now possess in the very same Year that Vasquez de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and a Year before the Great Columbus saw any Part of the Main Land of that extensive Country. We never from that Time lost Sight of this Object, though from the Situation of our Affairs it was prosecuted at first but slowly, yet being in the Hands of Persons of Rank and Property, it kept up an enterprising Disposition which gradually rendered the Establishment of Colonies practicable, and even these were at first settled, and for a considerable Space of Time supported at several great Men's Expence. Things are now indeed exceedingly changed, and in less than Three hundred Years we see a great Part of the Wilds and Wastes of America become rich and well cultivated Countries, settled and improved, as well as possessed by Multitudes of British Subjects<sup>a</sup>.

It must however be acknowledged, that the signal and solid Advantages that have arisen from our Colonies, are by no Means such as occupied our primary Expectations. These were excited by sanguine Hopes of finding Regions full of rich Mines, or abounding with valuable Spices. The Expedition of Cabot was undertaken to discover a North-West Passage to the Indies, and very many subsequent Voyages were made with

<sup>a</sup> We have already in a former Chapter said so much of the Genius and Character of Henry the Seventh, that it may suffice to say here, that he granted his Letters Patent to John Cabot and his Three Sons for the making Discoveries in Parts unknown, which bear Date the Fifth of March in the Eleventh Year of his Reign, A. D. 1495. They did not however sail from Bristol till Two Years after, and on the 24th of June 1497 first saw the Continent of America, as we learn from Fabian in his Chronicle, who lived at the Time. Vasquez de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 19th of November in the same Year. Columbus sailing from the Island of Trinidad first discovered the Continent of America in the Month of August 1498. The curious Reader, who is desirous of seeing the History of these early Discoveries, may peruse Eden, Hakluyt, and Purchas's Collections.

a View of reaping the same Golden Harvests with the Spaniards <sup>b</sup>. But by the kindly Interposition of Heaven these Aims were disappointed, and we were led as it were by the Hand to Schemes of more Utility, and much more Emolument. The Countries we found furnished no valuable Metals, but they furnished plentiful Employment for Industry, and this in due Time hath been followed by lasting and increasing Profits. This gradually reconciled us to that Lot which had been assigned us, and we have long continued to prosecute with indefatigable Prudence that Plan which an All-wise Providence pointed out.

At the First Forming of these Settlements, they were, as hath been already observed, supported by Persons of Figure and Fortune, and though no immediate Benefits might accrue to them, yet what was thus expended was very advantageous to the Public. As the Numbers resorting thither increased by Persons wanting Employment, through Difference in religious Sentiments, and civil Dissensions, the Mother Country continued to gain. These People would have left Home had there been no Plantations, and would have been absolutely lost to this Island, whereas in going to our Colonies, though they changed their Abode they remained still a Part of the Nation. They had their Supplies from hence, and as soon as they were able they made their Returns hither. As their Circumstances improved their Demands grew larger, which by giving Employment to Multitudes at Home, not only prevented detrimental Emigrations, but afforded Encouragement to Foreigners to resort hither. By these Means our Lands improved, our Rents were raised, new Manufactures and Trades were introduced, Navigation encouraged, Shipping increased, our Seamen augmented, and the Power and Wealth of the State was continually promoted. That these are not plausible Conjectures, but certain and incontestable Facts, will appear from hence, that the Prosperity of Britain and of her Colonies have regularly and uniformly grown up and kept

<sup>b</sup> To how great a Degree these golden Dreams possessed the Minds of the Nation in those Days will appear from what Fabian says of John Cabot, that he promised the King to discover a certain rich Island, which so able a Man would never have done, and which the Tenor of the Letters Patents before-mentioned clearly shew he never did. Sir Martin Frobilher in Queen Elizabeth's Time raised great Expectations of a Gold Mine in an Island near the Straits to which he gave his Name, and in his Third Voyage thither he brought over a great Quantity of yellow shining Spar, in which however not a single Grain of Gold was to be found. Sir Humphry Gilbert, who perished in returning from Newfoundland, believed that he had found a Silver Mine there, of which nothing hath been heard since. The great Sir Walter Raleigh fell into the same Notion with respect to Guiana, but in all Probability was deceived. The State of our Colonies compared with those of the Spaniards clearly demonstrate a Truth, upon which from its great Importance and Utility we have often insisted, that it is Industry alone which constitutes National Wealth.

Pace with each other. In order to treat this very important Subject with that Propriety and Perspicuity it requires, the easiest and the most natural Method will be to consider first the Provinces on the Northern; then those on the Southern Part of the Continent of America; after these the noble Island of Jamaica; Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands next; and lastly the ceded Isles.

c It will be easy for those who will take the Trouble of enquiring into the Rise and Progress of our Settlements, to discover the true Causes why they were so long before they shew'd any Signs of that great Consequence to which they have since attained. They will see that this was at first owing to our Want of Skill in the Art of Colonization; that afterwards their intestine Divisions had very sinister Effects, which were heightened and increased by Disappointments amongst those who should have supported them at home, and, which was no inconsiderable Cause, our undertaking too many at once. But when Necessity urged, and the Practice of other Nations, as well as their own Experience, had taught them the Means of overcoming these Difficulties, and put them on a strict Attention to the Staples which suited respectively the different Soils and Climates in which they were placed, they gradually emerged from their Obscurity; and when they began to make a rapid Progress, the Benefits resulting from their Labours were secured to the Mother-country by the Act of Navigation.

## S E C T. I.

*Containing an Account of our Colonies on the Northern Part of the Continent of America, viz. Hudson's Bay, Labrador, Newfoundland, the Importance of the Fishery there, and upon the Banks; Canada or the Province of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New England, New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.*

**T**HE most Northern Part of America, on which there are at present any British Subjects settled, is the Coast of Hudson's Bay, which derives its Name from a bold and able Seaman who discovered the Straits that enter into this great Body of Water, and after Two Voyages thither in Hopes of discovering a North West Passage perished in the Third by the Treachery of his own People. It lies from Fifty to near Seventy Degrees North Latitude, and from Seventy-seven to Ninety-seven Degrees of Longitude West from London. The Boundaries on the North are not well defined, on the East by a broken Coast esteemed Part of Labrador; on the South, by the same Country; on the West, by New North and South Wales. It extends in Length about Five hundred Leagues, and some say Four hundred in Breadth. The Climate is exceedingly cold, as the Bay is not free from Ice above Two Months in the Year. The Land is generally barren

barren except at the Bottom of the Bay, where there is some Herbage and Trees. There are many fine Rivers that fall into the Bay, at the Mouths of some of which stand our Forts. The Property of the Soil and an exclusive Right to the Trade was granted by a Charter from King Charles the Second, in which it is declared a Colony by the Name of Rupert's Land, and under this Charter is still held. As inhospitable as this Country may appear, there is none better supplied with Fish, Flesh, and Fowl; Flour, Biscuit, and other Necessaries, such as remain here in the Company's Service receive annually from England. The Trade is generally supposed to be very lucrative, and is carried on with little Trouble, the Savages resorting thither with Furs, Castor, and other Goods in their own Canoes to the Number of about Twelve hundred every Year, and these Commodities being sent Home in the Company's Ships produce very large Sums at their public Sales<sup>a</sup>.

LABRADOR, Laborador, or New Britain, is a Country of great Extent, and thought to be inhabited by the Esquimaux. As it is now indisputably ours, it hath a Claim to be remembered, that in Time it may be better known. It lies from the Latitude of Fifty to Sixty-three Degrees North, and in the Longitude of from Fifty to Seventy-five Degrees West from London. It is bounded on the North East by Hudson's Straits, on the East by the Atlantic Ocean, on the South East by the Straits of Belleisle; it is divided from Newfoundland on the South by the Gulph and Bay of St. Lawrence and Part of Canada, on the West by Hudson's Bay. It hath been asserted by those who have visited the Coasts, that the

<sup>a</sup> This vast inland Sea was entered by Captain Hudson on the 24th of June A. D. 1610. The Mouth of the Streight lies in 61° N. Lat. and in Lon. 64° W. The opposite Mouth is in 62° 42' N. Lat. and in 77° 45' W. Lon. They are about Forty Miles broad, and Four hundred and Twenty long. The Coasts of this Sea are about Three thousand Miles. The Charter bears Date the 22d May, in the 22d Year of the Reign of Charles II. A. D. 1669, it was granted to Prince Rupert, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, &c. expressly for the Discovery of a North-west Passage. The Settlements by the Company are, the Prince of Wales's Fort on Churchill River, in 59° N. Lat. a strong well-built Fort, and their chief Factory: York Fort, in Nelson River, 57° N. Lat. At the River Aibany, 52° N. Lat. At Moose River, 51° N. Lat. and a small House at Slude River, in 52° N. Lat. The Number of Persons maintained in these Posts is about One hundred and Twenty, most of them hired from Orkney, from Five to Twenty Pounds a-year, according to the Length of Time for which they indent. The like Number of Men they employ on board their Ships, of which they send Two, Three, or Four annually. They pass the Straits in the Beginning of August, and return in September. The Navigation is very safe, not a Ship being lost in Twenty Years. Their Exports are said to be between Three and Four Thousand Pounds; and their Two-Half-yearly Sales amount, if we can depend on Mr. Dobbs, to near Fifty Thousand Pounds. These consist in Beaver, Deer-Skins, Whalebone, Castor, Quills, and Feathers. If the Trade was laid open, it is said our Exports thither might be exceedingly enlarged, a very extensive and lucrative Fishery carried on, much greater Quantities of Furs and Peltry imported, and that many other Benefits might accrue.

Climate is somewhat milder, and the Soil rather better than in the Country we have before described. It is also said to produce most of the Necessaries of Life, if we except Corn, in great Abundance, and though no Settlements have been hitherto made, yet the Fisheries upon its Coasts have been very plentiful as well as profitable, and it hath been also suggested, that if it should be found practicable to settle thereon, Whale Oil, Whale-bone and other Things might be prepared there, which would save a great Expence, and enable us thereby to import such Commodities much cheaper <sup>b</sup>.

THE Island of Newfoundland was so called by John Cabot, which the French have adopted, and in their Language stile it Terre Neuve. The Spaniards call it Terra de Baccaloes, or the Land of Cods. It lies from Forty-six Degrees Fifty Minutes to Fifty-one Degrees Thirty Minutes North Latitude, and in Longitude from Fifty-three Degrees Thirty Minutes to Fifty-eight Degrees Twenty Minutes West from London. The Form is that of an irregular Triangle, the Base or South Side being Eighty Leagues in Extent, the East Side is the longest, and the whole Circumference about Two hundred and Fifty Leagues. It is bounded on the North by the Straits of Belleisle, which separate it from Labrador; on the East and South, it hath the Atlantic Ocean; and on the West the Gulph of St. Lawrence. The Climate, though severe enough, is more temperate than in either of the Countries hitherto mentioned. The Soil, at least on the Sea Coast, which is all that we know of it, is poor and barren. A few Kitchen Vegetables with Strawberries and Rasberries are all its Produce. The Country within Land is mountainous, and abounds with Timber; there are several Rivers which are plentifully stored with several Sorts of Fish, Abundance of deep Bays, and many good Ports. St. John's and Placentia are the Two principal Settlements, and at each of these there is a Fort, the Number of People who remain here in the Winter hath been computed at Four thousand. The French by the Treaty of Utrecht were permitted to fish from Cape

<sup>b</sup> We know so little of this Country of New Britain, that we cannot so much as tell whether it is a Continent, or composed of several Islands, the latter being at least as probable as the former. It is not always the Beauty or the Fertility of a distant Country that should recommend it to a trading Nation; and of this we may assert New Britain to be a Proof; for, without exporting any Thing thither, without having any Settlement, there hath been brought from thence to the Value of Fifty thousand Pounds in one Summer. The Eskimaux, who sometimes visit Newfoundland, have their Habitations in this Country: They live in the open Air during the Summer, and in Caverns during the Winter. It is worth Observation, that these People are completely clothed. They have Shirts made from Fish-guts, Breeches of Skins with the Hair turned inwards, a Kind of Coat or Cloak of Bears Skin, and their Shoes or Boots of Seal Skins, whence their Skin is of the same Colour with ours. If these People were civilized, might they not wear our coarse Cloths, Hose, and Linnen? and might they not pay us in Furs and Peltry, in Whalebone, Whale and Seal Oil and Seal Skins? and would not this be a profitable Trade?

Bonavista on the East Side round the North of the Island to Point Rich on the West, and by the Treaty of Paris, they are allowed the Isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon, upon which they are to dry their Fish, but not to erect Fortifications of any Kind c.

THE great Importance of this Place arises from its Fishery, which is in Part carried on by the Inhabitants at the several Harbours, which are about Twenty in Number, who take vast Quantities of Cod near the Coast, which they bring in and cure at their Leisure in order to have it ready for the Ships when they arrive. But the great and extensive Fishery is on the Banks at some Distance from the Island. The great Bank lies Twenty Leagues from the nearest Point of Land from the Latitude of Forty-one to Forty-nine, stretching Three hundred Miles in Length and Seventy-five in Breadth. To the East of this lies the False Bank, the next is stiled Vert or the Green Bank, about Two hundred and Forty Miles long, and One hundred and Twenty over, then Banquero about the same Size. The Shoals of Sand Island, Whale Bank, and the Bank of St. Peter's, with several others of less Note, all abounding with Fish.

THE Cod are caught only by a Hook, and an expert Fisher will take from One hundred and Fifty to Three hundred and upwards in a Day, for the Fish never bite in the Night, and the Labour is very great. The Season is from May to October, in the Height of which there are from Five to Seven hundred Sail upon the Banks at a Time. The Fish caught in the Spring Months are best; they are cured in very different Ways. Some are stiled White Fish, others Mud Fish, which are stowed and salted in the Hold, and will not keep long, but the best and most valuable are the dried Cod. The Quantity taken is prodigious, yet in some Seasons and in different Places varies considerably, as the Fish frequently

c This Island of Newfoundland is generally supposed to be as large, if not larger than Ireland; and the First Accounts of it were so flattering, that many Attempts were made to settle thereon. Lord Baltimore obtained a Grant of the South-east Corner of the Isle, built a good House there, and went over thither with his Family, but removed afterwards to the Continent. The Truth is, those Accounts were false, for though the Summers are sometimes hot, no Grain comes, or at least very rarely comes to Perfection. Sir Josiah Child hath shewn, that planting that Island is not the Interest of this Country. The Commodore of the King's Squadron for the Protection of the Fishery is, during the Time of his Residence, Governor of Newfoundland. Disputes among the Fishermen are settled by the Master who arrives first in the Season in each of their numerous Havens, and who for that Year is stiled Lord of the Harbour. A Gentleman upon whose Knowledge, Accuracy, and Veracity I can depend; informs me, that in A. D. 1769 the Total of the Imports amounted to 3710 l. and of the Exports to 1,011,085 l. In the succeeding Year, A. D. 1770, the Number of Topfail Vessels entered inwards amounted to 146, and of Sloops and Schooners 50; and there were cleared outwards 127 Topfails, and 31 Sloops and Schooners.



change their Stations. The Fishing Ships, as they are called, lie upon the Banks, with the Help of their Boats take and cure their own Fish, and as soon as they are full sail for a Market. The Sack Ships proceed directly to the Island, where they purchase Fish from the Inhabitants either by Barter or Bills of Exchange. The principal Markets for Cod are Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the West Indies. The Value of this Fishery is computed at some hundred thousand Pounds annually, employing besides several hundred Ships, some Thousands of Seamen, and affording a Maintenance to a Number of Tradesmen of different Occupations, by which many large Towns on the West Side of England accumulate Wealth, and at the same Time contribute in many respects to the Benefit of the Public d.

THE Countries or at least the greatest Part of those Countries which the French called New France and Louisiana, since they came into the Possession of the Crown of Great Britain are stiled Canada or the Province of Quebec. The First of these is an Indian Name, derived from Kannata, which in the Language of the Iroquois signifies a Village or a Number of Cabins. This great Country lies from Thirty-nine to Fifty-nine Degrees of North Latitude, and from Sixty-seven to Ninety-seven Degrees of Longitude West from London. Its length from West to East is about Eighteen hundred Miles, in Breadth from South to North it is about Twelve hundred Miles. On the North it is bounded by Hudson's Bay and Lands unknown, on the East by Hudson's Bay and Labrador, by several British Colonies on the South, and on the West by the River Mississippi and Lands unknown. The Climate in so vast a Country must be very different, but even the best inhabited Part of it is certainly exceedingly cold, the River of St. Lawrence being usually frozen Eight Months in the Year, notwithstanding which it is on all Hands allowed that even in this long Winter the Weather is both wholesome and pleasant. In the Western and Southern Parts the Cli-

d The great Utility of this Fishery was very early seen, and very vigorously pursued, for One hundred and Seventy Years ago, that is, in the Beginning of the Reign of King James I. we had Two hundred and Fifty Sail employed therein. It is computed, that Three Quintals of wet Fish make One Quintal of dried Cod. Besides, the Livers of every Hundred Quintals make a Hoghead of Oil; and exclusive of these, there are many lesser Advantages that go in Diminution of the Expence. The Fishery, as we have said in the Text, produces differently in different Seasons, but it is judged to be a very good One when it produces Three hundred thousand Quintals of Fish, and Three thousand Barrels of Oil, both equally saleable and valuable Commodities. As every Ship carries Twelve, and each of their Boats Eight Men, and as these return home in Six Months, there cannot be a more noble Nursery for Seamen. The Artificers and Traders employed in building, victualling, and repairing these Vessels are very numerous in the respective Ports from which they sail. These Circumstances justify the particular Attention paid by Government to this Branch of the public Service, in respect to which, that they may be well informed, an annual and very distinct Account, by which the Whole is seen at One View, is delivered by the proper Officer to the Governor of Newfoundland, that is, to the Commodore of his Majesty's Squadron.

mate is milder. The Soil in general is fruitful, and when duly cultivated produces every Thing requisite to Subsistence, Corn in great Plenty, a great Variety of Vegetables, and those excellent in their Kind, some Fruit Trees, as Apples, Pears, Plums, and Cherries, an immense Quantity of excellent Timber, and many Trees and Shrubs of great Use in Dyeing, and in Medicine. There are also very rich Mines of Iron and Copper. There is no Country in the World happier than this in Water Carriage, for besides Lake Superior, the Lake of the Illinois, Lake Huron, and Lake Erie, which communicate one with another, Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain, which both discharge their Waters into the River of St. Lawrence, there are many other Lakes and Rivers that water all Parts of the Country. The City of Quebec, the Seat of Government, stands about One hundred and Ten Leagues from the Mouth of the River of St. Lawrence, Montreal Sixty Leagues higher, and Trois Rivieres between them. There are several large Villages, fortified Posts, and Settlements along the River, and in different Parts of the Country. The present Staples of Canada are, Furs, Fish, Oil, and Lumber; but as every Thing is now in a thriving Way, the Number of Inhabitants increasing, and their Commerce much more considerable than it was, there is no Doubt that Canada will become daily of greater Consequence to Britain.

NOVA SCOTIA received that Name from its Proprietor Sir William Alexander, afterwards created Earl of Stirling, but the French when they ob-

\* The Immensity of this Country is such, that though so long known to and in part possessed by Europeans, we have still but very imperfect Notions of the interior Parts. This will be easily comprehended, if we reflect that upwards of One hundred Millions of Inhabitants would not render it so populous as Great Britain. Yet it must be allowed that it hath come into our Hands with great Advantage. We found in it many thousand People, Natives well accustomed to and settled in the Country, and now tolerably reconciled to our Government, the Benefits of which they feel and acknowledge. There is Room enough for the different Nations of Indians, who with proper Care and Management may be rendered of great Utility. The Lakes and Water Communications of all Kinds ought to be diligently explored, as they seem intended by Nature to facilitate an Intercourse between the People situated in the different Parts of this vast Continent. The Indians report that the Lake of Assiniboils in the most northern Part of this Country is Six hundred Leagues in Circumference, that the Soil about it is fertile, and the Air temperate. If they are to be credited it is the Source of all the great Rivers and Lakes, viz. the River of Bourbon, or as we stile it Nelson's River, falling into Hudson's Bay, the River of St. Lawrence, which falls into the Ocean, the Mississippi, which discharges itself into the Bay of Mexico, the Missouri, a very great River which falls into the former, and another large River running directly West. At present the Fishery is a very great Object, as in the Gulph of St. Lawrence and on the Coast of Labrador they take vast Numbers of Whales, Porpoises, Seals, Sturgeon, several Sorts of Cod, Salmon, and other Fish. Agriculture also makes a great Progress, and the Peltry and Fur Trades daily increase. The Total of the Exports in the Year 1769 amounted to One hundred Seven thousand Nine hundred Seventy six Pounds. The Number of Top-sail Vessels entered inwards were Twenty eight, and Nineteen Sloops; cleared outwards Twenty eight Ships, and Twenty-two Sloops in A. D. 1770.

truded themselves into this Country called it Acadia. It lies from Forty-three to Forty-nine Degrees of North Latitude, and from Sixty-two to Seventy-two Degrees of Longitude West from London. The Extent of it from South to North is about Three hundred and Sixty, and from East to West upwards of Five hundred Miles. It is bounded on the North by the River, on the East by the Gulph or Bay of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, on the South by that Ocean and the Province of New England, and on the West by the River of St. Lawrence. The Form of this Country is very irregular. The greatest Part of it lies on the Continent, the Remainder, which may be about One Third, is a Peninsula, separated from the Main by an Arm of the Sea called the Bay of Fundy, and joined to it at the North End by a narrow Isthmus. It was to this Peninsula that the French would have confined their Cession of Acadia by the Treaty of Utrecht, contrary both to the Letter and Spirit of it. By this Means being well settled on the Continent, having the Indians in their Interest, and being in Possession of the adjacent Islands, our Colonies must ever have been in a very precarious State; but now these Disputes are at an End, and we are in full Possession of the Whole. The Climate is rather severe in point of Cold, and the Country much infested by Fogs, which are however not unwholesome, though unpleasant. The Soil where it is cleared, if we may credit both English and French Authorities, is very fertile, yielding Corn, Grass, and Vegetables of every Kind. The Continent especially is mountainous; and the far greatest Part of it remains still a Forest. There are many Lakes, several beautiful Rivers abounding with a Variety of Fish, and nothing wanting to encourage the Industry, and of course to increase the Number of its Inhabitants. The principal Places therein are Annapolis, which the French called Port Royal, seated on One of the finest Havens in the World, capable of receiving any Number of the largest Ships, and which is very remarkable, the Tide rising there Twenty-eight or Thirty Feet. On the opposite Side of the Peninsula stands Halifax, the Seat of Government, where a noble Establishment hath been made at the Expence of Great Britain, and all the Dispositions requisite for the Service of his Majesty's Ships when a Squadron is sent into these Seas. Minnes, Chenigto, Lunenburgh, and Canso on the Strait that divides Nova Scotia from the Island of Cape Breton. The present Exports of this Country are Peltry, Lumber, Fish, Oil, and in Process of Time, Masts, Pitch, Tar, Hemp, and all other naval Stores may be supplied from hence. The Isles of Cape Breton and St. John, though the latter is now a separate Government, seem dependent on this Province,

and

and till they are better settled stand in no need of a particular Description<sup>f</sup>.

NEW ENGLAND received its Name from Charles the First when Prince of Wales. It consists of several Parts, and some of these are under different Forms of Government. It is in Point of Strength, Improvements, and Independency the most considerable of all our Colonies. It extends from Forty-one to Forty-six Degrees of Latitude North, and lies from Sixty-nine to Seventy-three Degrees of Longitude West from London. On the North it is bounded by Nova Scotia and Canada, on the South and East by the Atlantic, and on the West by the Province of New York. In length it is near Three hundred Miles, hardly any where Two hundred in breadth. The Climate is not much to be commended. The Winter is long and sometimes very severe; the Summer short and sultry, heavy Rains, but of no Continuance. With all this the Weather is frequently clear and serene for a long Continuance, and in general wholesome. The Soil very different, in some Places coarse, rocky, or sandy, in others deep and fertile. European Corn of every Kind hath hitherto succeeded but indifferently, but of Maize or Indian Corn they have Abundance, and apply it to all Sorts of Uses, even that of Malting; Peas they have likewise in Plenty. The Pastures there are extensive, and produce great Quantities of Grass and Hay. Black Cattle and Hogs are large and very fine, but Sheep are indifferent; there are great Variety of Vegetables, and all Sorts of edible Roots are excellent. Fruit Trees abound, and bear luxuriantly, so that several Hogheads of Cyder are sometimes made from the Apples of a single Tree. Timber of all Sorts, more especially Oak, Pine, and Fir, there is no where better or in greater Plenty. We need not wonder that with these Advantages the Country should be well peopled, and much improved. Besides Boston, which is the Capital, and the largest

<sup>f</sup> Sir William Alexander's Grant bears Date the Tenth of September 1621. The Contest for this Country between us and the French continued about a Century and a Half. We may ascribe to this, at least in some Degree, the fine Descriptions given of it both by English and French Writers. The latter set a great Value on the Furs and Peltry furnished to them by the Indians, they esteemed the Masts and Ship Timber to be the best in the World, and they spoke in very high Terms of the rich Meadows and Pastures, and of their fine arable Land, which on both Sides of the Bay of Fundy may be very true. But from the Accidents of War and some other Causes the British Inhabitants have not been hitherto so successful as very probably they will be in Time, for in Countries like this Plantations do not succeed the worse from their being made slowly, and with due Consideration, as appears from the Want of Wood at Halifax. The total Exports, A. D. 1769, were 1,4,012 l. of which 730 l. only to Great Britain. In the succeeding Year there were entered inwards 27 Topfails, and 131 Sloops; cleared outwards 31 Ships, and 161 Sloops.

Town in America, they have many others very considerable; so that the Whole is laid out into Counties as in England. Their principal Exports are Masts, Yards, Naval Stores, Pot Ashes, Whale Oil, Provisions of all Kinds, and Lumber. But their Riches principally arise from their different and extensive Fisheries, from Ship-building, and above all from their Commerce, for which they have been stiled, not at all improperly, the Dutch of America. The Number of Inhabitants have been computed at about Half a Million †.

NEW YORK received that Appellation from the Duke of York, to whom, after it was recovered from the Dutch, it was granted by his Brother King Charles the Second. It lies between Forty-one and Forty-four Degrees of North Latitude; and from Seventy-two to Seventy-six Degrees of Longitude West from London. In length about Two hundred Miles, in breadth scarce One, indeed the best Maps make it much narrower. It is bounded on the North by Canada, on the East by New England, on the South by the Sea, and on the West by the River Delawar, which divides it from Pennsylvania. The Climate is very fine, though the Winters in comparison of ours are very severe, with large Falls of Snow, but the Summers are very warm, and of Six Months Continuance, which with the Fertility of the Soil renders this both a rich and beautiful Country. Not only Maize but all Kinds of European Grain come here to full Perfection, their Meadows are very luxuriant, their Fruits in great Variety, and excellent in their respective Kinds, all Sorts of Vegetables, Pulse, and Roots in the utmost Plenty. The Two principal Towns amongst many others are Albany in the North, and New York in the South at the Mouth of Hudson's River, admirably situated, so that the whole Pro-

† The most Eastern of the New England Provinces and nearest to Nova Scotia is that of Main. To the South of this lies Massachusetts Bay, South from that Connecticut, adjoining to which is Rhode Island. New Hampshire lies on the West and also the North of Massachusetts Bay, improved of late and become very populous. These Provinces by their original Charters had very extensive Powers. But a Quo Warranto being brought, Judgment was given against those of New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay. After the Revolution they had a new Charter, by which the Appointment of the Governor and superior Officers is in the Crown. The People choose the Assembly, and the Assembly nominate the Council, on which however the Governor hath a Negative. Connecticut and Rhode Island submitting there was no Judgment against their Charters, in consequence of which they choose their Governors as well as their Assemblies. The principal Place in the Province of Main is York. In New Hampshire the Port is Piscataqua in Massachusetts Bay, Falmouth, Salem, and Boston. In Rhode Island the principal Place is Newport, in the Province of Connecticut; the Ports are New Haven and New London. In all of these, A. D. 1769, the Total of the Exports amounted to 531,162*l.* and in the succeeding Year there were entered inwards 504 Ships, and 2288 Sloops and Schooners; cleared outwards 577 Ships, and 2459 Sloops and Schooners.

duce of the Colony arrives there, even from the most distant Parts, in Three Days by Water Carriage. The Inhabitants procured formerly much Fur and Peltry from the Indians, have great Quantities of good Timber of every Kind, Iron Ore in Abundance, very happily situated in all Respects, and it is thought a Sturgeon Fishery might be carried on here to great Advantage. The Merchants of New York carry on a most extensive Commerce, not simply in the Produce of their own Colony, but also from Connecticut and the Jerseys. Long Island and some others to the South are annexed to New York, and are wonderfully fine and fertile, and in the first-mentioned they have an excellent Breed of Horses. The Number of Inhabitants is said to be about One hundred and Twenty thousand <sup>b</sup>.

NEW JERSEY, or as they are commonly called The Jerseys, being Two Provinces united into One Government. They lie from Thirty-nine to Forty-one Degrees of North Latitude, and from Seventy-four to Seventy-five Degrees Thirty Minutes Longitude West from London. In length One hundred and Fifty Miles, in breadth in some Places about One hundred. Bounded on the North by New York, on the East by the Atlantic, on the South by Delawar Bay, on the West by Pensylvania. This Situation, and their having on all Sides either the Sea or cultivated

<sup>b</sup> In the disturbed State of our Affairs during the latter Part of James the First, and the Whole of his Son Charles the First's Reign, the Swedes intruded themselves into a Part of this Country, and were soon followed by the Dutch, with whom they united. The Civil War in England gave the latter an Opportunity of establishing a regular Colony under the Direction and at the Expence of the West India Company, to whom the States General granted what they were pleased to stile the New Netherlands. The English always kept up their Claim, and the Inhabitants of Connecticut settled a Part of Long Island. After the Restoration, King Charles granted this Country to James Duke of York, and a Squadron with a small Body of Land Forces was sent to reduce it. The Dutch Governor Stuyvesant would have defended himself, but the Inhabitants finding that they were not to be deprived of their Properties, submitted and forced him to surrender. The Articles of Capitulation were signed Aug. 27. 1664. In the Second War the Dutch recovered this Country as easily as they lost it, but by the Treaty of Westminster it was exchanged for Surinam. The City of New York is seated in 41°. 42'. North Lat. The Road before it, though incommoded with Ice in very hard Winters, is notwithstanding always open. This with other Circumstances, some of which are mentioned in the Text, renders it a Place of great Resort and very extensive Commerce. They export to the West Indies, Bread, Peas, Rye, Meal, Indian Corn, Horses, Sheep, Beef, Pork, and at least Eighty thousand Barrels of Flour; their Returns are Rum, Sugar, and Melasses. They send Provisions to the Spanish Main. They have a considerable Share in the Logwood Trade, Wheat, Flour, Indian Corn, and Lumber they send to Lisbon and Madeira. They have also a Correspondence with Hamburgh and Holland, and send large Quantities of Flax Seed to Ireland. The Total of their Exports, A. D. 1769, amounted to 246,522 l. In the succeeding Year the Ships entered inwards were 196, Sloops 431; cleared outwards Ships 188, Sloops 424.

Countries, accounts for the Mildness of the Climate, which is equally serene and pleasant. The Soil is almost every-where deep and fertile, producing vast Quantities of excellent Wheat and all other Kinds of Grain in Abundance, a Variety of rich Fruits, fine Timber Trees fit for building, prodigious Quantities of Cattle of all Sorts. Abounding also in Copper and Iron Ores, which are very rich. The Inhabitants live here much at their Ease, and with little Labour, enjoying not only all the Necessaries but most of the Conveniences of Life, from whence this Country hath been not improperly stiled the Garden of America. It is a Royal Government, the Governor being assisted by a Council of Twelve which compose the Upper House, as the Representatives of the People do the Lower House of Assembly, and are in Number Twenty-four. In East Jersey the Capital is Perth Amboy, which hath a fine Port, notwithstanding which Elizabeth Town is much larger. In West Jersey they have Two Ports, Burlington and Salem. The Commodities of the Jerseys are the same with those of New York, and the Number of the Inhabitants is said to be Sixty thousand<sup>i</sup>.

PENNSYLVANIA is a Province granted by King Charles the Second with an additional Grant from the Duke of York to William Penn the Son of Sir William Penn a famous Admiral, and in great Credit with them both. William Penn was in Principle a Quaker, a Gentleman of a most amiable and benevolent Disposition, as appears from the Constitutions he gave to this Colony which became very flourishing in his own Time, and chiefly through his judicious Regulations. He derived his Authority from the

<sup>i</sup> The Duke of York as Proprietor of the Province last mentioned, by a Deed, dated the 24th of June 1664, granted the Southern Part of it to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley of Stratton, which Part was called New Jersey. Ten Years after this the Two Lords Proprietors, with the Consent of the Duke, divided this Country into East Jersey under Sir George Carteret, and West Jersey under Lord Berkeley. The Duke of York notwithstanding this resumed for a short Space the Government of West Jersey, but by a new Deed in the Year 1680, revived and confirmed the former Division, by which West Jersey was restored to Lord Berkeley. These Proprietors afterwards assigned their Rights to others; and the Inhabitants frequently falling out with the Governors they sent over, and the Assignees of the original Proprietors disagreeing amongst themselves, the latter by a solemn Act, April 17th 1702, resigned both Provinces to the Queen, reserving however the Property in the Soil, &c. Since this Period it hath been a Royal Government, though sometimes the same Person hath been Governor of New York and the Jerseys. It hath been already observed, that a great Part of their Trade is carried on by the Way of New York, to which we must also add, that Part of it is now carried through the Channel of Philadelphia, which will account for what we have to say farther. The Exports, A. D. 1769, amounted to no more than 2531 l. all for the British or foreign West Indies. In A. D. 1770, there were entered inwards Two Ships and 41 Sloops; cleared outwards Two Ships and 47 Sloops.



Crown; the Soil he purchased fairly from the Natives, cherishing and protecting the Indians, who in return lived peaceably and traded with his People. In regard to Religion he established a most comprehensive Toleration; and in reference to civil Liberty, left as much of it with the People as was consistent with their Peace and Safety. The Whole of the Country extends from Thirty-nine to Forty-two Degrees North Latitude, and from Seventy-four to Seventy-eight Degrees Longitude West from London. In length about Three hundred Miles, very different in point of breadth, in some Places One hundred, in others not more than Forty. Bounded on the North by the Territory of the Five Nations, on the East by Delawar River, on the South and West by Maryland. The Climate, like that of New York, colder than ours in the Winter, and hotter in the Summer. The Soil deep and rich, differing from the adjacent Countries in this, that it abounds in Lime-stone and Gravel. The Produce is much the same with New York, Grain and Pulse of all Sorts and in great Perfection, Variety of fine Fruits, great Plenty of Timber, with much Iron and Copper Ore. The Capital is Philadelphia, a noble, regular, well-built pleasant Place, situated between Two navigable Rivers, Schoolkill and Delawar, Ships of considerable Burden coming to the Quays by both. The Country is full of large Towns, and well cultivated to a great Extent. The Proprietor when Resident is Governor; if he appoints a Deputy, that Deputy must be approved by the Crown. He is assisted by a Council, and the People are represented in their Assemblies. For the Three lower Counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, lying along the River Delawar, which were added by the Duke of York's Grant, have an Assembly of their own. They extend from North to South One hundred and Twenty Miles, from East to West about Forty. The Commerce of the Inhabitants is very extensive throughout America and to Europe; the People frugal and industrious, and their Numbers in the whole Colony, if we may depend upon some late Calculations, between Two and Three hundred thousand<sup>k</sup>.

## MARYLAND

<sup>k</sup> The Grant from King Charles II. of Pennsylvania, for so it is stiled in that Grant, bears Date the 4th March 1680. The Duke of York by a Deed of Sale dated the 24th August, A. D. 1683, disposes to him the Town and County of Newcastle, which as Part of the New Netherlands was in the Duke's Grant; and by another Deed bearing the same Date he yields to him the Counties of Kent and Suffex, the Three upper Counties which compose Pennsylvania proper, viz. Philadelphia, Buckingham, and Chester. These produce immense Quantities of Grain, Hemp, Flax, &c. The lower Counties abound in Black Cattle, Sheep, and Hogs. This enables them to export prodigious Quantities of Provisions of all Kinds to the British, French, and Dutch Islands in America, they likewise trade in other Articles to Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. They carry Corn, Beef, Pork, Strong Beer, and Spirits to Newfoundland. They have likewise an annual Intercourse with the Canaries, Madeira, and Azores Islands; and carry Corn and Fish from Newfoundland to Spain and Portugal, and bring Furs, Peltry, Naval Stores, Hemp, and Flax to Great Britain and Ireland. They deal also in Ship-building for Sale to the Amount of several  
Thousand

MARYLAND received that Name in Honour of Henrietta Maria the Consort of King Charles the First, who made a Grant of this Country, with very extraordinary Powers, to Lord Baltimore. It lies between Thirty-eight and Forty Degrees of North Latitude, and in Longitude from Seventy-four to Seventy-eight Degrees West from London. It is in Length about One hundred and Forty Miles, but not quite so much in Breadth. It is bounded on the North by Pennsylvania; on the East by the lower Counties of the same Colony, and by the Atlantic; on the South by Chesapeak Bay; on the West by the River Potowmack, and the Province of Virginia. The Climate may well be stiled mild and pleasant, for though the Winters are cold they are short, and the Heat of their Summers is tempered by cool Breezes from the Bay before-mentioned, which is One of the finest in the World. The Country, except towards the North, is in general a flat open Plain of a deep rich Soil and very fertile. It produces Grain of all Sorts, rich Fruits of different Kinds, Timber, Hemp, Flax, and in the Bowels of the Earth there is great Plenty of Iron Ore. The Staple of this Country is Tobacco, of which hitherto they have raised immense Quantities, though some say their Lands begin to wear out, which obliges them to keep great Numbers of Cattle for the Sake of Manure. They likewise export Lumber, Naval Stores, &c. The Situation of this Country and the Nature of its Staple prevent the Building of Towns; for the Plantations lying on the Banks of their numerous navigable Rivers, their Vessels come up to the Planters Doors, and their Tobacco's are consequently laden without Trouble. Their Customhouses are on the Rivers Pocomocke, Chester, Patuxint, and the North Side of Potomack. They have however One Town, Annapolis, which is the Seat of Government, and though small is one of the fairest and best built in America. The Number of Inhabitants exceeds One hundred Thousand, of which however Three Fifths are Negro Slaves, the Remainder Whites, who live in general much at their Ease.

## VIRGINIA

Thousand Tons yearly. Their Exports, A. D. 1769, amounted to 453,419 l. In order to shew the amazing Increase of this Colony, it may be not amiss to observe that in A. D. 1748 there entered inwards in the Port of Philadelphia 62 Ships, 291 Sloops; cleared outwards 64 Ships, 227 Sloops. Whereas A. D. 1770 there entered inwards 398 Ships, 403 Sloops; cleared outwards 413 Ships, Sloops 407.

The Patent which had been promised to Sir George Calvert of this Part of what was then stiled Virginia was granted to his Son Cecilius, created Lord Baltimore, and bears date 20th of June 1632. He sent over his Brother Leonard Calvert, Esq; with Two hundred Gentlemen and Persons of some Property to settle there. His Son Charles Calvert was afterwards Governor for near 20 Years, and under their Administration the Colony flourished exceedingly. They made themselves so acceptable to the Indians at their first Coming, that they yielded to them half, and as soon as their Harvest was over, their whole Town, and this good Understanding constantly subsisted. By Means of a general Toleration of all Christians, the Number of Inhabitants was  
much

VIRGINIA received its Name from Queen Elizabeth, and hath been considered as the Mother of all our Colonies on the Continent. It lies from the Latitude of Thirty-six Degrees to somewhat more than Forty North; in Longitude from Seventy-four to Eighty or Eighty-one Degrees West from London. Its length is incertain, but in breadth Two hundred Miles. On the North it is bounded by Maryland; on the East by the River Potowmack, Chesapeak Bay, and the Atlantic Ocean; on the South by Carolina, and on the West by several Ridges of Mountains, between which many Plantations and back Settlements have been made. The Climate may be esteemed temperate. The Spring begins early in the Month of April, the Weather continues moderately warm to the End of June, July and August are very hot, with terrible Claps of Thunder, which however seldom do any Mischief, the Rains come on in September, and they have Four Months of Winter, but hardly One Month of very cold Weather. The Face of the Country is for about One hundred Miles from the Sea very flat, but farther up there are many pleasant Hills and rich Vallies. The Soil is as various as in Britain, but almost every where fertile, and a great Part of it luxuriant. In its Bowels are found Iron, Lead, and Copper Ores, and some say richer Metals; Pig and Bar Iron and some Copper are brought hither. There is also Antimony, many fine Clays and Ochres. The natural Productions are many and valuable in their Kinds, Maize, Silk Grass as fine as Flax and tougher than Hemp, Peaches, Nectarines, and other fine Fruits, Timber of different Kinds and of the best Sorts very large, Abundance of valuable Drugs, and Materials for Dyeing. Besides these all Kinds of European Grain grow in the highest Perfection, as also Roots and Vegetables of every Sort; Cattle, Sheep, Deer, and Hogs, the latter in such Plenty that they are never mentioned in Inventories, as if their Numbers rendered them of no Value. The great Staple is Tobacco, chiefly the sweet-scented, the finest and most valuable in the World. There is no Country better watered, as may appear from the Four great Rivers which fall into the West Side of Chesapeak Bay. The most Northern of these is Potowmack, navigable Two hundred Miles, in most Places Seven, in some Places Nine Miles

much increased. The Government is now on much the same Plan with the Rest, for the Deputy Governor, though appointed by the Proprietor, must be approved of by the Crown. He hath a Council and an Assembly, but the Laws made therein are not transmitted to England. The Culture of Tobacco made Negroes necessary; this is of a particular Kind called Oroonoko, or as some write it Aranokoe, which is hotter than what is made in Virginia, and less acceptable here, but sells better in the Eastern and Northern Parts of Europe. The Inhabitants carry on a considerable Trade to Great Britain, as well as to the Southern Parts of Europe, the French and British West Indies, and the Continent of America. They have also some Intercourse with the Coasts of Africa. The Total of their Exports, A. D. 1769, amounted to 350,097 l. In A. D. 1770, there were entered inwards Ships 205, Sloops 197; cleared outwards, Ships 228, Sloops

172.

in breadth. Rapahannock is the next, and a very fine River. York River, called by the Indians Pomonky, and the most Southern. James River, which is Two Miles wide, and navigable for about Fourscore Miles. Besides these there are many smaller Streams, which afford such Conveniencies for shipping their Tobacco's, that Plantations are formed upon most of them; and there is scarce any Town in this fine Province, except Williamsburg; which is not very large, though the Governor resides there, and a College hath been erected for the Instruction of Youth. This Colony is divided into between Twenty and Thirty Counties, the largest containing Two hundred Thousand, the smallest Thirty thousand Acres. The Number of Inhabitants, Negroes and Slaves included, are upwards of One hundred and Fifty thousand<sup>m</sup>.

THESE Countries considered in the Light of Colonies, contain in them such Numbers of People, as renders it of great Importance to Britain to direct their Application to such Objects, as may be equally beneficial to

<sup>m</sup> The making a Settlement on the Continent of North America, was a Project of the great Sir Walter Raleigh, for the carrying of which into Execution himself and some other Persons of Distinction were associated in a Charter, dated the 25th of March 1584. The Queen gave the Country the Name of Virginia, but the First Settlement was made or rather attempted in a Part of the Country which is now called Carolina. The First Entrance into what is now called Virginia, was A. D. 1606, and the First Settlement made in James's River. For the Support of this Colony a Company was erected, the necessary Expence being too great to be supported by private Persons. But Misunderstandings happening and the Planters complaining of great Hardships, King Charles the First dissolved the Company in 1626, and directed the public Concerns to be managed by a Governor, Council, and Assembly. The Entrance into Chesapeak Bay is between Cape Henry and Cape Charles, through a Strait of about Seven Leagues in Breadth, but the Bay is wider within. It runs Northward upwards of Two hundred Miles, and is navigable for large Vessels almost to its Head, being One of the largest, most beautiful, and safest Harbours in the World. The Rivers that fall into it have been mentioned in the Text, and the Tracts of Land between them are stiled Necks. That between Potowmack, and Rapahannock, is called the Northern Neck, and is the Property of Lord Fairfax, who resides there at present. There is no doubt that this Colony might furnish many useful Commodities to the Mother Country, such as Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, and other naval Stores, if the Inhabitants were not more inclined to Tobacco, for which the Soil of this and its Sister Province is by far the fittest in America. The Fear that it will be worn out seems not to be well founded, for the very finest Tobacco is not produced from the richest Land, but owes the Excellence of its Flavour to a proper Choice in the Seed and skilful Management. Besides this the Notion entertained by some, as if the Exportation of late Years of considerable Cargoes of Wheat from Virginia amounted to a Proof that their Lands will no longer bear Tobacco, is at least, if I am rightly informed, a manifest Mistake; the Case being in fact no more than this; when they find their Ground begins to fail, they take a Crop of Wheat, perhaps another of Oats, they then fallow it, next by Cowpenning manure it, and by this Method render it fit to produce Tobacco again. The Trade therein hath been for about Forty Years past under the most excellent Regulation with respect to the Public as well as the Planters. It is computed that they export from Virginia and Maryland from Seventy to Ninety thousand Hogheads annually, which is a prodigious Benefit to the Revenue and the Nation. Their Exports A. D. 1769 amounted to 728,928 l. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards 296 Ships; Sloops 317; cleared outwards Ships 298, Sloops 306.

themselves,

themselves, and to their Mother Country. With this View the Staples they have should be encouraged constantly, attentively, and vigorously. Those that have not been hitherto attempted, but which have a visible Probability of Success if they were, should be likewise brought forward by every Means possible. New Staples suitable to their different Soils and Climates should, if practicable, be gradually introduced. These Measures steadily and skilfully pursued must have Consequences exceedingly favourable to the public Prosperity, as they could not fail of exciting, and of course extending Cultivation Abroad, and promoting by a Supply of a great Variety of raw Materials, Manufactures at Home. With these few and short but weighty and salutary Observations, we will close the present Section, and proceed to the Consideration of those Colonies on the same Continent that lie to the South <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> The Propositions insisted on in the Text are by no means either new or singular. They were long since advanced by very judicious Persons, and which is more to the Purpose they were, though in some measure self-evident, long canvassed in Speculation, before any Attempt was made to carry them into Execution, when this was done they were found in some Instances to answer, and the good Effects of Counties being confirmed by Experience, their Utility was confessed. If in subsequent Cases they have not been so successful, this is no Proof they will never become so. Accidents may intervene to prevent their Operation for a Time, and yet not destroy their Force. This however is undoubtedly a good Argument for Enquiry, that if such Impediments can be discovered they may be removed. But the principal Points to be considered are the Importance of the Object to the Public, and the Possibility of its being attained, for if these are certain, all Obstacles are to be overcome. Caution and Oeconomy in respect to great Enterprizes are requisite to private Men, but Parsimony may be detrimental to a Nation, more especially where the Expences paid by One, are received by another Part of its Subjects, and where the End proposed will visibly redound to the Profit of both.

## S E C T. II.

*Containing an Account of the Southern Colonies on the Continent of North America, viz. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, East Florida, and West Florida, as also of the Bahama and of the Bermudas Islands.*

**T**HE Province of Carolina was taken out of what in our old Writers is called South Virginia, by a Charter granted by King Charles the Second, from whom it received its Name, to certain Lords Proprietors. It is since the Surrender of this Charter divided into Two Governments. The First of these is North Carolina, in the Latitude from Thirty-four to

**Thirty-six Degrees Thirty-three Minutes North**, its Longitude **Seventy-six Degrees West** from London. It is bounded on the North by Virginia; on the East by the Atlantic; on the South by South Carolina; and on the West its Boundaries cannot well be assigned. In length there is upwards of Three hundred Miles settled, in breadth about One hundred and Fifty. The Climate is temperate, the Air pure, thin, and serene, the Summers warm, the Winters short, in which the Weather is sometimes very cold, but this lasts only a few Days. The greatest Inconvenience to which the Inhabitants are exposed is Thunder, which however rarely does any Mischief. The Soil is various, and the Face of the Country finely diversified with pleasant Hills, large Vales, fine Rivers, and the different Sorts of Ground render it fit for all Kinds of Uses. Corn of all Sorts, the richest Fruits, a vast Variety of Vegetables, wide Pastures abounding with Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Deer, Horses, &c. render it very rich and pleasant, though with very indifferent Culture. As it lies in the Midst of the temperate Zone, we may safely credit these Accounts, and perhaps see no just Grounds to question the Truth, or at least the Probability of their Conjectures, who suggest that Almonds, Dates, and Olives, might be planted here with just Hopes of their thriving as well as any where. At all Events the Experiment might be very easily made, and at a small Expence. There are no great Towns, and except the River Fear or Clarendon River they have none navigable for Vessels of above Fourscore Tons, but there are many fine Sounds and fair Inlets, the most remarkable of which are Currituk, Roanoake, Bath Town, Beaufort, and Brunswick. Their principal Exports are Peltry, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Timber, and to the West India Islands Lumber and Provisions. They likewise grow some Rice and Tobacco, which is sent through Virginia. This Province, though long neglected, is now in a very thriving Condition, and the Number of People, as to which we can say nothing with Certainty, is daily increasing by frequent Emigrations from Europe<sup>a</sup>.

SOUTH

<sup>a</sup> The First Charter granted by King Charles the Second to Edward Earl of Clarendon and others, was dated 27th March 1663. The Second Charter was in 1665. The Form of Government was in many Respects different from that of other Colonies. The Lords Proprietors had a Power of conferring Honours, though not with the same Titles as in England, and they accordingly made Landgraves and Cassiques. But through internal Disturbances, and the external Pressure of an Indian War, the Heirs and Assigns of the original Proprietors found it expedient to surrender their Charter, A. D. 1728. (the late Earl of Granville excepted) since which it hath been divided into Two Provinces, each of which is a Royal Government. The First English Settlement on the Continent was at Roanoake now in this Province, which being deserted there is a Tradition in respect to the poor People left there, that they intermarried with the Indians, some of whom even to this Time are proud of their Descent. The different Sorts of Land in this Country, and the Excellence of its Climate render it fit for a great Variety of Improvements, many of which already have, and others certainly will take Place.

Amongst

SOUTH CAROLINA is one of the finest and most fruitful Countries in America. It lies from the Latitude of Thirty-two to Thirty-five Degrees North, and in Longitude from Seventy-nine to Eighty-seven Degrees West from London, including the most distant Plantations. The Length is very uncertain, the Breadth about Two hundred Miles. The Climate is temperate or rather warm. The Air in general pure and serene, but the Weather strangely inconstant, the Extremes of Heat and Cold being felt not only in different Seasons, but varying sometimes, and that very considerably in the Space of a Day. The Country from the Sea Coast for upwards of an Hundred Miles is a vast Plain interspersed with Woods, and intersected by many fine Rivers. The Soil towards the Sea Coast is sandy and light, Northwards the Country rises, and the Weather is more settled. There are many natural Lawns, or as they call them Savannahs; their Swamps have commonly a Clay Bottom, this renders them exceedingly fit for Rice, as their light sandy Soil is well adapted to Indigo. The First Plantations being made near the Sea the worst Land is already well improved, what lies behind is fit for any and every Thing. They have Grain of all Kinds, and Vegetables in the highest Perfection. Oranges, Lemons, and other rich Fruits, useful Timber of various Kinds, and in their Pastures immense Quantities of Cattle of all Sorts. On the Sides of the Rivers there are very rich, deep, and strong Lands, producing as fine and good Hemp as any in the World; and which might be certainly by proper Encouragement brought hither in large Quantities. There are besides large Tracts of hilly Ground in the interior Part of the Province, which in the Opinion of competent Judges are perfectly adapted to the Culture of Vines, in which, if undertaken with Vigour, and prosecuted with Skill and Perseverance, there is little Reason to doubt of Success. Their Exports consist of Rice, Indigo, Naval Stores, Lumber, and Provisions. The Sea Coast is about Seventy Leagues in Extent, the River of Winyaw hath a Channel Twelve Feet deep. Charles Town, which is the Capital, and the Seat of Government, is one of the pleasantest and best built Places in America. Port Royal is as fine a Harbour as any that Nature hath made, exceedingly well situated and capable of receiving Ships of any Size in any Number. The Inhabitants are amazingly increased of late Years, insomuch that there are reckoned upwards of Thirty thousand Whites, and Eighty thousand Negroes. The latter are so well treated by the Planters that they had little or no Occasion for any new Supplies,

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Amongst these we may reckon Silk, for which in all Respects there cannot be a more favourable Situation. Their Exports A. D. 1769 amounted to 68,117 l. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards 94 Ships, 379 Sloops; cleared outwards Ships 99, Sloops 386.



those born in the Country, being sufficient for all the Purposes of the Colony. But their Plantations being much enlarged, they have lately been constrained to admit fresh Importations of Negroes<sup>b</sup>.

GEORGIA is a Colony of about Forty Years standing. It lies from Thirty Degrees Thirty Minutes to Thirty-three Degrees of North Latitude, and from the Longitude of Eighty to Eighty-three Degrees West from London. It was taken out of South Carolina, and the original Bounds were the River Savannah on the North, and the River Alatamaha on the South; extending about Fifty Miles between the Mouths of these Two Rivers on the Sea Side, but gradually widening within Land. As this Province was taken out of Carolina the Boundaries were not very accurately settled, an Inconvenience not peculiar to this Colony. But after the last Peace his present Majesty, by his Royal Proclamation, settled this Point effectually, by annexing to Georgia all the Country between the River Alatamaha and that of St. Mary, which last is declared to be the Northern Limit of the New Province of East Florida. On the North it is bounded by Carolina; on the East by the Atlantic; on the South by the River of St. Mary, and West by several Indian Nations. The Climate is very warm, the Air pure and serene, but sometimes exposed to violent Thunder. The Lands towards the Coast are shallow and sandy, but higher up exceedingly rich and fertile. The narrow Limits of this Colony have been considerably extended, not by Incroachments, much less by Violence, but by fair Purchases from the Indians, with whom the Inhabitants live upon the best Terms. The Improvements here were at first very slow, but have been surprizingly great within these few Years, as is evident from the increased Value of Land, notwithstanding the Bounds of the Colony being so much enlarged. There are Two Ports, Savannah on the River of the same Name, which is the Seat of Government, and Sunbury. The Exports from hence are Peltry, Rice, Indigo,

<sup>b</sup> The Advantages that might be derived from this Country were foreseen, and some of them pointed out long before they actually took Place, which ought to render us less diffident in respect to the Benefits promised from our new Colonies. Rice was introduced here a little before the Beginning of the present Century by mere Accident. Indigo is of a much later Date, though the Plant now most cultivated is a Native of the Country. Both these Improvements have been very wisely encouraged from Home. The First by relaxing the Act of Navigation, and the Second by granting a Bounty. These Staples suit very well together, which is a Matter of great Consequence. We may however justly entertain farther Expectations from the great Extent of Territory, the Nature of the Climate, the Variety of Soils, and the Conveniency of Water Carriage through all Parts of the Colony. To shew the great Progress the Inhabitants have made in the Space of Twenty Years past we shall observe, that the total Amount of their Exports A. D. 1747 was 161,365 l. In A. D. 1769, 410,270 l. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards 186 Ships, Sloops 306; cleared outwards Ships 190, Sloops 302. The Tonnage of the Vesse's employed A. D. 1747 under 9,000, in A. D. 1770 about 30,000.

Silk,

Silk, Naval Stores, Lumber, Provisions, &c. The Number of People Seventeen thousand Whites and Thirteen thousand Negroes c.

**EAST-FLORIDA** is a large and beautiful Peninsula, lying from the Latitude of Twenty-five to near Thirty-one Degrees North, and in Longitude from Eighty-two to Eighty-four Degrees West from London. In Length from South to North Three hundred and Sixty Miles, in Breadth from East to West about Two hundred at the Northern Boundary, lessening to about One Half of that Space to the South. It is bounded by the River of St. Mary on the North; on the East by the Atlantic; on the South and West by the Straits of Florida and the Gulph of Mexico. The Climate is very temperate and healthy, which is attributed to its Situation between Two Seas, and the Land and Sea Breezes that (except about Two Hours in the Morning) blow alternately. The Face of the Country, except towards the North, is generally flat, the Soil near the Sea Side shallow and sandy, but within there are Swamps, Pine Barrens, and some very rich Land on the Sides of the Rivers. The Whole is finely intersected by Rivers running some into the Atlantic, and others into the Gulph of Mexico. It abounds with very fine Timber, fit for all Uses such as Oak, Mahogany, White and Red Pines, Cedar of different Kinds, Pine Trees of a great Size, Mulberries, &c. These Trees grow mostly at considerable Distances, and not in thick Woods as in most Parts of America, so that any Part of the Country may be easily cleared. The natural Produce is Maiz or Indian Corn, which they reap Twice annually. Oranges, Lemons, and other rich Fruits fairer and finer than those of the same Sort in Europe. There are also Abundance of Cattle, wild and tame Fowls, Sea and River Fish in great Plenty, the Produce expected from it Rice, Cotton, Indigo, Cochineal, and Barilla, to which we may add,

\* The settling of Georgia was originally a Plan for providing an Asylum for the distressed, to facilitate which the Crown granted a Charter to several respectable Persons as Trustees, who undertook this laudable Design with great Vigour and public Spirit, and were generously supported by private Donations and Parliamentary Grants. Yet after Twenty Years Endeavours the Trustees found it expedient to surrender their Charter to the Crown before it expired. This was A. D. 1752, since which it hath been a Royal Government. The good Effects of this Change were very quickly felt, and have become much more conspicuous since the Accession of Governor Wright who still presides there. In 1760 the Colony consisted of 1,152,000 Acres. There is now within the Indian Line 4,579,000 Acres. and a still greater Augmentation with many concurrent Advantages will be made by a fresh Purchase from the Indians. In 1760 there were exported 65,765 Pounds of Deer Skins, and A. D. 1770, 284,840 Pounds. In A. D. 1760, 3,283 Barrels of Rice. In A. D. 1770, 221,029 Barrels. In A. D. 1760, 11,746 Pounds of Indigo. In A. D. 1770, 22,336 Pounds. The Total of the Exports amounted A. D. 1760 to 20,852 l. in A. D. 1770 to 99,383 l. In A. D. 1760 there were 7 Ships and 30 Sloops. In A. D. 1770 entered inwards, Ships 28, Sloops 71; cleared outwards Ships 68, Sloops 119.

many valuable Drugs and rich Dyes. As to the Third of these Commodities we not only know from Experience that it may be raised, but also that it is so, and with very peculiar Advantages. In the First Place as there are no Frosts to the South of St. Augustine capable of chilling the Roots, the Plant grows for Three or Four Years, whereas in our other Colonies it is sown annually. In the next Place the Climate is so favourable that it may be cut Three or Four Times in a Season; and lastly it is very perfect in its Kind, and at least equal if not superior to the French. In respect to the Rest Time alone can justify or extinguish our Expectations. It must however be observed that the interior of this Country is but little known, and that on the West Coast there are many small Islands, or as they are usually called Keys, some absolutely barren, others producing Mahogany, Braziletta, and other hard Woods which have been brought hither from the Island of Providence. The Capital is St. Augustine, but as to the Number of Inhabitants we can say nothing with Certainty, except that the Greeks carried thither live very comfortably, and there is no doubt that Protestants from the South of France, and from different Parts of Germany might here find a Country very agreeable and capable of rewarding their Industry. But exclusive of the Commodities this Province may produce, it is of the utmost Importance to Great Britain that it should be speedily and effectually settled from the Nature of its Situation, which in Time of Peace will facilitate a Trade with the Spaniards from its Vicinity to Cuba, and in Time of War, as there is a good Port at the Extremity of the Peninsula, it will be an effectual Check to the Passage of the Homeward bound Fleets, by our keeping a Squadron there, which the Country being once tolerably settled might be done with great Convenience<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> This Peninsula, with all the rest of Florida, was ceded in Perpetuity to the Crown of Great Britain by Spain, in the 20th Article of the Treaty of Paris A. D. 1763. As to the Wholesomeness of the Country the Spanish Writers ancient and modern equally agree. Several of the Inhabitants of St. Augustine when it surrendered were from 90 to 99 Years of Age. The Ninth Regiment of his Majesty's Forces remained there Twenty Months without losing a Man. As to the Temperature of the Air we have been assured by Persons who have resided in this Province several Years, that white People work without Inconvenience in the Field in the hottest Weather. The Extent of the Country hath been ascertained by a Survey to be about Twelve Millions of Acres. East Florida hath shared the Fate of all new Settlements, being magnified by some beyond Measure, and decried beyond Measure by others. By Degrees as the Nature of the Soil in different Parts comes to be known, we cannot doubt that most of the Articles mentioned in the Text will be produced; the very worst Lands being fittest for Barilla, of which we import great Quantities for the Soap and Glass Manufactures. We have as yet no Custom-house Accounts, but it is well known that considerable Quantities of Indigo, excellent in its Kind, and which sold at a high Rate, have been already brought from thence to the Amount A. D. 1772 of upwards of Thirty thousand Pounds Weight as I am credibly informed. In A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards, Ships 3, Sloops 47, and cleared outwards, Ships 4, Sloops 48.

WEST FLORIDA comprehends the Rest of the Country ceded to the Crown of Great Britain by that of Spain. It lies from Twenty-nine Degrees Forty Minutes to Thirty-one Degrees North Latitude, and in Longitude from Eighty-five to Ninety West from London. The Length may be about Two hundred and Eighty, and the Breadth about Eighty Miles. It is bounded on the South by the Gulph of Mexico; to the Westward by the Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas and the River Mississippi which the Indians call Metchasippi, or the Father of Rivers; to the Northward, by a Line drawn due East from the River Mississippi in the Latitude of Thirty-one Degrees North to the River Apalachicola; which River is also its Eastern Boundary. The Climate is very warm and moist, more especially on the Sea Coast, and from thence esteemed unhealthy, but within Land the Climate is better. Immediately on the Coast, and at some Distance from it the Country is all white Sand, but advancing inward the Soil is found to be rich and fertile, affording Two Crops of Indian Corn annually, with very good Pastures well stocked with Cattle. Timber of all Sorts and fit for all Uses, excellent Sassafras and other valuable Drugs, many Materials for Dyeing, and is very capable of producing Cotton, Indigo, and Cochineal. As to the Two First they were actually raised by the French, and consequently there can be no Doubt about them. In respect to the Cotton it was very fine and beautifully white, but short, which lessened its Value. In reference to the Indigo, it was generally acknowledged to be brighter than that of St. Domingo, and therefore it is certainly our Interest to cherish this Cultivation. If by any Means the last, which it is far from being improbable, could be brought to Perfection, it would prove of infinite Advantage to the Province. Hitherto Peltry, which they obtain from the Indians, Logwood, Lumber, and the Balance of their Trade with their Neighbours for European Commodities is their principal Support, and if our last Advices may be depended upon, the Colonists begin to thrive. The neighbouring Indians, who from their Hatred to the Spaniards are well disposed towards us, furnish the Inhabitants with considerable Quantities of Peltry, and may be made very useful in other Respects. There are Two Ports in West Florida, Pensacola and Mobile, which carry on some Trade directly with London, and as we have before hinted, have also some Commerce with their Neighbours, which may gradually turn to account. This Province is likewise of great Importance, considered as a Frontier, and deserves great Attention in that Light.

THERE lies behind our Settlements on the Atlantic, that is, between them and the Province of Quebec, an immense Tract of Country, which in point of Climate and Soil is by no means inferior to any in America,

they have many who are equally sober and skilful. The Town of the same Name contains upwards of a thousand Houses, well built and inhabited, and with a fine Church. It is the Seat of Government, and there are said to be in these Islands between Six and Seven thousand Whites, besides Negroes &c.

IF we seriously reflect on the Soil and Situation of the several Countries which have been the Subject of this Chapter, we cannot entertain the least Doubt of their enjoying as great natural Advantages as any upon the Globe; and we may from thence discern, that the richest and most valuable Commodities may be justly hoped for from them. If we at the same time advert to their Extent, in which they are at least equal to any Kingdom in Europe, we shall see no Cause to fear, that even by the utmost Industry of their Inhabitants they should be exhausted. Besides all this, as hath been incidentally shewn, there is none of them but what are very capable of other Staples, no less profitable than those which they at present possess; so that there can be no Danger of our finding at all Times Markets for their Produce. These Circumstances ought certainly to entitle them to the Affection, as well as to the Attention and Protection of their Mother-country, as to the frequent and seasonable Exertion of these, those Colonies ought always to remember that their present Security and Happiness are due.

\* There are several Hundred Isles, Islets, and Rocks, but only Seven Islands that are settled, and those but small. The Cedars that grow here are much finer and tougher Timber than in any other Part of America, which has thrown the Inhabitants into Ship-building, or rather Sloop-building, in which they are exceedingly expert. But this having occasioned the cutting down a great Deal of Wood, hath had a very bad Effect upon their Climate, by rendering the Weather more unfettled, so that they now begin to plant again. The Inhabitants are frugal, industrious, careful, content, and reputed the best Fishermen in America, and are also very dexterous able Seamen. It hath been supposed, and with great Probability, that they might avail themselves of their Soil and Climate in raising Wine, Cotton, Cochineal, but more especially Silk, as having not only great Plenty of Mulberry-trees, but of the Worm. They have no venomous Creatures, but a great many Spiders of a large Size, and which in the Heat of Summer spin Webs of so substantial a Silk as to catch small Birds. The Spermaceti Whale frequents their Rocks, and Ambergris is sometimes thrown upon their Coasts, as it is also on those of the Bahamas. The Total of their Exports A. D. 1769 were 8013 l. A. D. 1770 there were entered inwards, Ships 4, Sloops 103. Cleared outwards, Ships 4, Sloops 154.

## S E C T. III.

*A succinct Account of Jamaica.*

**T**HIS noble Island, the largest of those which we possess in this Part of the World, is one of the Great Antilles, and is particularly happy in its Situation, having the Island of Cuba to the North, at the Distance of about Forty Leagues; Hispaniola on the East, from which it is removed about Twenty Leagues; the Mosquito Shore on the Continent to the South West, about One hundred and Forty Leagues; and Porto Bello, about One hundred and Fifty Leagues directly South. It lies from Seventeen to Nineteen Degrees North Latitude, in Longitude Seventy-six to Seventy-nine West from London. In Length near One hundred and Seventy Miles, and about Sixty in Breadth. It approaches in its Figure to an Oval. The Windward Passage right before it hath the Island of Cuba on the West, and Hispaniola on the East, and is about Twenty Leagues in Breadth <sup>a</sup>.

THE Prospect of this Island from the Sea, by reason of its constant Verdure, and many fair and safe Bays, is wonderfully pleasant. The Coast, and for some Miles within, the Land is low, but removing farther, it rises and becomes hilly. The whole Isle is divided by a Ridge of Mountains running East and West, some rising to a great Height; and these are composed of Rock, and a very hard Clay, through which, however, the Rains that fall incessantly upon them, have worn long and deep Cavities, which they call Gullies. These Mountains, however, are far from being unpleasant, as they are crowned even to their Summits by a Variety of fine Trees. There are also about a Hundred Rivers that issue from them on both Sides; and though none of them are navigable for any Thing

<sup>a</sup> This Island was discovered by Admiral Christopher Columbus in his Second Voyage, who landed upon it May 5th, A. D. 1494, and was so much charmed with it as always to prefer it to the Rest of the Islands, in consequence of which his Son chose it for his Dominions. It was settled by Juan de Esquivel A. D. 1509, who built the Town, which from the Place of his Birth he called Seville, and Eleven Leagues farther to the East stood Melilla. Oristan was on the South Side of the Island, seated on what is now called Blue Fields River. All these are gone to decay, but St. Jago, now Spanish Town, is still the Capital. The Spaniards held this Country One hundred and Sixty Years, and in their Time the principal Commodity was Cacao; they had an immense Stock of Horses, Asses, and Mules, and prodigious Quantities of Cattle. The English landed here under Penn and Venables May 11th 1654, and quickly reduced the Island. Cacao was also their principal Commodity till the Old Trees decayed, and the new Ones did not thrive, and then some Planters from Barbadoes introduced Sugar Canes, which hath been the great Staple ever since.

but Canoes, are both pleasing and profitable in many other Respects. The Climate, like that of all Countries between the Tropics, is very warm towards the Sea, and in marshy Places unhealthy; but in more elevated Situations, cooler, and where People live temperately, to the full as wholesome as in any Part of the West Indies. The Rains fall heavy for about a Fortnight in the Months of May and October, and as they are the Cause of Fertility, are stiled Seasons. Thunder is pretty frequent, and sometimes Showers of Hail; but Ice or Snow, except on the Tops of the Mountains, are never seen; but on them, and at no very great Height, the Air is exceedingly cold <sup>b</sup>.

IN an Island so large as this, which contains about Five millions of Acres, it may be very reasonably conceived that there are great Variety of Soils. Some of these are deep, black, and rich, and mixed with a Kind of Potter's Earth; others shallow and sandy; some of a middle Nature. There are many Savannahs, or wide Plains, without Stones, in which the native Indians had luxuriant Crops of Maize, which the Spaniards turned into Meadows, and kept in them prodigious Herds of Cattle. Some of these Savannahs are to be met with even amongst the Mountains. All these different Soils may be justly pronounced fertile, as they would certainly be found, if tolerably cultivated, and applied to proper Purposes. A sufficient Proof of this will arise from a very cursory Review of the natural and artificial Produce of this spacious Country <sup>c</sup>.

It

<sup>b</sup> The most eastern Part of this Ridge are famous under the Name of the Blue Mountains. This great Chain of rugged Rocks defends the South Side of the Island from those boisterous North West Winds, which might be fatal to their Produce. Their Streams, though small, supply the Inhabitants with good Water, which is a great Blessing, as their Wells are generally brackish. The Spaniards were persuaded that these Hills abounded with Metals, but we do not find that they wrought any Mines, or if they did, it was only Copper, of which they said the Bells in the Church of St. Jago were made. They have several hot Springs which have done great Cures. The Climate was certainly more temperate before the great Earthquake, and the Island was supposed to be out of the Reach of Hurricanes, which since then it hath severely felt. The Heat however is very much tempered by Land and Sea Breezes, and it is asserted that the hottest Time of the Day is about Eight in the Morning. In the Night the Wind blows from the Land on all Sides, so that no Ships can then enter their Ports.

<sup>c</sup> The first Kind of Soil, which from its Colour, is in this Country denominated Brick Mould, is the most fruitful of any. After this come a Variety of others compounded of loose Mould and small Gravel, which are likewise fertile, and other Soils are made so by Labour and proper Management. But Sugar Works, though the most profitable, are at the same Time the most expensive, and therefore it hath been always wished that for the Sake of increasing the Number of White Inhabitants, small Plantations of other Kinds were encouraged. For this Purpose no Country perhaps in the World affords a greater Variety of inferior Staples that might be cultivated to Profit, as some of them already are, many others might; and if intelligent Persons were employed, there is no Question that their Number could be considerably increased. Besides, the Continents of North and South America are open, and also the East Indies, from  
which



It abounds in Maize, Pulse, Vegetables of all Kinds, Meadows of fine Grass, a Variety of beautiful Flowers, and as great a Variety of Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, and other rich Fruits. Useful Animals there are of all Sorts, Horses, Asses, Mules, black Cattle of a large Size, Sheep, the Fleth of which is well tasted, though their Wool is hairy and bad. Here are also Goats and Hogs in great Plenty, Sea and River Fish, wild, tame, and Water Fowl. Amongst other Commodities of great Value, they have the Sugar Cane, Cacao, Indigo, Pimento, Cotton, Ginger, and Coffee; Trees for Timber and other Uses, such as Mahogany, Manchineel, White Wood, which no Worm will touch, Cedar, Olives, and many more. Besides these, they have Fustick, Red Wood, and various other Materials for Dyeing. To these we may add a Multitude of valuable Drugs, such as Guaiacum, China, Salsaparilla, Cassia, Tamarinds, Vannellas, and the Prickle Pear, or Opuntia, which produces the Cochineal; with no inconsiderable Number of odoriferous Gums. Near the Coast they have Salt Ponds, with which they supply their own Consumption, and might make any Quantity they pleased<sup>d</sup>.

As this Island abounds with rich Commodities, it is happy likewise in having a great Number of fine and safe Ports. Point Morant, the eastern Extremity of the Island, hath a fair and commodious Bay. Passing on to the South there is Port Royal; on a Neck of Land which forms one Side of it there stood once the fairest Town in the Island, and the Harbour is as fine a one as can be wished, capable of holding a Thousand large Vessels, and still the Station of our Squadron. Old Harbour is also a convenient Port, so is Maccary Bay; and there are at least Twelve more

from which innumerable Trees and Plants might be brought hither, and with a little Care cultivated to great Profit, and for which Markets would never be wanting.

<sup>d</sup> The very great Importance of this noble Island seemed to demand a more large Account of it than of the Rest; and this Argument was enforced from the Consideration of its Extent, and of the great Improvements that may be yet made, though very great Improvements have been made already. Some valuable Things however are in a Manner lost, as the Cacao, of which there is scarce enough preserved for their own Consumption, though in general Use among the Inhabitants, and which, when the English first came there, yielded Two hundred Pounds an Acre. Other are in a Manner overlooked, as the Opuntia and the Aotto, which in the Hands of skilful and industrious Persons might turn to great Amount. Some are less considered than they deserve, as the Canella Alba, which is in Truth a Kind of wild Cinnamon, and might by proper Culture be improved. What comes over hither passes for the Cortex Wiuteranus, which it is not. All the fine Drugs, Gums, Balsams, &c. do not yield the Inhabitants any Thing like what they might do. To put this Matter past a Doubt, it may not be amiss to mention, that when Pimento was first exported from thence, they cut down the Tree before they gathered the Spice. They found it afterwards expedient to plant them; and yet Twenty Years ago they did not send over a Fourth Part of what they do at present; which would probably be the Case with respect to other Things.

between

between this and the Western Extremitie, which is Point Negrillo, where our Ships of War lie when there is a War with Spain. On the North Side there is Orange Bay, Cold Harbour, Rio Novo, Montego Bay, Port Antonio, One of the finest in the Island, and several others. The North West Winds, which sometimes blow furiously on this Coast, render the Country on that Side less fit for Canes, but Pimento thrives wonderfully; and certainly many other Staples might be raised in small Plantations, which are frequent in Barbadoes, and might be very advantageous here in many Respects.

IN so large an Island as this it might be expected there should be a considerable Number of great Towns, which however there is not. The Reason of this is very obvious, for the Wealth of the Inhabitants arising from their Plantations, of which there are at present about Five hundred, and each of these containing some Hundreds of Inhabitants, it appears from hence that every Plantation forms a Village, and accounts sufficiently for the Disposal of the greatest Part of the Inhabitants. There are however some few Towns, the largest of which is Kingston, which stands on the Harbour of Port Royal, contains about Sixteen hundred Houses, and is very populous. It is regularly laid out for about a Mile in Length, and Half that Space in Breadth inhabited chiefly by Merchants and Persons concerned in Trade, most of the Sugars being shipped off there. There is a spacious Parish Church, Two Synagogues of Jews, and other Places of religious Worship. St. Jago de la Vega, or as it is usually called Spanish Town, is properly the Capital of the Island, being the Residence of the Governor, the Place where the Assembly meets, and is also the Seat of the principal Courts of Justice. It consists of about Four hundred Houses, situated in a fine pleasant Valley, on the Banks of the Rio Cobre, and as most of the People who reside there are Persons of

\* The Town of Port Royal, as we have already mentioned, stood on a Point of Land running far out into the Sea, narrow, sandy, and incapable of producing any Thing. Yet the Excellence of the Port, the Convenience of having Ships of Seven hundred Tons coming close up to their Wharfs, and other Advantages, gradually attracted Inhabitants in such a Manner, that though many of their Habitations were built upon Piles, there were near Two thousand Houses in the Town in its most flourishing State, and which let at high Rents. The Earthquake by which it was overthrown happened on the 7th of June 1692, and Numbers of People perished in it. This Earthquake was followed by an epidemic Disease, of which upwards of Three thousand died, yet the Place was rebuilt; but the greatest Part was reduced to Ashes by a Fire that happened on the 9th of January 1703, and then the Inhabitants removed mostly to Kingston. It was however rebuilt for the Third Time, and was rising towards its former Grandeur, when it was overwhelmed by the Sea, August 20th 1722. There is, notwithstanding, a small Town there at this Day. Hurricanes since that Time have often happened, and occasioned terrible Devastations, yet they have been less frequent and less violent of late Years, and the Climate also is said to be altered for the better.

high Rank and great Fortunes, every Thing breathes an Air of Splendour and Magnificence. Port Royal after all its Misfortunes is the Third Town in the Island merely from the Convenience of its Situation, and contains about One hundred Houses. Fort Passage, so called because People land there, to go either to Kingston or Spanish Town, contains about Fifty Houses, and besides these there are some other Hamlets scattered through the Country, and a few contiguous Houses at almost every Port f.

THE Administration of public Affairs is by a Governor and Council of Royal Appointment, and the Representatives of the People in the lower House of Assembly. They meet at Spanish Town, and Things are conducted with great Order and Dignity. The Colony hath a considerable public Revenue of which the Quit-rents, by a Grant of the Crown, make a Part. Another Branch arises from a Tax or Fine laid upon such as keep fewer than Three White to One hundred Black Servants. This is preferring the Ease to the Security of the Community, in respect to which it would have operated much more beneficially as a Regulation. The Island is divided into Three Counties, Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall, containing Nineteen Parishes, over each of which presides a Magistrate stiled a Custos, but these Parishes in Point of Size are a Kind of Hundreds. Yet is this fine Country upon the Whole but thinly peopled and indifferently cultivated; for though near a Fourth Part of the Lands are patented, yet not above a Ninth Part is actually under Cultivation. The Commerce of Jamaica is very considerable, not only with all Parts of Great Britain and Ireland, but with Africa, North and South America, the West India Islands, and the Spanish Main, for the Encouragement of which a late Act was passed. The Ships annually employed are upwards

f In some of the latest Maps we find several other Towns mentioned, most of them within Land, but probably not very considerable. It is to be wished that effectual Means were employed to compel the Cultivation of such Lands as have been long patented, and that, as we have said, small Plantations were encouraged in order to increase the Number of white Inhabitants. This might be also beneficial in other Respects. Such small Planters might find their Account in raising Maize and Rice for Sale, in making Fish Oil for some Purposes, and Oils from Vegetables for others, making Shingles and Heading, to which we may add breeding Horses, all of which might be certainly and easily done, and save the Inhabitants Twenty thousand Pounds, which they pay annually for Things with which they might be much better supplied at Home. This might, as we have already mentioned, be facilitated by introducing new Staples, by planting Mahogany, which begins to grow scarce, and raising Logwood, which Experience shews is very practicable. By the Statute passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, chap. 49 the Ports of Kingston, Savannah la Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucea in this Island are declared under certain Restrictions and Limitations free Ports, for any foreign Vessel from any foreign Colony or Plantation in America, not having more than One Deck. This Act is to continue in force to A. D. 1773, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament.

of Five hundred Sail; the Number of Inhabitants is very incertain, some say about Thirty thousand or perhaps more Whites, and about One Hundred and Seventy thousand Negroes g.

§ The following Account of the Exports of this Island, in A. D. 1770, will contribute more than all that hath been said, to shew the Importance of Jamaica. They consisted in 2249 Bales of Cotton, which at Ten Pounds per Bale, the Price in the Island, amounts to 22,490 l. 1873 Hundred Weight of Coffee at Three Pounds Five Shillings per Hundred, 6088 l. 2753 Bags of Ginger at Two Pounds Five Shillings per Bag, 6194 l. 2211 Hides at Seven Shillings per Hide, 773 l. 15,796 Hogshheads of Rum at Ten Pounds per Hogshhead, 157,960 l. To Ireland 679 Hogshheads at Ten Pounds per Hogshhead, 6790 l. Mahogany 15,182 Pieces, and 8500 Feet, 50,000 l. Of Pimento 2,089,734 Pounds Weight, 52,243 l. Sugar 57,675 Hogshheads, 6425 Tierces, 52 Barrels, at Seventeen Pounds Ten Shillings per Hogshhead, Twelve Pounds per Tierce, and Four Pounds per Barrel, amounting in the Whole to 1,086,620. Sarsaparilla 205 Bags at Ten Pounds per Bag 2250 l. Exports to Great Britain and Ireland 1,391,210 l. To North America 146,324 l. To the other Islands 595 l. Total of the Exports 1,538,730 l.

## S E C T. IV.

### *Of Barbadoes, the Leeward and Virgin Islands.*

**I**N the Two First Sections of this Chapter we have discoursed of large Countries producing many valuable Commodities, and affording ample Room for the Production of many more. In the Section immediately preceding we have spoke of a noble Island abounding with numerous and rich Productions, blessed with many safe Harbours, endowed with several other Advantages, in which however there are still not a few large Tracts that remain, and have long remained to be improved. In this we are to treat of Countries very different, and from which we may derive the clearest Ideas and the fullest Conviction of the Benefits that may be derived from an insular Situation. By this their Inhabitants have been enabled to avail themselves of all the Bounties and Blessings of Nature, whence they are risen into a Degree of Affluence that is astonishing, and incontestibly demonstrates what, though unassisted by Extent of Territory, Skill and Industry united can effect. From a constant and uniform Exertion of these, they not only enjoy that Opulence they so well deserve, but contribute greatly by the Purchase of large Quantities of their Produce to the Welfare of their Sister Settlements upon the Continent, and are in a Variety of Respects highly beneficial to Great Britain. The State and History therefore of these Colonies is a Subject of the utmost Importance to every Individual of this Country who is desirous of understand-  
ing

ing whence its present Grandeur hath arisen, and by what Measures it may be best supported and preserved<sup>a</sup>.

THE eldest of our Settlements in the West Indies is BARBADOES, called by the Spaniards los Barbudos, as is supposed from a Kind of Fig Trees upon the Coast, the long Filaments falling from which were conceived to resemble Beards. This Island is situated from Thirteen Degrees Ten Minutes to Thirteen Degrees Twenty-three Minutes North Latitude, and in the Longitude of Fifty-eight Degrees Fifty Minutes to Fifty-nine Degrees Three Minutes West from London. It is not more than Twenty-five Miles long, or Fifteen broad, about Sixty in Circumference; a great Part of this Nature hath impaled with Rocks, and where these are wanting there are Fortifications which render this Isle in some Degree inaccessible. The Face of the Country is agreeably variegated with small Plains, gently rising Grounds, some Ridges of Hills, which with tall Trees, spacious Buildings, and a continual Verdure, exhibit a most pleasing Prospect both from Sea and on Shore. It hath the Island of St. Christopher's to the North West at the Distance of between Eighty and Ninety Leagues; the Spanish Main about Fourscore Leagues to the South West; and is near a Thousand Leagues distant from the nearest Part of Africa. The Climate is very warm, but the Air exceedingly pure, and the Heat moderated by constant regular Winds blowing over an immense Expanse of Sea, and though the cutting down of Woods is said to have been detrimental in diminishing the Quantity of Rain, yet by giving a free Passage to the Air the Country is become more healthy.

<sup>a</sup> What hath been above stated in the Text, must at first appear somewhat surprizing in regard to Islands of so small a Size, and from which therefore such great Emoluments could hardly have been expected. But a little Reflection will let us at least in part into the Causes of their quick Growth and wonderful Improvement, and at the same Time explain what hath been asserted in respect to the Advantages they derive from their Situation. In the First Place their earliest Inhabitants had a great Degree of Safety from their being surrounded with the Ocean, and consequently were from thence less in Danger than a small Number of Men would have been if they had fixed upon a Continent inhabited by Savages. This Circumstance allowed them Leisure to consider and attempt every Kind of Improvement, and the Narrowness of their Territory rendered it the more manageable in point of Cultivation, and when they had once made a right Choice of a Staple put it in their Power to carry it to Perfection. Besides these the surrounding Ocean afforded them many other Benefits, rendering the Air purer, milder, and more wholesome, than on greater Continents, or even in much larger Islands, as Experience shews, allowing them at all Times a free and facile Communication with their Neighbours, as well as the Means of receiving Supplies from, and exporting their Produce to distant Countries, and to these we may add the affording them, what is a considerable and lasting Benefit, a constant Proportion of Subsistence by Fishing, common to every Part of the Settlement. Lastly, it bestowed an extraordinary Degree of Security, more especially under the Protection of a Maritime Power.

THE Soil is very different, in some Places a heavy Clay, in others a light Sand, dark heavy Earth in some, a light red Mould in others, nor are there wanting wet and swampy Grounds, or some Spots that are dry and afford a hard Gravel. In general it is very fertile, and with proper Management and Manure almost all Parts yield large Crops of Sugar. The Inhabitants are happy in a vast Variety of vegetable Productions, Maize, Guinea Corn, and many edible Roots. As to Animals, they have Black Cattle and Sheep of their own, a few Horses, but many are imported from England and the Continent of America, the former for the Saddle, the latter chiefly used for Labour. We have been settled here about One hundred and Fifty Years <sup>b</sup>. The First Planters raised Tobacco, but this was in Process of Time abandoned for Sugar Canes, which were originally brought thither from Fernambuca in the Brazils. In Proportion as the Island grew rich and populous an excellent Constitution was formed, to which they steadily adhered, and from which they have derived a Stability and Security that hath justly gained them the Character of One of the best regulated Colonies in the World <sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> The several Accounts we have hitherto had in regard to the original Settlement of this Island are very dark and uncertain. All that can be collected is, that the Lord Ley High Treasurer of England, and afterwards Earl of Marlborough, had a Grant by Letters Patent of Barbadoes from King James the First, and therefore it must have been settled, though perhaps very imperfectly, in his Reign. In that of his Successor, the Earl of Carlisle intent upon settling St. Christopher's obtained a Warrant for a Grant of all the Caribbee Islands, Barbadoes included. This was stopped at the Great Seal on account of the Earl of Marlborough's prior Patent. The Two Earls however coming to an amicable Agreement the Earl of Carlisle's Patent, in which all ours and all the French Islands are exactly enumerated, passed A. D. 1627. On the breaking out of the Civil War no farther Regard was paid to the Proprietor. But after the Restoration a Claim was made by his Creditors, and the Crown thought fit to enter into an Agreement with them, and to make a Compensation to his Heir for the Surrender of the Patent, and thus this and the other Islands returned into the Hands of the Crown, to the no small Joy of the Inhabitants. But their Satisfaction was not a little abated by the Demand made by Lord Willoughby of Parham, their Governor, on the Part of the Crown, of a Duty to reimburse the Expences of this Purchase, and for other Purposes, to which, though very unwillingly, the Assembly gave their Consent, and thereby fixed the Imposition of Four and a Half per Cent. on the Commodities of these Islands, which hath ever since been paid.

<sup>c</sup> The Government of Barbadoes was settled by Philip Bell, Esq; appointed Governor by the Earl of Carlisle, and so well constituted that it hath subsisted ever since, and been in some Degree a Model to the Rest of the Islands. The Governor is appointed by the King's Commission, so are his Council consisting of Twelve by Mandamus, the Assembly is composed of Twenty-two, that is, Two Members from each of the Eleven Parishes. The Island is divided into Five Districts, in each of which there is a Judge and Four Assistants, who hold a Court of Common Pleas every Month, from January to September. There is another wise Law which hath been of the utmost Utility, in assigning to every Servant at the Expiration of his Term a small Patrimony, of Three, Four, or Five Acres. This constitutes a Yeomanry, and is the Cause that the Force of the Island hath been at all Times respectable. At present they have Six Regiments of Foot, Three of Horse, and a Troop of Guards, all stout Men and well-disciplined.

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THE Capital of the Island is Bridge Town or St. Michael's upon Carlisle Bay, by much the largest and most convenient in the Island. In this Town, before it was destroyed by Fire, there were Fifteen hundred Houses, most of them neatly, some magnificently built, and it is now risen out of its Ruins with fresh Beauty. Besides this there is Oskins or Charles Town, St. James's in the old Maps, the Hole, and Speight's Town, formerly called little Bristol, because chiefly frequented by Ships from thence. The Planter's Houses are many of them very elegant Structures, and the necessary Accommodations, with Negro Huts and the Tenants Houses, render each considerable Plantation a Kind of Village. The principal Commodities for Exportation are Aloes, Cotton, Ginger, Sugar, Rum, and Melasses. The Commerce between this Island, Great Britain, North America, and Africa is very considerable, so as to employ upon a moderate Computation upwards of Four hundred Vessels of different Sizes. As to the Number of Inhabitants it is impossible to speak with any great Degree of Certainty, but according to the most authentic Account that could be obtained there are about Twenty-two thousand Whites and Seventy-two thousand Blacks. It is however positively asserted that the Number both of white Inhabitants and of Slaves had been considerably greater in former Times <sup>d</sup>.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S was so called by Admiral Columbus, whether after his own Name or that of St. Christopher is uncertain. It lies in Seven-

The Skill and Industry of the Inhabitants have been always conspicuous, and the Commodities of every Sort they raise very perfect in their Kind.

<sup>d</sup> There have been and still are many large and lucrative Plantations on this Island, so valuable that those who purchase them scarce make Four per Cent. of their Money. As a Specimen of these Estates we are told that Two hundred and Sixty Acres properly managed will require 180 Negroes, 100 horned Cattle, 12 Horses, 40 Sheep, Three Tenants or Militia-men with their Families, who support themselves upon the Grounds allowed them. A Manager at One hundred or One hundred and Fifty Pounds per Annum, a Driver, a Distiller, and Two Apprentices, their Salaries together Forty-five Pounds; a Town Agent and Book-keeper at Twenty Pounds each, an Apothecary at Thirty or Forty Pounds, a Farrier at Twenty, an English Agent at Two and a Half per Cent. Commission. All this, exclusive of Freight of Sugar, Taxes, Repairs, and incidental Expences. In A. D. 1770, their Exports were to Great Britain 930 Hundred Weight of Aloes at Three Pounds Ten Shillings per Hundred Weight, 3255 l. 453 Bales of Cotton at Twelve Pounds per Bale, 5435 l. 5361 Bags of Ginger at Two Pounds and Five Shillings per Bag. 10,062 l. 5 s. 90 Hides at Seven Shillings, 31 l. 10 s. 2031 Hogsheds of Rum at Ten Pounds, 20,310 l. 2836 do. to Ireland, 28,360 l. 5349 Hogsheds, Two Tierces of clayed Sugar at Twenty Pounds the Hoghead and Fifteen Pounds the Tierce, 107,010 l. 5149 Hogsheds, 3522 Tierces, 544 Barrels of Muscovado Sugar at Seventeen Pounds Ten Shillings per Hoghead, Twelve Pounds the Tierce, and Four Pounds the Barrel, 134,547 l. 10 s. The Total 311,012 l. 5 s. Total of the like Goods to North America, 110,828 l. 4 s. To the other Islands 1173 l. The Account of this Island hath been more particular as in many Respects it may serve to give us an Idea of the Rest.



teen Degrees Twenty-five Minutes of North Latitude, and in Sixty-two Degrees of Longitude West from London. It is Twenty-one Miles in Length, and between Six and Seven in Breadth, except to the South East, where it is connected by a narrow Isthmus to a Tract of Land of about a League in Length, and near as much in Breadth, in which there is a large Salt Pond. This Peninsula is separated by a very narrow Channel of the Sea from the Island of Nevis. The whole Circumference of St. Christopher's is about Seventy English Miles. The Climate is warm, but from the Height of the Country less so than might be expected from its Situation, and the Air pure and healthy. On the other Hand it is subject to frequent Storms, and is also exposed to Hurricanes and Earthquakes. It affords a beautiful Prospect from the Sea, appearing at a Distance like a vast Mountain covered with Woods, but on a nearer Approach the Coast round the Island is found to be smooth and the Ascent gentle, One Hill rising above another to a great Height, but cultivated almost to their Summits. The Chain of Hills that divide the Island are in the Centre broken into rocky Precipices hardly passable, and in these there gush out Hot Springs towards the Bottom. There is One Eminence stiled the Sulphur Mountain, and in another there is said to be a Silver Mine, but it was never wrought<sup>e</sup>.

THE Soil is light and sandy, but very fertile and well watered by many Rivulets that run from both Sides of the Mountains. It yields Plenty of Manioc, of which the Cassada Bread is made, edible Roots in Abundance, a Variety of Vegetables, rich Fruits, and fine Timber. The Animals are much the same as in Barbadoes, Abundance of tame and wild Fowl, and the Sea affords Store of excellent Fish. The chief Town is Basseterre, and besides this there are Two Shipping Places, One at Old Road, and the other at Sandy Point. The whole Island is covered with well cultivated Plantations, the Owners of which live in very hand-

<sup>e</sup> This Island was settled by the English and French, A. D. 1625, who arrived on different Sides of it the same Day, the former under Captain Warner, afterwards Sir Thomas Warner, under the Patronage of the Earl of Carlisle, the latter under the Sieur D'Esnaubuc, under the Authority and Auspice of the Cardinal de Richlieu. These Two Governors made an amicable Division of the Island, the French having the East and West Ends, and the English the North and South, by a Treaty of Partition, A. D. 1627. Two Years after both Nations were driven off the Island by the Spaniards; but not long after their Departure the English and French resettled and remained very good Friends till the First Dutch War in the Reign of Charles II. when the former were driven out by the French, but were again restored by the Peace of Breda in 1667. As soon as the News of the Revolution reached the West Indies, the French, without waiting for a Declaration of War, drove them out a Second Time, and they were again restored by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. In Queen Anne's War the English expelled the French, though some of the best Families, and a great Part of their Slaves remained, and the Whole of the Island was finally ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht.

some Houses built chiefly of Cedar, and their Grounds fenced with Orange and Lemon Trees. Public Affairs are administered by a Governor, Council, and Assembly, chosen from the Nine Parishes into which the Isle is divided, in each of which there is a spacious Church. Their principal Commodities are Cotton, Rum, and Sugar, which is of a very fine Grain. The Number of Inhabitants is said to be Forty thousand, and of these there are about Ten thousand Whites †.

THE Island of NEVIS, called by the French and Spaniards Nieves, and by us very commonly, though corruptly, Mevis, at a small Distance, as we have said, from St. Christopher's, and about Seven Leagues North North West of Montserrat. It lies in Seventeen Degrees Twenty Minutes of North Latitude, and in about Sixty-two Degrees of Longitude West from London, making a beautiful Appearance from the Sea, being a large conical Mountain, covered with fine Trees, of an easy Ascent on every Side, and entirely cultivated. The Circumference is about Twenty-one Miles, with a considerable Tract of level Ground all round it &c. The Climate in the lower Part is esteemed to be warmer than Barbadoes, but more temperate towards the Summit. The Soil below is very fine and fertile, but becomes coarser in the Ascent. However, as there is a Space

† We have already observed that the Lord Willoughby of Parham after the Restoration was appointed Governor of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. After his Demise Sir William Stapleton was appointed Governor of the latter A. D. 1672, and fixed his Residence in St. Christopher's. The Produce of this Island A. D. 1770 stood thus. There was exported to Great Britain of Cotton 192 Bales, 566 Bags, 7964 l. 86 Hides 30 l. 2 s. 858 Hogshheads of Rum, of which 97 were exported from other Islands, 8580 l. to Ireland 1179 Hogshheads, 11790 l. 17,064 Hogshheads, 1814 Tierces, 648 Barrels of Sugar, of which 335 Hogshheads and 360 Tierces were re-exported from other Islands, 338,709 l. 10 s. In all 367,074 l. 2 s. To North America to the Amount of 59,794 l. to the other Islands, 61 Hogshheads of Rum, 518 l. 10 s. To Africa Eight Hogshheads of Rum, 68 l.

‡ This pleasant Isle was settled under the Auspice of Sir Thomas Warner from St. Christopher's. His successor Governor Lake was considered as the Solon of this little Country, in which he disposed every Thing with such Prudence, Wisdom, and Justice as procured him a high Reputation with the French as well as English. In the Dutch War they met with some Disturbance from the French, but being covered by an English Squadron, the Enemy were obliged to desist from their intended Invasion after a smart Engagement in Sight of the Island. Sir William Stapleton sometimes resided here, and Sir Nathaniel Johnson constantly, which contributed not a little to the Prosperity of Nevis, the Inhabitants of which were then computed to be upwards of Thirty thousand. In the War immediately after the Revolution they exerted themselves gallantly, and had Two Regiments of Three hundred Men each. In that of Queen Anne they behaved as well, though they were not equally fortunate, for the French landing with a superior Force, and having inveigled most of their Slaves, they were forced to capitulate. About Four thousand of these Slaves the French carried away and sold to the Spaniards to work in their Mines. The Parliament after making due Enquiry into the Losses they sustained voted them about a Third Part of the Sum in which they had suffered. These Losses by War, an epidemic Disease, and repeated Hurricanes, exceedingly diminished the Number of their People.

of about Three Miles all round, the Industry of the Inhabitants is conspicuous in its Cultivation. As to its Productions, they are very nearly the same with those of St. Christopher. There are Three pretty good Roads or Bays, with small Towns in their Vicinity, Charles-town, Moreton-bay, and Newcastle. There is here a Lieutenant-governor, with a Council, and an Assembly, which is composed of Three Members from each of the Five Parishes into which the Island is divided. The Commodities exported from hence are Cotton and Sugar. About Twenty Sail of Ships are employed annually in this Trade; and the Number of Inhabitants is said to be between Two and Three thousand Whites, and upwards of Six thousand Negroes, though it was formerly much better peopled <sup>h</sup>.

ANTEGO, Antegoa, rather Antigua, from Santa Maria la Antigua, a Church in Seville, from whence it was so called by Admiral Columbus. It is the largest of the Leeward Islands, and now the Seat of Government; it lies in the Latitude of Seventeen Degrees Twenty Minutes North, and in Sixty-one Degrees of Longitude West from London. It is in Length about Twenty-one Miles, and nearly the same in Breadth, in Circumference upwards of Sixty. The Climate is very warm, and Hurricanes are often felt. The Country is finely diversified into low and high Grounds, but without any of these so elevated as to be stiled Mountains, so that there are no Rivers, but few Springs, a Couple of little Rivulets which rise not far from and run into the Sea. This Isle is of course very ill supplied with Water, which the Inhabitants for their own Use preserve in Cisterns, and in Ponds for their Cattle, both depending upon Rain. It was this Defect in respect to Water, that for a long Time retarded the Settling of this Island. At this Time the Inhabitants are now and then distressed by it. Some good Judges however who have lived long upon the Place think it in some Degree their own Fault, since if they made their Cisterns larger, and dug their Ponds deeper, this Calamity might be avoided. It is also to be observed that the Water thus preserved is wonderfully light, pure, and wholesome. The Soil varies, but is in many Places a fine black Mould, in others a deep and pretty stiff Clay, yet is indifferently fertile. The Country is rather better stocked than the other Islands with Animals of all Sorts, great Plenty of wild and tame Fowl, and a vast Variety of excellent Sea Fish. They have *Rœus* and *Vege-*

<sup>h</sup> The Inhabitants of Nevis are equally remarkable for the Neatness of their Dwellings, and their great Industry in their Plantations. They exported to Great Britain A. D. 1770. 236 Bags of Cotton amounting to 2,360 l. 71 Hogheads of Rum, 710 l. 2329 Hogheads of Sugar, 40,757 l. 10 s. In the Whole 43,827 l. 10 s. To North America, they send a great many Barrels of Lemons, a considerable Quantity of Melasses, and a great Deal of Rum, amounting in the Whole to 14,155 l.

tables in great Abundance, and all the Fruits common in the West Indies. There was formerly some Indigo and Tobacco raised here, but these have been long ago abandoned for Cotton, Melasses, Rum, and Sugar the present Produce of this rich Island i.

THE Capital is St. John's, upon a very good Harbour of the same Name; the Town of Falmouth stands upon English Harbour, which in consequence of much Care and some Expence hath been rendered fit for careening Ships of War. There are besides Parham and Willoughby Bay with some lesser Creeks. But in general the Coast of the Island is rocky, and wherever it is easy of Access well fortified, and there is commonly a Regiment of regular Troops quartered therein for the Defence of the Inhabitants. The Governor-general of the Leeward Islands, who usually resides here, calls, when he thinks proper, a General Assembly composed of Representatives deputed from the other Islands. Antigua hath besides a Lieutenant Governor, a Council, and an Assembly composed of Twenty-four Members. It is divided into Six Parishes and Eleven Districts, Ten of which elect each of them Two Representatives, and that of St. John's Four. The Number of Ships that enter here are about Three hundred, but with respect to the Inhabitants, Whites and Negroes, we have but very incertain Accounts of their Numbers k.

<sup>i</sup> This noble Island like the former was settled under the Auspice of Sir Thomas Warner, but made a very slow Progress at the Beginning from a general Opinion, that as is said in the Text, there was a total Want of Water. By Degrees however the Number of Inhabitants increased, yet before they had attained a competent Strength they were attacked and reduced by the French in the Reign of Charles the Second. However by the Twelfth Article of the Treaty of Breda, the Island was restored, after which the Number of People increased, and the Country was much improved. In the War in King William's Time General Codrington defeated all the Designs of the French against it, and even reduced some of their smaller Islands. His Son who succeeded him in the Government of the Leeward Islands made a vigorous Attempt upon Guadaloupe in the Reign of Queen Anne. Since this Time Things have gone on prosperously, and the Spirit, Skill, and Industry of the Inhabitants have been amply rewarded by their Acquisitions, though from Hurricanes, Droughts, and other Accidents, there is great Inequality in their Exports.

<sup>k</sup> Lord Willoughby of Parham, when Governor of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, being informed of the languid State of Things in Antigua, procured a Grant and sent his Brother thither to take Care of his Property. After his Lordship's Death Christopher Codrington, Esq; removed thither from Barbadoes, and by his great Skill and Application entirely changed the Face of Affairs. When he became Governor and Captain General he fixed the Seat of Government here, which was of great Consequence, and some other intelligent Planters resorting thither the Productions of Antigua in Quantity and Quality were gradually improved. A. D. 1770 they exported to Great Britain 192 Bales, 566 Bags of Cotton, amounting to 5046 l. 735 Hogheads of Rum, 7350 l. To Ireland 6,492 Hogheads of do. 64,920 l. 20,116 Hogheads, 72 Tierces of Sugar 352,894 l. in all to Great Britain and Ireland 430,210 l. To North America to the Amount of 35,551 l. 7 s. 6 d. and to the other Islands 229 l. 10 s.

MONTSERRAT is a very small but a very pleasant Island, so called by Columbus from its Resemblance to a famous Mountain near Barcelona in Catalonia. It lies in Sixteen Degrees Fifty Minutes of North Latitude, and in about Sixty-one Degrees of Longitude West from London, having Antigua to the North East, St. Christopher's and Nevis to the North West, and Guadaloupe lying South South East at the Distance of about Nine Leagues. In its Figure it is nearly round, about Nine Miles in Extent every Way, Twenty-seven in Circumference, and is supposed to contain about Forty or Fifty thousand Acres<sup>l</sup>. The Climate is warm, but less so than in Antigua, and is esteemed very healthy. The Soil is mountainous, but with pleasant Vallies rich and fertile between them, the Hills are covered with Cedars and other fine Trees. Here are all the Animals as well as Vegetables and Fruits that are to be found in the other Islands, and not at all inferior to them in Quality. It is besides pretty well watered which is no small Advantage. The Inhabitants raised formerly a considerable Quantity of Indigo, which was none of the best, but which they cut Four Times a Year. The present Product is Cotton, Rum, and Sugar. There is no good Harbour, but three tolerable Roads at Plymouth, Old Harbour and Ker's Bay, where they ship the Produce of the Island. Public Affairs are administered here as in the other Isles, by a Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Assembly, composed of no more than Eight Members, Two from each of the Four Districts into which it is divided<sup>m</sup>. There a few Ships employed in Trading

<sup>l</sup> In the Year 1632 Sir Thomas Warner sent a small Number of his People from St. Christopher's to Montserrat, lying to the South East, being of a round Figure, a little mountainous Island, which owes its Healthiness and Security to that Circumstance. It was become a very populous and well-improved Settlement when attacked and reduced by the French in the Beginning of the Reign of King Charles the Second. But being restored to its old Masters by the Twelfth Article of the Treaty of Breda, it very speedily recovered its former Splendour. When the next War broke out with France soon after the Revolution, the People of Montserrat acted with great Vigour and Spirit, by which they kept their Enemies at a Distance. But by these extraordinary, though honourable Efforts their Numbers were considerably diminished. This exposed them in the Reign of Queen Anne to be extremely harrassed by the French, and even after the Cessation of Arms was concluded, Mr. Cossard landed here, and in a great Measure ruined the Island. For this it was stipulated in the Eleventh Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, that an Enquiry should be made into the Damages which the People of Montserrat had suffered. But it does not appear that any such Enquiry was ever made, or that the least Compensation was received.

<sup>m</sup> The wonderful Effects of Industry and Experience in meliorating the Gifts of Nature have been no-where more conspicuous than in these Islands, and particularly in this, by gradually improving their Produce, more especially of late Years, since the Art of Planting hath been reduced to a regular System, and almost all the Defects of Soil so thoroughly removed by proper Management and Manure, that except from the Failure of Seasons, or the Want of Hands, there is seldom any Fear of a Crop. In A. D. 1770 there was exported from this Island to Great Britain,

to this Island from London and from Bristol. As to the Number of Inhabitants according to the most probable Accounts, they consist in between Twelve and Fifteen hundred Whites and from Ten to Twelve thousand Negroes, though some say not so many.

BARBUDA is a small Island lying in Seventeen Degrees Forty Minutes North Latitude, and in Sixty Degrees Thirty-two Minutes West from London, Ten Leagues North from Antigua, Fifteen North East from Montserrat, and about the same Distance from St. Christopher's and Nevis. Soon after the First of these Two Islands was planted, the Inhabitants had an Account of this so very favourable that they immediately took a Resolution to settle it, which they did, and called it Dulcina. They found it healthy, pleasant, and fertile; but the Coasts were rocky, there was little Water, the Soil but shallow, and they were frequently disturbed by the Caribbees, on which they quitted it and retired to Nevis. Many Years after General Codrington, who was equally distinguished as a Statesman, Soldier, and Planter, obtained a Grant of it in Property, and it still belongs to his Family. There are upon it some Hundreds of People, who raise Corn, breed Cattle, tame Fowls, and other Provisions, for which they always find a Market in the other Isles, and live very happily and much at their Ease<sup>n</sup>.

ANGUILLA is another little Island, which lies in Eighteen Degrees Twenty Minutes North Latitude, and in Sixty-one Degrees Thirty Minutes Longitude West from London. At the Distance of Twenty Leagues North West from Barbuda, and Twelve from St. Christopher's. It derives its Name from its winding Form, which is thought to resemble that of an Eel, or as the common Notion is of a Snake. The French thought it, as it is very low and flat, not worth keeping or cultivating, and it was long in our Hands before it was considered as a Place of any Consequence, though Fifteen Miles long, and in some Places Seven broad. But of

Britain, 107 Bags of Cotton, 1670 l. 740 l. Hogsheds of Rum, 7400 l. To Ireland 133 ditto, 1330 l. 4,338 Hogsheds, 232 Tierces, 202 Barrels of Sugar, 79,507 l. in the Whole, 89,907 l. To North America, 12,033 l.

" There were Two Motives that induced General Codrington to procure a Grant of this Island, the sole Proprietary Government in the West Indies. The First was the raising Provisions, in which he effectually succeeded, the Second the Cultivation of Cinnamon, to which he was induced from some Experiments he had made from the wild Cinnamon Trees in Antigua. In this Project he was interrupted by the French War in which the Enemy once attempted to surprize him, while he and some of his Friends were amusing themselves at his Plantations in Barbuda. His Death, which followed not long after, put a Period to his Designs, in which, considering the amazing Progress he made in improving the Sugars of Antigua, it is not at all improbable he would otherwise have succeeded.

late Years the industrious Inhabitants have shewn that this was a Mistake, for besides raising all the Necessaries of Life, they now export the Cotton, Rum, and Sugar as well as their Neighbours, and are in a very thriving Condition. According to the Information of those who have lately visited this little Isle, it is in its present State as healthy as any in this Part of the World, and the Natives remarkably stout, vigorous, and indefatigable in raising Provisions of all Sorts, with which they supply their Neighbours °.

THE Islands which the Spaniards stile las Virgines, and we from them the Virgins, lie in a Cluster, from Eighteen Degrees to Eighteen Degrees Forty Minutes of North Latitude, and in the Longitude of from Sixty-two Degrees Thirty Minutes, to Sixty-three Degrees West from London. Tortola is the largest of them, and next to that Spanish Town, or rather Peniston, in which there is said to be a Silver Mine, neither of them very considerable in point of Size, but otherwise pleasant and fertile. There are besides these Ten or Twelve more, all of them inhabited, and have been so for many Years, though it is not long since they were put under a regular Form of Government. There is in the Midst of these Islands the finest Baion of Water that can be imagined, in which Vessels may lie Land-locked from all Winds, from which they are covered from the regular Disposition of these Islands round them, which is a very great Advantage to the Inhabitants, and to such as by frequenting them are experienced in this Navigation. Otherwise the Coasts of these Islands being many of them foul and rocky are exceedingly dangerous, and many Vessels have been wrecked upon them, and amongst these some Spanish Galleons. We have now a regular Communication with Tortola, from whence there is annually exported, chiefly of its own, but some also of the Produce of the other Islands, considerable Quantities of Cotton, Rum, and Sugar. As to the Number of Inhabitants in these Isles our Accounts have been very uncertain, but I have been lately informed by a very judicious and credible Person, who constantly trades thither, that they amount to about a Thousand Whites, and to upwards of Ten thousand Negroes p.

IT

° This small Island is another very striking Instance of what has been before observed, that Skill and Industry will have great Effects wherever exerted with Perseverance, since all the Accounts we have of it, as is said in the Text, agree in their Representation of its being capable of producing nothing more than a bare Subsistence to a few wretched Inhabitants, and yet we find them by Diut of their own Labour rising into some Consideration; for A. D. 1770 they exported 242 Bags of Cotton, amounting to 2420 l. Nineteen Hogsheads of Rum, 190 l. 68 Hogsheads of Sugar, 1190 l. in all to Great Britain 3800 l. and to North America 2057 l. 10 s. and they are in a fair Way of producing much more.

p These Virgin Isles, as hath been already hinted in the Text, were for many Years considered as little inhospitable Rocks upon which a few miserable People, whom their Debts had, driven



It is not a little amazing, and if we had not the clearest and most authentic Evidence in its Support, would appear absolutely incredible, that a few Islands containing altogether not more Ground than the County of Monmouth, and but a very little bigger than the Island of Minorca, should produce to the Value of One Million and an Half Sterling annually, in the Commodities they export, exclusive of Freight and every other Advantage. It is true that the Staples of these Islands are very rich. But we must not conclude from thence, that such small Islands could not otherwise be supported, since it appears by a Report made to the Board of Trade near Twenty Years ago, that Rhode Island in North America, which is not bigger than St. Christopher's, had upon it Thirty thousand white Inhabitants, and Four thousand Negroes, all of whom were subsisted by the Produce of the Isle and its Commerce. Let us now proceed to the Ceded Islands.

driven thither to preserve Freedom, picked up as they could, a precarious Subsistence. This perhaps might be really the Case, but seeing the Effects of Industry in some of the other Islands, they gradually began to imitate them, at first by planting Cotton, and this proving very fine furnished them with the Means of purchasing Negroes, and at length put it in their Power to plant Canes. A. D. 1770 the Island of Tortola exported 29 Bales and 1590 Bags of Cotton, amounting to 16,248 l. Hides 368, 128 l. 16s. Sugar 2446 Hogheads, 20 Tierces, 73 Barrels, 43,337 l. Besides this from the Produce of other Islands in Cotton and Sugar to the Value of 1982 l. 10s. in all to Great Britain, 61,696 l. 6s. and to North America in Cotton, Rum, and other Commodities to the Value of 10,132 l. 10s.

## S E C T. V.

*The ceded Islands, St. Vincent, Grenada, the Grenadines, Tobago, and Dominica.*

**I**N the former Section it hath been shewn at what Time and in what Manner the English settled the Islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher; and that the French likewise settled themselves on the latter at the same Time. It does not appear that the People of Barbadoes thought of making any Excursions from their own Island, but contented themselves with cultivating and improving it to the utmost of their Power. But St. Christopher's being smaller, and a Moiety of it only occupied by each of the Nations, their Chiefs who were both Men of enterprizing Spirits entertained other Views. Sir Thomas Warner, as we have already mentioned, settled most of the Leeward Islands. Mr. Desnambuc wrote to the

the Court of France, and proposed an Expedition for settling One of Three Islands which he named. His Proposition was accepted, and a small Fleet accordingly sent under Two Commanders who first debarked upon Martinico, but disliking its mountainous Appearance quitted it, and fixed themselves on Guadaloupe. Mr. Desnambuc no sooner heard of this, than he likewise embarked a small Body of Men, and took Possession of Part of Martinico. The French met with no small Difficulties in both Islands, but by keeping Measures at first with the Natives, and then gradually picking Quarrels with them, they at length made themselves Masters of both after a Dispute of about Thirty Years, in which Space all our Islands were pretty well settled <sup>a</sup>.

A FRENCH West India Company had been erected under the Auspice of Cardinal Richlieu for the Direction of their Affairs in this Part of the World. Their Capital consisted of about Four thousand Pounds Sterling, and this even in those Days proved so insignificant that they were in a little Time unable to support those who had possessed themselves of the Isles before-mentioned; and therefore in a just Sense of their Inability they sold the smaller Islands to the Order of Malta, and granted Martinico and Guadaloupe to Two of their Countrymen as Proprietors, reserving only the Sovereignty to the Crown of France, and having thus ridded themselves of all their Possessions as a Company, they broke up. When Lewis the Fourteenth took the Reins of Government into his own Hands, he by the Advice of wiser Ministers than those who had been employed during his Minority, erected a New West India Company, with Funds properly proportioned to the Schemes they were to undertake. This Company was so well conducted that they redeemed all the Islands, carried on a War against England in those Parts, and put their several Possessions into good Order, and a competent State of Defence. All this they did in so short a Space as Nine Years, and in return their Great Monarch dissolved them and took all into his own Hands. It must not be supposed that we were inactive all this Time, for on the contrary we reduced the great Island of Jamaica, in which Service Five thousand Men from the other Islands were employed, and after it was subdued the settling it was attended with much Expence of Men and Money. Numbers also went from Barbadoes to

<sup>a</sup> The principal Intention in these Notes is to authenticate the History, and to fix the Dates that are mentioned in the Text for the Reader's Ease and Satisfaction. The Persons sent from France at the Instance of Mr. Desnambuc were Messieurs du Plessis and l'Olive, and they landed on Guadaloupe July 8th 1635. The former of these Gentlemen dying, and the latter becoming blind within a Year, the Company conferred the Government of that Island on the Sieur Aubert, who had been for some Time an Officer in the Isle of St. Christopher. On the other Hand, Mr. Desnambuc appointed his Nephew Monsieur du Parquet, Governor of the Colony that he settled in Martinico.

Surinam; which Colony, as hath been before observed, we exchanged for New York, and it must be likewise remembred, that at the Time the French King established his New Company, our Islands in the West Indies were thoroughly improved, and in the most flourishing Condition<sup>b</sup>.

WE kept up our Claim during this whole Period to the Islands of Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago, which were constantly inserted in the Governor of Barbadoes Commission, and we sent Governors to some of them, and exercised other Acts of Sovereignty. It was owing to the Intrigues of the French that we did not absolutely reduce and settle them, for while they were conquering the other Islands, they not only willingly permitted the Caribs to retire into these, but also afforded them the necessary Assistance to prevent our driving them out. In the Reign of James the Second a Treaty of Neutrality was concluded between the Two Nations in the West Indies upon Terms, which considering their different Views were advantageous and acceptable to both. But King James did not mean to include these Islands in this Treaty, but on the contrary took Measures to settle them, on which, under pretence that the Caribs or as they stile them Caraibs were their Allies, the French interfered in the Dispute, for terminating of which a new Negotiation was begun at the Time the Revolution took Place. In the Reign of King William, the Situation of our Affairs did not permit us to prosecute our Rights, and the same Reasons seem to have operated in the Reign of Queen Anne. King George the First made a Grant of St Lucia and St. Vincent to the Duke of Montagu, who from a Motive of Public Spirit undertook to settle them at a vast Expence, but France interfering again

<sup>b</sup> The First French West India Company was established A. D. 1626, and they did all they could to support the establishments made by them. At length finding themselves exceedingly involved, they granted to Mr. du Parquet before-mentioned the Islands of Martinico, Grenada, and St. Lucia; and to the Sieur Houel the Islands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desiderade, and the Saints. To the Commander du Poincy, who was Grand Cross of the Order of Malta, and at that Time Governor General of their Islands, they sold in Trust for his Order, their Part of St. Christopher's together with the Islands of St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, and Santa Cruz, and the Possession of them was ratified by the French King's Letters Patents. This First Company broke up A. D. 1651. The Second French West India Company was created by Letters Patents, dated the 11th July, A. D. 1664, and had an entire Grant of all that the French possessed on the Continent, as well as in the Islands of America, and this new Company was so well supported, that in a very short Space they equipped upwards of Forty Sail of Ships for different Services. Besides what is mentioned in the Text, this Company rendered the French Nation many other beneficial Offices, and particularly took entirely out of the Hands of the Dutch, then closely allied with France, the Trade of the Islands, by which they had been exceedingly enriched. In effecting so much they had not only expended their Capital, but had run upwards of a Million of Livres in Debt, which was the Pretence made use of for dissolving them, the King reimbursing their Capital and discharging their Incumbrances.

in favour of her Indian Allies, Things were compromised to prevent entering into a War upon what might seem to be a private Quarrel. <sup>At the</sup> Reign of King George the Second a new Regulation took Place, by which Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago, to which the French had never formed any Pretences, were declared Neutral Islands by the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle. In this State Things were at the Entrance of the last War, but at the Conclusion of it the French quitted all their Pretensions to Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, and ceded the Island of Grenada to his Majesty as an Equivalent for the Island of St. Lucia (thereby admitting our Right) which we yielded to the French who had conceived higher Notions of the Value of that Isle, than it will perhaps ever be found to deserve.

IN describing these Islands we begin with that of St. Vincent, which received its Name from being discovered on the Twenty-second of January, the Feast of that Saint. It lies from Thirteen Degrees to Thirteen Degrees Twenty Minutes of North Latitude, and in Longitude Fifty-nine Degrees Forty Minutes West from London. At the Distance of between Five and Six Leagues South West from St. Lucia, Twenty-three South West from Martinico, Thirty-six or as some compute Forty South from Dominica, Twenty West by South from Barbadoes, and Seventeen or Eighteen North East from Grenada. Being thus situated directly to the Leeward of Barbadoes, it may in a few Hours be reached from thence, and is at the same Time so seated as to cover and connect the small Islands that lie between it and Grenada. It stretches in Length from South to North about Twenty-five Miles, and is about Thirteen in Breadth, in Circumference between Sixty and Seventy. In Point of Size therefore it differs but little from Barbadoes. The Climate is very warm, at least in the Judgment of Europeans. The Country is in general hilly, in some Places mountainous, but interspersed with a Variety of pleasant Vallies, and some large and luxuriant Plains, the Soil being every where very fer-

• The Treaty of good Correspondence and Neutrality concluded between King James II. and Lewis XIV. bears Date the 5th November 1686. The Motives were the delivering the Subjects of both Crowns from the Interruptions they met with from Buccaneers, and the securing the Trade of their respective Islands to the Powers to which they belonged. In A. D. 1718, upon the Surmize of a rich Mine in the Island of St. Lucia, the Regent Duke of Orleans made a Grant of that Island in Property to the Marshal d'Estrees. But the British Court expostulating upon this and shewing clearly, that the Right was in the Crown of Great Britain, that Grant was recalled. His Majesty King George I. by Letters Patents, dated 20th June 1722, granted this Island, with St. Vincent, to the Duke of Montagu, and as we have said above, to avoid a Quarrel between the Two Nations, it was agreed that those Islands should not be settled by either. The compleat Cession of the Islands, which are the Subject of this Chapter, was made in the fullest and clearest Terms by the Ninth Article of the last Peace signed at Paris, 10th February, A. D. 1763.

tile, and the high Grounds are at least in general easy of Ascent. Few Parts of its Extent are so well watered, for several Rivers run down from the Mountains, and smaller Streams from almost every Hill; there are likewise several fine Springs at a little Distance from the Sea. The Inhabitants raise all Kinds of Ground Provisions in Plenty, and with little Trouble. The Rivers supply them with a Variety of Fish, and the same may be said of the Sea that washes their Coasts. They have Abundance of excellent Fruits, and very fine Timber fit for almost every use, and with which they formerly supplied their Neighbours <sup>d</sup>.

THE French, though they did not venture to raise Sugar, had several spacious Plantations at the Mouths and on the Sides of the Rivers, planted with Cacao Trees, Coffee, Indigo, and fine Tobacco. There are several commodious Bays on the North West and South West Sides, and at the Southern Extremity there is the deep spacious sandy Bay, formerly stiled the Bay of St. Antonio, but now Kingston Bay, where large Ships may ride commodiously; and there is said to be good anchoring Ground round the whole Island. It remained for a long Space of Time after it was discovered by the Europeans the Head Quarters and general Rendezvous of the Caribs or Caraïbs, who from thence made Expeditions to the Continent, and were also sometimes very troublesome to the adjacent Islands. Besides these there are another Race of People generally, though very improperly, stiled Black Caribs, but who are in reality Negroes descended, as is generally believed, from some who escaped out of a Guinea Ship wrecked upon the Coast, and gradually augmented by such as from time to time fled thither from Barbadoes. These Nations were often at

<sup>d</sup> A little Reflection on the Climate, Soil, and natural Productions of these Islands might easily lead to the Desire of making Trials, of what through the Force of Skill and Industry might be added to their native Stores. But probably here as well as else-where, such Trials might have been neglected, if Governor Melvil, a Gentleman alike distinguished for the Warmth of his public Spirit and universal Benevolence, had not established in this Island a public Garden for this noble Purpose, and put it under the Care of Dr. George Young an excellent Botanist, to whom the Society for the Encouragement of Arts have deservedly given a Gold Medal, and who hath brought a Certificate from the Chief Magistrate of St. Vincent, that he had growing in this Garden in the Month of May A. D. 1772 One hundred and forty healthy Plants of the true Cinnamon. He hath also in the same Garden, amongst many other curious Plants, Logwood, Turmeric, East India Mango, Tobago Nutmeg, Sefamum or oily Grain, Cassia Fistula, Vanelloes, Anatto, China Tallow Tree. He is likewise preparing to carry from hence amongst many others the following, the Tea Shrub, Sago Palm, Gum Storax Tree, Olives, Camphire Tree, Florida Starry Aniseed, Zaït Currant Tree. It would be easy to expatiate on the Advantages that may probably arise from this Institution. At present it is sufficient to have pointed out to whom they will be due.

War, but when their Quarrels were compos'd they had a Strength sufficient to prevent Strangers from settling by force <sup>e</sup>.

THE French about Half a Century ago, at the Request of the Caribs, made a Descent from Martinico and attacked the Negroes, but were repuls'd with Loss, and afterwards found it their Interest to conciliate a Friendship with both Nations by means of Presents, and furnishing them with Arms and Ammunition, which procur'd them the Means of making those Plantations that have been before-mentioned. Since it came into our Possession, it hath proved as profitable, though not quite so healthy as could be wish'd. But now that our disagreeable Disputes with the Negroes are over, it is to be hop'd for ever, we may reasonably expect, that what belongs to us in the Island will be speedily and effectually cultivated; and as by this a free Circulation of Air will be promoted, the Climate become more wholesome. The Government is of the same Form with that of our other Islands, but dependent upon the Governor and Captain General, who resides in Grenada. As to the Number of Inhabitants we have not possess'd this or the other Isles long enough to have any distinct Accounts, but competent Judges may frame a probable Conjecture from the Nature and Quantity of its Produce <sup>f</sup>.

DOMINICA received that Name from its being discovered upon a Sunday, being situated in the Latitude of Fifteen Degrees Twenty Minutes, to Fifteen Degrees Forty Minutes North, and Fifty-nine Degrees Thirty-five Minutes of Longitude West from London. It lies in the very Midst

<sup>e</sup> There have been some Doubts rais'd as to the Accounts given in the Text of the coming in of the Negroes, on a Supposition that they might be Spanish Slaves who escap'd from the Continent, which however seems less probable. They have adopt'd in some Degree the Manners of the Natives who are the most indolent People upon the Earth. In Conjunction with them they oblig'd Captain Brathwaite in A. D. 1723 to desist from his intended Design of debarking upon the Island in consequence of the Duke of Montague's Grant, being abundantly supplied at that Time with Arms and Ammunition from the French. They are now reduced to a very low State, but still they are intitl'd to Justice and Humanity, more especially when consider'd as Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain. Force may restrain, but Kindness only can subdue. They rais'd Ground Provisions, Poultry, and other Things for the Use of the French, and there seems to be no Reason to doubt that by Gentleness and good Treatment they might be made in like Manner useful to themselves and to us, and with a very little Industry live comfortably and in Peace.

<sup>f</sup> What hath been said of this Island in respect to its present and future Consequence to this Country will be better shewn and more fully corroborated from the State of its Exportations in A. D. 1770, which were Cotton 284 Bags at Ten Pounds per Bag, 2840 l. Coffee 4818 Hundred-weight One Quarter Six Pound, at Three Pound Five Shillings per Hundred-weight, 15,659 l. 9s. 8½ d. Casao 1000 Hogsheds and One Barrel at Twenty-five Pounds per Hogsh-head and Twelve Pounds per Barrel, 25,012 l. Rum 346 Hogsheds at Ten Pounds per Hogsh-head, 3460 l. Sugar, 2866 Hogsheds at 17 l. 10 s. per Hogsh-head, 50,155 l. In all to Great Britain 97,126 l. 9 s. 8½ d. To North America 13,375 l. Total 110,501 l. 9 s. 8½ d.

of the French Islands, at the Distance of Eight Leagues North by West from Martinico, about the same Distance South South East from Guadeloupe; the small Islands called The Saints lying between them, Five Leagues South West from Marigalante, about Forty Leagues North from St. Vincent's, about the same Distance North West from Barbadoes, and about Seventy Leagues North and by East from Grenada. It is stretched out from North East to South West in the Form of a Bow, of which the Leeward Side, which makes but an indifferent Appearance at Sea, represents the String. A very noble Island it is, between Thirty and Forty Miles in length, about Fifteen in Breadth, and upwards of Ninety in Circumference. The Climate is remarkably warm even for that Part of the World, though the Air is very thin and pure, and the Country from thence reputed to be healthy. In its Appearance it is rough and mountainous more especially towards the Sea, but within there are rich and pleasant Vallies, and a few fine Plains &c.

THE Mountains are not steep, and the Soil is every where a deep black Mould, wonderfully fertile, and not easily exhausted. There is in it a Sulphur Mountain, and One in which the French believe there is a Gold Mine. No Place can be better watered, as there are Thirty Rivers, one of which is navigable for several Miles. There are several hot Springs, which, if we may believe the Report of our own Countrymen, who made Trial of them a Century ago, are not inferior in their Virtues to those of Bath. Bananas, Potatoes, and Manioc, from which Cassada Bread is made, and which in these Parts are stiled Ground Provisions, are here in great Plenty and in their several Kinds are all remarkably good. All Kind of Vegetables they have in Abundance, the richest Fruits particularly the finest Pine Apples in the West Indies; inexhaustible Stores of Timber of all Kinds. Hogs wild and tame, Variety

\* This Island was discovered by Admiral Columbus on Sunday November the 3d, A. D. 1493; but it does not appear that it was ever settled by the Spaniards. The Accounts we had of it in former Times were but very indifferent, from our being acquainted only with its Coasts. The French took great Care to deery and misrepresent it, as mountainous, barren, and a fit Habitation only for the Savages; though the more ancient Writers of their own place it in quite another Light, and acknowledged it to be, what it really is, One of the fairest and finest Islands in these Parts. The constant Correspondence kept up by the Inhabitants of Martinico with the Caribs in this Isle enabled them to prepossess those poor People with the most dreadful Ideas of the English; and Father Labat, after giving a most unfavourable Picture of Dominica, says very ingenuously, that insignificant as it was, the English had made several Attempts upon it, which they had used all imaginable Pains to frustrate, as knowing the bad Consequences that must result to them from our becoming possessed of this Ile.



of Game and Abundance of Poultry, with all which the Natives supplied Martinico in great Abundance <sup>h</sup>.

THE Caribs here were formerly very numerous, and reputed the bravest and the most robust of any in the Isles. They are now much diminished, of which the French taking Advantage, had settled almost all the Windward Coast, and raised in their spacious Plantations, Cacao, Coffee, and some Canes. At the North West End of the Island there is a deep capacious sandy Bay, which from his Highness's anchoring in it for some Time with his Fleet, hath born ever since the Name of Prince Rupert. It is covered from most Winds by the Mountains round it, and hath more than once been the Station of our Squadrons when in those Seas. There are besides many other Bays and Inlets, and very safe anchoring Ground on the Leeward Side of the Island, notwithstanding the Insinuations of the French to the contrary, for which they had their Reasons. This, as well as the Island of St. Vincent, was when first ceded to us dependent upon Grenada, but is since become a separate Government and a free Port established therein <sup>i</sup>.

THE Island of Grenada, is, except Tobago, the most Southern of all the Antilles, was discovered by and received its Name from Admiral Columbus, who finding it strong by Situation and very full of People, made no Attempt upon it. It lies from Eleven Degrees Fifty Minutes to Twelve Degrees Five Minutes of North Latitude, though some of the latest French Maps place it from Twelve Degrees Five Minutes to

<sup>a</sup> One great Advantage of Dominica lies in the great Variety of its Soils, their different Situations and Expositions, so that not only every Thing that grows in the other Islands may with Facility and Certainty be raised here, but also farther Improvements made by the Introduction of valuable Plants from the Spanish Main, and even those of the East Indies. There is a vast Variety of Timber here for a Variety of Purposes, particularly Rose Wood, and others proper for the Use of Cabinet-makers, as well as for Building, of which due Care ought to be taken. The Rivers afford an Opportunity of constructing Mills, which is a Circumstance that must prove very advantageous to the Planters. The native Caribs that still remain were exceedingly useful in many Respects to the French, in furnishing Provisions of all Kinds to their Planters; and there seems to be little Reason to doubt, that being treated with Justice and Lenity, to which as Men, and Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, they are surely entitled, they may likewise be made serviceable to us.

<sup>i</sup> The making Dominica an independent Government was certainly intended to promote the speedy settling of this Island, which undoubtedly was the best situated of any in our Possession for a free Port; and it is hoped that great Advantages may result from thence, in Proportion as the Number of Inhabitants increase. The Exportations from hence, A. D. 1770, were, of Coffee 10,380 Hundred-weight Three Quarters Twelve Pounds, 33,737 l. 15 s. 8½ d. Cacao, 285 Hogheads, 7125 l. Rum, Thirteen Hogheads, 130 l. Sugar, 307 Hogheads, 5372 l. 10 s. In all to Great Britain, 46,365 l. 5 s. 8½ d. To North America 16,496 l. 10 s. In the Whole 62,861 l. 15 s. 8 d.

Twelve Degrees Twenty Minutes, and in the Longitude of Sixty-one Degrees West from London. It is situated about Eighteen Leagues South West from St. Vincent, Thirty-five from St. Lucia, Thirty-five Leagues South West by West from Barbadoes, about Fifty Leagues South West from Martinico; and between Sixty and Seventy Leagues South South West from Dominica, somewhat more than Twenty Leagues North West from Tobago, between Ninety and One hundred Leagues South from St. Christopher's, and about Thirty Leagues North from the Spanish Main. In Length about Thirty English Miles, and Thirteen in Breadth according to the best Accounts hitherto received. The Climate is certainly warm, but so tempered by the regular Returns of the Sea Breeze as to be rendered very tolerable. The Air is generally pure and serene; and though such as came first were frequently visited by a Kind of Fever, which however seldom proved mortal, yet as the Woods have been opened and the Country better cultivated this no longer excites any Apprehensions, but when it happens is considered as a temporary Inconvenience; to balance which, it is asserted, that the Seasonings, as they are called in the West Indies, are more regular here than in the other Islands, the Blast not frequent, though not, as the French Writers say, altogether unknown, and as yet no Hurricane hath ever been felt<sup>k</sup>.

THERE is a Chain of Mountains, some of them pretty high, which runs from South to North, and in other Parts of the Island there are Hills but of a very gentle Ascent, and consequently capable of Cultivation. Both the Mountains and the Hills are of great Utility, as from them larger and lesser Streams, several of which deserve the Name of Rivers, roll down in gentle Currents on both Sides the Island. There are also Plenty of Springs, some Salt Ponds, and a few Lakes, of which only Two are of any considerable Size. The Soil is of several Kinds, but chiefly of a deep,

<sup>k</sup> The French were certainly long enough Masters of this Island to be able to judge of the Facts mentioned in the Text; and there seems to be no Reason to question their Authority. The Seasonings, as they are called in this Part of the World, are the regular Returns of Rain, for in all the Antilles the Inhabitants reckon only Winter, which is the rainy, and Summer, which is the dry Season. The former perhaps might with equal Propriety be called the Spring, and the latter the Autumn. The Rains begin about the Middle, at least before the End of July, and last to December; not that it rains continually, but that there is very seldom a Day without Rain, upon which the Fertility of the Country depends, and thence their Regularity is justly considered as a very great Blessing. The Blast is a Malady incident to the Sugar Canes both in ours and in the French Islands, the Cause of which being unknown, no Remedy hath been hitherto found against it. As to Hurricanes, the common Opinion in the West Indies is, that they happen between the 20th of July and the 15th of October, which in general may be true; and it is certainly a very great Happiness to lie out of the Track of these destructive Tempests. These Advantages, therefore, taken together, may be justly considered as very distinguished Recommendations of this Island.

rich, black Mould which is very fertile. There are large Woods of various Kinds of fine Timber, in which, while in the Hands of the French, there was a great Deal of Game. In respect to Ground Provisions, Vegetables of all Kinds, rich Fruits, Animals, River and Sea-Fish, it is inferior to none of the Islands. In reference to Productions that enter into Commerce, it was generally allowed, that whatever they were, Sugar, Cacao, Coffee, Cotton, or Tobacco, for all in their Turns have been raised there, they were the very best in their respective Kinds. It hath been asserted on good Authority that the true Cinnamon and Nutmeg Trees have been found in the Forests, and therefore however necessary it may be to clear the Country, the Woods should be cut with Caution and under proper Inspection<sup>1</sup>.

BUT what adds exceedingly to the Worth of this Isle, and which, independent of all other Advantages, would have rendered it highly valuable, are Two very fine Ports, Calivenie at the South East Extremity of the Island, which is singularly safe and spacious, composed of an outward and an inward Harbour, the latter having Seven Fathom Water and a soft muddy Bottom. The other at the South West End is called the Carenage, the Harbour of Port Royal or the Old Port, always esteemed One of the best in the West Indies. At the Entrance it is about a Quarter of a Mile broad, but so capacious within as to hold with Ease a Squadron of Twenty-five Ships of the Line, and so covered as that they may ride with Safety in respect either to Wind or Weather. At a small Distance from this Port there is a very deep Lake of considerable Extent, which by the cutting of a Sand Bank that divides them might be joined to the Harbour, and would then become as fine a Bason as could be wished, and where any Number of Ships might be very commodiously careened. As the East Side of the Island is the plainest and best cultivated, and as the Planters found the Conveyance of their Sugars to either of the Ports before-mentioned attended with much Trouble and Expence, they were de-

<sup>1</sup> There are many Reasons that may serve to justify what is said in the Text. All the old Writers agree, that though many or most of the Trees that grow in One grow also in the Rest of the Antilles, yet that however there are some peculiar to One or Two Islands, and instance more, especially in Grenada, Tobago, and St. Croix. It may therefore be very expedient to examine all the different Kinds that grow here, in order to preserve such as are most valuable. Some Caution ought also to be used in cutting down the rest, since, before the French prevented them, the Inhabitants of Barbadoes cut great Quantities of Mill Timber here and in the Grenadines, which afterwards they procured as they could from Santa Lucia; and being now precluded from that Island, there is the more Reason for their being furnished again from this. To this we may add, that an injudicious and indiscriminate Destruction of Wood is allowed to have altered the Seasons in some of our Islands, which ought to be a Caution in respect to Grenada, where, as we have said, they are perfectly regular at present.

ffrous of finding some Means to ship them more commodiously. Our Seamen, to whom nothing seems impracticable, have accomplished this by venturing through several Reefs of Rocks into a Bay that lies very deep within Land, but is so commodious for the Purpose of loading Sugars as to become, notwithstanding the Difficulty of its Entrance, One of the most frequented in the Island, and which is now known by the Name of Port Grenville. With all these Advantages, and few Islands can boast so many, the French were very long in Possession of it before they made it turn to any Account, and this notwithstanding various Representations of the numerous Benefits that might have been derived from it<sup>m</sup>. A Circumstance very fortunate for us, and which there is little Doubt that we shall improve, and that in a very high Degree.

THESE stretches from the Northern Extremity of Grenada in a North North East Direction a long Range of small Islands for the Space of more than Twenty Leagues. These except the Round Island are all but very little, having narrow Channels between them, navigable only by Boats, and not always by them with Safety. The Indians called them Begos, the Spaniards Grenadillas, and the French the Grenadines, their Number is not very well ascertained, though it is generally agreed they are somewhat more than Twenty. Small as they are, in point of Climate they are exceedingly pleasant, have a rich deep Soil, and are very capable of Improvement. The People of Barbadoes, though not without some Hazard, visited them formerly for the Sake of the excellent Timber that grew upon them.

BESIDES these there are Five other Islands more considerable in many Respects. The First of these, that is the nearest to Grenada, from which it is distant only Five Leagues, bears still the Indian Name of Cariouacou, about Twenty Miles in Compass, and by those who should be best acquainted with it represented as One of the fairest and finest Spots in this

<sup>m</sup> This Island was upwards of a Century in the Hands of the French. They had their Views upon it early, but the Natives were then so numerous, and so much upon their Guard, that they durst not attempt it. At length Mr. du Parquet planned and established a Settlement, having first paid a Consideration to the Indians for their Consent. In the Space of Seven Years he sold it to the Count of Cerillac for Ninety thousand Livres. It was certainly a cheap Purchase if it had been well managed. The Royal Company redeemed it. It was resumed from them, and made a royal Government; so that in the short Space of Twenty-four Years this Colony was exposed to Two Massacres by the Indians, Three Insurrections amongst themselves, and Five Revolutions in the Form of their Government. At the Beginning of the current Century it was not in a much better State than when originally settled. By Degrees, however, the Inhabitants began to thrive, chiefly by a clandestine Trade with the Dutch, to which the French Government put an entire Stop; yet even after this it is said to have yielded, in its most flourishing State, not more than Twelve thousand of their Hogheads of Sugar annually.

Part of America, enjoying a Climate equally wholesome and pleasant, a Soil wonderfully fertile, abounding with valuable Timber, as well as fine Fruit Trees. But what distinguishes it most, and which induced more than One Recommendation to the French Court, is its having an Harbour as safe, as spacious, and as commodious as any that this Part of the World can boast, and communicating by a narrow, though a deep Channel, with a Lagune, in which, without any Assistance from Art, Ships may careen very conveniently, and which, its Situation considered, cannot but draw our Attention. On the next of these Isles the French have bestowed the Name of the Union, though in fact there are Two Islands, One Three and the other Two Leagues in Extent. The Third is called Cannouan or Caouanne, a Word which the French have adopted from the Indians, and which signifies a particular Kind of Tortoise, of which there are or at least were Numbers, and those of a large Size, that went to lay their Eggs thereon. It is about Nine Miles in Length and Three in Breadth. The Fourth is called Muskito Island, nearly the same Size, and distant from the last-mentioned about Two Leagues. These are much of the same Nature with those that have been already described, and as for many Reasons they merit, so there is little Reason to doubt that in Process of Time we shall continue to improve and reap considerable Advantages from them <sup>n</sup>.

THE Fifth and last, which lies about a Mile from the Muskito Island, and not above Two Leagues South West from St. Vincent's, is bequia; which as the French Writers assert, is between Twenty and Thirty Miles in Circumference. The French bestowed upon it the Name of Little Martinico, because infested with venomous Serpents, a Circumstance peculiar to that Isle and St. Lucia; the Reptiles in the other Isles, though some of them especially in Dominica of a very large Size and disagreeable Appearance, yet are absolutely harmless. In Point of Climate and Soil

<sup>n</sup> The Vigour and Industry of our Planters hath been to the full as extraordinary as the Indolence and Want of Spirit in the French. For though we have been so short a Time settled here, these numerous Islands, of which they scarce made any Use at all, have found Owners, and are either improving or improved. The Islet Rond, as the French called it, or the Round Island, is in the Hands of a Gentleman who proposes to erect an Indigo Work there, with great Probability of Success. The greatest Part of that prodigious Quantity of Cotton annually exported hither, hath been raised on Cariouaccu; for if I am rightly informed, there are but few Cotton Plantations upon Grenada. The rest are all turned to some useful Purpose or other, and without Question will be still farther improved in Time. The Want of Water in most of them, which the French considered as an insurmountable Difficulty, will not appear so to us, since besides our own Island of Antigua, and the Dutch Island of St. Eustatia, there are several others fully inhabited and cultivated, notwithstanding this Defect, and, which is still more, notwithstanding they are destitute of many of the Advantages which these Islands possess, more especially in regard to Ports; for St. Eustatia hath nothing more than a Road; and this is likewise the Case of others.

this hath highly commended, as also for the delicious Fruits growing thereon, some dyeing Woods which well deserve to be enquired after, and which is of still higher Importance, a safe and spacious Port, of which the French made great Use in the last War. It is on the other Hand said that this Island being almost entirely flat, is from that Circumstance destitute of fresh Water, which however we have reason to conceive may by the usual Helps be fully supplied, since the Number and Height of its Trees clearly shews that the Seasons are regular, and the Rains copious. These Isles and Islets, though already Objects of Attention, may in Process of Time, when all their Properties come to be thoroughly understood, be found capable of being converted to a Variety of beneficial Uses, superior to those of which we have at present any Conception, but which may be gradually suggested to the enterprising Abilities of our Planters, assisted by the Lights continually furnished by Experience. This Sentiment is in some Degree warranted by the numerous Advantages that are already derived as well as those that are still expected from the Skill and Labour of our industrious Countrymen in the larger Island of Grenada °.

THE last of the ceded Islands, though in a Course of Years perhaps it may not be found the least considerable, is Tobago, discovered, but does not appear to have been ever settled by the Spaniards. It lies in the Latitude of Eleven Degrees Ten Minutes North, and Fifty-nine Degrees Forty Minutes Longitude West from London, about Forty Leagues South by

° It was certainly no small Advantage to us, that when this fine Island came into our Hands it was already peopled and planted, though it must be confessed but very indifferently. It gave us however an immediate Opportunity of entering upon Improvements, and to the Honour of our new Settlers, it must be acknowledged they have pushed on these with equal Industry and Success. All the old Estates are now in a Condition much superior to what they were, and if I am rightly informed the Number of them is increased One Third. Those under Coffee remain in the same State they were, except some that have been converted to Sugar. It may not be amiss to observe that there is still about a Third Part of the Island uncultivated, and though a considerable Proportion of this being mountainous cannot be improved, yet the Remainder affords Room to hope we may still see them carried much farther. The Exports from this Island from the Fifth of January A. D. 1770 to the Fifth of January 1771 were as follows, Cotton, 11 Bales, 3472 Bags, at 12 l. per Bale and 10 l. per Bag, 34,852 l. Coffee 15,927 cwt. 1 qr. 13 lb. 49,773 l. 1 s. 3 d. Cacao, 327 Hhds, 1104 Bags and Barrels, at 25 l. per Hhd. and 12 l. per Barrel, 21,423 l. Hides 261 at 7 s. per Hide, 91 l. 7 s. Rum 1169 Hhds. 11,690 l. To Ireland 723 Hhds. 7,230 l. Clayed Sugar 2692 Hhds. 35 Tierces, and 30 Barrels, at 20 l. per Hhd, 15 l. per Tierce and 5 l. per Barrel, 54,515 l. Do. Muscovado, 15,312 Hhds. 322 Tierces, 63 Barrels, at 17 l. 10 s. per Hhd. 12 l. per Tierce and 4 l. per Barrel, 272,076 l. In all 451,650 l. 8 s. 3 d. Imported from the other Islands and exported hither 3326 l. 10 s. To North America 51,061 l. 7 s. 6 d. To the other Islands 671 l. 10 s. Total 506,709 l. 15 s. 9 d.

West from Barbadoes, Thirty-five South East from St. Vincents, Twenty South East from Grenada, Twelve North East from the Spanish Island of Trinidad, and between Thirty and Forty North East from the Spanish Main. According to the latest Accounts we have received it is somewhat more than Thirty Miles in Length from North East to South West, between Eight and Nine in Breadth, and from Twenty-three to Twenty-five Leagues in Circumference p.

THE Climate notwithstanding its Vicinity to the Line is so tempered by Breezes from the Sea, as to be very supportable even to Europeans, and hath the same Advantages with that of Grenada in having regular Seasons, and also in being exempt from Hurricanes. There are throughout the Island many rising Grounds, though, except at the North East Extremity, there is no Part of it that can be stiled mountainous, and even there the Country is far from being rugged or impassable. The Soil, if we may credit either Dutch or French Writers, is as fertile and luxuriant, if not more so, than any of the Islands, and very finely diversified. Ground Provisions of all Sorts have been raised in the greatest Plenty, a vast Variety of Vegetables excellent in their Kind, some for Food, some for Physic. Almost every Species of useful Timber is to be found here, and some of an enormous Size, amongst others the true Cinnamon and Nutmeg-trees, as the Dutch confess, and of which none could be better Judges. Whole Groves of Sassafras, and of Trees that bear the true Gum Copal, with other odoriferous Plants that render the Air wholesome and pleasant. As well watered as can be wished, with Rivers that fall into the Sea on both

<sup>p</sup> We visited this Island very early, Sir Robert Dudley being there in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. In that of Charles the First William Earl of Pembroke procured a Grant of this, with Two other small Islands, but died before he was able to carry into Execution his Design of settling them. In A. D. 1632 some Merchants of Zealand sent over a small Colony thither; and gave it the Name of New Walcheren, but before they were able thoroughly to establish themselves they were destroyed by the Indians assisted by the Spaniards. Some Ten Years after James Duke of Courland sent a Colony thither, who settled themselves upon Great Courland Bay, and made a considerable Progress in planting. A. D. 1654 Messieurs Adrian and Cornelius Lamplins, Two opulent Merchants of Flushing, sent a considerable Number of People thither, who settled on the other Side of the Island, and lived in Amity with the Courlanders until they learned that the King of Sweden had seized the Person of their Duke and dispossessed him of his Dominions, when they attacked and forced his Subjects to submit. The Duke being afterwards restored, he obtained from Charles II. a Grant, dated the 17th of November 1664, of this Island. In the First Dutch War some Privateers of ours plundered the Dutch Settlement, which Loss however they quickly repaired. In the Second Dutch War the Count d'Estrees by order of his Master totally ruined it at the Close of the Year 1677, and from that Time it continued waste till we took Possession of it after the Treaty of Paris.

Sides,



Sides, many smaller Streams, and fine fresh Springs in almost every Part of the Island. The Sea Coast is indented by Ten or Twelve fair and spacious Bays, and there are amongst these One or Two Ports capable of receiving<sup>a</sup> as large Ships as ever visited those Seas. Wild Hogs in great Plenty, Abundance of Fowls of different Kinds, and a vast Variety of Sea and River Fish. With all these Advantages it may be safely concluded, that with proper Cultivation this for its Size will be rendered as lucrative as any of our Possessions in America, and what gives greater Weight to this Assertion is, that during the short Time the Dutch were possessed of it, this Character of Tobago was fully justified by Experience <sup>9</sup>.

IN the mountainous Part near the Sea there are a few native Indians settled, who are as quiet, harmless, and docile Creatures as can be imagined, so that if they should be of no Service, it is certain they cannot give us the least Umbrage. At the North East Extremity lies Little Tobago, which is Two Miles long, and about Half a Mile broad, very capable of Improvement. It is indeed amazing with what Alacrity and Success the settling this Isle hath been carried on, and how great a Progress is already made not only on the Coast but through the whole interior Part of the Country, to which the numerous Bays, wherein Ships may load and discharge their Cargoes with perfect Ease and Safety, have not a little contributed, insomuch that if our most recent Informations may be depended upon, there are upwards of Forty Sugar Estates on the Island, and others are daily forming, so that in the Space of a few Years there is the

<sup>9</sup> In the former Note it hath been shewn, that though the Dutch were here about Twenty Years, yet in that Space their Tenure was but very precarious, however they exported large Quantities of Tobacco, Sugar, Cassia, Ginger, Cinnamon, Sassafras, Gum Copal, Cacao, Rocou, Indigo, and Cotton, besides rich Woods, Materials for Dyeing, Drugs of different Kinds, and several Sorts of delicious Sweetmeats. Sir Josiah Child however in the Tenth Chapter of his Discourse upon Trade hath the following very remarkable Passage respecting this Island, "The Dutch, says he, did never much thrive in planting, for I remember they had about Twenty Years past Tobago, a most fruitful Island in the West Indies, apt for the Production of Sugars and all other Commodities that are propagated in Barbadoes, and I have heard Planters affirm, better accommodated with Rivers for Water Mills, which are of great Use for Grinding of the Canes. This Island is still in their Possession, and Corafoa and some others; and about Sixteen or Seventeen Years past they were so eager upon the Improvement of it, that besides what they did in Holland they set up Bills upon the Exchange of London, proferring great Privileges to any that would transport themselves thither. Notwithstanding all which to this Day that Island is not the Tenth Part so well improved as Jamaica hath been by the English within these Five Years." This shews what were the Sentiments of the best Judges in respect to the Value of this Island near One hundred Years ago.

greatest Probability that its Produce will be equal to what is received from some of our Leeward Islands<sup>r</sup>.

THE Profits that have already arisen, and which may be considered as the Earnest of what we may reasonably expect, though very considerable, are not the only Advantages that accrue to us from these new Settlements. Besides these they have clearly added to us, an Extent of Territory nearly equal to all that we before held in the West Indies, and at the same Time have connected, and thereby strengthened the several Islands we formerly possessed. This was become absolutely necessary to our Security against the superior and increasing Strength of the French. At the same Time these Acquisitions may with great Propriety be looked upon as taken out of the Scale of their Power, as well as added to ours, since it hath been very fully shewn, that in a very short Space they would have imperceptibly gained and settled these very Islands for themselves. But neither are these Advantages all that we have reaped, of which we must be convinced if we reflect on the Situation of some of these Islands, and the Consequences that must necessarily arise from thence. Dominica when settled will be a perpetual Check upon both Martinico and Guadaloupe, give us timely Notice of any hostile Preparations made in either, and by sending a Squadron into Prince Rupert's Bay we shall be effectually able to awe both. In like Manner St. Vincent is a Check upon St. Lucia, and the Former of these Islands in case of Danger may receive speedy and sufficient Succour from Barbadoes. The safe and commodious Harbour of Port Royal, now St. George, in the Island of Grenada, is so seated as to command the Passage of the Spanish Galleons in case of a War or the Apprehensions of One. Taking therefore all these Circumstances together, it must appear to every candid and intelligent Judge that our Condition in this Part of the World is inexpressibly mended by the Cessions procured to us by the last Peace<sup>s</sup>.

IN

<sup>r</sup> What is said in the Text will sufficiently account for our having had considerable Exports hitherto from this Island. Yet in A. D. 1770 they sent to the other Islands from thence 18 Hhds. and 12 Tierces of Muscovado Sugar, which amounted to 459l. exclusive of what went to Grenada, as hath been already mentioned, and the Year following I have been assured they exported hither in Four Ships 1313 Hhds. of Sugar. This last Year it is said they have exported 2361 Hogsheds.

<sup>s</sup> It is for want of comprehending clearly, or considering these Points attentively, that some erroneous Notions in reference to these new Settlements have been embraced. If these had not been obtained, our old Possessions could not long have continued in our Hands. The French before the War began were in point of Strength superior to us in those Parts, and would have been much more so, when they had added to them these Islands. The Neutrality was no Security to us, but a great Advantage to them, for under Colour of that they were actually settling in St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica. It is clear from Experience that this hath not diminished the

Profits

IN order however to render these Places as soon and as effectually beneficial to this Country, by the Arms of which through the Blessing of the Divine Providence they were acquired, some salutary Steps may be requisite, and possibly amongst them these. An immediate adopting that Constitution which hath been so visibly serviceable to Barbadoes, the granting Lands in small Parcels to Tenants on Condition of their serving in the Militia. This would contribute to establish such a Force, as seems to be peculiarly proper for Islands in their Situation, and would at the same Time procure Plenty of Provisions, for the raising of which such small Parcels of Land are usually applied. It would facilitate also an Increase of white Inhabitants, and retaining them in the Countries where they were settled by the surest Tie, that of their own Interest, and at the same Time excite a Readiness from the same Principle to take up Arms in its Defence. It might be also proper to erect in the Center of each Isle, or in the Place best adapted for such a Purpose, a strong and capacious Fortrefs, to which upon any sudden Invasion the People might carry their most valuable Effects, which once done, and the Women and Children being likewise sent thither, they would have both Leisure and Spirits to repel the Enemy, or so to harass and fatigue them as to afford Time for obtaining Succours from other Settlements. It might be also expedient to lay out a public Garden in each of them like that at St. Vincent, which would have many good Consequences, such as the acquiring a perfect Knowledge of the Nature and Qualities of the Trees, Plants, and Vegetables of every Kind, the Fitness of the Soil and Climate for introducing Exotics of every Sort, and by a Variety of Experiments of their Utility in Food, Physic, Dyeing, and other Arts, lead to the augmenting the Commodities that might be exported to Profit. To this we may add, that such an Establishment could not fail of raising a scientific Spirit that would have innumerable good Effects there, and meet with constant Encouragement and Support from hence<sup>t</sup>.

THIS

Profits of our old Colonies. We have not yet a Redundancy of Sugar, and if we should have, it would be an evident Advantage by increasing our Exportation. Besides from the high Price of Lands in some of our Islands, and from Causes that need not be mentioned in others, Numbers of industrious People had removed to the Dutch Islands and to their Settlements on the Continent, to say nothing of Santa Cruz, in a great Measure inhabited by our Subjects under the Protection of the Crown of Denmark. It is true that some Inconveniences may have arisen from the Expences attending the settling of the new Islands, and from the Advance in the Price of Negroes, but these are only temporary Evils, which in no long Space of Time will be overcome.

<sup>t</sup> These Regulations were the rather mentioned in the Text, because if they are not early introduced, there is too much Reason to fear they will never be introduced at all. This would be a great Misfortune, because nothing can be more obvious than their Utility, more especially if

THIS arduous Task is at length accomplished, and it may be permitted to say that even this very succinct Inventory of our different Possessions, for such it is, and is given for no more, sufficiently shews the Extent of the British Empire, and the Grandeur to which it is arrived. This to a candid and considerate Reader will appear the clearest Demonstration of the Excellence of that Constitution, by which such amazing Effects have been manifestly produced. By this as it was acquired it hath been also hitherto upheld, and as far as human Foresight can discern will continue to subsist so long as that Constitution shall retain its Vigour. An Argument, surely of all others the strongest, for our warm and steady Adherence thereto, as that upon which our ALL, and how great an ALL this is, this Book hath in some Degree explained, must ever depend. It is true the Foundation is wonderfully wide, and the Superstructure raised thereon as wonderfully superb, but the same Power that with the Assistance of Providence raised, will be undoubtedly able through the same Assistance to support it, if we are not wanting to that and to ourselves in the Exertion of Unanimity and public Spirit, which having such Encouragement to Perseverance, we cannot from so brave, so generous, and so enlightened a Nation as this, have any Occasion to suspect.

we consider the peculiar Circumstances of these Islands, and how much it imports us to neglect nothing that may contribute to their Security. The providing an effectual Militia would prevent the Necessity of sending over regular Troops which is attended with many Inconveniences. The Distraction on the First Appearance of Danger would be as effectually removed by the Construction of such a Fortrefs, which is no new Thought, though it hath never yet been executed. The public Garden would probably discover that we are really in Possession of many of those valuable Things for which we envy our Neighbours, and we may be sure that whatever we find growing naturally in the Country may by Skill and Culture be with Facility and Certainty brought to Perfection. Of this we have a clear Instance in respect to Indigo, since the wild Plant which was long neglected, is now preferred to what was obtained with much Labour and Expence.

THE  
POLITICAL SURVEY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.  
The Commercial Interests of Great Britain.

CHAPTER I.

A general View of our Traffic with foreign Countries.

*THE Scope of this Book is to give a comprehensive View of our Trade in all its Branches. The Nature and State of our Intercourse with Russia. Our Trade with Sweden and the Occasion of its Decline. Our Commerce with Norway and Denmark considered. The State of our Traffic with the several great Cities in Germany. The Nature of our Intercourse with the Austrian Netherlands. The Commerce between Great Britain and the United Provinces impartially considered. Our past and present Intercourse with France stated in the like Manner. The former and present Condition of our Traffic with Spain, with Remarks. Our Commerce with Portugal*

*Portugal in former Times, and at present fairly stated. Our Intercourse with the several Parts of Italy, with some Reflections thereon. Our Trade to the Levant under the Direction of the Turkey Company considered. The Trade between Great Britain, Africa, and her Colonies explained in the former Book. The Fame and Reputation of these Nations diffused by our extensive Commerce through all Parts of the World. This is likewise the great Source of national Wealth, and is also in many other Respects the Foundation of national Happiness.*

**T**HE Pains that on every Occasion have been taken in placing the numerous and invaluable Advantages arising from Commerce to this Nation in the fullest Point of View through every Part of this Work, makes it unnecessary to enter here into minute Details on this very important Subject, which could only lead to the Repetition of Things that in their proper Places have been explained already. What is still wanting is to collect into a narrow Compass a general Prospect of our extensive Traffic, that we may from thence form clear and distinct Ideas of the Uses that have been made, and the Benefits that have been drawn from the many favourable Circumstances these Islands possess, for maintaining a great and permanent Maritime Power, founded upon our universal Mercantile Correspondence through all Parts of the known World.

To begin then with the Northern Nations.

OUR Intercourse with Russia hath subsisted long, and been subject to many Revolutions, that is, in different Periods we have had greater or less Connections therewith, have sometimes sent more at others fewer Ships thither than other Nations, but in no Period so many as at present. We export thither Woollens of various Sorts, Silks, Paper, Mercery, Hard Wares, Arms, Powder, Lead, Pewter, Herrings, Coppras, Dyeing Woods,

It may conduce to the clear Understanding what is delivered in this Chapter, to give a succinct Representation of the Advantages these Islands enjoy in respect to an extensive Commerce. Their Situation for an Intercourse with all Parts of the World is as commodious as can be desired. Our Ports are numerous, happily disposed, many of them excellent by Nature, some wonderfully improved by Art, open at all Seasons of the Year, which is not, or at least not always the Case with some of our Neighbours, and most of them secure and easy of Access. The Country abounds with a Variety of rich and valuable Commodities, and since Trade and Industry have flourished, innumerable Manufactures. Our Seamen are on all Hands allowed to be stout, active, and expert. The Genius of the People in Great Britain and Ireland admirably adapted to all the different Employments requisite to the Support of a commercial State, all which Circumstances maturely considered sufficiently shew, that what we advance in the Text is founded on the most substantial Reasons.

Sugar,

Sugar, Pepper, and many other Things. We import Cordage, Tallow, Skins, Furs, Pot Ash, Iron, Copper, Hemp, Flax, Linseed, coarse Linens, Sail Cloth, &c. in consequence of which the Balance against us is very great, greater indeed than with any other Country. But it by no means follows from hence that this is a detrimental Trade, it is in Truth quite the contrary, for we import no Luxuries from thence. The Naval Stores are requisite to support our Shipping, and the Freight we receive from Foreigners goes a great Way in diminishing this Balance. This Trade being carried on in bulky Commodities increases our Navigation and the Number of our Seamen. Besides this many of our Imports from thence are manufactured here and re-exported. The great Profit that Russia derives from us makes her a natural and useful Ally. But notwithstanding all this it would be highly beneficial to us if we could raise more of these naval Stores in our Plantations, or excite the Inhabitants of the Western Islands of North Britain to cultivate Hemp in large Quantities, for which their Soil is exceedingly proper, and as we have elsewhere shewn, no Hemp whatever is preferable to our own<sup>b</sup>.

SWEDEN is a Country with which we had formerly much larger Dealings than we have at present. We continue to export thither sundry Kinds of Woollen Goods, wrought Iron and Bras, Paper, Pepper, and different Drugs. On the other Hand we bring from thence Iron, Copper, Plank, and other Naval Stores, and these in such Quantities as to create a considerable Balance against us. But as we observed before, these are Necessaries not Luxuries, so that the Loss is the less to be regretted, though heightened by the Swedes sending most of these Goods in their own Vessels, by which the Freight is added to the Price. The Decline of this Trade the Swedes owe to their own Conduct by raising the Price of their Pitch and Tar, and putting us under other Hardships, which induced us

<sup>b</sup> In respect to the Trade of Russia, Sir Josiah Child in the Preface to his excellent Discourse speaks of it as at that Time in a Manner lost, the Dutch having Twenty-two Sail of Ships employed there in the Year before he wrote, and we but One; whereas, says he, in former Times we had more than they. It is plain from hence that he considered our Intercourse with Russia as of great Importance. The Revolutions in Commerce are frequent and great, for which Reason no absolute Conclusions can be formed from the State of the Trade between Two Nations at any particular Period, even supposing, which is rarely the Case, that they could be obtained with the greatest Certainty. A Century after the Time in which Sir Josiah wrote Things have worn a very different Aspect, for A. D. 1764 there went from the Port of London only to the Russian Ports of Petersburg, Narva, and Riga, Eighty-nine Sail of Ships, and from the several Ports in the British Dominions, or freighted on British Account, near Two hundred. It was computed in this Year that a Moiety of all the Ships trading to Russia were English, and in point of Tonnage that they amounted to Two Thirds. It was also computed by the Russians themselves that the Balance of Trade in their Favour, including Customs and our Commerce at Archangel, amounted to Five Millions of Rubles.



to take those Steps, that by procuring these Commodities from our own Colonies have delivered us from this Inconvenience. This Behaviour ought to be a warning to other Nations and to ourselves, for such unreasonable Impositions, though they may be attended with temporary Advantages, cannot but prove detrimental in the End <sup>c</sup>.

OUR Commerce with Denmark and Norway is as ancient as any. We export some coarse Woollens, Herrings, Paper, Pepper, and different Kinds of Drugs. On the other Hand we import Fir, Timber, Deals, Spars, Iron, and other Naval Stores in great Quantities, by which there is a large Balance against us, and this is also enhanced by their bringing these Commodities in their own Ships. Yet these are Necessaries likewise, though undoubtedly it is not necessary that we should deal with Foreigners in preference to our Subjects in the Colonies from whence we might be supplied, which is a Thing that cannot be too often repeated, while the Evil which occasions these Repetitions continues to subsist <sup>d</sup>.

OUR Intercourse with the Trading Cities of Germany, Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzick, Koningsberg, Elbing is very considerable. We export to them Woollens of almost every Sort, Tin, Lead, large Quantities of East India Goods and Manufactures, and many Commodities from our Plantations. We receive in return Plank, Kid Skins, Linnen, Linnen Yarn, and many other Articles. These great Cities by the Means of large Rivers distribute what they take from us through Germany, Poland, Prussia, and other Countries, to a very great Distance, by which they acquire much Wealth, and their Demands for the Goods which we have before-

<sup>c</sup> The Swedes for a long Course of Years saw our Trade and their Interest therein with a Disposition no Way favourable to us, and perhaps less so to themselves. They were unable to work their Mines without Advances from our Merchants, we took great Quantities of their Goods, and paid for at least Two Thirds of them with ready Money. On Principles of true Policy they ought to have cherished a Commerce so beneficial, instead of which they did all they could to cramp our Importations, and oppressed our Merchants in a Variety of Instances. At the Beginning of Queen Anne's War, A. D. 1703, they pushed Matters so far, upon a Presumption that we must be obliged to them for Pitch and Tar, and this too upon their own Terms, that as we have already shewn, see p. 267, induced us to take such Measures as procured us both from our American Plantations, to their great Prejudice and our Imolument.

<sup>d</sup> In regard to our Commerce with all these Northern Nations, it is to be remembered that we extract from them Necessaries, and chiefly such as we turn to our Profit, and therefore we ought not to regret that we pay for them. As they are chiefly employed in our Marine, the Balances thus standing against us, though an apparent Loss in that, yet considered in another Light, as Proofs of our increasing Navigation, are Registers of our Gains. They were smaller when our Trade was more confined, they have grown in Proportion to the Extension of our Commerce, and the only Means by which we ought to with their Decline in any Degree, must be from our raising what we take from them at Home, or bringing them from our Colonies.

mentioned

mentioned are continually increasing. It would however certainly be a great Advantage to us, if by encouraging the Linnens of Great Britain and Ireland we could lessen their Importation, as this would not only find Employment for our industrious Poor, but also contribute to heighten the Balance in our Favour, a Point that certainly merits the greatest Attention<sup>e</sup>.

WITH the Austrian Netherlands we have, and have had for some Ages a constant and very considerable Intercourse. We export some Woollens, Grograms, Cotton, Hard Ware, some Silk, a great Deal of our Plantation Produce, and large Quantities of Provisions, especially Butter from Ireland. On the other Hand we import Lawns, Laces, Threads, Tapes, Tapestry, &c. this employs very many Ships, a great Number of Sailors, and not a few Manufacturers, which are Circumstances certainly in our Favour. But as many, if not most of the Goods we receive are not Necessaries, it ought to induce us to take every Method possible to raise our own Manufactures of the same Kind, which would gradually contribute to enhance the Balance in our Favour<sup>f</sup>.

OUR Commerce with Holland hath been long very great, and continues increasing. We export thither Woollens of almost every Kind, Leather, Coals, the Produce of our Plantations, and many of the Commodities and Manufactures that we bring from the East Indies. Our Imports consist in fine Hollands, Thread, Spices, Rhenish Wines, Battery, Madder, Wainscot, Clapboards, &c. It is on all Hands allowed that we have a large Balance in our Favour. It hath been said, and said with Truth, that notwithstanding what we gain from the Dutch they derive great, perhaps greater Profits from this Trade than we, by sending what they

\* The Commerce of these great trading Cities ought not in reason to excite our Envy, for if we in part supply the Materials of their Wealth we participate in their Profits; any sinister Accidents happening to them, must of course decrease their Demands from us. Besides we employ a very considerable Part of our Imports in our Manufactures, and therefore have no Cause to grudge an Expence that turns ultimately to our Advantage. The late Representations made by the City of Dantzic in her present Distress hath set this Matter in a very full and true Light, by shewing in a Multitude of Instances, that the Declension of her Commerce would impair ours.

† In the Course of this Work we have had frequent Occasions to shew the reciprocal Advantages arising from the Intercourse between these Islands and the Dominions of the House of Burgundy in former Times. We have seen that the Flemings have instructed us in Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, and that very many of these Improvements by which we have grown to be a rich and flourishing Nation, we derive from them. If they have still the Advantage in respect to some Manufactures, it ought to excite our Emulation rather than our Envy. We have already acquired much by copying their Examples, and by giving proper Encouragement to the Industry of our own People we may still acquire more.

purchase into other Countries. There seems however to be no Cause that we should repine at this, for what accrues to us from the Sale and Freight of our Commodities is the same, let who will consume them. In truth, instead of Complaint it ought to furnish us with Grounds of Satisfaction, since it is an experimental Proof, that a Nation, instead of being impoverished may be enriched by trading with another Nation, though in the First Instance the Balance is against her, and therefore it gives us just Reason to hope that this may happen to ourselves in other Cases.

FRANCE is a Region that not only furnishes the Necessaries and the Conveniencies, but abounds also with what may be truly stiled the Luxuries of Life. Our Commerce therefore with the French hath been always, and that justly an Object of Jealousy. We export to them Flannels, a very few Woollens, Tin, Lead, Coals, Tobacco, Alum, Lantern Leaves, Drugs, and some of the Commodities of the East Indies. On the other Hand we import Wines, Brandies, Lacc, Lawns, Cambrick, Brocades, Prunes and other Fruits, with a Variety of other Articles. It is evident therefore that dealing with them for Articles of Luxury mostly, it is not to be wondered that the Balance is against us. But since Dunkirk hath been made a free Port, and we have exported Cambricks when printed, sent over such large Quantities of Tobacco, and taken less of their Wines and Brandies, it is probably less detrimental than formerly. However if we consider the Practice of Smugling, there is no speaking positively to this Point. Our greatest Security would be following the Example of the French, in taking from them as they do from us such Things only as we cannot do without <sup>h</sup>.

## SPAIN

\* The Articles of our Exports mentioned in the Text are but few, because it would have required a Page to have mentioned them all, since there is hardly any Thing of our Produce or Manufacture which at some Time or other we do not send to Holland. It is owing to the peculiar Situation, indefatigable Industry, and the commercial Skill of the Dutch, that they are enabled to vend in some Shape or other the far greatest Part of the Goods they take from us, and if by this they are Gainers, we are so likewise. If they did not dispose of our Commodities and Manufactures as they do, we could not. Besides with respect to the Imports many of them are of use in our Manufactures, and others are re-exported. The Dutch are certainly a very sagacious People, especially in Commerce, so that in many Things it would be well if we imitated them, but not in all, because we differ from them in our own Policy, and in several other Circumstances.

<sup>h</sup> It is very certain that in the Reign of Charles the Second our Commerce with France was very detrimental to this Nation, yet whether to such a Degree, as some able Writers asserted, hath been questioned by Dr. Davenant. Be that as it will the Opinion had its Use. The French, though so great Gainers, first began to cramp this Trade, by laying heavy Duties on our Manufactures, and this produced a Retaliation, which with the succeeding Wars effectually lessened our Correspondence. We likewise began to set up many of their Manufactures, which was highly facilitated by the Protestants, who retired hither from the violent Persecution raised against them

SPAIN is a noble and extensive Kingdom, with which we had larger commercial Dealings formerly than of late Years, and many English Houses of great Reputation were settled in the principal Ports by eminent Merchants who lived in great Credit and Esteem. We export Woollen Cloths, Stuffs, Hats, Silk and worsted Hose, Leather, wrought Iron, Bras, Pewter, Tin, Lead, Copper, Sail Cloth, Linnens printed and plain, Clock Work, wrought Silk, Cordage, Glass, Copperas, and a great Variety of Plantation and East India Commodities. We import from thence Wine, Oil, Silk (when the Extraction of that Commodity is permitted) Iron, Wool, Indigo, Barilla, Kelp, Cochineal, Cork, Kid Skins, and a great Variety of Fruits. It is plain from hence, that from this Intercourse both Nations are reciprocally benefitted. We are by far the best Customers the Spaniards have, indeed, except to Holland and Germany, they send their Commodities no where else, and on the other Hand they have ours on the most moderate Terms. We have still a considerable Balance, but some competent Judges have thought this Trade might be again put into a better State, than that in which it now stands.

PORTUGAL owes more and more recent Obligations to us than any other State in Europe, of which at the Beginning of the current Century they seem to have had a truer and stronger Sense than at present. Our Exports consist in Woollen Cloths and Stuffs of different Kinds, Hats, Hose, Iron, Bras, Lead, Pewter, Sail Cloth, Linnen, Glass, Cabinet, Turnery, and Millenery Wares, Gunpowder, Cordage, Clock and Watchwork, wrought Plate, Leather, Drugs, and a great Variety of other Articles, more especially from our Plantations. We import Wines, Oils, Almonds, Raisins, Canes, Cork, Fruit, and Salt. The prevailing Opinion is that we draw a great Balance from thence, we certainly did so formerly, but things have been very much altered in less than Half a Century. It was always and is still true, that we take more of their Com-

them in that Country. From these and other Causes our Demands for French Commodities have been very much lessened. But notwithstanding this the Principle advanced in the Text is perfectly well-founded, and we have still just Reason to be jealous of a Commerce that supplies us only with Luxuries, and still greater Reason to guard by every possible Method against their being brought in clandestinely to the Detriment of the Revenue, as well as the public Interest in many other Respects.

<sup>i</sup> A judicious History of our Intercourse with Spain political and commercial would be of very great Use, and rectify many Mistakes which otherwise perhaps may never be cured. It is very evident that the Interests of both Nations are very compatible, and it might be very easily shewn, that in consequence of this a strict Friendship between them would contribute to their mutual Advantage, and on the other Hand, that any Misunderstanding between them must be exceedingly detrimental to both. As Things stand at present this Trade is still very valuable, though not in so high a Degree as it was. But by prudent Management, and a little Forbearance on both Sides it might be made much more so than it is.

modities than all the other Nations of Europe, and that if we did not take them they would find it difficult to dispose of them elsewhere, whereas there are few or none of them with which we might not be supplied on as reasonable Terms from other Places<sup>k</sup>. Under the former Article the Canary, under the latter the Madeira Islands are included.

ITALY is a very spacious Country, and hath some valuable Dependencies, abounding with a Variety of rich Commodities, and inhabited by an intelligent and commercial People, with whom we have always had a great Intercourse. The great Cities of Turin, Milan, Bologna, Parma, Lucca, and several others, though within Land, drive a very great Trade by the Means of different Ports, such as Nice, Genoa, Leghorn, Ancona, Venice, Naples, and in Sicily, Messina, Palermo, &c. Our Exports consist in Woollens of every Kind, Hats, Hose, Silk mixed and wrought, Leather, Pewter, Bras, Tin, Lead, Lantern Leaves, Bugles, Glafs, Earthen and China Wares, Pipes, wrought Plate, several Sorts of Fish, and a great Variety of Plantation and East India Commodities. We receive in return Silk raw, thrown, and wrought, Oils, Wines, Currants, Paper, Marble, Rock Alum, Vermicelli, Coral, Cotton, Goats Hair, and Skins, Soap, Sulphur, Drugs of different Kinds, and many other lesser Articles. Many of these are necessary in our Manufactures, some of them absolutely so, as to what may be stiled Luxuries, they do not amount to much, and are paid for in our own Goods. The Balance may be and probably is against us in some Places, in others for us, and we have, it is believed, a general Balance upon the Whole<sup>l</sup>.

## THE

<sup>k</sup> Our Commerce with this Country in the Reign of Queen Anne, in consequence of Mr. Methuen's Treaty, was without question very great. But then it is to be considered that a Part of our Exports went to supply our Army, and Part also was privately carried into Spain, then in the Hands of an Enemy. It hath since, in the Opinion of the ablest Judges, declined very much, notwithstanding the common Notions to the contrary. These were chiefly supported from the Quantities of Portugal Money brought hither, which it was concluded was the Consequence of a Balance in Trade in our Favour. In Truth, Portugal having a Balance against her with all the other Nations in Europe, and we having a Balance against some of them, that was discharged to us there, and the Security and Facility of transporting Money in our own Ships rendered us the Carriers of a considerable Part of the Balances due to other Nations, and by which in reality we gained only the Freight. The common Notions however supported by this Appearance have been very prejudicial, and are in a great Measure the Source of that Change of Disposition in the Portuguese Ministry, which in Spite of the good Offices we have rendered them have had very bad Effects in regard to our Merchants there.

<sup>l</sup> What hath been previously observed in regard to our Commerce with Russia and the other Northern Countries, is to be remembered here, to prevent our apprehending an ultimate Loss where a great Advantage is not apparent. The Web of Commerce is composed of many Threads, and some of these are almost imperceptibly fine. In the present Case it is evident that we take nothing from Italy, or at least very little, that can be had elsewhere, and that we send large Quantities

THE Commerce of the Levant is under the Direction of the Turkey Company, erected by Queen Elizabeth, confirmed by her Successor King James, regulated by Charles the Second, and altered by a late Act of Parliament. This is not a joint Stock Company, but rather an Association of Merchants trading under certain Rules and Restrictions of their own framing, and for a long Series of Years considered as the most respectable Mercantile Body in the Nation. We export Woollens of all Sorts, Tin, Lead, Leather, wrought Iron, Glass Wares, and large Quantities of Plantation and East India Commodities. Our Imports consist in raw Silk, Grogram Yarn, Cotton and Cotton Yarn, Wool, Goats Hair, Dyeing Goods, and a Variety of Drugs. It is obvious from this very succinct Account, that no Branch of our Trade can be more beneficial than this, as it carries out only Commodities and Manufactures, and as we receive in return no Luxuries, but on the contrary Staples that employ the Industry of our own People. It is however asserted, that the French by their Address, and by their favourable Situation for this Commerce, have in some Measure supplanted us, but it is still hoped that by the necessary Assistance of the Legislature, and the known Abilities of our eminent Merchants, the Splendour of this Company may be again restored <sup>m</sup>.

In respect to our Intercourse with Africa, the East Indies, and our Plantations, the best Accounts have been given of them that lay within the Compass of our Abilities, or the Reach of our Information, and upon the Whole the Reader cannot but perceive with Pleasure, that whatever hath been advanced in this Work in reference to the wide Extent of our Commerce, is strictly true, and that no Nation at present can with any Degree of Justice be thought our Equals therein. But though this gene-

Quantities of our Commodities thither. In respect to what we receive from thence, and more especially Silk, turns highly to our Profit by the Employment of a Number of industrious Persons, and the other Articles are also of great Utility in different Manufactures. The Whole occasions a Circulation in Trade, which is a Thing of no small Consequence, even if the Balance should fluctuate and be sometimes for and sometimes against us.

<sup>m</sup> Most of the Circumstances which are generally allowed to constitute a beneficial Trade are united in this Commerce. What we send to and receive from the Dominions of the Grand Signior is on Board our own Vessels, and thereby an Advantage to our Navigation. We export our Native Commodities and our own Manufactures, we import raw Materials, which being wrought up here, are in part re-exported. In how extensive a Manner the good Effects arising from this Intercourse are diffused through all Ranks of People, and how much the landed as well as trading Interests are benefitted thereby, is very clearly explained in the British Merchant, vol. i. p. 135—141. This fully justifies what hath been advanced in the Text in reference to the great Importance of this Branch of Trade, and the Expediency of trying every Method to recover, support, and extend it. The probable Means of succeeding in so momentous an Affair hath been very fully as well as very judiciously treated by Sir James Porter in his late Treatise upon this Subject.

ral Representation, founded as it is on particular Instances, might possibly suffice, and make an Impression sufficiently strong upon such as are acquainted with this Subject, yet for the Sake of others not so conversant therewith, it may not be amiss, the great Importance thereof considered, to descend a little farther into the Matter, in order more effectually to display, and more clearly to ascertain the great and numerous Benefits arising from it.

As it is the immediate Basis of our Correspondence with other Countries, it affords them in the several Specimens of our Commodities a certain Degree of Knowledge of these Islands, the Fame of which hath reached the most distant Parts of the Globe. By the Value of our Cargoes we raise our Credit with the Inhabitants. Through the Advantages they reap from our Dealings with them, they are induced to court our Favour, and to preserve our Friendship; by our Candour and Justice, and our being known to have none but commercial Views we conciliate their Esteem, while our maritime Force excites that Respect which is so necessary to maintain it. These are Points of the highest Consequence to a Nation, and are clearly in our Possession.

But there is another Species of Power which we derive from the same Source, and that is our national Wealth. This will incontestably appear if we consider the Condition we were in and the Figure we made before we became considerable for our foreign Commerce, to which from the Perusal of the former Books, the Reader can be no Stranger. It is to this that we owe the Improvement of our Lands, the Increase and Variety of our Produce, the Rise of Rents, and that Spirit of Cultivation, for which, as a People, we are distinguished. It is no less evident from the Increase of our Cities, Towns, and Ports, the Beauty, Convenience, and Elegance of private as well as public Structures, and the rich Furniture with which they are adorned. It is conspicuous in our Magazines of costly Goods, in the Quantity of our Plate and Jewels, as well as in the Treasure we possess, and the low Rate of Interest, all of which have been the gradual Consequences derived from, or Benefits continually furnished by our Commerce<sup>n</sup>.

THERE

<sup>n</sup> We have heard much of the Balance of Trade, and of the Necessity of discovering it, for which a Variety of Methods have been pointed out, many of them very specious, some to a certain Degree useful, but none of them absolutely certain or satisfactory. The Balance between us and particular Countries can never be known from the State of Exports and Imports for a few Years, even if these States could be absolutely depended upon. The general Balance therefore



**THERE** are still perhaps better Effects flowing from the same Cause, that is, the general Change of Circumstances in respect to Individuals. We are no longer divided into great Lords and mean Vassals. Riches acquired by Traffic being more equally dispersed are better employed, and consequently make more People happy. The Support of Commerce is Industry, the Spirit of Industry is the Result of Freedom. The Security of Property produces Independency, and the Consciousness of this, and that it is derived from and depends upon our Constitution, is the genuine Characteristic of public Spirit. It is true that this great Fabrick does not rest entirely upon foreign Trade, but derives likewise no inconsiderable Strength from that which results from the Intercourse between the Inhabitants of the different Parts of our own Dominions, as will appear in the subsequent Discussion of this Subject.

computed from these must be indecisive. The Rate of Exchange, which hath been called a commercial Barometer, would be really so, if Commerce only operated upon it; but this not being the Case, it can be no Rule at all. The Custom-house Books, though very useful, are yet no unerring Guides; whatever is smuggled does not appear, some Exports are beyond the Truth, and some Things are not rated at all. The Plenty or Scarcity of Money cannot for many Reasons be relied on; and yet the Judgments formed from One or more of these have misled several inquisitive Persons, and have, according to their respective Prejudices, excited the most sanguine Notions in some, and produced deep Despondency in others. A due Sense of this prevented the inserting any Calculations in this Chapter, confiding rather in those Signs mentioned in the Text, as being level to every One's Understanding, and the Truth of which are too notorious to be controverted. Our Foreign Traffic hath been for a Series of Years increasing; if the general Balance had been against us we must by this Time have been brought very low, if not totally undone. But as every Thing we see proves the contrary, it may serve to convince us, and this the rather, because Foreigners shew their Sense of the Matter by the Sums they entrust in our public Funds.

## CH A P. II.

### Of the Coasting Trade, and of that between Great Britain and Ireland.

*A General Representation of the national Advantages that arise from the Coast Trade. The Basis of this, the happy Distribution of the various Productions through different Parts of these Islands. By this Mode of Communication they are all brought into a constant and continual Circulation. This Circumstance promotes Industry equally, effectually, and universally. Becomes thereby a principal Instrument of national Felicity. The Construction of Coasting Vessels affords Employment and Subsistence to Multitudes.*

*Force of this Reasoning no Way impeached by the acknowledged Uncertainty as to the Number of these Vessels. The Seamen they breed may be justly considered as a Naval Militia maintained without any national Expence. The Intercourse between Great Britain, Ireland, and the Coast Trade of both a Matter of great Consequence. The promoting a general Correspondence between these and the lesser Islands depending upon them, a Point of great Utility. The Connection between Foreign Commerce and this Coasting Trade stated and explained.*

**A**S these Islands are most admirably feated for embracing a constant foreign Commerce to all Parts of the World, so their Form and Disposition is at the same Time the most favourable that can be wished for the carrying on a Coasting Trade, the Nature, Importance, and Consequence of which it is our next Business to explain. If we consider them in this Point of View we shall discern that the Bays, Creeks, and Mouths of Rivers are most commodiously situated on both Sides of both Islands, at convenient Distances from each other, which is of inexpressible Benefit to small Vessels. What is still a greater Advantage is the very large Extent of our Coasts, the peculiar Prerogative of insular Situations, which we have taken so much Pains in different Parts of this Work to render evident. These signal and singular Blessings of Providence naturally invites, as well as facilitates to an intelligent People who possess them, the corresponding with each other by Sea. By this Means an easy and constant Communication is preserved to the Inhabitants, who with Vessels of different Sizes, and constructed for different Purposes, make longer or shorter Voyages according as their Occasions require, and thus with little Risk and Trouble, without hearing so much as the Sound of a foreign Language, or being out of the Protection of their own Laws, Multitudes are supported, and very many of these acquire easy Fortunes, by the Profits arising from their Industry in the Management of domestic Traffic<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The Observation of Sir William Petty, that the Sea Line of all the British Islands extends to no less than Three thousand Eight hundred Miles, whereas that of the great Kingdom of France is but One thousand, will convey to an intelligent Reader a very striking Idea of those Advantages that we derive from thence. But in early Times, when People were not much used to Reflection or Calculation, the very Prospect of their own and their Neighbour's Situation gave Birth to this Sort of Navigation, and gradually to the Rise of the numerous Towns upon our Coasts. In all of these Children from their earliest Age have a Propensity to something relative to this Business, and if their Dispositions are not diverted to some other Objects, become Rope-makers, Boat-builders, or Sailors, in this Way especially, as being free from all the Terrors and Dangers attending long Voyages, to which however the boldest and most experienced addict themselves by Degrees.

THIS Subject, simple as it seems, cannot be developed to such a Degree as it deserves, without much Attention and Pains. The Basis of those Benefits we derive from it is the very great Difference in the Soil and Climate of the different Parts of these Isles, which may in this Respect be considered as so many different Countries. The Products and Commodities that are extremely common in some of them, are in others not to be met with at all. A proper Sense of this, and a just Desire to make a right Use of it, naturally dictated the transferring Commodities from One Part of the Island to another. In early Ages, however, this from various Causes was very much confined. For before Genius had invented and Industry perfected many Arts, or these Islands were united under One Monarchy, this Intercourse was often interrupted and always incomplete, and of course its Effects less considerable. But by Degrees as these Obstacles were successively removed, its Advantages grew more conspicuous, from whence Improvements were continually made, and its Progress greatly increased, till in our Days it hath reached to a stupendous Height, notwithstanding which it is daily extending. For where Profit invites and Example points the Way, Bounds are not to be set, so that probably Posterity, when comparing the State it may be then in with what it is now, will look back upon us with the very same Sentiments that we do upon our immediate Ancestors <sup>b</sup>.

THE Carriage by Sea, wherever it is any Way practicable, is pregnant with many apparent, considerable, and growing Advantages, being easy, speedy, cheap, regular, and in our Seas always free from Ice, constant and open. In consequence of so many favourable Circumstances we see Wares of every Kind brought with the greatest Facility from Places very distant, and by this Means those to whom they belong contract an Acquaintance, and the Knowledge is thereby spread of the Commodities of which they are possessed, and those Wants they desire to have supplied, whence it hath arisen that we now receive many Things from different remote

<sup>b</sup> The several valuable Commodities for which these Islands are justly famous, become, by this Distribution into different and distant Parts, much more profitable and useful to the Inhabitants. For by Means of the Coast Trade wherever they grow they are every where to be found, and this with a very inconsiderable Addition of Expence, which is also commonly balanced by the Goods and Manufactures sent to those Places in Return. This commodious Distribution is particularly remarkable in Coals, the East Side of the Island being supplied from Newcastle and its Dependencies, the West and a great Part of Ireland from Swansea and Whitehaven. We may say the same of Salt, of Corn, Metals, and many other Commodities; but to bring this Matter into a narrow Compass, and to convince the judicious Reader how well founded our Assertions upon this Head are, let him consider that these are our own Productions, brought from different Parts in our own Shipping, in which our own Seamen are employed, and that all the Profits of the Sale, Freight, &c. centers amongst ourselves.

Parts of our own Dominions, with which, when this Communication was less extensive, we were furnished by Foreigners. To the same Cause we owe that whatever is of any Use or capable of being any where converted to Use, wherever it lies, is sooner or latter brought to Market, and finds in Time its proper Value, which otherwise from being unknown might for ever have continued neglected <sup>c</sup>.

ALL the various Products, Commodities, and Manufactures of this most rich and plentiful Country are happily distributed through all its several Parts, as much as may be on account of saving Expence, by the Help of coasting Vessels of different Forms and Sizes. The Counties best adapted to grazing, wherever situated, furnish immense Quantities of Butter and Cheese. Those again that abound in Pasture, afford Wool. Arable Lands supply Corn, Flour, Meal, Malt, Hops, &c. The raw Materials are conveyed from the Places of their Growth, to those in which from the Cheapness of Provisions or other Circumstances, they are wrought up. In the like Manner, Things of daily Consumption, such as Timber, Stones, Bricks, Iron, Tin, Lead, and Copper, all bulky Commodities, afford constant Loadings. Besides these there are many necessary Articles, such as Salt, Coals, Lime, &c. which being in continual Demand, are continually transported. Thus as in the Commerce of the Universe the Superfluities of One Region administers to the Wants of another, and where Industry is not deficient, Abundance is communicated to all <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> In ancient Times, and even at the Beginning of the last Century, the distant Parts of these Islands were very imperfectly known to each other. But as the Coasting Trade hath extended, a perfect Union hath been produced, and People frequently transport themselves and their Goods wherever they are invited by the Hopes of disposing of them to Advantage. A striking Proof of this arises from the Custom-house Books, which shew that Coasting Vessels arrive at London from upwards of a Hundred different Ports in the Island of Great Britain only. Vessels laden with Oysters from Cornwall, and Lobster Smacks from the Orkneys meet here. At the same Time we must remember, that there are many other great Ports, such as Leith, Newcastle, Hull on the East Side, and Glasgow, Liverpool, Chester, Bristol, &c. on the West Side.

<sup>d</sup> The native Riches of this Island, and their being so dispersed, as we have represented in the Text, might excite an Idea to which its Size is no very formidable Objection, that Great Britain considered as a Continent in this Respect resembles China, and is capable of obtaining from its several Provinces all the Necessaries and most of the Conveniencies of Life. This is a signal and at the same Time a very singular Advantage, which distinguishes this from some other Countries, and particularly from Holland, where they have very little of their own Growth or Produce, from whence it arises, that a rigid Frugality in its Inhabitants is not only a wise and prudent, but also a very necessary Point of Policy. Whereas with us it is apparently the public Interest that private Persons should live freely, plentifully, and at their Ease, for this promoting the constant and uniform Consumption of Provisions and Manufactures, encourages Cultivation, excites Industry, maintains the Navigation of which we are speaking, and instead of impoverishing, conduces to enriching the People. A Circumstance of very great Importance, which merits mature Consideration, and which for this Reason we shall hereafter take Occasion more largely to establish and explain.

THIS Distribution of Nature's Benefits is so far from being an Inconvenience, that it is in many Respects highly beneficial to the Public. For by this Means every Country pursues that Mode of Improvement and Cultivation which is most suitable to the Soil and Climate, and for these Reasons most easy and agreeable to the Inhabitants, which contributes equally to Plenty and to Perfection. This accumulated Stock being sent to different Places, brings in Return all those Necessaries and Conveniencies which no single Spot however fertile could have supplied, and Industry is by this Means universally excited and supported, through that general Circulation which this Coasting Trade maintains, and which is in itself a most useful and extensive Branch of Industry, and at the same Time the Source of many other Branches, productive of numerous Emoluments to the Community, and therefore it is necessary, in order to set this Subject in its proper Light, to take some Notice of these.

THE Construction of these Vessels require a Variety of Materials, Commodities, and Manufactures, some of them brought from a considerable Distance, and some that have passed through and given Employment to several Hands. For before they can be put upon the Stocks there must be a Provision made of Timber, Plank, Iron-work, Hemp, Flax, Tar, and several other Things. The Assistance then becomes requisite of Carpenters, Joiners, several Sorts of Smiths, Painters, Sail-makers, Rope-makers, Anchor-smiths, and other Artificers, and when these have done their Work, and the Vessel is fit for Sea, the Butcher, Brewer, Baker, Ship-chandler, and other Tradesmen contribute their respective Wares to fit her for the Voyage. It is easy to apprehend from this, that in Places where a

\* The Commodities of this Country would certainly lose much of their Value if their Consumption was confined to the Places of their Growth. This Distribution of them by the Coast Trade renders them alike beneficial to the Inhabitants of these Islands at large, which is so far from diminishing, that it heightens their Price in the very Places where they are produced. This Position, and the Consequences flowing from it, will be very easily and clearly comprehended by an attentive and judicious Reader. Yet it may not be amiss to remark, as equally decisive and striking in respect to this Proposition, that the very different Conditions which in several Periods of Time this Country hath been in, and which in the Course of this Work have been carefully described, however influenced by other Causes, arose immediately from this Circumstance, which is exceedingly worthy of Consideration. The Romans, equally correct in the whole System of their Policy, were not more attentive to Cultivation and Population, than vigilant in regard to Communications of every kind; and hence that flourishing State of Britain so copiously and so elegantly displayed by their Panegyrista. The Confusion that followed their Expulsion annihilated the Coast Trade, and thereby introduced Barbarism and Famine much sooner than they could be expelled. But when the Saxons were united under one Monarchy, and Peace and a general Correspondence were restored, Plenty returned, and for the Protection of the Country and its Trade, we find these Coasting Vessels, for such undoubtedly they were, collected and embodied in Fleets, which for their Number seem almost incredible.

Number of these Vessels are built, Multitudes of People are employed and their Families subsisted, as every One knows who has visited such Places or seen the Builders Yards in some of our great Ports †.

THESE Observations will at least enable us to form a general Notion of the Nature of this Trade, which will be sufficient to convince us of its Importance to the Public. It would certainly put this more in our Power, if we could assign exactly the Number of Vessels that carry it on in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Islands dependant upon them. But when it is considered, that on the one Hand their being exceedingly numerous is a Fact indisputable; and that on the other they have been progressively increased, and are continually increasing, is a Thing not to be denied; it is evident from thence that all Computations on this Head must be indecisive, notwithstanding the Facts before stated, on which the Argument is grounded, are absolutely certain. Some, and those also very competent Judges, have advanced as probable at least, that about One hundred thousand Seamen are employed in the Coasting Trade; and though this may possibly be beyond the Truth, yet, if we comprehend Bargemen, Keelmen, &c. they might swell to a much larger Number ‡. All these maintain themselves and their Families comfortably and creditably by their honest Labour, in which, as well as in other Respects, they ought to be regarded as very useful Members of the Community; a Character very respectable in a free Country.

† The only Method of coming at a clear and thorough Knowledge of Subjects so complicated as this, is to separate the principal Members of which they are composed, leaving the Rest to the Reader's Penetration and Reflection. The far greater Part of the Materials employed in the Construction of these Vessels are of our own Growth, and the Price of them is apparently a national Advantage. The Labour employed in fitting and preparing those Materials for Use, and the Carriage of them by Land being likewise paid for, is no less beneficial to Numbers. Neither is this all, for the subordinate Tradesmen, who live and thrive by the Inhabitants of such Places, though not immediately concerned in their Shipping, yet as they draw their Subsistence from those who are, must be likewise taken into the Account; and so also must be such as furnish Provisions of every Kind to these Towns, in which, as all who are acquainted with them know, there is a great and continual Consumption.

‡ What is said in the Text is abundantly sufficient to remove with any candid Reader any Difficulty that might arise from the not being able to state the Number of these Vessels, or of the Hands employed on board them with any Degree of Certainty. It would be absurd in a frosty Night to dispute whether it was Star-light, because the Number of those splendid Luminaries from whence it is derived could not be exactly fixed. This very Circumstance, by proving their Multiplicity, is a Demonstration of the Fact. Sir Josiah Child having shewn that most of the Rules laid down for fixing the Balance of Trade, however plausible, are by no Means conclusive, delivers it as his Opinion, (chap. viii.) that the Increase or Decrease of our Shipping is the surest Indication of our Success in Trade. I will not dispute to what Extent this Observation may be carried in respect to foreign Commerce, but in regard to what is the Object of this Chapter it is certainly just, as the Increase of Coasting Vessels in our small Ports renders it evident that such as carry on this Trade are Gainers by it, otherwise the Number of their Tools, that is, their Ships, would decline, and the Towns decay.

BUT

BUT this Body of Men will appear of much higher Consequence, if we look upon them in another Point of Light. They may with great Propriety be stiled a National Naval Militia, serving at their own Expence. For they are by Experience known to be as stout, active, and hardy Sailors as any in Europe, always at Hand on any Emergency, which is a Resource of inexpressible Importance to a Maritime Power, and which being founded on the Situation and Extent of these Islands, may without the Imputation of Partiality be considered as a Resource peculiar to ourselves. This is a Circumstance that cannot but afford the most sincere Pleasure to every One who really loves his Country, and who of course hath a warm Sense of whatever contributes to her Prosperity. It is an additional Satisfaction to reflect that this is not only a great and a peculiar, but also a growing Advantage. There are many remote Parts of Great Britain and Ireland that have still no very considerable Correspondence One with another, at least by Sea, which in Time however, as well as the Communication with our smaller Islands, cannot fail of taking Place and thereby contribute to the Increase of our Naval Force, and to the Welfare of Thousands of our People<sup>b</sup>.

THE continual Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland must be regarded as a very considerable Branch of this Trade, and which is therefore of the utmost Consequence to these Nations. Our Exports to that Island consist in a prodigious Variety of our Native Commodities, in the greatest Part of our Manufactures, in Goods imported from the Levant, the East Indies, and our own Plantations. On the other Hand we import from thence Linnen and Linnen-yarn, Wool, Woollen, and Worsted-yarn, Copper-ore, Feathers, Hair, raw Hides, Kelp, Calf, Goat, Kid, Sheep, Lamb, and Rabbit Skins, Tallow, Butter, Fish, Frieze, Pork, Beef, and other Things; all which are of apparent Utility, and many of them absolutely necessary in our Manufactures, and therefore highly beneficial to the Community. It is also evident from the very Nature both of the Exports and Imports, that a great Number of Vessels of different Sizes must be continually employed in carrying on

<sup>b</sup> This Naval Force is, strictly speaking, our own, arising from the Intercourse of the Inhabitants of different Parts of these Islands with each other, and is a Strength on which we may always rely. The Romans, as we have already shewn, trusted very much to their Navy for the Protection of this Island, and for the Security of their maritime Provinces on the Continent. Carausius, who was Admiral of this Fleet, raised himself from that Command to the Purple. It was not till this Navy was withdrawn, that the Saxons were able to over-run this Country. When they were fully Masters of it, they likewise, as we have hinted before, trusted to their Fleets, and when the Normans were thoroughly settled they committed the Security of the Sea and Sea Coasts to the Navy of the Ports, as the Reader may see at large in the learned and judicious Work of the famous Selden, to which we have so frequently referred.



the Communication between the Two Kingdoms. The several Advantages arising from hence are distributed through the different Ports on the West Side of this Island, contributing thereby to the Emolument of Wales, South and North Britain. Under this Head we must also include all the Coast Trade of Ireland, and the Communication between her and the several Islands belonging to Britain, which, as the Spirit of Commerce diffuses itself through every Part of the British Dominions, is gradually and perceptibly increasing <sup>i</sup>.

IN reference to Guernsey, Jersey, Man, the Western, Orkney, and Shetland Islands there hath been already so much said of them and of the Advantages that may be derived from them, with the Means of deriving those Advantages, that it is unnecessary to resume that Subject here. It may not however be amiss to observe, that in Proportion as these Advantages can be obtained, and a constant and regular Correspondence established and supported between them, these Two great Islands, and amongst each other, it will afford an almost inexpressible Augmentation in the Coasting Trade, with this additional Benefit, that the People employed therein must necessarily become in a very short Space, from the Nature of this Navigation, as bold, active, and intrepid Seamen as any in our Service. A Circumstance so much the more worthy of Attention, as the Sailors thus bred are, as we have already very fully shewn, the most important Body of Men, for the immediate and effectual Supply of our Fleets, and on which our Superiority as a maritime Power, the great Bulwark of our Safety, as well as the chief Source of our Prosperity, most evidently depends <sup>k</sup>. Whatever Measure therefore can be taken to promote and extend

<sup>i</sup> It hath been fully shewn in the preceding Volume, from a Survey of the Coasts of this Island, and a very succinct Account of their Ports, that no Country in the World can be better situated either for the carrying on foreign Commerce or of domestic Traffic by Vessels navigating the whole Extent of its Coasts. All that hath been said of Great Britain is strictly true of Ireland. It abounds with a vast Variety of Staple and valuable Commodities, and these are dispersed through the different Parts of the Country so as to render them mutually dependent upon each other for the Necessaries, at least for the Conveniences of Life. If notwithstanding this there may be a great Disparity in Appearance between some Parts in comparison with others, this can only arise from the Improvements made in that Kingdom, not being become hitherto universal, towards the Accomplishment of which nothing could contribute more than the Increase of its Coasting Trade. This we have all the Reason in the World to expect from the Spirit of its Inhabitants, from the Progress of Trade and Manufactures amongst them, from the Increase of their Cities and Ports, as well as of their Shipping, the constant Care of their Legislature, and the noble Zeal that appears in several laudable Societies for promoting and encouraging Industry of every Kind, by every Means and by every Method that good Sense and public Spirit can devise.

<sup>k</sup> In other Countries this Kind of Navigation may be considered as a partial, but in these lesser Islands becomes the principal, and almost the only Employment. In many of them, the bad State of their Soil (at least for the present) and in most of them the Scantiness of Territory, precludes

tend this general Communication, or to encourage those concerned therein, cannot but be in many Respects highly beneficial to the public Interests. -

BUT notwithstanding the Coast Trade is in a great Degree distinct from, yet it must not be supposed to have no Connection with foreign Commerce, since the contrary is true, as in many Respects it promotes, and is in some promoted by it. In bringing, which is its proper Object, a Variety of Commodities from different and distant Parts of these Islands to those great Ports from which our Commerce is carried on, it facilitates the Assortments of their foreign Cargoes. The Returns arising from these are in like Manner distributed to the lesser Ports, even in the Extremities of these Islands by the same Means, and thereby contributes also to spread every where a Desire of obtaining such Goods, and of course excites a Spirit of Industry, by which the Means of obtaining them can only be procured. It also promotes Commerce, as we have before hinted, by its being a constant and convenient Nursery for Seamen. It is assisted on the other Hand by Foreign Commerce in transporting, as we have observed, a great Part of its Returns, and it is the clearest and most evident Proof of the Truth of what hath been advanced, that they have both grown, increased, and flourished together <sup>1</sup>.

precludes them from other Views. But in all of them there is Room, Materials, and Encouragement for this Occupation. They have Ports, Fisheries, Kelp, and other Advantages from the Sea, from whence they at present derive a poor and indifferent Subsistence, which disposes, one might say compels them to emigrate continually in hopes of bettering their Fortune. But if they would once turn their Thoughts and their Endeavours heartily to this Object, so plainly pointed out to them by Providence, Success would soon dissipate that Supineness which is the real Source of their present Poverty, and Experience would gradually teach them new, and perhaps hitherto untried Methods of promoting their Prosperity. This would not only be a Blessing to them, but as we have said in the Text, a signal Emolument to the Nation which might thereby acquire in the Space of a few Years double the Number of Seamen, that their coasting Trade furnishes at present.

<sup>1</sup> As the same Spirit animates the whole commercial System, there arises from thence a constant Harmony amongst its several Branches, which contributing to the Support of each, thereby invigorates the Whole. It would have been easy to have given more Instances of the Connection of foreign Commerce with this Coasting Trade, but as these will fall in with the Subjects of the succeeding Chapters, it was thought better to omit them here to prevent unnecessary Repetitions, and the rather because the last Remark in the Text is conclusive on this Head, as will be apparent to the intelligent Reader, who will consider the Facts already stated in the Accounts given of the Ports of Whitehaven and Whitby. For in Points of this Kind, Facts not only convey fuller Evidence, but at the same Time clearer Intelligence than can be communicated by any other Method.

## C H A P. III.

## The Nature and Importance of Inland Trade.

*A Short Account of what is to be understood by the Term of Inland Trade. The Settling of Towns and Cities particularly attended to by every Government. The different Modes pursued in this by the Romans, Saxons, and Normans, with their Effects. The Means employed to extend this Communication by the Help of Markets, Marts, and Fairs. Public Events by which the Extension of this Home Trade was gradually promoted. A farther Detail of Incidents that were likewise favourable thereto. The Encouragements given and the Liberty indulged to the setting up Manufactures attended with the most advantageous Consequences. Many new Circumstances that assisted the Establishment and Perfection of Inland Traffic. The numerous national Benefits arising therefrom set in a true Light. The close Connection between Inland Trade, the Coasting Navigation, and foreign Commerce clearly explained. The Advantages derived from them may probably be farther augmented by Inland Canals.*

**T**HE numerous Benefits arising from the great Extent and from the irregular Figure of our Coasts having been very largely discussed, we come now to a Subject of a very different Nature. The Islands of Great Britain and Ireland, as they are of great Extent, contain Mediterranean as well as Maritime Countries, the former of these in some Parts comprehending very large Tracts of Land. These according to their several Kinds being fitted and employed to different Purposes, their Inhabitants for the Sake of those Advantages that arise from Society, and particularly to facilitate the Disposal of their Wares and Commodities, associated themselves in Villages, many of which gradually swelled into Towns, and some of these rose into Cities, being increased by the Emoluments arising from reciprocal Communication by the Help of Roads and navigable Rivers. The Aggregate of the Traffic thus carried on, which perhaps in no Part of Europe is at present greater than here, constitutes what is properly stiled Inland Trade, and is a subject that deserves to be considered with the greatest Attention <sup>a</sup>.

THE

<sup>a</sup> It is a very curious Observation of the judicious Sir William Petty, that considering the Sea Line of Great Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent Islands, and comparing this with the whole Content of Acres, the Land would form an Oblong or Parallelogram of Three thousand Eight hundred Miles long, and about Twenty-four Miles broad, and consequently every Part thereof would be

THE Choice and Establishment of these Habitations, or at least those of a larger Size, were always under the Direction of Government, and One of the principal Objects of its Care. The Towns of the Britons however rude, were settled by their respective Princes, and were such as suited the Condition their Subjects were then in. The Romans in Proportion as they spread their Dominions introduced their Policy, gave a regular Form to their Provinces, a new Face to the Country, and furnished full Employment to its Inhabitants. The Saxons when they had conquered, and were become the peaceable Possessors of the best Part of this Island, made such Alterations as were agreeable to their System of Rule, and the Normans did the like. In the former Parts of this Work we have sufficiently expatiated on these Points, and therefore a Recapitulation for the sake of preserving Connection between the several Matters contained in this Chapter seems to be all that is requisite here <sup>b</sup>.

It is easy to conceive in spite of the Remoteness of Time that these Places or at least most of them, may yet retain some Traces of these Alterations, as indeed they do. The Romans, all agree, were very curious and exact in the Choice of their Situations, in some of which however they followed those that had been fixed upon by the Britons. The Saxons were so much aware of the Truth of this Observation, that they generally followed their Example, and rebuilt upon the same Spots, so that even at this Day we owe the happy and convenient Disposition of many of our best Towns to the Wisdom of that great People. In respect to the Form of Government, the Terms that still remain in Use shew that they were derived from the Saxons, but it must at the same Time be allowed that great Variations were made in them by the Normans, who from their Military Disposition, more especially, at the Beginning were less inclined

be but Twelve Miles from the Sea. But Nature hath been much kinder to these Islands, for both Great Britain and Ireland are so disposed, as to unite with the Advantages of an extensive Coast a large Proportion of Land, so elevated in some Parts into Mountains, as to afford many and large and beautiful Rivers, that contribute to the Fertility of the Country, and several of them to the cheap and easy Conveyance of its Products. The former, that is Great Britain, in its utmost Breadth is about Three hundred and Sixty Miles, in Length upwards of Six hundred; and though the Breadth is by no Means equal, yet it is evident from hence that the midland Country must be, as is said in the Text, very considerable.

<sup>b</sup> It was for this Purpose of making these interesting and important Points perfectly clear and intelligible to every Reader, and not for the Sake of amusing him by introducing our remote Antiquities and Pieces of ancient History, that what we have delivered in the former Books found a Place in this Work; and it is hoped that with whatever Brevity they are delivered, or with whatever Plainness of Language they are expressed, they will answer this End, and contribute to that Perspicuity which is so necessary in Things of this Nature, and where an Author is desirous that his Sentiments should be thoroughly understood.

to favour by their Policy, the Principles of Trade or the Arts of Peace c.

AT length and by slow Degrees, imitating the Practice of their Neighbours they had Recourse to Guilds or Fraternities of different Kinds, commercial and mechanical, to Corporations, which as we have often hinted, might be very expedient under their Constitution, and also erected Markets at proper Distances, as they conceived, in Country Towns, and farther to facilitate a more general Communication, instituted Fairs, which as Things then stood were very serviceable, as some of them are to this Day. Thus this Matter continued till the Advantages derived from Commerce began to open the Eyes of Princes, and inclined them to look with a more favourable Aspect on the Means of increasing the Substance of their Subjects, that they might be able to levy the more upon them by a Variety of Duties and Impositions. A Principle evil in itself, but which was notwithstanding attended with good Effects d.

IN the Course of Time there fell out gradually various Events, which were not only favourable to, but without which these Improvements in reference to the Extension of Inland Trade never could have been accomplished. Amongst these we may reckon the Reduction and Incorporation

of the Cities of London and York in Essex and Maidstone in Kent are Instances of the Romans adopting the Choice made by the Britons, when they found them corresponding to their own Notions in this Respect. In regard to the Number of Cities, Towns, and Villages that owe their original Foundation to this wise People, the Reader may consult Camden, Baxter, Stukely, and all our Antiquaries in general. The Saxon Terms of Burghmote, Wardmote, and Moot-hall for a Shire-house or Town-hall plainly discover the Origin of such Assemblies, and the Intention of that generous Nation, that Affairs relating to the public Welfare should be publicly debated by those who had a Concern in them. The Normans seem to have been under a Necessity of erecting Corporations for the sake of preserving Artificers, &c. by exempting them from the servile Condition to which under their rigid Constitution the greater Part of the People were reduced: And hence it arose that such as in virtue of these Corporations were thus emancipated are styled Freemen. A Circumstance that in certain Periods gave great Umbrage to the Nobility and Clergy, as we have elsewhere shewn.

<sup>d</sup> It seemed to have been the prevailing Opinion in those Times, that no Trade could be carried on but under Restraints, which had for its Foundation the Principle we have formerly mentioned, and besides this, the procuring a Revenue to the Exchequer, for Licence to tax themselves for the Benefit of their respective Communities. For the same Reason Staples were devised, to which alone the valuable Commodities of the Realm could be carried for the Purpose of Exportation; and these, as our Statutes shew, were continually varying, till at length the Secret was discovered that they were useless. As to Market Towns, Bracton lays it down, that they were not to be nearer than Seven Miles to each other. Their Utility hath preserved and increased them, more especially where free from Tolls and Impositions. Fairs have continued for the same Reason; and though we cannot boast of any like those of Francofurt, Riga, or Lyons, yet we have many that are very considerable, and facilitate Inland Trade, by bringing together Dealers from different and very distant Parts of the Country, and such Quantities of Goods as serve to fix a fair Price, and prevent Combinations.

of the Principality of Wales, which not only procured a larger Accession of Territory, but also secured Peace to the Western Counties of England. In like Manner the Junction of the Two Crowns put an End to the frequent Wars and Depredations that had been so detrimental to both Kingdoms. Add to this, what quickly after followed, the Pacification of Ireland, and a regular and increasing Communication with that Island. All these made Way for a great Change in the Manners as well as Disposition of the People, that Fierceness and Spirit of Violence which had been kept alive by a Succession of foreign Wars, tending only to impoverish the Country and to exhaust its Inhabitants, and which when these were suspended broke out into civil Broils and intestine Commotions, subsided by Degrees, and a milder Temper prevailing, Men applied their Talents to the Exercise of Arts that contributed to their mutual Benefit. This was quickly attended with so many good Effects, and the Possession of Property, now easily acquired, and when acquired perfectly secure, had such an Influence on their Minds, that the national Genius exerted its Vigour in forming a Variety of Plans for increasing the public Stock at Home, and providing Materials thereby for the carrying on of foreign Commerce.

In support of this happy Alteration of Temper, there fell out many Circumstances that contributed to strengthen and to support it. The Duke of Alba's Persecution brought over hither Numbers of industrious Persons, who being well received and properly encouraged, gave us many new Lights with respect to Agriculture as well as Arts. The Reception of other foreign Protestants, who fled hither for Refuge, and brought with them new Inventions and several Modes of Industry unknown before, introduced a Variety of Manufactures, and which was still of greater Consequence a strong Disposition to perfect these, and an Appetite for acquiring more. The Emoluments arising from these different Kinds of Labour were so great and so apparent as to attract the Notice of Persons in Power, and Men of great Quality and Interest, who availing themselves

\* The Circumstances mentioned in the Text will sufficiently explain to the intelligent Reader, why, notwithstanding the Fertility of this Country, Inland Trade advanced among its Inhabitants so slowly. While the Island remained divided under different Sovereignties there could be no Communication of great Extent. Foreign Wars diminished both our Commodities and our People, and civil Dissentions produced continual Ravages and Depopulations; so that in different Periods almost all our great Towns suffered in a short Space more than in many Years could be repaired. When these Mischiefs ceased it took up some Time to extinguish old Feuds, to extirpate long rooted Prejudices, and to engage those who had been accustomed to look upon their Neighbours as Enemies, to converse and deal with them as Friends. Besides there were many other Things wanting to an extensive Communication, such as good Roads, convenient Inns, regular Conveyances by Land and Water, all of which we now indeed see established, but we may easily conceive that they were established by Degrees.

of the Authority then exercised by the Crown procured Charters and Letters Patents to secure to themselves and their Associates the Advantages that might arise from new Attempts of this Sort, which though they excited, and perhaps justly an Outcry against Monopolists, than which nothing can be more disadvantageous to a commercial State, yet they were not totally useless, as they procured some Branches of Manufacture that we might otherwise not have had, or at least not so soon, and contributed withal to give a Reputation to Trade, and to lessen at least, if not entirely to abolish that Kind of Pride so detrimental in other Countries, where the absurd Opinion prevails that it derogates from Nobility by the Way of Industry to prosecute public Good, the destroying which Chimera hath been highly beneficial to the State <sup>f</sup>.

It was impossible that when Things were once brought into this Condition, it should escape Observation that Freedom was of the greatest Consequence to Trade. It was indeed soon discovered as appeared by the general Clamour against Monopolies, to which however their Novelty did not a little contribute. There were however some other Restraints incompatible with the true Spirit of Industry, and consequently not a little prejudicial, which were not so speedily discerned, or so easily removed, as having existed long and seeming in some Respects wrought into our Constitution. These were the Restrictions flowing from Corporations, which however have been gradually pointed out, and mitigated here more than in any other Country in Europe. Several exclusive Companies erected on plausible Pretences, all which possibly might have their Uses in the Infancy of our Commerce, were very wisely suppressed. Those who chose to set up new Manufactures, or to exercise such as were already introduced in a more extensive Manner, were allowed full Liberty to establish them in such Places as from a Variety of favourable Circumstances seemed to them proper, and the Success that they have met with, and the Advantages visibly arising to the Community from the proper Encouragement thereby given to the vigorous Ef-

<sup>f</sup> The Walloons that came over hither settled at Sandwich, where they taught the Inhabitants many Improvements: In the City of Canterbury, where they introduced Broad Silk Weaving, where it still continues to flourish: At Maidstone, where they established a Manufacture of Thread: At Colchester, where they fixed the Art of making Bays, from whence immense Profits have accrued to this Nation: And in the City of Norwich, where in different Branches of the Woollen Manufacture it is said Two hundred thousand Persons are constantly employed. These Arts spreading naturally into the adjacent Villages, the Reader will easily perceive how much they must have contributed to raising new and reviving the Splendor of old Towns. Knighthood being frequently conferred on great Merchants and eminent Traders, rendered these Professions honourable. Their Children of both Sexes intermarried with the Nobility; the younger Branches of their Families entered into Trade. The Posterity of some of our great Traders have gradually reached the highest Ranks of Nobility; Circumstances that have contributed not a little to the Welfare and Opulence of this Country, and to the Reputation of its Traders in foreign Parts.



forts of Industry hath so fully justified the Principle that we have been recommending, as in a great Measure to prevent any new Restrictions, and to free the Minds of Men from the old Prejudices of supposing that Corporations were as requisite to the Training up of Traders as Colleges to the Breeding of Monks &c.

THE Civil War gave a very severe, but only a temporary Check to our Progress, and as soon as it was over the Nation returned with redoubled Vigour to the same Pursuits, which though interrupted by the Plague, the Dutch Wars, and the Fire of London, were nevertheless resumed with such Spirit arising from our increased Knowledge in the true Principles of Trade, the Experience we had had of its Efficacy and the Reduction of Interest, as soon put our Domestic Affairs once more into a flourishing Condition. The Settlement of Ireland immediately after the Revolution, and the Introduction of the Linnen Trade there, the bringing over the French Protestants expelled their own Country by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the Union of the Two Kingdoms, were such fortunate Circumstances, as evidently raised the internal Strength of these Nations, and the Place they held in respect to the Scale of Power in the Eyes of the several States of Europe, much beyond what they had reached in any former Period. The Improvements carried on from the Advantages derived to Ireland and North Britain, and the Removal of Competitions in respect to Manufactures which were detrimental to South Britain, together with a great Accession of Demands for all Sorts of Commodities from both, visibly discovered to all discerning and impartial Judges, that whatever tends to the Benefit of the several Parts of a great Empire tends ultimately to the Benefit of the Whole, the Promoting of which is the true Object of public Spirit<sup>b</sup>.

THIS

\* The old System having lost its legal Support, and all the Inhabitants of both Islands being acknowledged Freemen, took away at least in a great Measure those Grounds of Restraint which had been imposed on Artificers and Tradesmen. But as many had a private Interest in supporting these Restraints, and others had a Reverence for ancient Customs, they were not easily or absolutely exploded, notwithstanding De Witt and Sir Josiah Child, Men of clear Heads and true public Spirit, long since declared against them. But Experience hath done more than could be effected either by Argument or Authority. The Towns of Manchester and Birmingham, with many more that might be mentioned, plainly prove what may be done where Invention and Industry are allowed full Liberty, and Men are permitted the free Exercise of their Talents of every Kind. The former of these furnishes a Multitude of Goods (to mention one Instance out of many) for the Supply of our African Cargoes, for obtaining which we were formerly obliged to resort to the East Indies. The Manufactures of the latter in Metals, through their Cheapness and Abundance, have found a Passage into all Parts of the Globe. The yellow Earthen Ware hath within these few Years been brought to such Perfection, as to exalt the Villages where it is made into populous Towns, which are increasing daily.

<sup>b</sup> The genuine Principles of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures became the immediate Study of this Nation after the Restoration; and as we have often remarked, the Treatises then

THIS is a plain, succinct, and it is hoped satisfactory Account of the Rise, Increase, and amazing Extension of our Inland Trade, of which every Village and Hamlet, as well as great Towns and Cities participate in a proportionable Degree. For the Inhabitants in them all have Food, Cloaths, and Dwellings suitable to their several Ranks, and much superior to what in their respective Stations are seen in many other Countries not inferior to ours in Soil and Climate, but wanting the great Blessings of Freedom and Trade. Wherever Manufactures are established they draw a Concourse of People, who all find Employments of different Kinds. These Manufactures, together with the Commodities of the surrounding Country, are conveyed to other Places by Water or by Land. The former gives Bread to Numbers, the latter hath produced good Roads through a great Part of the Kingdom. This affording Convenience of Carriage, furnishes Subsistence, as we have already shewn in another Part of this Work, to Multitudes, and this Subsistence being drawn from the Countries adjacent, hath promoted the Cultivation of our Lands, and in consequence of the Augmentation of their Produce hath raised their Rents. All this plainly shews, that our principal Market for all Sorts of Wares, Manufactures, and Provisions is at home, and that the Consumption of our own People is the Basis of national Prosperity, which flows constantly, copiously, and regularly through all the Channels of Inland Trade, and must continue so to do, as long as Labour furnishes a comfortable Maintenance, and Industry a generous Reward, Effects arising from, and which, while our excellent Constitution subsists, can never fail.

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written shewed what prodigious Helps Industry might receive from Science. The great political Question, as to the Utility of reducing Interest, was thoroughly discussed, and all the good Consequences that attended it rendered indisputably clear. The Propriety of receiving and encouraging the French Protestants was stated in such a Light as to shew the Tendency of it to national Advantage. This Reasoning was very soon confirmed by Facts; they taught us many Improvements in the Woollen, and many more in the Silk Manufactures, they enabled us to proceed in and perfect the Manufactures of Glass, Hats, Paper, Sail-cloth, Canvas, &c. All these gradually and naturally spread and are continually spreading. Wherever they reach the People live better, and thereby promote Consumption of all Sorts of Necessaries and Conveniences. The Sight of this creates Emulation in their poorer Neighbours, and of course excites that Industry which is the Mother of Prosperity. By these Steps and in this Manner the Condition of our People hath been changed, and Plenty, so far as this hath reached, extended itself through both Islands.

<sup>1</sup> In the Course of this Work, whenever a suitable Occasion offered, no Pains have been spared to set in a true Point of Light those progressive Changes that have happened to the Inhabitants of these Islands, in Point of Manners, Circumstances, and Modes of living, tracing at the same Time the probable Causes from which such Changes arose, supported by authentic Authorities, one of the most instructive and beneficial Uses of History; for while more dazzling Scenes serve only to entertain and fill the Memory, these contribute to exercise and inform the Judgment. There could be no Grounds, therefore, for repeating such Observations here, as the Reader must be well acquainted with them already, and what is said in the Text is only to

refresh

THE Connection of this Inland Trade with that of the Coasting Navigation and foreign Commerce is too plain and apparent to be insisted upon at large. It may not however be improper to observe, that after the Time of the Romans, who embraced every Species of Improvement, and carried them to a very great Height, Inland Trade was in a great Degree lost, and in its Recovery made a slower Progress than either of the former for Reasons that are already mentioned in the Course of this Chapter. The Facility of conveying Things by Sea where-ever it was practicable, brought it earlier into use, and constantly maintained its Credit. Foreign Commerce arose from thence by Degrees, and the Wealth derived from thence, and the Spirit of supplying Materials, for it were strong Inducements to push Inland Trade beyond the narrow Bounds it attained by the feeble Efforts it had made in Times of Barbarism and Confusion. In Process of Time the Effects of them all have been most happily blended, and the People have been employed, enriched, and made happy by these Three Branches of Traffic mutually assisting and supporting each other<sup>k</sup>.

UPON these Principles, and in consequence of such Observations as in this Chapter have been laid down, we have ventured to declare in favour of Inland Navigations, and to assert the Probability of their promoting national Prosperity still farther. It seems evident, that by the Help of these Canals, the making which by the Way, plainly shews the Spirit and the Substance of the Trading Interest, will produce a more equal Distribution of Provisions for the Subsistence of Men, of Materials for Manufactures, and of all Sorts of Commodities than hitherto have been known. We may therefore reasonably expect, that in consequence of this they will render

refresh and recal his Ideas, in order to shew how these Facts apply to this Subject, and more fully develope the Means by which this Species of Traffic have been so highly, so extensively improved, and what salutary Consequences have resulted from thence to the Community, at the same Time that they discover the Reasons on which just Hopes are entertained of their Continuance.

<sup>k</sup> In the preceding Chapter we have insisted on the great Utility of the Coasting Trade, in conveying Materials and Commodities from one Part of the Island to the other, however remote. But the Intent of this is chiefly to supply the Inland Parts, and to afford Employment for the Industry of their Inhabitants, the Produce of which is again conveyed to the same or other Ports, according to their different Demands. In reference to foreign Goods, it may not be amiss to remark, that in respect to Edibles, Wines, Spirits, Fruits, Spices, Pickles, &c. are consumed over all the Country, and chiefly by a Retail Trade. As to our Manufactures, the Materials of very many are brought from abroad, such as Spanish Wool, Silk, Mohair, Linen and Cotton Yarn, fine Woods, &c. all of which are wrought here, and immense Quantities, when wrought, exported. We likewise bring in the necessary Materials for Dyeing, such as Madder, Shumack, Orchel, Indigo, Cochineal, &c. To these we may add, prodigious Quantities of several Sorts of Oil, consumed in our Woollen, Leather, and other Manufactures, as also Gold and Silver for Gilding and Plate, with a Multitude of other Things which it would be needless to mention.

Labour cheaper, increase the Number of working Hands, and supply new Means of Subsistence to Numbers. It may be likewise expected that by thus becoming the Means of universal Communication they may remove all the Obstacles that yet remain in respect to Inland Trade, and by exciting Industry in Places, where for Want of Conveyance it never reached before, augment our national Stock, and add fresh Vigour by furnishing more Employment for our Coasting Navigation, and larger Cargoes for Foreign Commerce<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These Water Roads, for such Inland Canals may be properly stiled, were scarce in Contemplation when this Work was undertaken, or even when the First Part of it was in the Press; and we might say the same of many other Improvements. The Notion that such Modes of Conveyance might be highly useful was very naturally deduced from the Cheapness and Convenience of Water-carriage by navigable Rivers, and the Methods practised to extend their Use. It was farther countenanced by the visible Advantages arising from such Canals in other Countries; and in Cases of this Nature Experience is certainly the best Guide. The Truth is, that it seemed to be the only Improvement wanting to our System of Traffic. To all this we may add, that it hath been undertaken and executed by those who may be presumed to be the best Judges of their own Interests. The largest of these Canals, which unites the Rivers Clyde and Forth, and thereby opens a Communication between the West and East Seas, though nothing comparable in Extent and Expence, may possibly be found as profitable as the famous Canal of Languedoc. But this Time must decide.

#### C H A P. IV.

The Advantages resulting to these Nations from Industry and Commerce farther considered, and their Effects more at large explained.

*THE manifold Advantages arising from Inland and foreign Traffic have been already copiously displayed. Yet some farther Observations on them may not be inexpedient. The Nation in general profited by the Introduction of a free Government instead of the feudal System. A succinct Parallel between them in order to prove the Truth of this Assertion. The Nobility and Possessors of landed Property enjoy under the present Constitution all that they can desire. In the Mode of their Enjoyment they contribute to the Welfare of the Body of the People. The regular and constant Circulation of the Effects of Industry is a continual Source of National Riches. The natural Advantages of those Islands improved by Labour secure to Persons of all Ranks perpetual Plenty. The Protection of Industry for these Reasons ought to be the great and invariable Object of our Rulers.*

AFTER

**A**FTER having gone through the several Branches of our commercial System, having shewn the Advantages arising from each, their Connection one with another, and the accumulated Benefits arising from thence, it should seem that nothing more was necessary on this Head, or if there were that it must consist in producing Authorities, which might be easily done, to demonstrate that these were not simply the Sentiments of an Individual, but supported by the concurrent Testimonies of the ablest and and most intelligent Persons in this and in other Nations. This however may appear the less necessary, if it be considered, that in treating these Subjects, Respect hath been always had to the clearest and strongest Evidence, that of Facts, and that in reasoning from them, where-ever it appeared requisite, Authorities have been produced<sup>a</sup>.

BUT notwithstanding all this, and that perhaps the Matter might be safely rested here, yet the Subject itself is of so great Importance, the Consequence of its being thoroughly understood so material to national Happiness, and as the establishing these Points beyond all Doubt, as well as beyond all Contradiction, hath been all along considered as the great End and Object of this Work, the candid Reader is desired to extend his Indulgence to some farther Reflections relative to the Advantages arising from Industry and Commerce, and to pardon any involuntary Repetitions that may escape in the Prosecution of a Theme, which hath been already so much canvassed, and which nothing but its general Utility could excuse the pressing these additional Observations upon his Memory, and recommending them to his impartial Judgment<sup>b</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> One of the earliest, and at the same Time one of the best Writers upon Trade, was Mr. Thomas Mun, himself a very eminent Merchant, and his Treatise published by his Son immediately after the Restoration. This able Man, who had extensive Knowledge and many Years Experience for his Guide, and who had considered the Subject in a political as well as practical Light, concludes his Work with telling us, "That foreign Trade is the great Revenue of the King, the Honour of the Kingdom, the noble Profession of the Merchant, the School of our Arts, the Supply of our Wants, the Employment of our Poor, the Improvement of our Lands, the Nursery of our Mariners, the Walls of our Islands, the Means of our Treasure, the Signs of our Wars, the Terror of our Enemies." If what we have already said, or what is farther to be said in this Chapter shall afford such a Commentary as may contribute to make the Truth of this Gentleman's Sentiments clear to every Reader, the Labour this Work hath cost will be esteemed well bestowed.

<sup>b</sup> A Proposition may be so self-evident, or capable of so clear and manifest Proofs as to merit general Reception. Yet even such an Assent as this may not be attended with a distinct Apprehension of the full Extent of such a Proposition in all its Consequences, which however is very necessary in many Cases, more especially in such as are of public Utility and Importance. A most convincing Instance of this appears in the well-known Terms of the LANDED and the TRADING Interests, which, as in this Chapter will be fully shewn, ever were and ever must be the same, notwithstanding they have been, and that too by several shrewd and otherwise sensible

It is hoped that in the Course of this Undertaking there have been sufficient Reasons adduced to shew how much the People in general have been benefited by the Introduction of a free Government instead of the feudal System, under which their Ancestors groaned, and by the Relics of which other Nations are still oppressed. It is to this we owe the Mildness and Equity of our Laws, and that their Protection extends to every Man in every Station of Life. It is to this that we stand indebted for the Security of our Properties, and the absolute Power we have over whatever we acquire. This is the great Encouragement of Industry, in consequence of which a greater Equality hath been introduced here without the Interposition of positive Laws, than by their Assistance could be effected in the freest States, of which History has preserved any Records. The Face of the Country proclaims this, the Circumstances of its Inhabitants in general are a farther Attestation of the Truth of this Position, and if we reflect that the only or at least the highest Prerogative ascribed to the Feudal System, that of maintaining a national Force and Independency, is so far from being weakened, as in these Days of Freedom we are infinitely a more formidable Nation than we ever were, and are enabled to preserve our extensive Dominions through the Superiority of a Maritime Power, which hath indisputably been raised by, and can only be supported from our Commerce.

BUT in order to comprehend clearly how all this hath been done, and to discern evidently the Connection between Causes and Effects, we must rise a little higher in respect to Times, and descend a little deeper in regard to Things. The Fertility of this Country, and all its natural Advantages were

Persons, represented as not only separate from, but in some Respects opposite to each other. Such Errors as these ought to be thoroughly detested, that they may be absolutely and for ever exploded. The shortest and the most effectual Method of doing this is to make the immediate and indissoluble Ties by which they are and must be perpetually connected visible to, and if one may so speak, felt by every attentive Reader, so as never more to be mistaken or forgotten.

It may not be amiss, in order to shew that these Notions have not been hastily taken up but have been my invariable Sentiments, to quote what I said upon this Subject in a Work for the kind Reception of which I am much indebted to the Public near Thirty Years since. "To Commerce we owe our Wealth, for though Labour may improve, though Arms may extend, yet Commerce only can enrich a Country. It is this that encourages People not barely to labour for the Supply of their own Wants, but to have an Eye to those of other Nations, even such as are at the greatest Distance. It is this that establishes and extends Manufactures, and while it employs all Ranks of People, provides suitable Rewards for their several Employments. It is this and this alone that can excite and encourage universal Industry, by providing that all who take Pains shall reap Profit and that what raises the Fortunes of Individuals shall prove at the same Time and in the same Degree beneficial to Society; so that an Application to their private Interests in their several honest Employments has at the same Time all the Effects, and is in Reality the truest Testimony of public Spirit."

ever the same, though the Face of it hath worn very different Appearances. Forests, Chaces, Heaths, Commons, and Marshes occupied formerly immense Tracts of Land, the greatest Part of what remained was converted into Sheep Walks. For Wool then was our principal Staple, and this we exported to exercise the Skill and employ the Labour of our Neighbours. Our Mines were mostly unopened, and the little Trade we had was carried on chiefly by Foreigners, in virtue of Privileges purchased from the Crown. Our Nobles, who were a Kind of Princes in Point of Territory and Authority, lived in a rough Plenty and a rude Magnificence. The Churchmen, in consequence of their possessing the Learning of those Times, had immense Possessions, and made no Scruple of employing Persecution when they thought it necessary to preserve them. The Bulk of the People as the Vassals of both were either doomed to servile Drudgery, or lived in lazy Indigence. How different a State this from that which we have just described? Yet the Change hath been effected only by the introducing Freedom and Industry which have naturally and necessarily, though gradually wrought this amazing Revolution, by disposing the different Classes of Inhabitants to the Pursuit of those Plans of Life, to which their Talents were best adapted, and by which they might render themselves most easy and independent of every Thing, but the Laws from which arose, and by which these Blessings are secured <sup>d</sup>.

THE Nobility of all Ranks preserve under this free Government their ancient Dignities, Privileges and every other Circumstance of Grandeur, except the oppressive Power of the old Barons, which did others Hurt and themselves no Good. The same may be said of the Clergy, who enjoy every thing consistent with religious Liberty. The Gentlemen of landed Estates have much Influence and great Respect paid them. All of these

<sup>d</sup> The Facts mentioned in the Text have been mentioned perhaps more than once, but the Repetition of them here is not only necessary, but in another Respect allowable, as they are here applied to a different Purpose. The leading Principle of the Norman System being to keep the Many in absolute Subjection to the Few, they were put under Difficulties, and subjected to perpetual Constraints in every Station of Life. The Tenure of their Lands was harsh and often precarious, they could derive no Benefits from the Laws but by purchasing Writs from the Crown, and they felt the like Restraints in every manual Occupation. The Profession of Arms was alone reputed noble. The Divines amused themselves and their Hearers with idle and often unintelligible Speculations, and the Law was wrapt up in a foreign Language, to which in those Days the People were utter Strangers. In such Circumstances it would have been as unreasonable to expect any great Exertion of the human Faculties, in respect to useful Employments, as to require a Man to dance when loaded with Chains. The Artist, the Mechanic, the Tradesman were looked upon with Contempt, which was the less wonderful, considering that the Husbandman, of all Subjects the most useful, was little better than a Slave. It was by Example and Experience that our Ancestors were drawn out of this Condition, and of course this must have happened gradually and slowly, as indeed it did.

have



have their Duties towards the Community pointed out, and are in general so educated as to acquire the Qualities requisite to discharge them, in performing which they are the most useful Members of the Commonwealth. For amongst these are to be found our Legislators, Judges, Magistrates, &c. who are the natural Guardians of their own and their Fellow Subjects Liberties. These having opulent Fortunes, live with great Splendour, and at a large Expence. Their Houses, Gardens, Equipages, and all the other Appendages to their Magnificence in Town and Country, gives Employment and of course Subsistence to Numbers, and considered in this Light superfluous Luxury becomes the Source and the Support of honest Industry. Add to this that by the Elevation of their Rank and their Superiority in Riches, they are in a peculiar Manner bound to the Interests of their Country, as inseperable from their own, for whatever impoverishes the one must depreciate the other, and the Constitution cannot be weakened but at the Expence of their Independency and Importance.

BUT have these Nobles and Gentlemen of landed Property done all this for themselves? No, surely. It hath been done for them by the Skill and Labour of others. Under the old Constitution they might compel their Vassals to take the Field, to fight in any Quarrel, and on any Side they chose to espouse, by which their Numbers were lessened and the Properties of these great Barons themselves very frequently destroyed. In succeeding Times, when their Tenants came to have a legal and secure Possession of the Lands on Terms reciprocally beneficial to both, Industry inspired by Liberty, excited a universal Spirit of Cultivation. Arable and Pasture Lands were every where improved, Heaths, Wastes, and Commons were converted into good Estates, Marshes drained, Mountains planted with Trees, and the Rental of the Kingdom, in other Words, the Income of Men of landed Property augmented daily. These Improvements were not however confined simply to the Surface of the Soil; our Mines were

\* It appears clearly from what is said in the Text, that the Inhabitants of this Country of all Ranks have equally shared in the Blessings of a free Government. An Inequality in Station and in Fortune is inseperable from Civil Society, and is also attended with many Advantages. By Means of the Noble and the Rich many Arts and Manufactures have been introduced, encouraged, and brought to Perfection, to which otherwise we had been absolute Strangers; and thus through the wise Disposition of Providence, even the Vanities and the Vices of the Opulent become advantageous to the Community. It is impossible they should disperse or even dissipate their Riches without doing good to Multitudes, and thus what they receive from the Labour of their Tenants is again dispersed amongst those who labour for them in many different Ways. In another Respect also they are exceedingly beneficial. The Glare of their Magnificence excites Emulation, and in a free Country like this, where every Man's Consequence depends upon his Property, the Desire of imitating Superiors, and of equalling them by Degrees, is one of the strongest Incitements to Application and Industry.

opened,

opened, their Contents produced every Species of Metals, each of which became a new Source of Skill and Labour, and consequently of Profit, and most other Commodities furnished gradually in like Manner Materials for numerous Manufactures. As these spread and grew more considerable, Multitudes drew the Means of Subsistence from their respective Employments in them, and which is more, they assisted, encouraged, and enriched each other, by supplying their several Wants from the Looms, the Forges and the Shops of their Neighbours, while all in general created an increased and increasing Consumption of Provisions <sup>f</sup>.

IT must be seen from the historical Parts of this Work, that most of these internal Improvements were not only gradual, but slow, and in Point of Time posterior to the Benefits derived from foreign Commerce and the Coasting Navigation; the former bringing in Riches, and the latter facilitating the Correspondence between the different Parts of these Islands, both great Helps to Industry, especially at the Beginning. These therefore it must be admitted, laid a Foundation for all the rest. The thriving Condition of our Sea Ports, and the visible Advantages derived to Cities and great Towns situated upon navigable Rivers, excited Emulation, and contributed not a little to diffuse a commercial Spirit in their Vicinities. In the preceding Chapter we have shewn how various Impediments were removed, and how many favourable Circumstances concurred to promote these Views, and which being embraced, Communication was continually extended with all the Train of happy Consequences that are its natural Attendants. Hence arose, as we have already hinted, a successive Alteration, or if I may be allowed the Expression, an Improvement in our Manners, and in our Modes of Living, in our Diet, Dress, Buildings, &c. all of which, strictly speaking, in Proportion to their Value, are as truly and certainly national Wealth, as they are indisputably the Fruits of Art and Industry <sup>g</sup>.

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<sup>f</sup> All this only serves to support the Truth of what we have so often asserted, that Industry, and this only, is national Wealth. Sir William Petty observed long ago, that if the People of England were Seven Millions, and if the Maintenance of each amounted to Seven Pounds, then the whole Produce or Expence of the Nation amounted to Forty-nine or Fifty Millions. The Authors of the British Merchant, who were Men of great Character and consummate judgment, admitted this Calculation, and added farther, that deducting for the Expence of Lodging and the Contumption of foreign Commodities Twenty Shillings a Head, there will remain Six Pounds, or Forty-two Millions expended in Provision and Manufactures. But if, as many think, there are at present in the Island of Great Britain nearer Ten Millions, and if, as is generally acknowledged, Expences are much increased, this will carry the Computation higher.

<sup>g</sup> We need only, in order to be convinced that Facts are fairly represented in the Text, to enquire into the Dates of our several Manufactures, and into the History of our great trading Towns, which are easily to be obtained. But this may be still more compendiously done, by reflecting

It is hoped that we have now fully proved, that when the Genius of the British Nation came to be applied to the Arts of Peace, it was exerted with Vigour, Ingenuity, and Perseverance, as is abundantly evident, from our acknowledged Success in Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce. This hath been in a great Measure excited by a Desire of Independency, the natural Companion of Freedom. This Desire animates equally the Artist, the Mechanick, and the Seaman, and this generous Spirit which is the true Source of Excellence in all Pursuits, is happily seconded and supported by the natural Advantages which this Country possesses, and which thereby render it attainable by a just Degree of Industry, which in some other Places is not the Case. Provisions of every Kind, the Materials for Cloathing, Fireing, Building, and in a Word most of the Conveniencies, as well as all the Necessaries of Life, are of our own Growth; and therefore it is evident that national Opulence arises principally from our own Consumption, and this by a due Circulation of the Effects of Skill and Labour is; and while our Constitution subsists, ever may be maintained and extended. Foreign Commerce is the great Wheel giving Motion to the whole Machine, as it administers to Industry, supplies Materials for some Manufactures, exports many others, and carries away into other Countries our Superfluities, which is of apparent and prodigious Consequence, increasing the Means of Consumption, and furnishing besides, Gold, Silver, Jewels, and other rich Goods, the Produce of our Wares and Commodities of all Sorts, or in other Words, the Portion of Industry, the Wages allotted by Providence to Labour and Assiduity, directed by Science and stimulated by Freedom <sup>b</sup>.

THE

reflecting on the State this Country was in Five hundred Years after the Norman Conquest, and the Change that hath been made therein within the Two last Centuries. An universal Alteration in People's Circumstances is the clearest Proof that can be desired of national Prosperity. If Men dress better, live better, and are better lodged, it is evident that their Circumstances are better than those of their Ancestors, and consequently that the Wealth of the Nation is greater. This Fact is not the less true or the less certain from the Inattention that may be paid to it, or the partial and sophistical Reasons sometimes advanced to insinuate the contrary.

<sup>b</sup> The British Merchant, Vol. I. p. 142. hath some very pertinent Observations upon this Subject, which deserve the Reader's Notice. "Our own People are a constant Market for our own Product and Manufactures. The Gentleman fondly imagines, that he receives his Rent from his Tenant, the Weaver that he is paid his Wages by the Master Clothier; but it is the Consumer that pays both. He pays the Price of the Wool and the Charge of the Manufacture, neither the one nor the other can be paid but by the Consumption of the People. I consider every Person in the Kingdom, for what he eats, and drinks, and wears, as a Tenant to the Lands, and a Paymaster of our Labourers; and if Seven Millions of People consume the yearly Value of Forty-two Millions of our native Product and Manufacture, every One at a Medium pays the yearly Sum of Six Pounds to the Lands and Labour of this Kingdom, every One is a Market of such a Value to his Country." The Amount of our foreign Commerce is but small in Comparison with that of our Home Consumption, but from the Balance we draw

THE serious Contemplation of the several Facts and Observations which have been laid down in this Chapter, will open a large Field for useful Enquiries, as therein the combined Forces of all our different Species of Industry have been so explained, as not to leave a Shadow of Doubt, that while they all of them tend to the same Point of promoting public Prosperity, they also reciprocally assist each other, which accounts for that successive and successful Progress they have so apparently made since directed by right Principles, and allowed to expand themselves with perfect Freedom. It hath been fully shewn that an industrious Person, who by his Ingenuity and Labour subsists himself and his Family, which is what is meant by Independance, contributes at the same Time by their Consumption to the Welfare and the Support of the Community. It follows evidently from hence that every Assistance should be given to promote this laudable Spirit, and to enable such Persons to live at their Ease, as the more they are enabled to expend, the more they benefit the Public. Whatever hath a contrary Tendency must in rendering Subsistence difficult, not only increase the Number of the Poor, but in many other Respects become highly detrimental to the State. It is also clear from hence that the Loss of industrious Persons is an apparent and irreparable Injury to the Commonwealth, as not only lessening the public Stock in that Degree which their Continuance increased it, but by driving their Talents and Labour into other Countries, enriching their Inhabitants at our Expence, a Folly the more inexcusable, as we visibly profited by it, when it was the Malady of our Neighbours. It should therefore be the Study of a wise and good Government; not only to take every Measure to prevent such Losses; but also to devise and practise every Method possible to protect, encourage, and extend Industry, as the sole Basis of public Felicity.

draw not only a sufficient Quantity of the precious Metals to serve in the Shape of Money as a Medium in Traffic, but also to afford us Plate, Lace, &c. and when it can be done with more Advantage than keeping it here, for Exportation also. It is therefore a Mark of our Riches, and such a one, as if our Industry was less, or our Importation of foreign Luxuries more, would quickly leave us.

There is an Energy in Industry under the Protection of a free Government, that enables it to extend itself every Way and to overcome Difficulties that were for Ages thought and found to be insurmountable. We have shewn this unquestionably in the Course of this Work, by the Instances we have given of Ports constructed, and many more of those that have been improved beyond the Conception of our Ancestors, in the making of Roads, building Bridges, and other Edifices for public Service, setting up regular and convenient Carriages for facilitating even the most distant Communications by Land, by removing Impediments in navigable Rivers, and of late by the Construction of Canals, to say nothing of the Draining of the Fens, and many other Things of a like Nature. All these have indeed had the Countenance of the Legislature, but have been performed chiefly at the Expence of private Persons; with Views to their own Profit and Convenience. This, which I scruple not to call a laudable Principle, will always continue with like

# The POLITICAL SURVEY

## CHAP. V.

Farther Improvements are still necessary.

*THE greater the Prosperity of a State the greater Prudence requisite to preserve it. This requires a succinct Specimen of our Defects and Resources. Proposal for improving Agriculture by extending our Cultivation. Our capital Manufactures are capable of being much improved and greatly extended. Commerce by good Laws may receive many Advantages. The Fisheries a prodigious national Resource. The Number of our Poor no formidable Objection against what hath been said of our Prosperity. Two Proposals offered for the diminishing this Burden in future. The Grounds on which we may hope to proceed vigorously in our Improvements. An Apology for the numerous Proposals contained in this Work. The Conclusion.*

**T**HE happy and flourishing Condition of these Islands in Comparison of the State in which they formerly were, hath been fully and clearly represented. It is however a wise and a just Maxim in Politics, that as much or more Prudence is necessary to preserve a State when raised to Opulence and Grandeur, than were requisite to exalt it thereto, and Experience hath justified the Truth of this Position. On these Grounds it becomes absolutely our Duty to have a constant and vigilant Attention to the Means of preserving and extending that Prosperity to which by our own or by our Ancestors Application we have attained. This can only be effected by a steady Adherence to those Principles on which it was gradually raised, we are well acquainted with their Nature, their Operations, and their Consequences, and may therefore with good Reason conclude them to be in point of Efficacy adequate to whatever our present or our future Circumstances may require. The Demands of an extensive Empire are many; but her Resources are likewise numerous, the Business is to see them prudently chosen and properly applied. Under such a Constitution as ours we may always trust to the Exertion of our national Faculties, an active Industry directed by wise and well executed Laws will, with a proper Confidence in the Divine Blessing, support that

Encouragement to exert its Force; and as there are still many Parts both of Great Britain and Ireland that are apparently unimproved, we see plainly that there is still Room for its Exertion, by which Multitudes will fall into useful and lucrative Employments, and all the natural Advantages which Nature hath so bountifully bestowed, will be gradually produced to View, and increase the Strength of that Circulation in which the Health of the Body Politic consists.

Policy

Policy by which, as we from Experience know, human Happiness is best maintained<sup>a</sup>.

IN order more clearly to comprehend these Points it may be very expedient to enter a little into Particulars by mentioning and explaining some of these Demands, and at the same Time shewing that these Nations are really possessed of Resources abundantly capable of answering them all, and of course not only to maintain what we have already acquired, but even to extend those Acquisitions much beyond their present Bounds; and all this without the least Danger of detracting from the Hopes or lessening the just Incitements to Industry, that for the Sake of the same good Purposes ought to stimulate our Posterity.

WE may without Fear of incurring the Censure of Partiality venture to assert, that (though possibly very far short of Perfection) Agriculture hath been carried as high in this as perhaps in any other Country, and that our Inhabitants are as well skilled in the Nature of different Soils, the properest Means of improving them by a Variety of Manures, the Method of fencing and inclosing them, the preserving their Fertility by a regular Variation of Crops, and all the other Arts of Husbandry that have been hitherto invented. By these Means prodigious Improvements have been made, more especially of late Years, and under the Auspice of Legislature very large Tracts of Common Land have been brought into regular Culture. In consequence of this such a Change hath been made in our Circumstances, that instead of purchasing from, we have, till within these few Years, been able to supply large Quantities of different Kinds of Grain to our Neighbours. But Experience hath taught us that neither the Skill of our Farmers or the Assistance of the Legislature can guard against those Deficiencies in Crops occasioned by inclement Seasons. The only Remedy for this is an Extension of our Cultivation. This may certainly be

<sup>a</sup> In respect to Nations as well as private Persons, no Situation whatsoever can exempt them from Sollicitudes, for in this sublunary State collective Bodies as well as Individuals are liable to Necessities of some Kind or other. These, if in narrow or confined Circumstances, are not to be got over but with great Pains and Labour, but if in a prosperous Situation, the Means may be quickly found and easily applied. In the Course of this Work we have endeavoured to point out many Improvements that may be made, and whatever Opinion may be entertained of them at present, some of them in a Course of Time certainly will be made. In respect to them all, and of every Proposition of this Nature, the present Times are very favourable; the Light of Experience shines much stronger than it did. Our Capitals are larger, and consequently more equal to great Undertakings; and what seems conclusive on this Head is the Steadiness as well as Activity that hath lately been manifest in the Pursuit of several arduous and expensive Undertakings, tending ultimately to the public Advantage, and yet carried on, as we have elsewhere shewn, at the Charge and at the Risk of private Persons.

obtained by purchasing at the public Expence those Tracts of Heath, Moors, and other Waste Lands that deform more or less every County in the Kingdom. By this Mode of Proceeding, injurious to none, and beneficial to all, there might be such an Accession made to our Arable Lands as would secure us from Scarcity at Home at all Times, and with the Blessing of Heaven restore us to that great Source of national Wealth, Exportation of Grain, and this perhaps without a Bounty <sup>b</sup>.

It is natural to suppose, and indeed the Thing is self-evident that a very great Part of such Lands as these could not be, at least immediately converted to this Use. These therefore might be turned into grazing Farms, which would raise what is equally wanting, a great Number of Cattle of all Sorts, which valuable Purpose would be much facilitated from the Advantages derived from the Farms first mentioned; in the present best approved Mode of Cultivation. On the Whole therefore, a great and a continual Augmentation would accrue of the public Stock, and quickly restore Plenty of Provisions, so exceedingly necessary to support the Industry of our People. These Measures without any Struggle, Violence, or Bloodshed would produce better Effects than the Conquest of Territory equal in Extent to all the Tracts thus improved. For these would not only furnish immediate and future Employment for a Multitude of Hands in the most useful Kinds of Labour, but would also excite a general Spirit of Industry, and diffuse fresh Vigour and Activity through the whole Nation, as well as in its happy Consequences by absolutely removing the Causes put an effectual Period to future Emigrations <sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> In order to secure Success to any new Scheme, there are Two Things necessary to be shewn, that it is practicable in its Nature, and will be profitable in its Consequences. As to the First, let it be observed, that in Mr. King's Calculations, the Accuracy of which have never yet been questioned, he asserts, that of Thirty-nine Millions of Acres in England, Ten Millions, or more than a Fourth, consisted in Heaths, Moors, Mountains, and barren Lands, and this exclusive of Woods, Forests, Parks, Commons, Roads, &c. There hath since that Time, as is admitted in the Text, been many Improvements made. But it will surely be allowed no improbable Assertion, that One Fiftieth Part may yet be gained from the unprofitable State in which it is. This, though purchased by the Nation, would be no Expence, for Money expended by the Public, for the immediate Service of the Public, cannot with Propriety be called Expence. All the Profits in respect to Grain of different Kinds, Hemp, Flax, Hops, Rape, Saffron, &c. raised upon these arable Lands, will all accrue to the Public, as well as the Wages earned by those employed in producing them. Add to this, what is an Argument of the greatest Weight, the best Judges have given it as their Opinion, that this Extension of Cultivation in the Manner proposed is the only possible Means of removing the present universal Complaints, and securing us against them for the future.

<sup>c</sup> The national Interest most certainly is, to have all Kinds of Provisions plentiful and cheap, for Reasons which have been fully explained in a former Chapter. The Notion that Necessity will compel People to work in this Country is very ill founded. The Nature and Constitution

of



IN such of these Farms as were properly situated, and in such Parts of them as should be found fittest for the Purpose, Timber more especially, such as is requisite for the Use of the Royal Navy, might be most conveniently planted and preserved, by making suitable Provisions for that End in the Tenure of the Lands, so as to render it the Interest as well as the Duty of every Tenant to comply with such Injunctions. For these Lands being the immediate Property of the Public, and purchased with a special View to their Benefit, every Thing regarding them would by the Wisdom of the Legislature be adjusted with the utmost Circumspection, and the Settlements made cautiously, gradually, and under such Regulations as might equally provide for the Security and Encouragement of the Occupier, and for the general Welfare of the Community. By the Execution of such a Scheme the properest Size of Farms for national Advantage might effectually be determined, from the clearest of all Lights that of Experience, and many other Points of public Utility that have been long, and may continue much longer Matters of Doubt and Altercation, be fully decided. If in the first Essays any Errors should be committed, they might be amended in subsequent Establishments, and remedied even in those whenever the First Terms expired.

THE great Number of useful and valuable Subjects maintained by our Manufactories of different Kinds, and the vast Emoluments arising continually from their Labours to the Public, must ever render them and whatever regards them, Objects of the highest Importance to such as ad-

of our People requires Encouragement; put Subsistence in their Power, and they will work, and work assiduously to obtain it. This would be effectually done by the Method proposed, which besides providing Employment for Multitudes that want it, in the immediate Business of Farming, would add likewise greatly to the raw Materials requisite for our Manufactures, such as Wool, Leather, Tallow, &c. Besides, the Improvement of those hitherto waste and useless Lands would, as we shall hereafter show, afford both Example and Instruction to the Inhabitants of the remoter Parts of both Islands, and put them upon a like vigorous Exertion of their Talents, and produce thereby many useful and salutary Effects.

It will be expedient that all the Regulations in respect to these new Farms should be easy, cheap, and of apparent Utility. Such as the allotting Cottages, with small Portions of Land, for the Habitations and Subsistence of Labourers and their Families. The reviving the Practice of using Oxen instead of Horses for Draught. The raising Flax upon Moors, where Experience shews it may be done to great Advantage. Possibly also the Breeding of Bees might deserve Consideration. But in every Thing of this Sort Encouragement should be held forth, and little or no Compulsion used. As the First Step of these Improvements must be a strict Examination of the several Kinds of Soil, in order to distinguish the Uses to which they may be best applied, the very History of these Farms, when brought to any Degree of Perfection, would be of extraordinary Benefit, as it would comprehend a System of experimental Knowledge, that, as is hinted in the preceding Note, could not but stimulate the Inhabitants of remoter and hitherto less cultivated Parts of both Islands, thus taught and encouraged, to enter upon the like Methods of Improvement.

minister the Affairs of this great and opulent Nation. They are indeed Objects that are to be considered with constant Care and with the deepest Attention, but at the same Time they are Objects that cannot be contemplated, but with the greatest Pleasure and with the highest Satisfaction. For it is the Happiness of this Country to possess the raw Materials of many, and those too the most considerable, which is a Point of the greatest Consequence, and in Reference to the Materials brought hither from abroad, these likewise are mostly obtained by the Exchange of our own Produce. It may be truly affirmed of all our capital Manufactures, as well from Wool, Leather, Metals, Linnen, as those of Silk; Cotton, Glass, Paper, &c. that they may be extended beyond their present State, and many of them to a very great Degree. We have it also in our Power to promote them in many Respects. For we may relieve those employed in them from a Variety of Restraints imposed when Things of this Sort were less understood, and which have been continued rather from Custom and Prejudice, than from Necessity or Use. By countenancing, encouraging, and rewarding amply, the introducing new, or the Improvement of those already introduced. By opposing public Spirit in preferring and supporting them against the vain Intrusions of frivolous Fashions. By diminishing, as in many Instances might be done, the Price of raw Materials. By easing them in respect to Duties, which is also practicable, not only without Detriment, but with great Advantage to the public Revenue. By a judicious Application of Bounties, to promote their Exportation, by bringing them cheap to foreign Markets, and by a Variety of other Methods. To these Hints it may not be improper to add, that what hath been before recommended in regard to the extending our Cultivation, would have an immediate Effect on our most valuable Manufactures, by an Increase of their Consumption, by a new Race of Farmers and their industrious Dependants<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> When we look back on our principal Manufactures in the State they were a Century ago, and consider the prodigious Advances that have been made, it will naturally encourage us to proceed vigorously in the same Track. We have improved our Wool in Point of Quantity and Quality to almost an incredible Degree, and we have likewise a vast Variety of Woollen Manufactures, yet the light Cloths of France prevail in the Levant, and might certainly be made here as cheap and in as great Perfection. Our Linnen Manufacture is in a Manner new, and the Growth of our own Times, yet we still import a great deal, and the diminishing this Importation is an Object of which we should never lose Sight, the rather because by proper Encouragement it is certainly in our Power. We have the Materials and the Means of making Glass and Soap; of some Kinds at least, more in our Reach than any other Nation. In our Manufactures in general the Ingenuity, Industry, and Dexterity of our Workmen are incontestible, and in the most complicated the happy Distribution of their several Parts through several Hands contributes equally to their Cheapness and to their Perfection. Add to this, what hath been elsewhere mentioned, our extensive Capitals, and we may safely assert that it is in our Power not only to push but to preserve them against all our Rivals.

WE have in the Progress of this Work very frequently shewn how much our foreign Commerce and domestic Trade have been indebted to the wise and timely Interposition of the Legislature, and particularly in the Act of Navigation, the Measures taken to lessen our destructive Importations of Luxury from a neighbouring Country, and in exempting most of our native Commodities and Manufactures from Duties upon Exportation. We may from hence form the most reasonable Expectations, that the like salutary and effectual Helps will never be wanting in future for the same beneficial Purposes. By their Intervention, whenever it is necessary, a Check may be given to such Importations as are injurious to our Interests, and serve only to gratify Luxury or Folly. We may also rely on them for securing to us the Advantages stipulated with foreign Nations by our Treaties of Commerce, which Advantages have generally speaking been purchased by our Assistance in Times of Difficulty or Distress. It would perhaps contribute to the general Benefit, if all the Laws now subsisting in reference to Commerce and Trade were carefully examined, those of experienced Utility enforced, and such as are not of this Nature, or are already fallen into Disuetude, repealed. A Court-merchant for the deciding Causes relative purely to Disputes in Trade, hath often been recommended by the ablest Judges, and would certainly have good Effects, in preventing Loss of Time and Expence. The Revival of the Laws relating to Bankrupts seems likewise very requisite, in order to diminish the Charges that attend Commissions, to expedite the Recovery of Bankrupt Debts, and to procure a speedy and certain Dividend of their Effects. But above all, the greatest Attention should be shewn to the Encouragement and Support of Industry of every Kind, and to the depressing, and if possible extinguishing that fraudulent Spirit of Gaming in Trade, where, however concealed under specious Disguises, some gain by outwitting, and others lose by being outwitted, while the Nation suffers by a pernicious Practice, which, though universally condemned, hath not hitherto been subjected to the Punishment it deserves.

THE

‡ The Vicissitudes of human Affairs, though conspicuous in all, is in none more evident than in Matters of Trade. These are continually shifting and varying in such a Manner, that the Rules most useful and salutary at one Time become useless and frequently pernicious at another. It is our peculiar Felicity, that we have a permanent and never-failing Resource against these Evils, in the Legislature. To this Application may at any Time be made, new Regulations proposed, Alterations desired, and the good or bad Effects of former Statutes freely and fairly stated, in order to their being enforced, or in Part or in the Whole repealed. From the Wisdom and Power of the Legislature we may expect, that in regard to our domestic Intercourse, that Probity between Man and Man be maintained, which is so essentially requisite in such Concerns, and to support the Credit of our Goods and Manufactures sent abroad for the Benefit of the Merchant and the Honour of the Nation. We may expect from thence the Suppression of Smuggling, so highly injurious to the honest Dealer, and so exceedingly detrimental to the public Welfare. As

THE several Fisheries that belong to this Island, have been considered in their proper Places. In speaking of them it hath been shewn, that though they are by no Means what they might be, yet are they far from being so inconsiderable as they are sometimes represented. The greatest Pains have been taken to shew that they might be extended and improved, and the most effectual Methods for doing this have been pointed out. Here it is proper to observe, that there is no Species of national Industry more lucrative than this, that it converts the Ocean into a Mine, and furnishes immense Profits from what, except Labour, costs but little, and is besides attended with very many beneficial Consequences. It hath been farther rendered incontestably evident, that Great Britain and Ireland, with the Islands dependant upon them, are in this Respect possessed of natural Advantages superior to all other Nations; in respect to Situation, Numbers of People, Materials of every Kind, and indeed whatever can be required for successfully carrying them on. It therefore depends entirely upon ourselves, to gain by a proper Exertion of these peculiar Benefits, the absolute Possession of almost all the Fisheries, without having Recourse to Disputes or Prohibitions. This, without Doubt, would be an amazing and perpetual, as well as easy Acquisition, in regard to Wealth, Shipping, and naval Power. Our Neglect hitherto of so great an Object is indeed a Reproach to our national Policy; but considered in another Point of Light, it is at once a practicable and a prodigious national Resource §

also the Extirpation of that Spirit of Monopoly and wholesale Gaming mentioned in the Text, since these are the Two Rocks, on which, more especially in our Times, so many Shipwrecks have been made. The Truth is, that Fraud ought to be considered as the Rust of Trade, which if the File of Law is not sharp, or the Arm of the Magistrate not strong enough to abrade, it will gradually corrode and destroy the Substance. It is true that this Reform cannot be effected at once, or absolutely perhaps at all. But this hinders not that every Means should be exerted to protect the honest and industrious Citizen against Men blinded by Self-interest and void of Principle, whose Artifices are always fatal to others, and sometimes to themselves, but most of all to the Community.

§ The very ingenious and judicious Sir William Petty, from the Consideration of the State of Things as they stood in his Time, proposed that the Taxes of Scotland should be paid in Fish, and of Ireland in Flax, both according to his Scheme being to be sold by and for the Benefit of the Public. This Scheme, though not practicable in itself, carries in it a very just Idea. For by promoting the Growth of Timber, the Cultivation of Hemp, the Linnen Manufacture, and above all the Fisheries, North Britain might receive infinite Benefits. On the other Hand the giving every Encouragement to the Cattle Trade, to the Importation of Wool and Woollen Yarn, and more especially to their valuable and extensive Manufacture of Linnens, the Inhabitants of Ireland might be fully employed and greatly enriched. These separate Pursuits would not barely contribute to the Welfare of those Countries, to the Harmony between the Nations, but also conduce exceedingly to the Benefit of this Kingdom. The Fisheries in the smaller Islands more especially would turn to the greatest and most immediate Advantage, since whatever they ac-  
quired

IT may be urged as a strong Objection against what hath been said, that in the Midst of our Opulence we have a great and increasing Number of Poor. Yet this in Reality doth not in the least diminish what hath been advanced with respect to our national Prosperity, for Poor there always have been, and always will be, and more likewise in Proportion in rich Countries, where, from that very Circumstance, Luxury and a Propensity to Idleness will in a great Degree prevail. It must however be allowed, that vagrant Poor and common Beggars are incompatible with just Policy. Our Laws however for the Settlement of the Poor are sufficiently expressive of the Intention of the Legislature, and the Fault therefore lies in an ineffectual Execution, which, however, in many Cases plainly arises from no dishonourable Source, the Mildness and Lenity of Magistrates. Indigence simply considered is no Crime, and of Consequence no fit Object for Severity. It is often the Misfortune and not the Fault of Individuals, and with respect to the Poor we ought to consider, that as our Fellow-creatures they are intitled to Humanity, as our Fellow-subjects to Compassion, and as our Fellow-christians to charitable Relief. In this last Respect we certainly have not been wanting, as Hospitals and other charitable Institutions are amongst the most honourable Testimonies of our Wealth<sup>b</sup>.

THERE is a plain Distinction to be made between profligate Vagrants and such as are indigent from inevitable Necessity. The latter only are just Objects of political Care, which ought to be extended with the utmost Tenderness to the Aged and to the Infirm. It might perhaps con-

quired must be applied to procuring the Conveniences of Life, and with these they must be furnished from hence. Upon the Whole their Condition would be much mended, and the People of South Britain derive great Profits from thence.

<sup>b</sup> The Maintenance and Employment of the Poor is a Subject that hath employed the Heads and the Pens of very able Men. Amongst these Sir Matthew Hale, Dr. Davenant, and Dr. Burn. Many Efforts have been made, many Alterations in our Laws have been tried with very little Effect. Our Poor are still very numerous, and many of them are still also in a very wretched Condition. We have in general wrong Notions upon this Head in respect to Holland; for, though they have no common Beggars they have great Numbers of Poor. In that Country however the Indigent are far from being unhappy. For being committed to the Care of intelligent Persons of unspotted Integrity, who from a Principle of Religion and public Spirit constantly and regularly discharge that Duty, they receive a comfortable Subsistence at no very great Expence. But great as the Number of our Poor is we find it magnified it by some Writers. Mr. Gee computed that we had a Million many Years ago, and upon this Supposition was for transporting them to the Colonies. But whatever their Number be it is better to keep and maintain them at Home, because even their Consumption is a Benefit to the industrious. One great Source of their Number is certainly the Dearness of Provisions, for though Men are naturally ashamed to beg, yet that Shame may be overcome if they find they must work and starve. If the Reader is disposed to see this Matter very fully discussed by a Person of great Knowledge and Humanity, he may consult a late Treatise intitled, "Observations on the Present State of the parochial and vagrant Poor, London 1773, 8vo."

tribute to lessen the Number of those who are now esteemed a Burthen if proper Schools under the Direction of well qualified Persons were erected, to which young Children might be sent by their Parents, and meet with a proper Education in respect to Morals, and at the same Time be employed in some suitable Kinds of Labour. It may be that another Step hitherto unattempted, would contribute to the same good Purpose, and that is, by holding out proper Encouragement to an industrious and regular Course of Life, by assigning a Cottage with a small Proportion of Land to such Families as have bred up three Children or more, and settled them in the World in any honest Occupations. This competent Provision for such Persons in the Evening of their Days should be made, not in the Mode of Charity, but as the just Reward and Distinction due to them from Society, as having been, while they were able so to be, useful, active, and industrious Members of it.

THESE Instances, to which if it had appeared necessary, very many more might have been added, shew plainly that in the most capital Points we have very pregnant Resources, and are in no Danger of declining through Want of Means to proceed. We may likewise on the just Grounds of Experience, in respect to Cultivation, Manufactures, and Commerce, expect that our recurring to these will produce fresh Resources not yet perhaps in any Man's Contemplation. At all Events there are Two Points, which maturely considered, are sufficient to excite our Endeavours, and to support us in the Pursuit of them. The First is that visible Spirit of Enterprize, which distinguishes the present Age, and is the strongest Proof of national Vigour. The Second is that Readiness which the Le-

<sup>i</sup> As to the Poor in their present State, they must be left to the Regulations of the Laws as they now stand, or as by the Wisdom of the Legislature they may be altered. The Idle and Incurable merit Punishment, the Aged, Impotent, and Infirm, national Relief. The Hints given in the Text are intended to prevent the Increase of the Poor in future. We see plainly that nothing contributes so much to this Mischief as the Want of Morals, and of an early Conception of the Power and Necessity of Industry to procure Subsistence. If therefore Schools were provided, in which Children were taught to read, and the Grounds of the Christian Religion, and at the same Time employed to work, they would come into the World much better qualified to live in it than they do at present. What they earn might be inconsiderable, when compared with the Expence of these Schools, which however need not be great. But whatever their Earnings are, they will be thereby withheld from Idleness, initiated to Labour, and to the Knowledge of its being the Means of their getting Bread, and however small, it will be an Addition to the public Stock. In respect to what is proposed in favour of Persons advanced in Life, who have brought up Children to honest Employments, the Reward in the First Place is reasonable, and must probably have good Effects. For no Nation in the World is more ambitious of Distinction than our own, and the Desire of being considered in their old Age in a conspicuous Point of Light, and having at the same Time a comfortable Provision, would stimulate their Feelings through the whole Course of their Days, and thereby very often put it in their Power to waive that very Emolument which might have been the primitive Object of their Wishes.

gislature almost annually expresses, to countenance, assist, and cherish every Undertaking in respect to which there is a probable Prospect of Success. While therefore we are actuated by this Spirit, and our Constitution retains its Force, there can be no Doubt of our prosecuting whatever Plans may be formed for the Embellishment of that Structure of public Oeconomy, which, though in some Parts so highly finished, is yet in others visibly incomplete.

It is necessary to mention that the Propositions offered in this Chapter, and indeed through the whole Work, are offered by a Person who has the greatest Diffidence of his own Judgment, and the greatest Deference for the Sentiments of those who have superior Talents and better Lights, and to their Correction, he shall always cheerfully and willingly submit. His thinking much and long upon these Subjects, making many Enquiries, and receiving which he gratefully acknowledges, a Variety of Informations, induced him to give them Place. If, as is very possible, some of them should seem impracticable or even chimerical, it will not afford him any sensible Mortification. If he had seen them in that Light, he would certainly not have produced them to public View, neither did this proceed from any Presumption of his own Abilities, but from observing that many Things which had been treated with Contempt and even with Ridicule at their First Appearance, have notwithstanding in succeeding Times been adopted and brought to bear, and he hath upon this Head always thought, that the Credit of a private and obscure Individual, was a very trivial Sacrifice to make, in any Case where public Utility was in View.

I SHALL conclude this Work with recommending a short Observation to the Reader's Contemplation, which is, that notwithstanding the general Opinion that in every political System the Seeds of its Dissolution are contained, yet such is the excellent Frame of our Constitution, that if we examine it with Candour no such Seeds will be perceived therein; and that therefore we may reasonably hope the great Extent of Dominion and Power which in this last Century we have under the Influence of that Constitution so wonderfully attained, may be looked upon as such an Indication of a robust State of Health, as may preserve the Empire of Britain many Ages from Decay. At least this ought to be the Wish of every true Friend to his Country, and who hath a just Sense of its present happy State!



- conduct, *ibid.* Gives great encouragement to learning, and learned men, *ibid.* Holds a close correspondence with the greatest princes on the continent, *ibid.* Is much admired by them, *ibid.* Dispatches messengers frequently to Rome with alms, *ibid.* Shews great attention to trade, *ibid.* Revives and extends navigation, *ibid.* Promotes and rewards every species of industry, *ibid.* Dies in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirty-three years with the highest reputation, *ibid.*
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- Anguilla*, island of, described, 675.
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- Anniſe*, an herb well known, and much commended by ancient authors, 97. Particulars relating to it, *ibid.*
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- Bannockburn*, Edward the Second marching with a numerous army to the relief of Sterling Castle, is defeated there by Robert Bruce, 391.
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- Burgundy*, duke of, gives a very indifferent reception to his brother-in-law the duke of York, 431. Furnishes him, though very sparingly, with ships, troops, and money, *ibid.*
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- Suffers a defeat, *ibid.* Makes a definitive treaty with Cæsar, *ibid.*
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him for their monarch, *ibid.* Renders the Danes in Northumberland tributary by force of arms, *ibid.* Is successful against the Scots and Welsh, *ibid.* Aims to perfect the regular establishment which his father had wisely planned, *ibid.* Cultivates the arts of peace, and renders them known and acceptable to his subjects, *ibid.* Reigns with great reputation twenty-four years, *ibid.*

*Edward*, son of Edgar, advanced, when but fourteen, to the throne, by the credit of Dunstan, 352. Behaves very well during his short reign, *ibid.* Is cruelly murdered, and, from the opinion of his innocence and virtues, styled Edward the Martyr, *ibid.*

*Edward, I.* succeeds his father Henry III. with all the advantages which a prince can possess, 383. Fulfils the great expectations raised in his favour, in the flower of his age, by his succeeding conduct, *ibid.* Gains, during the course of his reign, the character of an able and successful general, a wise statesman, and a prudent legislator, *ibid.* Looks circumspectly into the state of the nation, 384. Makes necessary dispositions for its settlement, *ibid.* Defeats Lewellyn, the last British prince, in several engagements, *ibid.* Is frequently involved in disputes with France on account of his foreign dominions, *ibid.* Reaps no advantages from them, *ibid.* Is very successful against the Scots, 385. Compels John Baliol to resign the crown which he had adjudged to him, *ibid.* Takes possession of his dominions, *ibid.* Reduces them a second time, *ibid.* Makes an expedition against Robert Bruce, *ibid.* Dies in that expedition, at a place not far from Carlisle, *ibid.* His character, 385—390.

*Edward II.* comes to the throne in the twenty-fourth year of his age, 390. Handsome, expert in his exercises, and of an open, generous turn of mind,  
but



but destitute of those qualities which were particularly requisite to his station at that time, *ibid.* Begins his reign with disgracing a very wise man, *ibid.* Recalls Peter Gaveston, whom his father had banished for misleading him in his youth, *ibid.* Intrusts him with the government of the kingdom when he went to France to do homage to the king, and to marry his daughter, *ibid.* Is compelled by the nobility to send him again into exile, 391. Softens his banishment by giving him an honourable post in Ireland, *ibid.* Brings him back, and marries him to the sister of the earl of Gloucester, *ibid.* Is obliged to consent in parliament to a commission, from which Gaveston is excluded, being declared, on his second sentence of exile, a public enemy if he returned, *ibid.* Assembles an army in the North, *ibid.* Employs Gaveston, privately returned to him, in his war against Robert Bruce, *ibid.* Is obliged to leave him with a garrison in Scarborough, *ibid.* Offended as he is at the execution of Gaveston, he is forced, on the pretended submission of the barons, to pass an act of indemnity in favour of them and their adherents, *ibid.* Marches with a numerous army to the relief of Stirling castle, *ibid.* Is defeated by Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, *ibid.* Insists that the lords coming armed to parliament, and procuring the banishment of the Spencers, had violated the Great Charter, 392. Plunders their estates, *ibid.* Collects a small force, and resolves to chastize the lord Badlesmere, *ibid.* Reduces the castle of Leeds, into which his queen had been refused entrance, *ibid.* Marches westward, finding his force increase, and humbles some of the barons who had estates there, and on the borders of Wales, *ibid.* Turns suddenly northward against the earl of Lancaster, *ibid.* Excites a general spirit of dis-

affection by his sanguinary proceedings, *ibid.* Heightens it by an unsuccessful expedition against the Scots, *ibid.* Declares the queen and the exiles public enemies, 393. Endeavours by a naval force to prevent their landing in any part of his dominions, *ibid.* Is with much solemnity deposed, and afterwards most barbarously put to death, 394.

*Edward III.* assumes the regal title with his father's consent, as he assured the nation immediately after his father's deposition, 394. Is crowned soon afterwards, in the fifteenth year of his age, *ibid.* Marches against the Scots, on their breaking the truce, with a numerous army, *ibid.* Is in the utmost danger of being surprised, but has the good fortune to escape unhurt, *ibid.* Renews the negotiation which had been before upon the carpet, and confirms the articles of peace in a parliament held at Northampton, *ibid.* Solemnizes, at his return, his marriage with the princess of Hainault at York, *ibid.* Makes his brother earl of Cornwall, *ibid.* Goes over to France to do homage to the king there for his foreign dominions, *ibid.* Goes in person to surprise the earls of March and Mortimer in the castle of Nottingham, 395. Effects his design, but not without bloodshed, and sends him from thence prisoner to London, *ibid.* Declares that he will for the future manage his own affairs, though turned only of eighteen, *ibid.* Confines the queen his mother to a castle, and makes a reduction of her revenue, *ibid.* Meditates a stroke against Scotland, *ibid.* Does not wait long for an opportunity, 396. Marches to the assistance of John Baliol, on his doing homage to him, *ibid.* Gives the Scots, in conjunction with him, one of the most fatal defeats they had ever sustained, *ibid.* Makes several expeditions for his support, *ibid.* Takes

Berwick, *ibid.* Reduces the southern provinces, *ibid.* Penetrates farther north than his grandfather had ever done, *ibid.* Releases David Bruce from his prison, upon certain conditions, *ibid.* Enters into a war with France, 397. Is more successful than he had been in Scotland, *ibid.* Receives many marks of the king of France's ill-will, *ibid.* Forms a confederacy with the emperor, *ibid.* With several of the princes in Germany, *ibid.* Accepts the title of vicar of the empire to please the former, and assumes the title of king of France to please the latter, *ibid.* Sails with a powerful fleet to join his allies, *ibid.* Gains, in person, a decisive victory over the French and their allies at Sluys, *ibid.* Is furnished by his confederates with two numerous armies, *ibid.* Performs little with them, *ibid.* Concludes a truce, *ibid.* Carries over a puissant army into France, *ibid.* Spreads terror and desolation through the most fertile parts of the kingdom, *ibid.* Gains a signal victory at Creci, *ibid.* Lays siege to Calais, 398. Takes it, *ibid.* Makes a truce with Philip, *ibid.* Treats John, king of France, taken prisoner by his son, the celebrated Black Prince, with great kindness and regard, 399. Enters into a treaty with him, *ibid.* Is obliged, at the expiration of the truce concluded by his son, to renew the war, *ibid.* Transports a fresh army to France, *ibid.* Advances to the gates of Paris, *ibid.* Concludes a peace highly honourable to himself, *ibid.* Lays aside the title of king of France, *ibid.* Shews himself to be a very able and refined politician, 400. Discovers great parliamentary knowledge and address, *ibid.* Carries his authority, with all his seeming compliances and condescensions, as high as any of his predecessors, *ibid.* Cultivates a good correspondence, and establishes a great character with most

of the princes of Europe, *ibid.* Proceeds with equal penetration and sagacity in most of his negotiations, *ibid.* Does not always find his expectations answered, *ibid.* Gradually diminishes the power and influence of the popes in his dominions, 401. Keeps the nobility firm to his interest, by treating them with singular courtesy, *ibid.* Institutes the Order of the Garter, *ibid.* Caresses the commons, *ibid.* Is more attentive, and gives greater encouragement to industry than most of his predecessors, 402. Regulates the herring-fishery, *ibid.* Grants considerable privileges to several cities and boroughs, *ibid.* Makes treaties of commerce with most of the great powers in Christendom, *ibid.* Goes in person with the prince of Wales on board a fleet, to avenge the injuries done to his subjects by the Spaniards, *ibid.* Favours and protects foreign merchants settled here, or trading with us, *ibid.* Grants an extensive charter to merchant adventurers, *ibid.* Regulates the silver coinage, *ibid.* Patronizes English literature in the person of Geoffry Chaucer, 403. Removes, by law, that badge of foreign slavery, our pleading in French, *ibid.* Enacts many wise and good laws, *ibid.* Resumes the title of king of France, 404. Endeavours, by transporting armies to France, to maintain his rights, *ibid.* Goes over in person, *ibid.* Is obliged to consent to a truce, *ibid.*

*Edward*, prince, commonly called the Black Prince, marches out of Guienne against John, the French king, 398. Offers to bandon all his conquests, *ibid.* And to conclude a truce for seven years, *ibid.* Rejects John's propositions with disdain, *ibid.* Makes the best preparations in his power to receive the enemy, *ibid.* Gains a decisive victory, 399. Takes the king prisoner, *ibid.* Treats him with all imaginable respect and courtesy, conducts

ducts him to Bourdeaux, and from thence brings him to England, *ibid.* Receives into his protection, during his residence at Bourdeaux, Peter, king of Castile and Leon, 403. Obliged, by the baseness of his behaviour, to impose a chimney-tax upon his subjects in the dutchy of Aquitain, to discharge the pay of his soldiers, *ibid.* Returns from Aquitain in an ill state of health, 404. Dies not long afterwards of a distemper which he had, through the extreme heats, contracted in Spain, *ibid.*

*Edward IV.* while duke of York, levies troops on the frontiers of Wales, upon his father's death, to support his cause, 427. Turns about suddenly to face the earls of Pembroke and Ormond, sent by the queen to intercept him, *ibid.* Routs them after a sharp dispute, and resumes his progress towards the capital, *ibid.* Availing himself of his success, he enters London with his victorious army, 428. Taking advantage of the alacrity expressed at his appearance, he causes himself to be proclaimed king, *ibid.* Is now styled Edward IV. *ibid.* Marches with all his forces northward against Henry and his queen, *ibid.* Reaches his enemies in the West Riding of Yorkshire, *ibid.* Gains a complete victory over them, *ibid.* Makes a triumphant entry into York, *ibid.* Keeps his Easter there, *ibid.* Causes the heads of his father and the earl of Salisbury to be taken down, *ibid.* Returns to the palace of Sheen, till the preparations could be finished for his coronation, *ibid.* Is crowned with great solemnity, *ibid.* Holds a parliament, *ibid.* Makes his court to the commons, *ibid.* Turns his thoughts to the settling the affairs of the state at home and abroad, *ibid.* Discovers both abilities and application, *ibid.* Deviates from his usual prudence by an unfortunate marriage, 429. Mar-

ries the lady Elizabeth Gray, *ibid.* Sets no bounds to his liberality with regard to her family, *ibid.* Creates her father earl of Rivers, *ibid.* Marries her brothers to the richest heiresses of the nobility, *ibid.* Shews a like partiality for her children by her first marriage, *ibid.* Alienates, by such partial proceedings, the affections of many of the nobility from him, *ibid.* Concludes a marriage for the princess Margaret his sister, with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, *ibid.* Gives the nation by that marriage a great deal of pleasure, *ibid.* Inflames the disaffection which his own marriage had excited, *ibid.* Defeats a body of rebels, *ibid.* Narrowly escapes from those who endeavoured to seize him at an entertainment, *ibid.* Has recourse to arms, and by his activity has so much the advantage, that he constrains the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick to quit the kingdom, and to retire with their families to France, 430. Raises forces to oppose them on their return to England, *ibid.* Orders the earl of Northumberland, now marquis of Montacute, to join him, *ibid.* On the notice of his treacherous behaviour, and on perceiving many of those about him weak and wavering, makes his escape with a few faithful followers to Lynn, *ibid.* Embarks himself and his retinue on board a few, and those small vessels, 431. In great hazard of being taken by the ships of the Hanse towns, with whom he was then at variance, *ibid.* Arrives in a very poor condition at Alemaer in Holland, *ibid.* Is very indifferently received by his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, *ibid.* Is furnished by him but sparingly with ships, troops, and money, to return to his kingdom, *ibid.* Lands in Yorkshire, *ibid.* Is so coldly received there, that he is forced to pretend he only appeared there to claim the style and

title of duke of York, *ibid.* By this address, he gains admittance into York, *ibid.* Removes quietly with his forces, *ibid.* Resumes his regal authority, *ibid.* Slips by the marquis of Montacute, *ibid.* Avoids Warwick, *ibid.* Arrives with his troops at London, *ibid.* Seizes on the person of Henry, and sends him back to the Tower, *ibid.* Recruits his army, *ibid.* Takes the field against Montacute and Warwick, *ibid.* Engages them at Barnet on Easter-day, and obtains a complete victory over them, *ibid.* Accompanied by his two brothers, Clarence and Gloucester, he marches against queen Margaret, 432. Attacks her forces in their entrenchments, *ibid.* With no small difficulty routs them entirely, *ibid.* Makes the queen and prince prisoners, *ibid.* Causes the latter to be cruelly murdered, *ibid.* Returns to his capital in triumph, *ibid.* Finds Henry dead, *ibid.* Provides for the stability of his government, and by the good effects resulting from it, recommends it to his subjects, *ibid.* Makes salutary laws, *ibid.* Encourages industry, protects manufactures, and promotes commerce, 437. Rewards those who had distinguished themselves in his service, and is in a particular manner grateful to the citizens of London, *ibid.* Indulges his natural disposition to magnificence and pleasure, *ibid.* Is roused from his quiet situation, *ibid.* Incited to a war with France, *ibid.* Puts the affections of his people to the trial by requesting a voluntary contribution, which he styled a Benevolence, 434. Carries over to France a numerous and well-provided army, *ibid.* Finding himself deceived by his allies, he listens to propositions of peace, *ibid.* Behaves generously to his allies, *ibid.* Returns home, *ibid.* Is met by the principal citizens at Blackheath, *ibid.* Proceeds to London, and is received with universal

acclamations, *ibid.* Resumes his former course of life, *ibid.* Defrays the expences of government out of his own income, *ibid.* Recommends to his subjects the cultivation of the arts of peace, *ibid.* Fixes an indelible stain on his character by the supposed murder of his brother the duke of Clarence, *ibid.* Is provoked to a war with France and Scotland, 435. Is warmly seconded by his nobility, clergy, and commons, *ibid.* Dies in the flower of his age, in consequence of the vigilance with which he pursued his military preparations, to the general sorrow of his subjects, *ibid.*

*Edward V.* comes to the crown in the twelfth year of his age, 436. Is cruelly murdered in the Tower, 438.

*Edward VI.* state of things during his reign, 526.

*Egilbert*, or as some call him, Ethelbert, exceedingly distinguished by the gifts of nature, 330. Very prudent in his conduct, as well as remarkably comely in his person, *ibid.* Is invited to the court of Offa, king of Mercia, under colour of concluding a marriage with his daughter, *ibid.* Is there treacherously seized and beheaded, by the orders of that ambitious monarch, *ibid.*

*Elizabeth*, her political conduct considered, 528.

*Ethandune*, Alfred routs the Danes there, 338.

*Ethelred*, brother of Edward the Martyr, obliged to abandon his distressed kingdom to Swaine the Danish king, 354. Returns from Normandy on his luctu- den death, and is equally unfortunate during the remainder of his reign, *ibid.*

*Ethelstan*, prosecutes the measures of his father Edward, 347. Defeats a dangerous conspiracy against him, *ibid.* Reigns afterwards with equal prudence and splendor, *ibid.*

## F.

*Feathers*, considered in the light of a commodity, by no means despicable, 211.

*Fish*, no countries more commodiously situated for them than the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, 215. Some of our fisheries pointed out, 217, 218. No species of natural industry more lucrative than that employed in them, 236.

*Fax*, the many advantages derived from the cultivation of it, 90, 91.

*Foreign exchange*, the history of the difficulty that occurred in the introduction of it, set in its true light, 232—234.

—loans, the deliverance of the state from them due to sir Richard and sir Thomas Gresham, 235.

*Fort St. George*, on the coast of Coromandel, the presidency of it, 601—607.

*Fort William*, at Calcutta in Bengal, 607—615.

*Fort Marlborough*, near Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, 615—623.

*Fossil*, no countries in Europe abound more with them than the British dominions, 15. Our fossils, within the compass of the two last centuries, turned to prodigious advantage, *ibid.* Various kinds of them enumerated, 15—32.

*France*, state of our trade with it, 700.

*The Martin*, the barren cow so called by some country-people, 170. Almost as strong, and nearly as fit for labour as the ox, *ibid.* Proves afterwards as good meat, *ibid.*

*Fuller's Earth*, a rich as well as real treasure bestowed upon us by nature, 15. Found in great abundance, of different colours, and of various kinds, in different parts of this kingdom, 16. Justly to be considered as a singular proof of the excellence of our pro-

ductions, in comparison with those in the possession of our neighbours, *ibid.* Of very great service in the woollen manufacture, *ibid.*

## G.

*Galgacus*, king of the Caledonians, totally defeated by Julius Agricola, 298.

*Gaveston, Peter*, recalled from the banishment, to which Edward the First had sentenced him, by Edward the Second, 390. Intrusted with the government of the kingdom, *ibid.* Has so great a share in the coronation, that he not a little heightens the enmity which the nobility had conceived against him, 391. Is sent to Ireland to enter upon an honourable employment there, *ibid.* Acquires some reputation in this new post, *ibid.* Is brought back by the king, and married to the sister of the earl of Gloucester, *ibid.* Is again banished, and declared a public enemy if he returned, *ibid.* Returns privately, and is employed by the king in his war against Robert Bruce, *ibid.* Is left with a garrison at Scarborough, *ibid.* He is soon compelled to surrender, and not long afterwards beheaded, *ibid.*

*General Fund*, what, and when established, 556.

*George I.* state of the revenue during his reign, 543.

— II. a succinct detail of the principal events in the first thirteen years of his reign, 546.

*Georgia*, description of this colony, 654.

*Gibraltar*, the fortress, town, and port described, 558—576.

*Glass*, a composition of the salts of plants, and of sand, pebbles, or stone, reduced to powder, 27. The materials of this valuable commodity found throughout the British dominions, 27. Incidental considerations, *ibid.*

*Glendour, Owen*, lord of, raises a rebellion in Wales against Henry IV. 414.

Gives him much trouble, *ibid.* Assisted as prince of that country by the French, *ibid.* Proves of some service to the king by taking sir Edmund Mortimer, and his nephew, the young earl of March, prisoners, *ibid.*

*Gloucester, Humpfrey*, duke of, uncle to Henry VI. declared protector of the realm in the absence of the duke of Bedford, 421. Governs at home while his brother acted with great prudence and spirit as regent of France, *ibid.* Marries Jaqueline, heiress of the house of Holland and the Low Countries, already espoused to the duke of Brabant, 422. Pretends, in her right to those territories, and endeavours to gain possession of them by force, *ibid.* Disgusts and alarms the duke of Burgundy by such proceedings, *ibid.* Quarrels with his uncle the bishop of Winchester, *ibid.* Arrives in France with a fleet and forces, to the relief of Calais, 423. Obliges the duke of Burgundy to retire with some disgrace, *ibid.* Endeavours all he can to suppress that war, *ibid.* Makes a solemn protest against the releasement of the duke of Orleans for a large ransom, *ibid.* Is arrested, in consequence of his popularity on his coming to the meeting of the parliament, by order of the queen and her party, *ibid.* Is soon afterwards found dead, *ibid.* Generally supposed to have been murdered, *ibid.*

— *Richard*, duke of, called by his brother Edward IV. to the regency of the kingdom during the minority of his son, 436. Aims at a higher title than that of protector soon after his brother's death, 437. Resolves to remove whatever obstacles should stand in his way, *ibid.* Meets the young king (Edward V.) upon the road, and approaches him with all the exterior marks of affection and duty, *ibid.* Immediately causes his principal attendants and nearest rela-

tions to be arrested, and sent prisoners into the North, *ibid.* Brings the young king to town with all possible marks of honour and submission, *ibid.* Prevails on the queen to part with the duke of York, *ibid.* Transfers them both to the Tower, *ibid.* Having gained the colour of national consent, he takes the title of king, 438. Receives the homage of the nobility, *ibid.* Celebrates his coronation, with that of his queen, with extraordinary splendor and solemnity, *ibid.* Begins a progress through the nation, *ibid.* During this progress his two nephews are supposed to have been cruelly murdered, *ibid.* On his arrival at York, he is again inaugurated with great pomp, *ibid.* Creates his only son Edward, prince of Wales, *ibid.* Advances with a considerable body of men to Salisbury, in order to chastise the duke of Buckingham for his treacherous desertion, 439. Published a reward for the apprehending of the duke, *ibid.* Returns to London, after having brought him to the block, and holds a parliament, *ibid.* Ratifies his title to the crown, *ibid.* Passes many good laws, *ibid.* Enters into various negotiations with foreign princes, for promoting the commerce of his subjects, 443. Finds his security extremely weakened by the death of his only son prince Edward, *ibid.* Declares the young earl of Lincoln presumptive heir of the crown, 441. Meets the earl of Richmond near Bosworth, and is there slain in a decisive battle, *ibid.*

*Goat*, a kind of creature nearly allied to a sheep, 162. The ancients more attentive to goats than we, *ibid.* Many particulars relating to them, 162—166.

*Gold-coast*, its beginning and ending marked, 630. Its great consequence to Britain, *ibid.*

I N D E X.

*Gold-coin*, first minted here in the reign of Edward III. 403.

*Gold-stones*, found in great abundance, and in very great perfection, on the coasts of the Isle of Sheppey, and elsewhere, 20.

*Gotbrun*, the Danish king, enters into a treaty with Alfred, 338. Is baptized, with thirty of his principal nobility, *ibid.* In consequence of their baptism the countries already in his possession are confirmed to them, *ibid.*

*Grain*, various kinds of it specified, 67—74.

*Granite*, to be met with in England, little inferior to the Oriental, 24.

*Grazing*, considered in the reign of Henry the Seventh, by the nobility and gentry, at that time the principal land-owners in the kingdom, as preferable to tillage, 65.

*Grenada*, Island of, described, 684—687.

*Grenadines*, islands so called in America, described, 687.

H.

*Halley*, Dr. his calculation with regard to the counties of England and Wales, 4.

*Hallidown*, the Scots totally defeated there by Edward III. 396.

*Hardiknute*, his reign rendered odious by the heavy taxes that he levied upon his people, 356. He causes the city of Worcester to be sacked and destroyed, on the murder of two of his collectors by the inhabitants of it, *ibid.*

*Hare*, the flesh of it has been always in great esteem, 206.

*Harold*, surnamed *Hare-foot*, raises several heavy impositions on his subjects, during a short reign of four years, 356.

—— the son of earl Goodwin, steps into the vacant throne, 358. Finds himself, very soon after his accession,

—threatened with an invasion from Normandy, *ibid.* Is obliged to march Northward to oppose his brother Tosty, 359. Engages him at Strongford bridge, and gains a complete victory over him, *ibid.* Marches to oppose William, duke of Normandy, *ibid.* Is slain at the decisive battle of Hastings, *ibid.*

*Hemp*, a most serviceable plant, 87. Rises higher and stronger in the northern parts of the world, but is finer and fairer in the southern countries, *ibid.* Several particulars relating to it, 88, 89.

*Henry I.* surnamed *Beauclerk*, crowned in a few days after his brother was shot in the New Forest, 367. Makes a shew of better temper than he really possessed, *ibid.* Promises great things at his coronation, *ibid.* Published, with much solemnity, a charter of liberties, and some say, a body of statutes, *ibid.* This code of laws is the most complete hitherto given by any of our Norman kings, *ibid.* Henry, though more specious in his behaviour than his brother, as arbitrary in his nature, 368. Shews not the least regard to the laws he had framed, but acts as if they had never been made, one instance only excepted, *ibid.*

—— II. the first king of the house of Plantagenet, 372. Comes to the throne with very great advantages, *ibid.* Avails himself of them in fulfilling the high expectation of his people, *ibid.* Makes the usual promises at his coronation, *ibid.* In a great measure, unlike his predecessors, he keeps his word, *ibid.* Revives and confirms his grandfather's charter of liberties by one of his own, *ibid.* Dismisses the foreign mercenaries brought over by king Stephen, *ibid.* Resumes many of that king's grants by which he had impoverished the crown, *ibid.* Deprives the new earls he had created, *ibid.* Causes a multitude of the new-  
erected,



erected, styled in those days Adulterine Castles, to be demolished, *ibid.* Holds it expedient to settle the bounds between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, 373. Executes his designs with great prudence and firmness by the Constitutions at Clarendon, *ibid.* Suffers a very humiliating punishment in consequence of his quarrel with archbishop Becket, *ibid.* Endeavours, when his foreign wars allowed him respite, to give ease and security to his subjects by prudent and beneficial regulations, *ibid.* Establishes in civil cases another method of trial than that by combat, 374. Institutes itinerant judges, *ibid.* Obtains from pope Adrian IV. an Englishman, a donation by his bull of the island of Ireland, *ibid.* Makes a conquest of it, 375.

*Henry III.* little more than nine years of age when he was crowned at Gloucester, 379. Very happy in his protector; by his advice, twice renews the Great Charter, and brings a most dangerous civil war to a conclusion, *ibid.* Renews again the Grand Charter in the ninth year of his reign, *ibid.* Grants at the same time the Charter of the Forests, *ibid.* Disgraces his justiciary Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, *ibid.* Seduced by foreign flatterers, and favourites, he squanders away the revenue of the crown, *ibid.* Brings himself and his subjects, by many imprudent acts, to the lowest ebb of misery and distress, *ibid.* Is made prisoner, with his gallant son prince Edward, by the barons, in the fatal battle of Lewes, 380. Is long detained and treated with great severity, *ibid.* - Enjoys quiet in the latter part of his long reign, *ibid.*

— *IV.* ascended the throne partly by force, and partly by favour, 413. Fixes the succession of his son, 414. Degrades his cousin, the duke of Aumale, eldest son to the duke of York,

*ibid.* Makes his escape from Windsor on being informed of a design to assassinate him, *ibid.* Much troubled by the insurrection of Owen, lord of Glendour, *ibid.* Meets the rebellious Percys at Shrewsbury, and totally defeats them, *ibid.* Receives the earl of Northumberland into favour, *ibid.* Condemns the archbishop of York and the earl of Nottingham, by a summary proceeding, and puts them to death, *ibid.* Turns his arms against Owen Glendour, but not with great success, *ibid.* Defeats him, and forces him to fly for shelter to the mountains of his own country, 415. Is obliged, in consequence of his domestic disturbances, to act with foreign potentates rather by policy than prowess, *ibid.* Is brought to his grave by a slow and lingering disease, 416.

*Henry V.* surnamed of *Monmouth*, from the place of his birth, succeeds to the crown in the flower of his youth, 416. Repairs his juvenile follies by a steady and manly repentance, *ibid.* Discovers his magnanimity by removing the corpse of Richard the Second from Langley, and causing it to be interred with that of his first queen, Anne of Bohemia, agreeably to that prince's will, with great solemnity, in Westminster abbey, *ibid.* Restores the noble family of Percy in honour and estates, 417. Shews a disposition to receive into his favour all those who studied to deserve it, without any distinction, *ibid.* Follows his father's example in giving his countenance to the clergy, *ibid.* Is prejudiced against the Lollards, looking upon them as people disaffected to his person and government, *ibid.* Leaves them to the mercy of churchmen, by whom they are treated with extreme rigour, *ibid.* Turns his views entirely to a war with France, *ibid.* Draws together a numerous army, and assembles a great fleet at South-

Southampton, *ibid.* Discovers a deep conspiracy, which retards his embarkation, *ibid.* Orders the delinquents to be executed, 418. Sails with the flower of his nobility for Normandy, *ibid.* Lays siege to Harfleur, 418. Reduces it, *ibid.* Determines to march from thence through Picardy to Calais, *ibid.* Stands in need of all his courage and military skill to disengage himself from a perilous situation, *ibid.* Gains a complete victory over the French at the battle of Agincourt, *ibid.* Continues his route to Calais unmolested, *ibid.* Returns from thence to England with his prisoners, *ibid.* Enters the city of London in triumph, *ibid.* Sends his brother, the duke of Bedford, with a great naval force against the French, *ibid.* Goes over in person again to Normandy with a royal fleet and army, and carries on the war successfully, 419. Is declared successor to the crown of France, *ibid.* Marries the princess Catharine, *ibid.* Brings his young queen over to England, *ibid.* Calls a parliament, in order to procure the necessary supplies of men and money, *ibid.* Promises to accommodate all things as soon as possible, 420. Returns to France with a great fleet and army, with a full intention of prosecuting the war with vigour, *ibid.* Restores the state of his affairs by his presence, *ibid.* Reduces all the strong places that held for the Dauphin, *ibid.* Exercises all the functions of sovereignty, *ibid.* Is called by the season into the field, but finding himself very much indisposed, is forced to retire to Bois de Vincennes, *ibid.* Dies there, *ibid.* His character, *ibid.*

*Henry VI.* succeeds his father when little more than eight months old, 421. In less than two months after is proclaimed king of France at Paris, *ibid.* The care of his education committed to the bishop of Winchester, *ibid.* He

marries Margaret, daughter to the titular king of Sicily, 423. Sends the duke of Suffolk into exile for five years, to save him from the fury of the people, 424. On being indisposed, he vests the administration in the duke of York, 425. Recovers his health, and resumes his authority, *ibid.* Assembles an army, in order to oppose the duke of York, *ibid.* Is defeated by him at St. Alban's, *ibid.* Wounded, and taken prisoner, *ibid.* Brought to London, *ibid.* Apparently reconciled to the duke, 426. Goes to Coventry, and, in a parliament held there, attaints him and all his adherents, *ibid.* Is defeated by the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and March, and taken prisoner, *ibid.* Recovers his liberty, 427. Draws together a numerous army in the North, 428. Is totally defeated, *ibid.* Retires to Scotland with his queen and son, *ibid.* Surrenders the important town and castle of Berwick, to procure a good reception there, *ibid.* Joins the queen in the North, *ibid.* Is betrayed and taken prisoner, *ibid.* Sent up to London, and committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Brought out of the Tower, he is again acknowledged as king, 431. Is seized, and sent back to the Tower, *ibid.* Cruelly murdered there, 432.

*Henry VII.* styled by that title on Bosworth Field, 446. Has the crown, which Richard the Third wore that day, placed upon his head, *ibid.* Marches directly from Leicester to London, *ibid.* Proceeds soon afterwards to his coronation, *ibid.* Publishes a general pardon, *ibid.* Marries Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth, *ibid.* Suddenly alarmed, in his progress to York, with the news of two insurrections, 447. Assembles hastily a small force, and publishes a general pardon to those who would return to their duty, *ibid.* Defeats a body of rebels at Stoke n

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