

# A Discourse of Trade

Roger Coke

1670

A Discourse of Trade.

In two Parts.

The first treats of The Reason of the Decay of the Strength, Wealth, and Trade of England.

The latter, Of the Growth and Increase of the Dutch Trade above the English

by ROGER COKE

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To the great Example of Virtue

Sir CHARLES HARBORD.

Sir,

If I could describe Trade in all its excellencies so well as Ben Johnson does the mind, and were to present it to him who I thought did know best how to value it, I would prefer Sir Charles Harbord: For in him besides a well weighed understanding, it will meet with an open and free access (which are the principles from whence Trade is best generated, preserved, and increased) conjoined with so even a temper, that he is never moved to judge, or act, but from causes before understood by him.

This Sir, is one reason why this Treatise implores your Patronage; and I wish that the same method of reasoning were observed in Geometry, Numbers, Divinity, Physick, and Natural Philosophy, as in this Discourse, viz. first to establish the principles, and by a certain rule to reason under them. The principles from which all Learning and Reasoning are generated are three (though Aristotle is pleased to restrain them to two) viz. Definitions, or sensible things or actions before known, which cannot be defined; Petitions, and Axioms or Common Notions. Here you may be pleased to take notice how by not right understanding the nature of these Principles, and confounding them, all Learning and Reasoning in these studies is rendered perplexed, difficult, and uncertain, and without any Order or Method; which I may avoid, I think fit to here declare the nature of them, and how they differ from one another.

A definition is the explaining the name of some intelligible thing or act, which may be understood, but cannot be the object of sense, nor can be taken for a Proposition, Sensible things and actions may be alike known to sensitive Creatures, who have like senses: but definitions are only understood by intelligent Creatures, never to sensitive. For example, a Man, a Tree, a Horse, or any sensible thing may be alike perceived by sensitive Creatures, who have like senses. But Father, Merchant, Lawyer, Point-line, etc. may be defined and understood by intelligent Creatures, but can never be perceived by sensitive. By no power of the understanding can any man, negatively void of any sense, be made to perceive any thing which is subject to that sense. A man negatively blind, cannot be made to perceive things which are only visible; and so it is of the other senses. And as in Things, so in Actions; carnal copulation, killing another, and taking from another, are sensible Actions, and cannot be defined: but Murder, Justice, Adultery, Theft etc. may be defined and understood by intelligent creatures, but can never be perceived

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by the senses or sensitive Creatures. How much time is lost, and confusion caused in defining sensible things by Aristotle, Plato, and our Schools, which every ignorant man knows as much as the most learned; and a thousand times better than all these Sophisters by their contention in them, I leave to you Sir to judge.

To this loss of time in defining sensible things, Aristotle and our Schools from him, do not only confound definitions with propositions; sometimes giving a definition the power of a particular proposition, other times of an universal; but he makes a man to be an universal proposition, and the man Callias to be a particular: Nor is Euclid wholly free from mistaking herein; for he oftentimes confounds definitions with propositions, as hereafter shall be shewed. So as Clavius following the Authority of Aristotle and Euclid, and attempting to Analyse the Propositions of Euclid in a rational method, not only makes the Comment more perplexed and tedious, but not otherways to be done; which is the reason he says in his Scholium upon the first Proposition of the first Book of Euclid, that you must take the way he is forced to do, as well as others before him.

2. Petitions are immediate Propositions, wherein is propounded some certain knowledge, which is either understood to be necessary in one or more of the definitions, or some sensible thing or act before known; or 2dly you require that one or more of the definitions, or acts may be expressed, done by every learner; or lastly fact or defect may be propounded in one or more of them, which must be unquestionably true, as it is propounded: These are frequently confounded by commentators upon Euclid, with Axioms and common Notions. So, Sir, as it is no wonder that no method or rule of reasoning is observed in Geometry, where the principles of it are so perplexed and confounded; whereby Urania, so far and lovely in it, is so clouded, and all ways of approaching her so obstructed; that of ingenious men, who desire to pay their Oblations at her Altars, not one of twenty can find the passage to her.

3. But these principles are so sterile, that without the conjunction of a superior and nobler cause they are never impregnated with any new generation of knowledge. Nor can this knowledge be begotten from any less power than that which is eternal and necessary in all things or actions, as they are propounded. These principles from their excellency are stiled Axioms, Dignities, Universals, and Common Notions; and though every acquired proposition hath the authority of a Petition, yet by no learning or reason can any Proposition have the authority of an Axiom.

The principles thus established, men begin to learn and reason, whereby knowledge may be infinitely improved by reason, but never the principles; for as Aristotle in very many places affirms, they are indemonstrable, and the intellect without reason, is of them, and reason is of conclusions deduced from them. Here Sir, I cannot pass over the first stumble which is laid before every learner in our vulgar Logick, which in the first page affirms Logick to prove (not the consequences but) the Principles in its own Science and others too: which is all one, as if one says the consequences (which must be proved by the premisses) go before the principles, and the principles and premisses come after the consequences and conclusions. So as not only all rules of reasoning are hereby inverted and destroyed, but the authority of Aristotle contemned, who as I remember, in 16 places of his Analyticks, and frequently in his Physicks, Metaphysicks, Topicks, and Ethicks, affirms the principle of

Science to indemonstrable; and that reason is of Science, and demonstrable: And sure it is great pity none of the Rabbines correct it: though from no learning or authority of Aristotle or our vulgar Logick was ever any progress of knowledge in any one proposition acquired or heard of, I am sure not by me.

These principles thus established, this metho or rule must be observed in the generation of knowledge. One or more of the definitions, or things, or actions before know (which are termed the subjects of the proposition) must be assumed in every scientificall proposition, either simply or conditionally, wherein either some thing or act is propounded to be done (which is termed a Problem) which was not before known in any of the petitions or demonstrated propositions, or some new knowledge in the Subjects propounded (which is termed a Theorem) which was not before known & in the demonstration of this thing to be done or knowledge to be understood (which are termed the Questions of the Proposition). the major proposition must be an Axiom, the minor proposition so made up of the Petitions, and before demonstrated propositions, and the Hypothesis, if the Subjects be conditionally assumed, conformable in all parts to the major proposition, that the affirmation or question of the proposition, or the contradiction, if the demonstration be negative, may flow into the conclusion.

Here, Sir, be pleased to stay a little, and behold rational knowledge thus begotten, how fair and lovely she is in her pure and simple nakedness! how pleasant and easie her ways? and how excellent and noble her extraction? descended from eternal causes: begotten by a mind so pure, as partakes not any affection of any sensual appetite or passion: Her ways all plain and before known, and may be apprehended as well by youth of both Sexes as men of riper years. Nor does knowledge thus begotten by the mind die with the body: but though she be the daughter of time, remains an eternal monument of the minds excellency, being subject to no alteration, wrimble, or decay by any power of time or fate. Oh Divine knowledge! how is thy excellency imposed upon by Pride, Affectation, Vain glory, and hard Words? How are thy ways obstructed by Faction, Prejudice, and Self-interest? Whilst thy glorious beauty is never conspicuous, but by denying these, and frequenting the humblest paths.

If Sir, I have more than becomes me insisted upon your patience, I am so far from excusing my self herein, that I acknowledge I have often before done it, with this advantage to my self, that as well in this as many other things I have had the honour to be confirmed by your more discerning Judgment. This Treatise therefore presumes to inscribe your Name, whereby it well hopes to be enlivened when its own little worth shall find no other Monument: so, Sir, I desire you to entertain a belief of me, that no man more truly honours you, or wishes you more happiness than,

SIR,

Your most devoted and  
obedient Servant

ROGER COKE.

## PREFACE TO THE READER.

God hath endued other Creatures besides man with Sense, Appetite and Fear; so as excited by their Appetite, and directed by their Senses, without any subordination of one to another,

they pursue and attain those things, which Nature had before provided for their subsistence; and prompted by their innate impulse of fear, they avoid and flee from those Creatures and things, which are Enemies and hurtful to them. But the case is otherwise with Man, for God hath endued him with a Higher and Nobler Faculty of Soul, in giving him understanding, which by Reason, not Love, Hatred, Fear, or Desire, Governs all his Actions: for where these or any of them prevail, those men never understand, judge, or act aright. And Men, not as other creatures, live in Society and Subordination. so that under the Laws of God, and their Superiors, men eat their bread, in the sweat of their brows. Nature of her own accord hath ordained subsistence necessary for other creatures: Whereas though God hath made all things for the use of Man, yet nothing is useful to Man (pure Water, Milk, and some of the fruits of the earth in their seasons excepted) but as it is prepared by Humane Art and Industry. While other creatures live free and Independent from one another, only Man stands in need and help of another: And therefore where things are best prepared for Humane necessities and convenience, there men most resort, from whence Humane Society, Industry and Civility, is improved above those places where these are not, and men but few.

And this is so well understood, that Trade is now become, the Lady, which in this present Age is more Courted and Celebrated than in any former by all the Princes and Potentates of the World, and that deservedly too; For she acquires not her Dominion by the Horrid and Rueful face of Warr, whose footsteps leave ever behind them deep impressions of misery, devastation, and poverty, but with the pleasant aspect of wealth and plenty of all things conducing to the benefit of Humane life and Society, accompanied with strength to defend her, in case any shall attempt to Ravish or Invade her.

Take an Instance or two herein. When the United Netherlands made their defection from the Crown of Spain, Spain was in its greatest height and riches; after some Commosions, ten of the Provinces did either return or were subdued to the Crown of Spain, yet the other seven for neer 40 years together, by Warr and Policy maintained themselves against all the Power of Spain, until the charge became so insupportable to the Crown of Spain, that Philip the Second, about the year 1607, was forced to seek a Truce from the States, and afterward in the year 1648, Philip the Fourth a Peace. Yet all this Warr was maintained by these States purely upon the account of Trade, and that Forein: for other means all the World knows they had none: And though they were constantly assisted by Queen Elizabeth and the French Kings successively, yet were all the Forces of England and France as constantly paid by the States. In our late Warrs with them, notwithstanding the extraordinary supplies employed upon that occasion, and the losses sustained by the Dutch incomparably more than were the English, yet this Nation by experience found, that the Dutch upon the Account of their Trade supported the Charge of Warr against all difficulties. The Bounds set by Warr are Towns, Forts and Castles, whereas neither Land nor Ocean put any period to the Jurisdiction of Trade.

The English and Dutch have of late by a furious Warr contended who should enjoy her, but whilest these Covetous Combatants contend so fiercely for her, the French King by all the Modes of France Courts here for himself; yet this, though covertly carryed was perceived by the jealous Combantants, who had rather enjoy her, neither can tell how, than wholly lose her to their Powerful and Courtly Neighbour.

But Warr is not the Mean by which this Lady may be won; for though she be pleased to be Guarded by Arms, yet will she never admit to be governed by them; therefore if either English or Dutch had subdued other; yet should not Trade have longer continued with either, than men observe the Rules and Method by which it may be advanced more than in any other Place, which hath equal conveniences.

If this Lady were to choose an habitation in all the known World, she could not find any so capable of here reception as England (I had almost said and Ireland) whether it be in regard of the Multitude, Excellency, and Conveniency of our Ports: Abundance of Wool better than in any other place of the World, but Segovia, and from us they had it: Cattle of all sorts equal, if not superior to any other place: More Horses, and more serviceable in Trade any where else: Timber for shipping the best in the World: Lead, Tin, Seacoal, and Fullers Earth, not to be found out of England, so much, or so Good and capable of all other things but Wines (and we are better without them) which may anyways conduce to the supplying the necessities, or adorning the convenience of Humane life, equal with any other place. The Coast enriched with a share more worth than the King of Spains West-Indies: The Inhabitants stout and valiant, accompanied with a lively wit and healthful constitution, and generally disposed to her service.

One would think it strange (I might say monstrous) that the Dutch Nation, who are denied these advantages, and are of a more dull and heavy constitution than the English, should out-wit us in that wherein God and Nature have given us all the Prerogatives we ourselves can desire. But we undo our selves by banishing this Lady we so desire and content for: she is already so farr withdrawn, that we neither know where to find her, nor much better how to recover her.

Though this beloved Lady is become very Coy to us by Land; yet in reason we hope to prevail upon her by Sea. In our application we tell her, the Swelling Ocean every day beats round about our Shores, to invite us to the enjoyment of her; and that by a long and uninterrupted series of Ages we have been possessed of her before the Dutch Government was formed into States.

We have moreover in the year 1662, contributed several considerable sums of Money toward the Advancement of the Fishing Trade; but how the Monies have been disposed of, and whether the Monies Collected be not yet in the Collectors hands unaccounted for, may be worthy of consideration; especially considering how great a discouragement it will be to all Publique undertakings, when such benevolences are diverted from their designed end.

Many men now understanding the Reason of this Ladies Strangeness to us of late, have ascribed it to two causes, viz. that we Import more than we Export; and that men generally live above their Estate, but neither of those, though true, are Reasons for the decay of Trade, and the Irish Export eight times more than they Import, yet grow poorer. And Trade if it be well managed, no where thrives better than where men spend above the ordinary means of living.

We have lost the Trade upon the matter by Sea and Land at home; but before we demonstrate from what causes, or propound any Expedients by which we may be relieved, let us see how it stands abroad: we have lost the Trade to Muscovy, and so have that to Greonland, the Trade to Norway possessed by the Norwegians, and the Reasons given in to the Parliament last Sessions: The Trade to Guinney driven by a few, and exclusive to other men: The Spanish and Turkey Trades abated, and in danger: So that unless

it be in the French and Canary Trades, wherein we undo our selves, we are making hast to betake our selves to our Plantations only, yet shall not be long able to continue that Trade for want of Shipping.

It is true indeed, that England of late under King James, but more especially under King Charles did flourish by Trade, and was more Rich than any other Kingdom in these Western Parts of the World; but this was by an Accident of the Times, not to be again hoped for: For the Austrian Family under Maximilian the Second, and Philip the Second, attained to that Power and Riches, when the Netherlands made their defection from the Crown of Spain, that it was not only formidable to the Great Turk, but to all the Christian Princes of Europe: Queen Elizabeth therefore, and the French Kings successively openly assisted them in their defection: But Philip the Second dying, and Queen Elizabeth soon after, King James and Philip the Third, in the beginning of their Reigns made Peace, which continued neer 40 years with little Interruption. During which the Warrs continued between the United Netherlands and Spain, with little Intermission; whereby the English became Proprietor of the Trade with Spain, and by consequence great sharers in the Wealth of the West-Indies, that the Merchant supplied the Spanish Netherlands with Commodities; and both Spanish and United Netherlands were supplied with Souldiers from England, whereby many of them on both sides, especially Officers acquired much Wealth.

But the Nation, not content to enjoy Peace, Riches and Plenty above any other Nation, brought upon itself all the miseries and Calamities incident to a Civil Warr, so that Regal Power, as to the exercise of it, for neer 20 years together was suspended; during which, in the year 1648 the Dutch made Peace with Spain, and Oliver in the year 1654 brake with it (which was a folly never to be forgiven in his Politicks, nor the losses this Nation sustained thereby, ever again to be repaired) whereby the Condition of the English and Dutch in reference to the Trade with Spain became quite inverted; and this continuing neer seven years, the Dutch are so good Masters of Trade, that little hopes is left the English of Enjoying it as before.

From hence it is, which being past cannot be helped; and for the Reasons in this Discours which may be helped, and for other Causes which only God in his goodness can help: From hence it is, I say, that this Kingdom becomes decayed in Trade, and must every day degenerate into worst, unless some such Reformation be made, with Gods great blessing upon it, as may uphold the Riches and Glory of it.

## REASONS OF THE DECAY OF THE ENGLISH-TRADE

### Part I.

#### Definitions.

#### What is Trade?

Def. 1. Trade is an Art of Getting, Preparing and Exchanging things Commodious for Humane Necessities and Convenience.

Annot. So as Trade happens three ways. 1. By acquiring, or getting things commodious, which are called Growths. 2ly. By Preparing them, which are called Manufactures. 3ly. By Exchangin these Growth and Manufactures for Mony or other Growths and Manufactures.

And Trade is twofold, viz. Native and Forein, 1, Native when

the Growths or Manufactures are got, Prepared, and Exchanged upon the place. 2ly, Forein, when Growths and Manufactures are exchanged in Forein Places.

What is Mony?

2. Mony, is the Standard by which all things in Trade are valued.

What is Navigation?

3. Navigation is an Art of Conveying things upon the Body of Waters from one place to another.

Who are the Dutch, intended in this Discourse?

4. Those who are subject to the States of the United Netherlands.

Who are the English?

5. Those who are born in Subjection to the Crown of England.

Who is a Dutch Merchant?

6. One who Trades under the Protection of the States of the United Netherlands.

Who is an English Merchant?

7. One who Trades under the Protection of the English, and born in Subjection to its Crown.

Who are the Dutch States?

8. They who govern Trade in the United Netherlands, and all places subject to them.

Who are the Council of State in England?

9. They are those Persons with whom the King pleases to Advise and Consult in State Affairs, where no Provision is made by Municipal Laws.

What are Corporations in Trade?

10. They are men, who in Trades where they are incorporated by Civil Power, exercise those Trades excluding all others.

Memorand. It is lawful to assume all things and places in Trade, under those names, by which they are usually called.

Petitions.

Pet. 1. The Dutch freely entertain men of all Nations in Trade, and grant them equal Priviledges with the Natural Dutch.

Pet. 2. The English Nation consumes all the Commodities of France imported into it.

Pet. 3. The French Commodities Imported into England do Exceed in Value the English Commodities Exported into France.

Annot. Mr Fortrey, a Gentleman of the Kings Privy Chamber, in his Treatise of England's Interest and Improvement, pag. 22, says, That the excess is above 1,600,000 l. a year, which did appear to the now King of France upon a design he had to forbid Trade between England and France; and gives the Particulars, pag. 22, 23, 24, whereupon the King of France finding how much it would prove to his loss, to forbid the Trade, laid it by, but raised the Customs of some of our English Commodities, whereby the vent of them is much hindred.

Pet. 4. England, before it had the accession of our American



Plantations, wanted men to Improve the Growths and Manufactures of it; and also the Fishing Trade.

Annot. Sir Walter Rawleigh takes notice in his observations upon Trade, which he dedicated to King James, that, this Kingdom, in 55 years lost above 25 Millions of Pounds, besides other incredible advantages, which would have accrued to this Kingdom in Strength and Trade by the Dutch Dressing and Dying our White Clothes. I will not dispute, whether it had been good policy to have restrained the Exportation of our White and Undrest Cloathes: I only affirm that England could have beter and cheaper Maintained and Imployed those men in Dressing and Dying them, than Holland and Amsterdam, having no excise upon our Commodities, and Fullers Earth better and cheaper than in the United Netherlands. Besides England could than better and cheaper have maintained all those men, who in the United Netherlands so much desired our Wooll, Lead, and Tin, in their Manufactures.

Sir Walter Rawleigh further takes notice that in four Towns in the East Countries, whithin the Sound, Queensborough, Elbing, Statten and Dantzick, were yearly vented, between 30 and 40000 last of Herring by the Dutch, at 15 or 16 l. the last, which amounted to 620000 l. and by us none.

To Denmark, Sweden, Lifeland, Rivel, Narne, and other Ports within the Sound, there are Carried and vented by the Dutch above 10000 Last of Herrings at above 15 or 16 l. the Last, which amounts to about 170000 l.

Into Russia the Dutch sent about 1500 Last of Herrings, sold at 30 s. the Barrel, which amounted to 27000 l. and we about 20 or 30: I am sure we send none now.

To Stoad, Hamborough, Bream, Embden upon the River Elb, Weaser, and Embs, were carried and vented of fish and Herring 6000 Last, which at 15 or 16 l. by the Last amounted to 100000 l. by us none.

To Clevleand, Gulickland, and to Germany up the Rhine and Maine, were vented by the Dutch 2200 Last of Fish and Herring sold at 20 l. the Last, which comes to 44000 l. by us none.

Up the River Muze, Leigh, Mastrick, Vendlow, Zutphen, Daventer, Campen, Swell, and all over Lukeland, is carried and vented 7000 Last of Herring by the Dutch at 140000 l. by us none.

To Roan were carried 5000 Last of Herring by the Dutch, and sold at 20 l. the Last, which came to 100000 l. by us not 100 Last.

To Gelderland, Artois, Heuالت, Brabant, Flanders, were carried between 8 and 9000 sold at 18 l. the Last, which came to 171000 l. by us none.

Sir Walter Rawleigh left out Spain, and France, except Roan, and the Dutch Trade of Fish into the Streights, and what they consumed among themselves, which Questionless was is now very considerable; yet were all these Fish caught upon our Coast, and no question, if we had, had the Hands, we might much better and cheaper have maintained them, and caught, and cured them, having many more, and much better and more convenient Ports than they.

Pet. 5. Mony is a convenient mean to improve Trade.

Pet. 6. Forein Trade is only mean to Inrich this Kingdom.

Pet. 7. Multitude, and Concourse of People, Advance Trade.

Pet. 8. Scarcity of People Diminish Trade.

Pet. 9. The Law against Naturalization permits no man of other Nation to have equal Freedom and Priviledge in Trade, with the natural English.

Pet. 10. The Law of Navigation Intitled, Shipping and Navigation Encouraged, made 12. Car. 2, 18. and continued, 13. Car. 2, 12. restreins the English in Navigation to Ships English

built, and to be sailed by 1/4 English; and Foreign Commodities to be Imported by English in Shipping so built and sailed, and to the Natives of the Place.

Pet. 11. The rents of Lands are valuable, as the Trade of the Place is.

Pet. 12. Stock is a convenient mean to advance Trade.

Pet. 13. Men are necessary to improve Trade.

Pet. 14. Timber is a necessary mean to build Ships.

Pet. 15. Ships are necessary means in Navigation.

Pet. 16. The Timber of England was wanting even before the Act of Navigation, made 12, Car. 2. 18, and confirmed 13 Car. 2. 14. this appears by the Acts of 35. H. 8. 17, and 35 El. 11.

Pet. 17. The means ordained by the 1. Eliz. 13. and 35. El. 11 so supply the Timber of England before wanting and decayed is interrupted by the Act of Navigation.

Pet. 18. Before the Act of Navigation, we wanted Shipping: this appears by the title of the Act, which is an Act for the encouraging and encrease of Shipping and Navigation; for if we had not wanted Shipping, the encouraging and encreasing thereof, had been vain and superfluous.

Pet. 19. The loss and decay of the Ships of England must not in Navigation be supplied by acquiring any Foreign built Ships; for by the Act of Navigation, if any English man Trades in any Foreign built Ship to any of our Plantations, or to any Port of England, or Ireland, it is Forfeit, Ship, Goods, Guns, Tackle, and Ammunition.

Pet. 20. Navigation is the only mean of vending our Growths and Manufactures, in Foreign Trade unless it be into Scotland.

Pet. 21. The Act against the Importation of Irish Cartel made, 18 and 20 Car. 2, cap 1. hath abated the Trade of England; with Ireland for Beer, Hops, and Bills of Exchange, for Money, all sorts of Hats, and Stockings, Cloth, and Stuffs of all sorts, Victualing Ships of all, as well Foreign as English etc.

Pet. 22. All the Canary Wines Imported into England are consumed in it.

Pet. 23. The Canary Wines Imported do exceed in value the English Commodities Exported into the Canaries. I cannot exactly compute the excess; but have it from good hands, that the Canary Wines yearly Imported are about 12000 Pipes, which are valued at 20 l. the Pipe, which amounts to 240000 l. yearly; and that our Commodities Exported do not neer amount to 1/4 so much in value: before we did exceed so much in drinking them, we Imported them at 10 l. the Pipe, and Traded to the Canaries only upon the account of our Commodities in Barter for the Wines.

#### Actions or Common Notions.

1. Where the means of Improving any business are wanting, that business will be so much diminished, as the means by which it might have been supplied are diverted.

2. Where any thing is wanting and decayed, that thing will be so much diminished, as the means of supplying it are interrupted.

3. If the means of doing any thing be wanting, that thing will be so much hindered, as the means are diminished.

4. The doing of things will be so much hindered, as the means of doing them are hindered.

5. Every thing will be so much diminished, as is abated of it.

6. Any business will be so much hindered, by how much the means of improving it are excluded.

7. Where the consumption of things imported, does exceed in value the things Exported, the loss will be as the excess is.

Prop. 1. Theorem 1.

The Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade, are so much diminished, by how much they might have been supplied by those men who are diverted in our American Plantations.

Subjects. The Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade.

Question. Whether they be so much diminished by how much they might have been supplied? etc. I say they are.

Ax. 1. For where the means of improving any business are wanting, that business will be so much diminished, by how much the means, by which it might have been supplied, are diverted.

Pet. 24. But men are necessary to improve Trade.

Pet. 25. And before we had our American Plantations, we wanted men to improve the Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade.

Therefore the Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade, are so much diminished, by how much they might have been supplied, by those men who are diverted in our American Plantations. Which was to be demonstrated.

Corollary 1.

By the same reason the Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade, are so much more diminished, by how many men are diverted from supplying them in Repeopling Ireland, since the Late Massacre and War there.

Corollary 2.

By the same reason the Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade are yet so much more diminished, by so many men, as extraordinarily died in the late great Plague, 1665.

Annotations upon this Proposition and the Two Corollaries

Before we had our American Plantations, the Coasts of England were in a convenient manner Planted; and the Multitudes of Inhabitants in England such, that in the 2. and 3. Ph. and Mary 3. the Parliament taking notice that a great number of persons within the Realm, had laid their Lands, Farmes, and Pastures, to Feeding of Sheep, Oxen, Runts, Schrubbes, Steers, and Heifers, and such like Cattel, having no regard to breed and rear up young Beasts and Cattel, whereby was grown great scarcity of Cattel, and necessary victual for sustenance of divers sorts of People within the Realm, and more likely to be if speedy remedy were not provided, therefore several provisions were made for breeding and rearing of Cattel.

Before the Dutch became States, or when at least they were but The Poor Distressed States, besides our staple at Antwerp we had the sole Trade into Muscovy, Turkey, and up the Elb whereby Germany, Denmark, Jutland, Holstein, etc. were supplied with our Cloth and Wollen Manufactures. We did moreover supply Muscovy with Fish, and in a considerable measure, France, Spain, Italy, and several parts of the World within the Streights.

And for the further encouragment of the Fishing Trade, and

for the preservation of the breeding of Cattel: In the 5. Eliz. 5. It was ordained that Wednesday, as well as Friday and Saturday, should be observed as a Fish day within this Realm, upon pain that every person offending, should for every time he or they should offend, forfeit 3 l. or suffer three Months Imprisonment without Bail or Mainprize, and every person, who was knowing thereof, and concealed it, for every each offence should forfeit forty shillings, which Act yet continues in force, but only the Penalty of eating Flesh upon Fridaies, Saturdaies, and Wednesdaies is reduced by the 35 Elix. 7 to twenty shillings, and the concealing of it by any Person, knowing it, to ten shillings.

#### Consequences of this Proposition and the two Corollaries

After our American Plantations became peopled by us, the Dutch began to partake with us in the Turkey and Moscovy Trades; our Staple at Antwerp diminished in a very great measure, to intend the Trades to our Plantations, we neglected the Fishing Trade, whereby (except the Trade of red Herrings, which cannot be cured by the Dutch) the Dutch in a manner became solely in a short time possessed of it, and thereby have acquired this incomparable advantage above us in the Trade of our Plantations; that as we employ only our ablest men in trading to them, who in the diversity of Clime and Diet are very subject to Diseases and Mortality; and leave the impotent Women and Children at home without employment; they employ three times more men in the Fishing trade, and four times more to the benefit of their State, and also all manner of impotent People, Women and Children; and have this advantage above us in time of War as well as Peace, that all hands employed in the Fishing Trade are at home, and serviceable when they are at War; whereas the Inhabitants in our Plantations are of no use or benefit to us in War, which was very apparent in our late War with them.

The Coast of England (which should be the Glory, Strength and Ornament of an Island) in peopling of them, and loss of the Fishing Trade, soon became decayed; nor was there, or nor is there, as the case stands, any possible relief herein; for necessarily so much as is taken from any thing, so much less will be left; and the law against Naturalization debarring a future supply, The Addition of our Miseries in the Massacre of Ireland and the late great Plague, the supplying Ireland hath not only rendered the Coast desolate; but the Country too becomes thin and uninhabited: From whence notwithstanding we observe none of the Fish-daies (which were above half a year) enjoined by the 5 Eliz. 5. nor the several Laws made by King Philip and Mary, Queen Elizabeth, and King James, for breeding of Cattel, and have excluded the Kingdom of Ireland from trading with us in Cattel, yet our Markets are plentifully enough supplied with them; nay, the Graziers are so overstocked, that they want Markets for them. This Mischief moreover attends this Nation, That as Necessity is the Mother of Ingenuity, so the Law against Naturalization debarrs all Ingenuous men to plant with us; and Ireland and our Plantations are open Gates, for all necessitous and ingenuous men to run out from us, and settle in them; where, but especially in Ireland, for little they may lead an idle and lazy life.

In this condition I leave to thee, Reader, to judg, whether it will not be yet so much more pernicious to the Trade of this Nation to endeavour a further discovery of new Plantations; and that if the Project of Peopling Carolina from the Residue of the men we have left in England, if it succeeds, will not so much more enfeeble this Nation, and reduce the Trade thereof to so

much a less proportion by how many men shall be withdrawn from it?

We see in some sort the Influence the Law against Naturalization hath upon our Trade: Let us consider the influence it hath upon the Strength and Welfare of it, now we have peopled our Plantations, and repeopled Ireland, since the late War and Massacre there, and compare it with the Kingdom of Spain.

Spain in old time, if Credit may be given to Livy and Plutarch was the most warlike, and continued longest and sharpest Wars against the Romans, though it were subject to many little Kings; and it is scarce credible, with what huge Armies they did maintain it. And as in old times, so in this later Age, when Spain was divided into the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon, Arragon, Portugal, Navarr, and Granada, in the Reigns of Fernando and Isabella the War against the Moors was prosecuted purely by the Kingdom of Castile and Leon; for Arragon refused to contribute to it, and Navarr and Portugal stood neuters, and were not concerned in it. Yet it is admirable to read with what huge Armies for 10 years together (for so long the War lasted) Fernand and Isabella continued those wars; and it was in their Reigns, that Columbus made his Discovery and Attempts upon the West Indies: whereas all the Spains now are united (except Portugal) under one Monarchy, and have moreover, for ought is known, accession of greater Dominions than any Kingdom of the Western or perhaps the Eastern World, it is become so weak and feeble, as it is a Question whether it be in the power of Christendom to support it against the power of France; and the King of Spain, though Lord of all the Treasure of the West-Indies, of the greatest and richest is fallen to be the poorest and weakest Prince of Christendom; nor can any other reason be given hereof (at least that I understand) but removing the Moors out of Granada, the transporting so many Spaniards into the West Indies, and the Inquisition which bars out any future Supply.

Let us take notice of the weakness of Spain, both at home and in his West Indies. In some particulars, when Portugal made Defection from the Crown of Spain; Spain without any success for near 20 years maintained War against it, chiefly by Souldiers brought out of Milan, Naples, Sicily, and such Forces as it hired out of Germany and Switzerland; (for few could be raised out of Spain). But this proving unsuccessful, trusting to the Gallick faith in the Treaty at Bayonne, 1659, the King of Spain brought the Marquess Carace, and the greatest part of the Army in the Netherlands, to continue the War against Portugal; but this Army being broken by the joint force of the English, French and Portuguez, Spain was ever after forced to continue upon a defensive posture, until it was necessary to seek a peace by the loss of the Kingdom of Portugal; and what the consequences of the loss of the Army under the Marquess of Caracen have been to the Spanish Netherlands in the year, 1667, is understood very well by the English, Dutch and Switz, and the consequences yet further feared by them.

And as the weakness of Spain is such at home, so it is more in his Indies, from whence his Wealth and Riches flow, and for ought is known they are greater than any Prince in the World hath; yet being but thinly planted, how easily do they every year receive the impulsion, devastation and plunder of a few Jamaican Capers?

But sure it were worthy consideration how to prevent this for the future: for if the vast exhausting of the Treasure of the English and Dutch in their French, East Indy, Turkey and other Eastern Trades, were not supplied out of the Spanish West-Indies,

these Trades must either be discontinued, or these Western parts of the World, in a short time, would be utterly impoverished by them: so as it is evident both English and Dutch must necessarily suffer so much, by how much these Jamaicans impoverish or interrupt the King of Spain or his Subjects in the returns of his Plate-Fleets, and I may safely say the English Nation loses ten times more than the Jamaicans get by every Quicksilver Ship they take from the King of Spain or his Subjects.

Let us compare the State of England with that of Spain, and see if from not unlike causes it does not necessarily degenerate into the Condition of it. First, Ireland and our Plantations, do in proportion to England more exhaust it of men, than the West Indies do Spain; and if no provision be made will in less time, than since the West Indies came to be subject to the Crown of Spain, leave it less peopled. Secondly, the Massacre in Ireland, wherein is said 300000 Protestants were murdered, and probably as many of the Rebels suffered, the late Plague wherein near 200000 persons died, and our late Civil and Foreign Wars do more than equalize the transplanting the Moors out of Granada; and lastly, the Law against Naturalization, is a greater Bar to a future Supply in England, than the Inquisition is in Spain.

We have compared the Condition of England and Spain, now I will instance wherein the Condition of England is worse by our Plantations, than Spain is by theirs. First, in that the Crown of Spain in the West Indies acquires new Subjects; whereas we in our Plantations, wholly people them from our selves: And the King of Spain being head of the House of Austria, besides the supplies, which he draws out of Milan, Naples, Sicily, and Switzerland, hath upon all occasions large supplies of men out of Germany.

Before we had our Plantations, England, when it was not troubled with Civil Wars, did usually in their offensive Wars prevail against France and Scotland. I cannot tell whether the Coasts of England be better planted than the Coasts of the King of Spain's West Indies: I am sure the French King and Dutch are more able to attempt the invading of them, than the Jamaicans those of the West Indies.

By this Law against Naturalization we bid defiance to all the World to continue our Adversaries, and deny the Assistance of all Proselytes, who otherwise might be of use, and assist us. Whereas the Prudence and Practice of the Romans and greatest and wisest Princes and Potentates of the World, for which they have been and now are celebrated famous, have proceeded otherwise: and this may be more fully understood in Sir Walter Rawleigh's Safety and Defence of People, etc. And God himself would not permit the Jews to continue in the Land he had given them, unless they did not oppress the Stranger. Jer. 7.7,7.

1. As the Law of Naturalization debars us of any future Supply for all the Strength and Trade, which this Nation loses in peopling our Plantations, and repeopling Ireland; so it was the Reason that before we had our Plantations, this Nation lost to the Dutch above 48000 pounds per An. in dying and dressing our Manufactures; and above 1646000 pounds per An. in the Fishing Trade; for this Nation could have better and by half cheaper have maintained the Managers, if this Law had permitted.

2. This Law is the Reason that those Multitudes of hands which are employed abroad in our Woollen Manufactures, are not employed here. So that by the severity of many Laws against the Exportation of Wool, we restrain our Wool from foreign Trade, and by this Law we exclude the World from working it here; whereby our Wool becomes a drug and of no esteem, being neither well wrought at home, and not permitted in foreign Trade.

3. This Law is the Reason that in our Tin and Lead we are the only Drudges to work it out of the Mines, whilst all parts of the World but our selves, improve Trade, and grow rich by Manufactures thereon.

Corollary. 3

By the same Reason the Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade are so much more diminished by how much they might be supplied by those hands, and so much Money as is diverted from them in relief of idle persons by the Statute of the 43 of Eliz. intit. Who shall be Overseers for the Poor, their Office, Duty, and Accounts.

Annotations.

Reader, That the Mischief and Inconviences which have ensued this Law may better appear, take with thee these Considerations. First, That God hath made Man to eat his bread in the cares of Mind, and sweat of his brows; that man therefore who neither cares nor labours, hath no reason to expect that he shall have any thing to care for. Secondly, Consider that the nation was much more inhabited when this Law was made, than now. From hence then, Reader, take a Prospect of the Inconveniences, which have ensued this Law.

1. That where pure Necessity does not require, it inverts the end which God hath by Nature made, viz. That where Man does not care for and govern, he should eat his bread by Labour and Industry.

2. That notwithstanding our great loss and want of men, for the reasons beforehand, these idle persons provided for by this Act, are so more a loss to the Nation than if they had never been, by how much the Nation loses in maintaining, and providing for them: and this is encreased to such a height that notwithstanding the want of men, more now than when this Law was made, yet the charge of maintaining poor people in very many Places is 6, 7, 8, 9 fold more than before: and what the further consequences hereof will be, if not prevented, is most worthy the consideration of the Parliament.

3. It is a discouragement to all industrious and labouring people, when lazy and idle people shall be maintained in their idleness from the fruits of their Labour and Industry.

4. It encourages wilful and evil disposed persons to impose what wages they please upon their labours; and herein they are so refractory to Reason and the benefit of the Nation, that when Corn and Provisions are cheap, they will not work for less wages than when they were dearer, so as it often happens that one days indifferent labour, shall maintain these persons three or four days after in Idleness; which if this Law had not been, might have been for a reserve to support themselves and families in adversity and sickness.

5. As sundry Laws provided against wandring Beggers and Vagabonds, so this Law provides for, and relieves stationary Beggers.

6. This Law is the principal, if not the only reason of the excessive wages of servants as well as labourers; in making Provision for such, who will neither serve, nor labour.

7. From this Law therefore it is principaly (and for the want of good education of the governing part of the Trade of the Nation, of which we shall treat hereafter) that as Mr Mun observes in his excellent treatise of England's Treasure by

Forein Trade, cap. 19. that the English Nation is reproached commonly among strangers for the multitude of People which in England Cheat, Roar, Rob, Hang, Beg, Cant, Pine and Perish; which otherwise might help to encrease and maintain the Wealth and strength of these Kingdoms, especially by Sea, for our own safety and terrour of our enemies.

8. the charity which might be imployed in the reliefe of truly impotent and aged people is heerby abated and diminished.

#### Corollary 4.

By the same reason the Trade of England and the Fishing Trade are so much more diminished, by how much they might be supplied by those lazy and idle persons, who are diverted from them, by living upon Wasts, Commons, Chases and Forests.

#### Annotations

So as this difference is between these ersons, and those maintained by the 43 El. 2. that as those are maintained by the loss of the Nation; so these are maintained to no benefit of it: but are dangerous as well to the Nation, as Government of it. This appears by the Riots and Tumults, notwithstanding compensation are mad edouble and treble to the value of what they reaped thereby. The number therefore of these kind of persons encreasing, which daily does, as well by a succession of those who are born upon such places, as otherwise, and being at liberty to work or not, the Government will be so much more endangered by how much they are encreased; and so much more by how much less these Commons, Chases, Wasts, and Forest can maintain them; to supply which, breaking Hedges, cutting Woods, and stealing Fowl, etc. are the usual means by which they make up their living.

How advantageous it would be to the Trade of the Nation, if all these idle hands were imployed in it: and how great a Revenue might be raised out of these Wasts, if they were improved and imployed in Trade, and binding out Prentices, and in defraying Publique charges, were most worthy Consideration of the Parliament.

#### Corollary 5.

By the same reason, the Trade of England, and he Fishing Trade are so much more diminished, by how much they might be supplied by those persons, who are diverted from them in being hanged.

#### Apology

I do not dispute the Authority of any Law in this Corollary, or in any Corollary or Proposition in this discourse; I only contend that the ends designed by Legislators, are not always attained; and therefore Anciently our Ancestors were so careful of preparing Laws, that they usually made them not longer lived than the end of the next Sessio of Parliament; so that, if the end designed by them were not attained, the Laws themselves shuld expire. The endo fo punishing Malefactors is twofold, viz. to deter others from Committing Crimes, and for the Offender to make Restitution so far as he is able. But I do not understand that the end of punishment is to destroy, where murder or a higher Crime is not the offence. Nor is Hanging, which is transient, so Permanent a Terror to offenders, as a constant inflicting



extraordinary duties upon Offenders, whereby they might, or in a great measure might expiate their Crimes by satisfying the persons Offended. Nothing in nature but by some means or other might be made beneficial, sure therefore much more man; nor does man destroy in any thing else, but on the life of Man, where any other means can be found to preserve, and the end, in making restitution, is holy lost.

#### Corollary 6

By the same reason, the Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade, are yet so much more diminished, by how much they might be supplied by those men, who are diverted from them, in being imprisoned for debt.

#### Annotations.

Herein moreover is the end designed in Punishing Offenders inverted, for in being committed prisoners, the means which is thereby spent in paying Fees to Jailors, is inverted from that end to which it might have been employed towards the Payment of his Debts; and the persons of the Prisoners made useless any ways by labour or industry to contribute to the satisfaction thereof.

#### Corollary 7

By the same reason the Trade of England, and Fishing Trade are so much diminished, by how much money and so many men as are diverted from supplying them in buying and mortgaging Land.

Pet 5. For money is a convenient mean to improve Trade.

#### Annotations upon this Corollary

Before we contended that the Law against Naturalization, makes the Kingdom weak and unable to improve the Trade thereof; in this Corollary we complain of a practice against Law and Conscience too. For by the Statute of Westminster, 2, made the 13. Edw. I, c. 4. it was provided that Estates in Tail should remain to the Donee, and his Heirs according to the form of the gift of the Donor, and for want of issue of the Donee, to revert to the Donor and his Heirs: And that Fines levied upon such claimers be void. Yet by what practice or usage Fines come to Barr Heirs in Tail; and recovery of those in remainder I cannot tell. I am sure the Will of the Donor, (which in Conscience ought religiously to be observed,) is hereby violated: And all that money which is expended in Buying and Mortgaging such Lands, is diverted from the good use by which it might be employed in Trade; besides the multitudes of mischiefs, which arise in vexatious Suits between Vendor and Vendee, Mortgager and Mortgagee, to the utter undoing one another; whereby multitudes of Solicitors, Bankers, Usurers, and Scriveners, (who no ways advance the Trade of the Nation) become vastly rich, whilst the Trade of the Nation hereby becomes starved and neglected, and by consequence the Nation so much poorer. By reason hereof the Stock of this Nation supposing it double to the Dutch; yet do I not believe one sixth part so much is employed by us in Trades beneficial to the Nation, as by them; and I wish this Quere were determined. Whether from this cause the Bankers and Scriveners of London cannot raise more Money, in one week, than the Parliament of England can in two years?

How many ways this Kingdom might be enriched, and the Trades thereof increased, if the Statue of Westminster. 2. made 13. Edw. I. c. 1 were observed.

1. The Will of the Donor (which by all Laws of Religion and Gratitude ought religiously to be observed) would not be violated, for which we may justly fear the Judgments and Vengeance of God.

2. The vast and wild Prodigality of vain men and women, would be restrained within the bounds of their Estates: And the impoverishment, which they bring upon the Kingdom by their Pride, Vanity and Luxury, in a very great measure would be abated.

3. The Families of the Nobility and Gentry, would hereby be preserved and continued.

4. The multitude of Solicitors, Bankers, Scriveners and usurers, who now swarm more than ever, and devour all the good of the Nation, but no ways do any good to it, would diminish, and these very men be necessitated, to seek some better means of subsistence, whereby the Kingdom might receive benefit, now we so much want hands to advance the Trade of the Nation:

5. The Supernumary Pages, Lacquies, and Waiting Women, who are Moths to fret and consume their Masters and Ladies Estates, might be imploied in ways beneficial to the Kingdom.

6. The Stock of the Nation to be imploied in beneficial Trades would be tenfold more imploied in them.

7. The Riches acquired by Trade; would continually be imploied in it, as well as in the United Netherlands.

8. The Interest of Mony without a Law, would fall to be as low, as in the United Netherlands.

9. Men would be more intent to improve their Estates, when they know what they must betake themselves to; and may more securely follow their business, than when they are engaged in Law Suits about Morgages and Titles of Land.

Reader thou mayst add many more, but if any man shall give me one for not observing this Law, I will give him all my nine.

Proposition 2. Theorem 2.

The Timber of England is diminished, and is in danger to be destroyed, by the Act of the 12. Car. 2. 18. and confirmed 13. Car. 2. 18. Entituled An Act for Encouraging and encrease of Shipping and Navigation; and commonly called the Act of Navigation.

Subject, Is the Timber of England.

Question. Whether it be diminished by the Act of Navigation?  
I say it is.

Ax. For where any thing is wanting and decayed that thing will be more diminished, if the means of supplying be interrupted.

Pet. 4. But the Timber of England was wanting and decayed before the Act of Navigation.

Pet. 17. And the means of supplying the Timber of England, is interrupted by the Act of Navigation.

Therefore the Timber of England, is diminished by the Act of Navigation. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotations upon this Proposition.

It is now above 120 years since the making of the Act of 35. of H. 8. 17. when without all question the Timber of England, was

above five times more than now it is; yet notwithstanding the heat and distemper of those times, so vigilant were our Ancestors in the preservation of the Timber of this Nation (the best For Shipping in the world) that though they did not foresee all ways for preserving and encreasing it; yet they saw that the great decay of it, was universally such in England, that unless speedy remedy in that behalf were provided, great and manifest likelihood of scarcity, and lack of Timber for building, making, repairing, and maintaining Houses and Ships would be; for prevention whereof several provisions were made; but never put (or at least not in my memory) in execution. Queen Elizabeth, a Lady of incomparable Prudence and Foresight, and more jealous of the Honour and Safety of this Nation, than any of her Ancestors or predecessors) as one of her chiefest cares, in the first yer of her Reign, for the Preservation of the Timber of England, gave free liberty to all men, as well Subjects as Strangers, freely to Import Masts and Raff. Notwithstanding this provision, this vigilant Queen, taking notice of the great decay of Timber occasioned by converting the same into cloven board, did, in the 35 of her Reign, cap. 21. Ordain, that every stranger which shoulc ship, carry, or Transport Bere, or Fish (except Herring) in Cask, should before such Transportation; and every Subject which should Transport Beer or Fish before, or within four Months after, for every six tuns of Beer or Fish, should import from part beyond the Seas, 200 of clapboard fit to make Cask to contain threefoot and two inches in length at least, upon penalty of forfeiture of such Fish, Beer and Cast. Yet though both these laws stand now in force, and the good and safety of the Nation be so much concerned in them; the Act of Navigation make it forfeiture of Ship, Goods, and Guns to import any Raff, Masts, Timber, or Clapboard, unless by English ships (though the English since the Rumps first institution of the Law have not built one ship for this Trade, nor ever will so long as it stands in force) and sayled by 1/4 English, and the Natives of the place, whether the Natives have ships or not. So that if an English man, Dutch man, Hamburger, or any Easterling Trade for beer or fish, and doe not import the clapboard prescribed by the 35 Eliz. 11. the goods and cask are forfeit: But if they do import clapboard, the ship and goods and guns are forfeit by the Act of Navigation.

I have often heard my Father complain of the vast destruction of our Timber by converting the same into Clapboard, whereby all the best of our Timber is consumed; for when any Oak will rend, or so far a the ground end will rend, Rift bearing about a third penny more price then if it were sawn into planck, the converter intending his profit converts it into Rift; and that if he could ever see a Parliament wherein he could ever hope to do any good, he would bring in a Bill to prevent the destruction of our Timber hereby.

Old Oliver entertain'd this Law, but coldly, but however he were otherwise more careful of his own Interest than of the Nations; yet he permitted the English Merchants to trade in Forein Bottoms for Timber, whereby he was not only better and cheaper supplied than the Nation hath since been, but he enforced the King of Denmarks Subjects to sell their ships built for that Trade, and wherewith they used to impose what terms they pleased upon the English, being better and cheaper supplied than they could.

#### Consequences of this Proposition

Besides the mischiefs and inconveniences which have come

upon this Nation by not observing the Law made the 35 of Eliz.

11. these inconveniences have ensued the Act of Navigation, in reference to the Trade of Timber, which were proved before a Committee of the House of Commons last Session of Parliament.

1. Before the Rump made this Law, the Trade to Norway for Timber, was generally driven by the English in barter of our growths and Manufactures; whereas now it is driven in Dollars and the Treasure of the Nation; and those Growths and Manufactures of England which are exported into Norway are rarely exported but by Norwegians.

2. That the prizes of Norway timber were become near double.

3. That our own Timber was much wasted by reason of the dearness of Norway.

4. That we had not built one ship for that Trade since the Law, nor could ever hope to do so long as it stood in force, because a foreign ship may be built for half the price, and be more free for Trade; whereas the Norwegians had doubled their shipping; and built them twice as big; and from 600 Mariners, increased them to 6000; whereby the English in a short time must necessarily be excluded the Trade of Norway, unless he drive it by Norwegians, and in Norway bottoms.

5. That the English are now almost wholly laid aside; the Trade of Norway being generally driven in Norway bottoms and those sailed by Norwegians.

6. That the English are wholly left to the King of Denmarkes disposing, whenever he pleases to impose any further abuses upon them than were complained of; which were that the English ever since 1646 and by the treaty made with his Majesty 1660, paid  $4/5$  of a Rixdollar per Last for the growths of Norway (except the Town of Bergen) but since the late war with them, they paid custome for Timber a Rixdollar and a half per Last, for other growth, a Rixdollar and  $4/5$ , others a Rixdollars and  $2/5$ , and others 3 Rixdollars, and in measuring the Lastage, the same ships which before the War had their measures adjusted were raised some 35 others 40 Lasts.

7. That it was the Interest of the King of Denmark to make the Trade of Norway insupportable to the English, for thereby as the case stood his Subjects would monopolize the Trade, yet could no redress hereof be had, untill in the years 1667, 1668 his Majesty permitted his Subjects to Trade in Foreign Vessels, and strangers to import Timber; and this reduced the Exorbitant Impositions of the King of Denmark to the Treaty of 1660, or otherwise he would have undone his own Subjects in that Trade, as they were in the time of Oliver.

I must insist more particularly hereon, because that by the scarcity and waste of our Timber by reason of this Law, and which must be in a vast measure increased in rebuilding the City of London, the French and Dane will have in their own Dominions, and the Dutch may have down the Rhine, Maze, and Scheld out of Germany, Liege, and Lorrain, such Quantities of Timber, as between any of them and us will be to this Nation, if no care or provision be had, I almost tremble to consider.

Proposition 3. Theorem 3.

The Building Ships in England is hindered by the Act of Navigation.

Subject, is the Building Ships in England.

Quest. Whether it be diminished by the Act of Navigation?

I say it is.

Ax. 3. For if the means of doing any thing be wanting that

thing will be so much hindered, as the means of supplying it are diminished.

Pet. 16. But the Timber of England before the Act of Navigation was wanting for Building Ships in England.

Pet. 14. And Timber is a necessary mean to build Ships.

Prop. 2. The Timber of England is diminished by the Act of Navigation.

Therefore the Building Ships in England is hindered by the Act of Navigation. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotations upon this Proposition

It is agreed upon by all men that the Timber of England is of all other the best for Building Ships; but then it must be understood, that like choice may be had in England, as in our English Timber, as the Dutch, Dane, and French, we built better Men of War, and stronger and more durable Merchants Ships, than any of them: But now all the choice Timber of England is wasted and consumed; the Dutch, Dane, and French have equal choice as before, it is much to be feared that for the future we shall not long enjoy this Advantage, but not be able without excessive charge to build so good Ships as any of them.

Proposition 4. Theorem 4.

The Ships of England are diminished by the Act of Navigation?

Subject, is the Ships of England.

Question, Whether they be diminished by the Act of Navigation?

I say they are.

Ax. 3. For where the doing things are hindered, and the loss and decay of these things not otherwise supplied, these things will be diminished.

Prop. 3. But the building Ships in England is hindered by the Act of Navigation.

Pet. 19. And the loss and decay of Ships of England must not be supplied in acquiring any Foreign Ships by the Act of Navigation.

Therefore the Ships of England are diminished by the Act of Navigation. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotation.

I do not understand how this Law makes good the title of it; For I am confident at this day is not one half of the Shipping in England, take prize ships into the reckoning, (which I guess to be above 4 times more than the English lost in both the late Dutch wars) In Ipswich are somewhat above one third of what were, when the Rump instituted this Law; At Woodbridge not one third; and at Alborough, Dunwich, Walderswick and so on not one fourth, as were before this Law. And I with some men would take pains to make further inspection herein to prove me mistaken.

Proposition 5. Theorem 5.

The Navigation of England is hindered by the Act of Navigation.

Subject. The Navigation of England.

Question, Whether it be hindered by the Act of Navigation?

I say it is.

Ax. 2. For the doing things will be so much hindred, as the necessary means of Doing them is Diminished.

Prop 4. But the Ships of England are diminished by the Act of Navigation.

Pet. 3. And ships are necessary in Navigation.

Therefore the Navigation of England is hindred by the Act of Navigation. Which was to be demonstrated. So as we can neither build ships, nor can we buy;

Annotations.

Nor must any English man navigate any English built ship to trade to any part of England, Ireland, or any of our Plantations, unless she be sailed by 1/4 English at least, under no less penalty than loss of Ship, Goods, Guns, Ammunition, and Tackle; though it be evident the Coast of England be desolate and almost uninhabited: and the Country as well as Coast is so thin of People, that it is not half peopled. By the Act of I Eliz. 13. It was free for all men as well as Strangers as Natives to import Pitch and Tar, which Law stands yet in force; yet if by the Act of Navigation any English man, unless in English built ships, and sailed by 1/4 English import any; or any Stranger not Natives, whether the Natives have Ships or not, import any, the Ship, Goods, Guns, Tackle and Ammunition are all forfeit. So by the I Eliz. 13. All men might import hemp and cordage paying strangers duties. Now if any English ship import any hemp or cordage and be not sailed by 1/4 English as least she is forfeit etc. nor must any stranger not Native upon any less penalty: Yet it is evident that the Inhabitants of Leifland; from whence the best hemp (if not all) is to be had, trade not with us at all.

Consequencies.

From whence it came to pass that in two years after the Rump, making his Law, the building of ships became one third penny dearer; and Sea-mens wages so excessive that we have wholly lost the Trades to Muscovy and Greenland thereby: and from hence it is, that all Forein Commodities; imported into England (except the Turkey Trade, and some Trifles from Guiney and the East Indies) are consumed in England; whilst thereby we give the Dutch and other Nations a power of driving the Trade of the World, where the Commodities are not English or subject to the Crown of England.

Proposition 6. Theorem 6.

The Trade of England and of Fishing into Forein Parts is hindred by the Act of Navigation.

Subject, The Trade of England and of Fishing into Forein parts.

Question, Whether it be hindred by the Act of Navigation?

I say it is.

Ax. 4. For the doing things will be hindred so much, as the necessary means of doing them are hindred.

Pet. 20. But Navigation is the only means of vending the Growths and Manufactures of England, and Fishing in Forein Trade, unless it be in Scotland.

Prop. 5. And the Navigation of England is hindred by the Act of Navigation.

Therefore the Trade of England and of Fishing into forein parts is hindred by it. Which was to be demonstrated.

## Annotations.

Nor must any Foreign ship or vessel trade to England with any foreign Commodities, unless in ships or vessels of that place or Country, and Navigated by the Mr and 1/4 Mariners of the place at least, whether they have ships or not; So as now we have neither ships nor Mariners sufficient for our Trade, we upon the Matter exclude the Trading Part of the World from Trading with us, from whence these Consequences follow.

## Consequences.

1. That the Growths and Manufactures of England to be exported in Foreign Trade, are reduced to a few English Merchants, who may take what they please, and at what terms they please; and leave the rest upon the poor Natives hands, without any other possible means of Relief. So as our Native Commodities are not valuable as if Trade were free, but as a few Merchants please to set a price upon them.

2. As in our Native Commodities, so in Foreign, the Merchant and Natives of the place may impose what rates they please; and in the mean time, we exclude multitudes and concourse of men and Traders, which would infinitely advance our Trade thereby; and now we complain for want of Trade, when as by this Law it seems impossible to be otherwise.

3. As this Law makes a few Merchants Masters of all the Trade of England; so it makes Mariners the Merchants Masters; for being but few, and the Merchant being restrained to them, if he gives not them what wages they please, he must not trade at all.

## Annotations upon the Act of Navigation in general

1. The Title of this Act is an Act for encouraging and encrease of shipping, yet it restrains the Navigation of England to English built ships, upon no less penalty than confiscation; whereas for above 120 years the want and decay of Timber hath been complained of in Parliament: and how then this can be a means to increase shipping, especially when we have so few builders; I shall be glad to be informed. But the consequences of Laws of like nature have been observed and reflected upon. For by the 4 H. 7. 10. No Gascoyn wine, or Tholouse woad was to be imported into England, but in Ships, English, Irish, Welch, or of the men of Barwick or Callice, and the Mr and greater part of the Mariners to be Subjects of the Realm of England, upon pain to forfeit the said Wine and Woads; which was supposed to be made for the maintenance of the Navy of this Realm; and that the said Wines and Woads might be had at more easie prizes. The experience whereof has ever since appeared to the contrary; for that the said Wines and Woad were sold at such excessive rates as had not been before seen within this Realm, and the Navy thereby never the better maintained, and therefore the Stat. of 4 H. 7. 10 was repealed by the 5 and 6 Ed. 6. 18. And liberty for all strangers in Amity with the King, as well as Subjects, to import the said Wine and Woad.

By the 5 R. 2.3. None of the Kings Subjects might carry forth or bring in any Merchandize but only in ships of the Kings Allegiance; this was repealed by the 1 Eliz. 13. because that by reason of there hath not only grown great displeasure betwixt Foreign Princes and the Kings of this Realm, but also the Merchants have been fore grieved and damaged.

Though the 5 of R. 2.3. did not permit the Kings subjects to trade but in ships of the Kings Allegiance; yet by the 6. Rich. 2. 8. where no English ships were to be had, English men might trade in strangers; ships and though by the 4 H. 7. 10 Gascoine Wine, and Tholouse Woad, might not be brought in an English or Denizens Ships, the might freight a Strangers; whereas by the Act of Navigation; though we have not built one Ship for the Trades of Greenland, Norway, nor Muscovy, since the Act of Navigation. Yet if we buy any, or Freight any Strangers Ship for any of the Trades, it is forfeit with all her Goods, Guns, Lading, Tackle, and Ammunition. So that though we may possibly have some Trade to Norway for Timber, when our Prize Ships are spent, upon such terms as the Norwegians please and not otherwise; yet it will be impossible to have any Trade to Muscovy or Gronland; for the Muscovite Trades not with us, and the Whales have no Shipping at all.

Other Mischiefs and Inconveniences which have ensued the Act of Navigation

The 17 Car. 28 complains, that the Importation of Gun-powder from Foreign Parts, was against Law prohibited, and the making thereof within this Realm ingrossed, whereby the price of Gunpowder was excessively raised, many Powder Mills decayed, the Kingdom very much weakened and endangered, the Merchants thereof much damnified, many Mariners and others taken Prisoners, and brought into miserable Captivity and Slavery: Many Ships taken by Turkish and other Pirates, and many other inconveniences have from thence ensued, and more are likely to ensue, if they be not timely prevented; and therefore this Law permits the Trade free to Strangers, as well as English to import Gunpowder: and though this Law stands yet in force, yet against it and all the reasons in it, the Act of Navigation makes it no less than confiscation of Ship, Goods, Guns, Tackle, and Ammunition for any English man to import any unless in an English build Ship, and Sailed by 1/4 English at least, or for any Stranger, not Native of the making it, to import any, whether he hath Ships or not.

Prop. 7. Theorem 7.

The Trade of England is diminished by the Acts made 18. and 20. Car. 2; against the Importation of Irish Cattle,  
Subject, Is the Trade of England.

Question, Whether it be diminished by the Act against the Importation of Irish Cattel?

I say it is.

Ax. 5 For every thing will be so much diminished, as is abated of it.

Pet. 21. But the Act against Importation of Irish Cattel, hath abated the Trade of England; with Ireland for Hops and Beer, and in Returns of Money by Bills of Exchange, Cloth, Stuffs of all sorts, Hats and Stockings of all sorts, Victualling Ships, etc.

Therefore the Act against Importation of Irish Cattel hath diminished the Trade of England. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotations upon this Proposition

The reason of this Act, is by the Preamble expressed to be the lowness of the Rents of England, caused by the multitudes of Irish Cattel imported into England. It is true, the Evidence of Fact, is ever resolved by the testimony of Witness; but this is



ever done without reason, and therefore for strengthening the Authority of him who testifies, the Name of God is usually invoked, that what is affirmed, is true; but the reasoning the Testimony of no man is more than another, but as the Question in reason, is resolved by antecedent Causes; nor herein is any man allowed to out-sware another, who gives a better reason, by the 7. Pet. multitudes and concourse of people advance Trade, and scarcity of people diminish Trade: and therefore if all men should affirm that a great Trade should be made where people are scarce and thin, this should never prevail with me, since it is against the nature of Trade; but on the contrary where people are scarce and thin they are rude, Flat, Heathenish, idle, and ever poor; and when they take great pains, which is very rare, for want of Education it is to little purpose. By the first Proposition The multitudes of the English diverted into our Plantations, hath diminished as well the Fishing Trade as the Trade of our Native Growths and Manufactures; which is more diminished by our re-peopling Ireland, since late War and Massacre there; and so much more diminished by how many extraordinarily died of the late great Plague; and by the 6 Proposition, the Growths and Manufactures of England in Foreign Trade are diminished by the Act of Navigation, and multitudes and intercourse of Foreigners are excluded by it; whereby the Trade of England is every way interrupted and diminished: And since the Rents of Land are valuable, as the Trade of the place is; It is from hence that the Rent of Land is so abated and fallen all over England, but much more since the Act against Importation of Irish Cattel; so as the end designed by the Law, which was the raising the Rents of Land, is so far from being attained, that from these Reasons the Trade of England being more diminished by this Law, the quite contrary hath ensued.

One of the Reasons alledged by the Act intituled, An Act for the Encouraging of Trade, made the 14 Car. 2. for the excluding Foreigners to Trade to our Plantations, is, to hold a greater kindness and nearer Correspondency between the English Nation and them, which reason of mutual kindness I as sure will hold stronger between the English Nation and Ireland; for if we lose them, or any of them, we lose no more than the Subjects in them, who unless it be in reference to Trade, are of no use to England; where as if by reason of this Act, we lose Ireland, or any part of it, the safety of this Nation will be endangered thereby.

If the Importation of Irish Cattel had abated the Rents of England one half, and thereby the Commodities of England had been reduced to half the price; the Nation had not been poorer thereby, however the Nobility and Country Gentlemen who were in Debt, and the Poor Tenants who had Leases of their Farms, would have been damnified and undone thereby; but in General, Navigation and the Trade of the Nation would have been advantaged by it.

The Reasons in the Act of Navigation are good for England against Foreigners Trading into our Plantations; and so is the restraining them from the Trade of Ireland; for otherwise other Nations, especially the Dutch, would have reaped more benefit by them than we should have done; but without question our Plantations and Ireland too would have been much increased and enriched by a Free Trade, more than by this restraint; and by like Reason the Trade of England too would have been much more, and the Nation much more enriched, than now, if no restraint had been put upon the Trade by the Act of Navigation. For by the Act of Navigation the greater Trading part of the World are excluded the Trade of Ireland; and by the Act against Importation of Irish

Cattel, upon the matter the Trade between England and Ireland is interrupted and destroyed and here let us see the Consequences hereof.

## Consequences

The Imaginary Reason that the Importation of Irish Cattel caused the abatement of the Rents of England is truly caused by the Act in the Southern and Eastern parts of England; for the Norther People, Welch, and Scots taking advantage of this Law, have raised the price of lean Cattel so excessively, that very small or no profit arises to the Graziers, when they are Fatted. So as before the Act, we bought cheap and sold cheap, which was but reasonable whereas now we buy dearer and sell cheaper, which is intolerable.

2. Before the Act we could Victual Ships with good and substantial Food cheaper than the Dutch, and upon all occasions the Dutch and French, and other Nations when they were in our Harbours, did take a very considerable quantity of our Provision; whereas since the Act the Dutch and French Victual much cheaper in Ireland, than we can do in England; and in Holland and Zealand Irish Beef I am told by Traders thither is sold for a penny a pound; so as having, as the case stood, but one advantage above the Dutch, (besides the excellency and conveniencies of our Harbours) in Navigation; by this Law we have given the Dutch a greater advantage over us than we had over them.

3. Before this Act, the Eastern and Southern parts of England did in a very considerable manner supply Flanders, France, Portugal, and Spain with Butter, which now we have interrupted the intercourse between England and Ireland, we have thereby put the Irish upon necessities of making Butter, which they do so much cheaper than is possible to be done in England, notwithstanding the abatement of our Rents, that they supply Flanders and France much cheaper than the English can; whereby our Trade for Butter and Cheese is become much worse than that of Grasing of Cattel: and now the Irish have established these Trades, much more advantageous to them than their Trade was to us with their lean Cattel: I understand no remedy hereof, but they will increase their advantages, and we must yet more continue losers.

4. Besides the abatement of our Native Growths and Manufactures, caused by the Act against the Importation of Irish Cattel, as England was the Storehouse for all sorts of Commodities coming from our Plantations, and other Foreign Goods, as all sorts of Dying stuffs, Hides, Fruit, Sugars, Tobacco's, and all sorts of Silks as well wrought as unwrought, Ribbands, Gold, Silver, and Silk-Lace; so the Trade with Ireland was driven by Commutation of the Product of the money for their Lean Cattel; which being now interrupted, this Trade of England with Ireland for these becomes proportionably lessened and diminished. Whereas now they transport their Beef into France, Holland, Zealand and Flanders, they make returns in the Growths and Manufactures of those Countries; whereby the Irish Trade is become as beneficial to them, as it was formerly to us.

5. His Majesties Custom for the Lean Cattel is quite extinguished.

6. The Shipping and Mariners employed and built for this Trade, are by this Act neglected, and made useless, about 100 Ships being before employed in this Trade only.

7. That as before English Shipping was generally employed in the Trade with Ireland, so the returns out of Ireland in Hides,

Tallow, Wools, and Yarn into Foreign parts was in English Shipping; whereas now we have not only lost the Profitable Returns of these Commodities, but Foreign Ships are only employed in these Trades.

#### Proposition 8. Theorem 8.

The Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade are so much hindered, by how many men, and so much money and stocks as are excluded by Corporations.

Subject, The Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade.

Question, Whether they be so much hindered, by how many men, and so much money and stock, as is excluded by Corporations?

I say they are.

Ax. 6. For any business will be so much hindered, by how much the means of improving are excluded.

Pet. 13. But men are necessary to improve Trade, and Pet. 5. money is a convenient mean to improve Trade; and Pet. 12. Stock is a convenient mean to improve Trade.

Therefore the Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade are so much hindered by how many men and so much money and stock as are excluded by Corporations. Which was to be demonstrated.

#### Annotations.

So as the Trade of England, and the Fishing Trade are diminished by our American Plantation, by there-peopling Ireland, and the late great Plague, and our late Foreign and Intestine Wars: It is hindered by the Act of Navigation in Foreign Trade abroad, and the greater Trading part of the world are excluded from Trading with us at home; and the greater part of the Nation excluded from Trading at all, unless it be upon such terms as they cannot be any ways encouraged in it; whereas in the mean time Supernumeraries of Solicitors, Bankers, Scriveners, and Users, who instead of Trading, divert all the means of improving Trade, and engross (I am confident) above six times as much money as is employed in Trades beneficial to the Nation; and I believe are more than the free Trading part of the Nation.

For my part as I desire the good of the Nation in what I have said, free from any passion or affection to any party or person; so do not I intend the prejudice, but good of every Corporation: for if men, money, and stock be the only means to enrich and strength any place, then every Corporation is so much more capable of Riches and Strength, by how many more men, and so much more money and stock is employed in Trade. The Dutch (who of all the world are the most considerable, and richest, and most mighty by Trade) understand this; and therefore Amsterdam (of all other places the most famous for Trade) is now designed to be enlarged 2/3 with free liberty for all the world to Plant and Trade with them. In or about the years 1636 and 37, about 140 Families out of the Counties of Norfolk, and Suffolk, forsook us and went into Holland, where the Dutch did not only entertain them, but in Leyden, Alkmere, and other places, planted them Rent-free, and Excise-free for seven years.

#### Corollary.

By the same reason Foreign Trade will be so much hindered, by how much the means of Transporting money in it are excluded.

Pet. 13. For money is a convenient mean to improve Trade.

Annotations.

The Dutch, Venetians, and Florentines, who understand this, and have no many of their own, freely permit the Exportation of money in Trade, and grow rich thereby, and the King of Spain, who hath all the Treasure of the West Indies, upon the penalty of Death, etc. forbids the Exportation of it, grows poorer, and can keep none. Mr Mun (a man of excellent knowledge and experience in Trade) affirms, he knew a Prince in Italy (of famous memory) Ferdinando the First, great Duke of Tuscany, who being very rich, endeavoured thereby to enlarge his Trade by issuing out to his Merchants great summes of money for very small profits: He himself had of the Duke 40000 Crowns gratis for a whole year, although the Duke knew it would be sent away in specie for the parts of Turkey, to be employed in Wares for his Country. Afterwards Mr Mun affirms he knew Legorn so much increased, that of a poor little Town it was become a fair and strong City, being one of the most famous places for Trade in all Christendom. And yet it is worthy observation that the multitude of Ships and Wares, which come from England, the Low-Countries, and other places, have little or no means to make returns from thence but only ready money. See more herein in the said Chapter. Though Trade may be maintained by barter of Commodities, yet he who Trades in money and barter, shall have a vast advantage.

Proposition 9. Theorem 9.

In the Trade of England with France, the English Nation loses so much as the value of the French Commodities imported exceed the English exported, which Mr Fortry affirms to be above 1600000 l. yearly:

Subject is, The English Nation.

Question, Whether it loses so much by the Trade with France, as the value of the French Commodities Imported exceed the English Exported?

I say it does.

Ax. 7. For where the consumption of things Imported, does exceed in value the things Exported, the loss will be as the excess is.

Pet. 2. But the English Nation consumes all the Commodities of France imported.

Pet. 3. And they exceed the Commodities of England Exported 1600000 l. a year, if Mr Fortry hath truly computed it.

Therefore the English Nation loses so much as the excess is. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotations upon this Proposition.

Nor is all the loss the English Nation sustains by the Trade with France; for Trading for French Wines in the perillous Months for Navigation of September, October, November, and December, we lose more Shipping and Sea-men in acquiring of them, than in all our other Trades besides; and in our immoderate drinking of them, we more than ordinarily dispose our bodies to the Strangury, Fevers, Gout, and Stone, when they are pure: and to so many more Diseases as when they are so many ways sophisticated and adulterated by Vintners; so that instead of drinking Health to the King of England, we drink Sickness to our selves, and Wealth to the French King.

So that Reader thou mayst understand, what vast Revenues the English, and the Dutch much more than the English, yearly bring

into France by their Trade with it. For though the Dutch Trade, (for Reasons hereafter specified) be not managed to the loss of the Dutch, as the English is; yet I am confident, and have it by good Authority, that if a true estimate were made of it, it would appear to be above six-fold more beneficial to France than the English Trade is. Sir Walter Rawleigh takes notice that the Dutch Trade into all Ports and Creeks of France, we chiefly into 5 or 6, and in those the Dutch have 4 times the Trade we have. So that if the French King can establish a Spice Trade, wherein he is wonderously industrious, being King of a Flourishing Country, he will have but little occasion to Export any Treasure, nor need he fear but the English and Dutch will still continue carriers of all the Wealth they get by Spain, and other places, into France.

#### Consequences.

From hence it is that the French King becomes so rich above any other Prince or State in Christendom; and being Prince of a noble and brave Kingdom, which abounds with most things conducing to the benefit of Humane Life, and very fruitful of men, as well as other things; and having few considerable Plantations to exhaust his men; he becomes not less Potent and formidable to all Christendom, than Rich and Glorious. Nor can I ever hope (the Pride and Luxury of the English, and the necessities of the Dutch are such) to see this vast increase of Wealth by the English and Dutch Trade with France to be abated; and what the further consequences hereof will be in time, it is more than time to be considered both by the English and Dutch.

#### Corollary

By the same Reason the English Nation loses so much as the Canary Wines Imported exceed in value the English Commodities Exported into the Canaries; which if the value consumed be 260000 l. yearly, and our Commodities do not amount to near 65000 l. yearly, we lose above 195000 l. by this Trade.

Pet. 22. For we consume all the Canary Wines imported.

Pet. 23. And the Canary Wines imported, do exceed in value, the English Commodities Exported.

#### Annonations upon this Corollary.

So as having lost those gainful and beneficial Trades to Muscovy, Groenland, and Norway too upon the matter, which is not longer lived if things must stand as now they do, than our Prizes taken in the late War last; having lost our Fishing Trade, more worth than all our Trades besides; and the Turkey, Spanish, and Guiny Trades, and up the Elb, are now no longer ours: the Dutch, unless in the Turkey Trade, and up the Elb, are more Masters than we, and so in a short time are like to be in these too. We flourish in the French Trade, and are so solely possessed of the Canary Trade, as we admit of no competitor.

#### Consequences

From this wild and vast expence by the English in the French and Canary Trades, does follow a neglect and contempt of all our Native Cloth, Stuff, and other Manufactures, and our Liquors; the French Silks, Fine Linnen, and Lace are preferred in all our Debaucheries: he is esteemed a Clown, if the excess be not in Sack and Claret, etc. And what now can the poor Country man

expect in reward of all his labours, especially if he hath a Lease, but to ruine himself and Family, by his labour and pains, for others who by their Prodigality and Luxury, undo themselves and the Nation as well as the poor men?

Lemma.

So as Reader thou mayst understand; (as Master Mun observes) that the Kings Customs, and particular men may grow rich by a Trade, whereby the Nation is improverished: for Merchants, Vintners, Drawers, Exchange people, etc. grow Rich, and live higher than other men; but the Nation droops, and in a very short time will be beggered by them. Nor must you, Reader, take your Measures of our Trade, by the rise and fall of the Kings Customs; for unless Trade be freer here than in other places, and the greatness of the Customs arises from the greatness of the Trade, not the greatness of the Impositions, the higher the Customs the worse the Trade; for all must be consumed in the place: and though the Customs be now eight times more than in Queen Elizabeths Reign; yet being upon Tobacco's, Sugars, Wine, and French Toys, the Nation is so far from being enriched thereby, that it is so much the poorer by how much men debauch themselves by excess in them.

Apology

I do not desire to be understood, as if I did intend any diminution to this Majesties Revenue by what is said of the height of Customs in this Lemma; and therefore, though the influence, which height of Custom has upon Trade and the advantages, which the Dutch States reap by the lowness of their Customs be the subject of another Proposition: Yet that I be not mis-apprehended, I say, That if the Imposition, which are now paid in Customs were paid by way of Excise, as they are in the United Netherlands, these benefits, his Majesty as well as the Merchant would have. 1. His Majesties Revenue, as the case stands, would be as much as now, unless in Exportation by Certificate, which is not much considerable. 2. As the Trade and Traders by the lowness of Customs would increase, so would his Majesties Revenue proportionably; whereas Trade diminishing by the height of Customs, so much his Majesties Revenue. 3. The Duties imposed upon Customs, when they are high, excite men to use all means to steal them, whereby they get so much as they conceal; whereas if the Customs be low, men would not run like hazard to get little or nothing thereby. 4. The Merchant would be free to employ his mony he pays in Customs, in his Trade upon occasions, as they are offered. But if so much as is imposed upon Exportation by Certificate, were imposed upon the Customs, and the Customs as they stand were collected by Excise, the Kings Revenue would be the same, and improvable as Trade would thereby improve; and the Merchant have the benefit of employing all the mony he pays in Customs in his Trade.

From the lowness of Customs and height of Excise it is, that though the English Nation be capable of a ten-fold greater Trade than the United Netherlands, yet the Revenue the Dutch States acquire hereby, is above three-fold more than the Kings Revenue by Excise and Customs.

Epilogue.

Thus Reader thou mayest understand, that though England be

the most excellent and convenient place for Trade of all others, yet our practice and ordering it, is contrary to the nature of it; which ever flourishes most in convenient places, where it is more free, and people more abound. The abundance of our people (beisdes those which the hand of God hath taken away) are diminished in peopling our Plantations, and in re-peopling Ireland since the late War and Massacre there: So as thereby the strength as well as Trade of the Nation is abated proportionably: and yet as matters stand, we have interrupted our Trade with Ireland: Nor can we for the future expect any great benefit from the Trade to our Plantations for Tobacco's and Sugars. For the Dutch by the late Treaty of Breda being possessed of Surinam, which yields better Sugars than our Barbados, and may do in a much more inexhaustible manner, being upon the Continent, and as good Tobacco's as our Virginia; and being better Masters of Trade than we are, and having no Laws of Naturalization, to retrain them from peopling it, and supplying themselves at home; we for the future can expect little comfort from our Plantations than to supply our selves with Sugars and Tobacco's, but must leave the Dutch to enrich themselves with supplying the world thereby. Already the Dutch, upon expectation of supplying themselves with great quantities of Sugar and Tobacco's from Surinam, decline buying the Sugars of our Plantations; whereby they are become a Drug, and fallen from 42 s. a hundred, to 26. This puts the Sugar Bakers on new projects, viz., the boiling up of Panellis Sugar to supply and serve instead of loose Lisbon Sugar, which was the principal Commodity returned in lieu of our Bays, Sayes, Searges, and Perpetuanoes, there vended in great quantities, and for want of returns by exchange not be there obtained, the value principally returned in Lisbon Sugar; so as our Native Commodities in the Lisbon Trade too must in a short time not fall only, but want vent.

As Ireland and our Plantations have exhausted our men whereby our Trade and strength is abated and diminished, so the Law against Natrualization debars any future supply of other men from Planting with us; and the Law of Navigation excluded much the greater Trading part of the world from Trading with us from abroad, and out Corporations restrain our Trade to as few at home: so as Trade, which ever flourishes in multitude and freedom, is by us, by all imaginable ways circumscribed, taxed, and reduced to a few.

While we are contriving newer and more severe Laws against the Exportation of Wool, and neglect the careful inspection and management of our Woollen Manufactures, whereby they have lost their Reputation abroad; we put the world upon necessities of supplying themselves elsewhere, and expecially from Ireland: whereby the Dutch not only partake with us in our Turkey Trade, and up the Elb; but the Dutch and French in our own Markets in England have a free and open Trade in Woolen Cloths and Stuffs; and in the mean while our Wool becomes a Drug, and of no price or esteem at home; whereby, notwithstanding the severity of all our Laws against the Exportation thereof, great quantities are exported; and so will be until we establish such a Trade in our Woollen Manufactures, that men shall be better encouraged to work them here than elsewhere; for all men will rather venture their lives than lose their means of living.

We neglect to give any encouragment in assisting Ingenuous and Industrious men in any undertaking for the Publick good. I give one instance in the County of Suffolk, and here in Clerknewel: The English during the late Dutch and French War, did betake themselves to Weaving Poldavies, or Buck, which they did

make into double Buck, being two threds spun together, and made of our English Hemp, (which Ipswich and Woodbridge men affirm to be better than any East Country Hemp for this use) which made better Sails than any other, and did manage a considerable Trade thereby, to the great benefit of Suffolk: but now the Dutch and French Buck is sold somewhat cheaper (The English not being as yet so much Masters of the Trade as the Dutch and French). This Trade begins to decline again, and to be neglected for want of some small Encouragement, which might be done by some small Imposition, for some time upon the French and Dutch Buck, until we should be enabled to work it as cheap, as it is in France and Holland.

As we give no encouragment to our industrious Natives, so we utterly discourage all industrious Foreiners from improving and increasing Trade. I need not here repeat the discouragment upon the Silk-throwers by the Corporation and Company of London, wherein near 2000 people are imployed; though the first introduction of Silk-throwing was by a Foreiner, the worthy Father of Sir Thomas Chamberlain, now a worthy Citizen of London, because the Wisdom of Parliament hath provided security for the Silk-throwers.

But though the Weaving Silk be as much or more advantageous to the Nation, yet certain ingenious and industrious French Artificers, who endeavoured to exercise their Trades last Summer in the Suburbs of London, were Indicted at Hicks-Hall, by certain of the Yeomanry of the Company of Weavers, Commissionated by the Bailiff, Warden, and Assistants of the said Company, and committed to the New-Prison in Clerkenwel; though the difference between the said Company and the Protestant Strangers using manual Occupation was upon the Address of the French and Dutch Churches, depending before his Majesty and Council. Nor could any relief herein be had, though his Majesty in Council the 29 of October last referred the business to the Lords of the Committee of Trade, until his Majesty in Council the 10th of November last, was pleased to discharge them.

I need not here recite the benefits the Nation at this day reaps by the permitting the Walloons to establish their Trades at Canterbury, Norwich, Colchester, and other places: the Nation (at least the Southern and Eastern parts) know they are the best Trades we have now left: Yet I cannot but take notice that within the memory of man, the returns of Maidstone Market did not amount to weekly above 30 l. whereas since admitting about 60 Families of Foreiners in the thred Trade, the returns are weekly now above 1000 l. to the incredible benefit of the hands, as well as all sorts of people adjoining.

How pernicious this practice of excluding Foreiners must needs be to he Nation, as it now stands, if it be continued, it understood by his Majesty. And the French King so well understands how much it will conduce to the advantage of France to encourage the freedom of Trade, by entertaining all sorts of Forein Artificers, that in contradiction to all the Ecclesiastical Powers opposing it, he hath gratned free liberty to all sorts of Forein Artificers and Merchants to exercise their Consciences in all Ports and places in his Dominion, and to have Churches allowed them with equal or more Priviledges than his natural Subjects. Sure now it will be no ways prudent in us so to discourage any herein, as to be entertained by the French King, as well as Dutch.

So that all the good beneficial ends designed by Trade, viz. of imploying all sorts of Impotent People, Women and Children; of Strengthening, and enriching our selves by Trade are quite



inverted by us. For the Fishing Trade, and the Trades of Making Dying and Dressing our Cloaths and Stuffs, wherein all sorts of poor people might have been employed, is lost and neglected by us, whilst we intend the Newcastle Trade, the French, Canary, Turkey, East India Trade, and to our Plantations, wherein only lusty men are employed, and the Impotent People, Women, and Children are exposed to beggary, and the publick charge. Secondly, Ireland and our Plantations Rob us of all the growing Youth and Industry of the Nation, whereby it becomes weak and feeble, and the Strength, as well as Trade, becomes decayed and diminished, I, and the Law against Naturalization Bars us of any future supply: And thirdly, Our Affluence, Luxury, and irregular management of Trade, renders us poorer, and in a worse condition, than if we had no Trade at all.

So as here, Reader, thou mayest understand the reason of the decay and falls of the Rents of Lands in England; for by the 11 Petitions, the Rents of Lands are valuable as the Trade of the place is: the Trade of England therefore being diminished, the Rents of the Lands in England are consequently fallen and diminished in proportion to it.

Reasons of the Increase of the Dutch-Trade.

Part II.

Wherein is Demonstrated from what causes the Dutch govern and manage Trade better than the English, whereby they have so far improved their Trade above the English.

Petitions.

1. Men labour more industriously in Trade, and upon easier terms in the United Netherlands than in England.

2. The Dutch have down the Rhine, Marz, and Scheld, out of Germany, France, Lorrain, Flanders, and other Spanish Provinces, greater quantities of Timber, more choice, and upon less terms than can be had in England, but more since the Timber of England is so much diminished by the Act of Navigation, and much more when the City of London is rebuilt.

3. The Dutch have Pitch, Tar, Hemp for Cordage, Tackle, and Iron, in greater quantities, and for less terms than the English can, out of Norway, Denmark, and other Kingdoms within the Sound.

4. Pitch, Tar, Cordage, Tackle, and Iron are necessary means in fitting up ships for Navigation.

5. The Dutch build Ships for Navigation more conveniently than the English.

6. The Dutch acquire more Foreign Commodities in Trade out of German cheaper and with more convenience, than the English do out of Scotland.

7. The whole world is Water and Land.

8. The Dutch pay less Customs for Foreign Commodities at home than the English.

9. The Dutch pay less Customs for Foreign Commodities in Foreign Trade, than the English do.

10. The Dutch pay less interest for money, than the English.

11. The Dutch States are more conversant in Trade than the Council of State in England, or any other.

12. The Dutch generally breed their youth of both Sexes in the Studies of Geometry and Numbers, especially more than the English do.

13. The Study of Geometry and Numbers, is the best Education for understanding Trade.

14. The Dutch States have equal or more means in Trade, than the Council of State in England, or any other.

15. A Dutch Statesman is more interested in Trade than a Counsellor of State in England, or any else.

16. Dutch Merchants and their Wives are generally more conversant in Trade than the English.

17. Dutch Merchants have fewer impediments in Trade than English, and have their Controversies in Trade sooner determined, and with less charge and trouble.

18. The Dutch pay less Customs for their Domestick Manufactures in Forein Trade, than the English do.

Axioms or Common Notions.

3. Where men labour more industriously upon less terms upon any thing, this thing is cheaper managed.

9. Any business which is more freely managed may be greater managed than if it were more restrained.

10. More business is done by more means, and cheap, if the means be had upo easier terms.

11. More business may be done by more means, and cheap, and more conveniently, if the means be more convenient and cheaper.

12. Who buyes cheaper than another, and more conveniently, may sell cheaper, and with much more gain, if the charge be otherways less.

13. All things are either Forein or Domestick.

14. They who are more conversant in any business, and better Educated in it, may understand it better than another.

15. They who may understand any business better than another, may govern it better than that other.

16. Where men are more interested in any business, they are less subject to be corrupted to the prejudice of it.

17. They who have fewer impediments in any business, and less charge and trouble in it, may improve it better than another who hath mre.

18. The whole is equal it all parts.

Treatise II.

Proposition I. Problem I.

How the Dutch manage a greater Trade at home than the English.

Subjects, Are the Dutch and English.

Question. How the Dutch manage a greater Trade at home?

Annotations.

From hence it is that the Dutch States without the danger of War, or putting themselves into the power of fickle and unconstant Fortune, and by destruction and devastation of other Countries, killing and making men miserable by poverty and slavery, from no principles form within themselves, but by acquiring men and means from other places, have attained the means (though all the United Netherlands do not in bigness exceed the County of York, nor have half the conveniencies of that Country, except in numbers of people) to manage a greater Trade at home than any other Country of the world. It is true, the

times since they became States have concurred much to their advantage herein; for entertaining all sorts of persons, who, upon the account of either Religion or Faction, forsook their Countries, they have been much more enable to do this. But the Province of Holland above all other, for no sort of people was denied admission there; whereby Holland, as it is of more strength than all other Provinces, so it contributes 11/14 to all Publick Taxes.

Whereas this Nation does not only lye under the restraint of the Bar of Naturalization, and Ireland and our Plantations are always open to exhaust us of our men: but besides the multitudes of English which are dispersed in other places of the Netherlands, Rotterdam, Middleborough, and Flushing, are about 1/4 English, and of English Extraction. About the Years 1636, and 37 about 140 Families out of Norfolk and Suffolk forsook us, and Planted themselves in Leyden, Alkmen, and other places of the United Netherlands, and there established the Woollen Manufacturers of those places, which at this day is as much advantageous to the Dutch, and prejudicial to us, as Queen Eliz. (after the example of K. Edward 3) entertaining the Walloons, persecuted by the Duke of Alva, and planting them in Colcester, Norwich, Canterbury, etc. was advantageous to us, and prejudicial to the King of Spain: And sure it is worthy the consideration of the Parliament how this may be prevented for the future.

One Thomas Tilham born at Martley in the County of Worcester, and formerly a Chirurgeon in Warwick, treated with the Elector Palatine of Rhine about 6 years since to bring in a Colony to Inhabit, and establish Woollen Manufacturers in the Palatinate; which the Prince allowing, the said Tilham hath brought in a Colony of, its believ'd, between 2000 and 3000 men, who now manage a Trade upon Woollen Manufactures; and for Tilhams Reward herein, the Prince hath made him Commander of them. Many of these people came to Tilham out of Essex and Suffolk: One Skip of Herefordshire is gone to him with some people; so are several others out of those parts.

So that, though all Princes as well as States almost understood the wealth and strength which attends a Domestick Trade, as well as the Dutch; Yet we only of almost all the world are so careless herein, that we neither care fo encreasing our Domestick Trade, nor to restrain out Artificiers from betraying the mystery of ours; though the free admission of People of all Nations was the first Principle of the Greatness of the Dutch Domestick Trade, and the restraining our Domestick Trade to the English only, is the first Principle of the Decay of ours.

Prop. 2, Theorem 1.

The Dutch manage Trade cheaper in the United Netherlands than the English do in Engl.

Subject, are the Dutch and English Nation.

Question, Whether the Dutch manage Trade cheaper?

I say the Dutch manage Trade cheaper.

Ax. 3. For where men labour more industriously and upon easier terms upon any thing, this thing is cheap managed.

Pet. i. Lib. 2.

But Men in the United Netherlands labour in Trade more industriously and upon easier Terms, than in Engl.

Therefore the Dutch manage Trade cheaper in the United Netherlands, than the English doe in England. Which was to be

done.

Annot.

As the Law against Naturalization is the reason, why the Dutch in the United Netherlands, manage a greater trade, than the English do in England, so is it the reason, that Trade is cheaper managed there than in England. For if the Trade of England being managed by reason of this Law by English men only, who by reason of our Plantations, the Repeopling Ireland, the late great Plague, and our late Wars are thin and very few, if you will have any work in Trade done, you must do it as the imployed English please; or you must have no work done: whereas if the Trade of England were as freely managed as in the United Netherlands, the English man then must work and be as industrious as other men, or he must not work at all: This freedom of managing Trade in the United Netherlands, as it increases the hands there, so it makes men more industrious in Trade; for the multitudes of people concurring in Trade an emulation of excelling on another is excited, whereby every man endeavours to excell the other in some way or other; whereas in England, Trade being circumscribed by the few English in it; they not only work dearer, but are careless in working. Nor will I ever believe that Industry is restrained to English, exclusive to other Nations. I cannot pass over how much the Trade of England is at this day bettered by Queen Eliz. prudent Entertaining the Dutch and Fleming, against the Law of Naturalization; who not being able to indure the insupportable Tyranny of the Duke of Alva, sought refuge in this Nation; where in Colcester, Norwich and Canterbury, they were planted, and there they brought in those Trades, where at this day are the best we have left in England.

Prop 3. Problem 12.

How the Dutch may and do build more Ships for Navigation, and cheaper than the English.

Subjects, are the Dutch and the English.

Question, How the Dutch may and doe build more Ships for Navigation and cheaper than the English?

Construction, The Dutch have down the Rhine, Maez, and Sceld out of Germany, France, Lorain, Flanders and other Spanish Provinces greater quantities of Timber, more choise and upon less terms than can be had in Engl; but much more since it is so much diminished by the Act of Navigation, and must be yet much more in rebuilding the City of London. I say the Dutch may build more Ships, etc.

Ax. 10. For more business is done by more means, and cheaper if the means may be had upon easier terms.

But Timber is a necessary mean in building Ships, and the Dutch have more Timber, more choise, and upon easier terms than the English.

Therefore the Dutch may and doe build more for Navigation, and cheaper then the English. Which was to be done.

Annotations.

It was proved before a Committee of the House of Commons last Session of Parliament, that the Dutch build ships of equal dimensions for one half the English can; It is true that the goodness of our Timber heretofore when we had sufficient, and choise, did in a great measure compenste the charge in building

Ships; in regard that Ships built of English timber were much more Durable and strong: but now all our best Timber, is wasted and destroyed, and must be more in rebuilding the City of London, our Timber not coming to perfection in less then 150 years growth, if care were taken for the Preservation and increase thereof, which I never hope to see; I doe not understand for the future how we shall possibly build so good Ships as either Dutch, Dane, or French, for three times the prices: And so Reader I leave to thee to consider the fatall consequences like to ensue, upon this poor Nation in this thing only.

Prop. 4. Probl. 3.

How the Dutch may and do fit up more Ships for Navigation, and cheaper than the English.

Subjects, are the Dutch and English.

Question, How the Dutch fit up more Ships for Navigation and cheaper.

The Dutch have Pitch, Tar, Hemp, for Cordage, and Tackle, and Iron in greater quantities, and for less terms than the English can out of Norway, Denmark, and other Kingdoms within the Sound. I say the Dutch may fit up more Ships for Navigation cheaper than the English.

Ax. 10. For more business may be done by more means and cheaper, if the means may be had upon easier terms.

But Pitch, Tar, Cordage, Tackle and Iron, are necessary means in fitting up Ships for Navigation.

And the Dutch have more or great Quantities of Pitch, Tar, Cordage, Tackle, and Iron than the English, and upon easier Terms.

Therefore the Dutch fit and one up more Ships for Navigation, and cheaper than the English. Which was to be done.

Annotations.

Here must I take notice that since the Rumps institution of the Act of Navigation the condition of fitting up ships for Navigation in England is as bad as the building of Ships, and that against the Act of the 1 Eliz. 13. which stands yet in force. For by the 1 Eliz. 13. It is free for all men to import Pitch and Tar in any Vessels; whereas by the Act of Navigation; if any English man imports any Pitch, or Tar unless in an English built Ship, and sailed by 1/4 English at least, now we have neither men nor Ships to do it, the Ship is forfeit, Goods, Guns, Ammunition, and Tackle: and so it is in a strangers Ship who is not a Native of the place, whereby he may impose what terms he please, or otherwise we must not have either Pitch or Tar at all: And our Condition for Cordage and Tackle is much worse, for though we may have Pitch and Tar, upon such Terms as Dane and Swede please; yet it will be impossible in a short time to have and Cordage or Tackle at all. For it must be imported by either English men in English Ships; when we have neither men nor Ships to do it; or by the Natives of the place, when the Inhabitants of Riga, Revell, Narve and other places of Leifland, from whence all the best hemp (if not all) for Cordage and Tackle comes, trade not with us at all.

Prop. 5. Problem 4.

How the Dutch may and do acquire more Forein Commodities by

Navigation, cheaper and more conveniently than the English.

Subjects, are the Dutch and English.

Quest. How the Dutch, ut supr.

Construction. By the 3 Prop. 2. the Dutch may and doe build more ships and cheaper than the English, and by the 4 Prop. 1.2 they may fit up more ships and cheap, and by the 5 Pet. 2. they build Ships more conveniently: I say the Dutch etc.

Ax. 11. For more business may be done by more means and cheaper, and more conveniently, if the means be more convenient and cheaper.

Const. But the Dutch may, and do build and fit up more ships, more conveniently and cheaper than the English.

And Ships are necessary means in Navigation.

Therefore the Dutch may and doe acquire more Foreign Commodities by Navigation cheaper and more conveniently than the English. Which was to be done.

Annotations.

So that as the Dutch build and fit out Ships cheaper than the English, so they build them more conveniently for Trade. For every Trade they build Ships, whereas in England unless it be in the Island Trade (wherein I do affirm are not one fourth part of the shipping in England, as was when the Act of Navigation had its first birth) all Ships serve for all Trades, the Dutch herein so far excell the English and all other Nations; that truly upon this account, they can, notwithstanding the Impositions of the King of Denmark in the Trade of Norway for Timber, supply any part of the world cheaper than the King of Denmarks own Subjects, notwithstanding the Abundance of Timber and Pitch and Tar, which so much abounds in Norway. This appeared in the time of Oliver, who permitted the English to Trade for Timber, Pitch and Tar in Dutch bottoms, forced the Norwegians to sell the Ships they had built to Trade with the English for want of Employment; so in the years 1667, and 1668, the Kings permitting the English to trade in Dutch bottoms for Timber to Norway, and the Dutch to import it; reduced all the excessive Impositions which the King of Denmark had imposed upon the English before in that Trade, or otherwise he had undone his own Subjects.

And as in this Trade, so in all others, they so excell in the convenient building of Shipping; that Sir Walter Rawleigh in his observation on Trade, which he dedicated to King James near 60 years since, affirms, if an English Ship of 200 Tuns, and a Holland Ship of like burden be at Danske or any other place beyond the Seas, they serve the Merchant cheaper by a 100 l. by reason the Hollands Ship is say'd by 9 or 10 Mariners, and ours with near 30. Notwithstanding we yet continue our old way of building Ships, and so must so long as the Law against Naturalization stands in force; for the English know no other: and if the English Merchant will not build as the English Carpenter pleases, and his way, he must not Trade at all; for if he buyes and Trades in any Foreign Ship, she is forfeit, Goods, Guns, Ammunition and Tackle by the Act of Navigation. So as the Dutch build Ships for half the price the English do, and Navigate for half the price. From when it follows,

Consequences.

That though the Dutch much more than double abound in

Mariners above the English, yet navigation with much less than half the hands, they may drive above 4 times the Trade by Navigation: than the English doe; and building and fitting up their Ships for half the terms do navigate fo half the price? from whence it is that though the Herrings (except red Herrings cannot be cured by them) and other Fish, be taken upon our Coast, the exportation of them as free, as in the United Netherlands, yet cannot we supply any part of the World so cheap as they; whereby they have only left us the Trade of red Herrings, and to supply our selves by excluding them, from trading with us, with white Herring.

Probl. 6. Theorem 12:

The Dutch may and ot acquire more Forein Commodities in Trade cheaper and with more convenience than the English, in all the world.

Subject, The Dutch.

Question, Whether they may acquire? etc.

I say they may.

Ax. 18. For the whole is equal to all the parts.

Pet. 7. 2. But the whole world is Land and Water.

Prop. 5. 2. The Dutch acquire more Forein Commodities by water cheaper, and with more convenience.

Pet. 6. 2. And so do by Land.

Therefore the Dutch may and do acquire more Forein Commodities in Trade cheaper and with more convenience than the English, Which was to be demonstrated.

Prop. 7. Prob. 4.

How the Dutch may and do sell more Forein Commodities at home and in Forein Trade, cheaper, more conveniently and with much more Gain than the English.

Subjects. Are the Dutch and English.

Quest. How the Dutch? etc.

Construction By the 6. Prop. lib. 2. they acquire more Forein Commodities in Trade, cheaper, and with more convenience; And Pet. 1. lib. 2. the Dutch pay less Customs for Forein Commodities at home and in Forein Trade, and 10. Pet. 2. they pay less interest for mony.

I say the Dutch, sell, etc.

Ax. 12. Who buyes cheaper than another and more conveniently, may sell cheaper, and with much more Gain, if the charge be otherwaies less.

Construction, But the Dutch buy more Forein Commodities cheaper, and more conveniently; and their charge is otherwise less in paying less customs and less interest for mony.

Therefore the Dutch may and do sell more Forein Commodities cheaper, more conveniently, and with much more Gain then the English. Which was to be done.

Annotations.

Pay less Customes. By reason whereof principally the Dutch doe not only thrive by the Trade with France, but upon the matter their whole Trade is founded in it: For without the Salt of France the Dtuch could not Fish: and by the Fishing Trade, the

Wine, Salt, and Brandies of France, they drive their Trades into Germany, the Northern, and North-east Countires; from whence they draw those Commodities, whereby they are enabled to drive their Trades to Spain, into the Streights; and to the East and West Indies; whereas by the benefit of our Money and Commodities we are only enabled to lose about 1600000 l. a year, if Mr Fortry hath truly computed it.

Nor is this all the Benefit the Dutch receive by the smallness of their Customs, which Sir Walter Rawleigh affirms not to be the 19 part so much as the English, (though in truth they are much less) yet by this means they draw all Nations to Traffick with them; and though the Duties they receive be but small; yet the multitudes of all sorts of Commodities brought in by themselves and others, and carried out by themselves and others, is so great that, they receive more Customs and duties to their State in one year by the Greatness of their Commerce than England does in two by the greatness of their customs.

And as this Monarchy by reason hereof hath lost the Trade to a Common-wealth, so by reason hereof a Commonwealth in Italy hath lost their Trade to a Monarchy. For the State of Genoa imposing Customs upon 16 per cent upon all Commodities imported, the Duke of Florence taking the advantage thereof by making Legorn a Free Port; whereby it is become one of the most famous and flourishing Towns in Europe: And the Genoans are forced to turn Usurers, upon what they had got before. And this year the King of France in probability hath laid a foundation to undo Legorn by making Marseilles a free Port.

The King of Sweden, within the memory of man, made Gottenburg a Free Port for 7 years, which at this day hath established such a Trade there, that of a poor and unregarded Village, it is become the most flourishing Town of Trade in the North, or North-East. Here Reader let me desire thee to partake some part of my Grief, in beholding such unsafe and barred Ports as Gottenburg, and all those of the United Netherlands to be by means of their freedom so Rich and Flourishing; whereas our most excellent, noble, and safe Harbours, but especially Falmouth (which Cambden prefers before Brundisium, or any other) and for its excellency and convenience, yet hath scarce a Cock-boat belonging to it) are all neglected and passed by, by reason of the height of our Customs, the Laws of Naturalization and Navigation.

Pay less Interest for money. By reason whereof the Dutch may preserve stores of all sorts of Commodities, and at any time sell them cheaper than the English, who pay more Interest for money. Sir Walter Rawleigh affirms that Amsterdam is never without 700000 Quarters of Corn, besides the Pleny they daily vent: And that a Dearth of Corn in England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, or other places enriches it, when cheap, to the not benefit of England, and to buy it when dear, to the impoverishing of us. Besides, it is impossible, when two or more Ships are employed in any voyage, the one paying after the rate of 4 per cent the other 6, if otherwise their charge be equal, that upon equal terms they can sell their Commodities, upon equal profit.

So that though the height of Customs and Interest of money, do both prejudice Trade, where it relates to any other place where either are less or lower; yet the height of Interest is more insupportable, in that it every day increases; whether it be in preserving Stores, or in reference to the length of Voyages in Foreign Trade. And whereas the publick Revenue is augmented by the height of Customs, yet to the prejudice of Trade; so Trade is more prejudiced by the height of interest, without any advantage



to the publick Revenue. Nor does the mischief of height of Interest money end here, but it hath a like bad influence upon building, and fitting out Ships, where no Custom is paid: So as a Dutch Ship of equal Dimensions, may be built and fitted out to Sea for half the terms an English Ship can: and this Ship thus built and fitted for half the terms, is sailed with half the hands; so as this charge being both ways double to the English, and the English paying 1/2 interest more, the English merchant labours from hence, in a three-fold charge more than the Dutch Merchant does, and this not to be at one time discharged as Customs are, but ever to be imposed upon the Ship so long as the lasts: from whence it will necessarily follow, that if our Customs were lower than the Dutch, yet if the Interest of money be in proportion higher, the Dutch may and will hereby only maintain the Trade of the world exclusive to the English.

Corollary.

By the same reason the Dutch may sell more Domestick Manufactures at home, and in Forein Trade cheaper, and more conveniently than the English, and with much more gain.

For by the 2 Prob. lib. 2. Trade is cheaper managed in the United Netherlands than in England: and Prop. 1. lib. 2. It is more managed there than in England: And 13 Pet. 2. The Dutch pay less Customs for their Domestick Commodities in Forein Trade.

Prop. 8. Theorem 3.

The Dutch may sell more Commodities in Trade, than the English, cheaper, more conveniently, and with much more gain.

Subjects, Are the Dutch and English.

Question, Whether the Dutch may and do sell, ut supra?

I say they may.

Ax. 13. For all things are either Forein or Domestick.

Proposition 7.2. But the Dutch may sell more Forein Commodities at home and abroad, cheaper, more conveniently, and with much more gain than the English.

Corollary.

And may sell more Domestick Manufactures at home, and in Forein Trade, cheaper, more conveniently, and with much more gain.

Therefore the Dutch may and do sell more Commodities in Trade, cheaper, more conveniently, and with much more gain than the English. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotations.

They do it, and have done it, and are thereby become the greatest Prodigy that ever the world brought forth. For let any consider them in their first principles, being inconsiderable either for Number or Quality from their first rise, to be opposed by the most powerful Monararch in Christendom for near 80 years together! and from no principles of Trade from within themselves, nor having scarce a piece of Ground to build one house upon, nor one stick of Timber, or scarce on handful of Hemp, Pitch, Tar or Iron, to build or fit out a Ship; and notwithstanding their constant Wars with Spain, to ingage and undertake so many Wars against the Swede, Dane, Portugal, and in the East and West Indies? To build so many fair and stately Cities beyond any other

part of the World, and all this in less than 100 years; and at this day to manage a greater and more gainful Trade than all the world: whereby their Wealth is inestimable, and all this in contradiction to seeming impossibilities. Nor is their strength and power at Sea less terrible, than their wealth inestimable; and at this day all the Affairs almost of Christendom are transacted at the Hague: Queen Eliz. a Princess of most excellent Prudence and foresight, though she were careless in hindering them in the progress of their Trade, yet was very vigilant in restraining their strength by Sea: nor would she permit them to build many Men of War, and those not considerable; whereby without any controul she kept them in perfect subjection at Sea. After King James loved peace, and his Book so well, that he did not restrain their rising power by Sea. K. Charles (of Sacred memory) foresaw the danger of it, and would have restrained it, but it pleased God he reigned in such perverse times, that he either was not, or, which was worse, could not be understood by his Subjects: so as now their power at Sea is swelled to such a prodigious greatness, as it is a question whether it can be controuled by all the power in the world; and what the consequences hereof will be, only God knows. I do not believe the Dutch intend us any good by it.

Prop. 9. Problem 6.

How the Dutch States may and do understand Trade better than the Council of State in England, or any other.

Subjects, Are the Dutch States, and the Council of State in England, or any other.

Question. How the Dutch States? etc.

Construction, By the 11 Pet. 2. The Dutch States are more conversant in Trade, and by the 12 Pet. 2, The Dutch generally breed their Youth of both Sexes more in the Studies of Geometry, and Numbers especially than the English. I say the Dutch, ut supra.

Ax. 14. For they who are more conversant and better Educated in any business may understand it better than another.

Construction. But the Dutch States are more conversant in Trade than the Council of State in England: and the Dutch generally breed their Youth of both Sexes better for understanding Trade.

Therefore the Dutch States may and do understand Trade better than the Council of State in England, or any other.

Apology

I am so far from intending any diminution by this Proposition to the Regal Authority in this Nation, or any oblique aspersion upon his Majesties Privy Council; that I do affirm no one thing could conduce more to the grandeur of his Majesty and the publick Interest of the Nation, than to have a constant Council of Trade established by Act of Parliament, which might not only inspect and regulate as well our Native and Foreign Trade; but also be advising and assisting to his Majesty in such Treaties with other Princes and States, wherein Trade is concerned. And how much more this is to be desired, wherein the particular good of every individual person in the Kingdom is concerned, than Corporations, which are advance to the prejudice of the rest of the Nation, I submit to any indifferent man. And if it me no aspersion upon a Privy Counsellor, who is not a Lawyer, to say in the knowledge of the Laws, the Lawyer may be

more understanding; I do not understand how it can be any to say a Merchant better Educated, and more conversant in Trade, may better understand it, than a Privy Counsellor, who is not so Educated, and less conversant in it.

I say moreover, if all which I have complained of in the former, and this Treatise were regulated, wherein in point of liberty, we were equal with the Dutch; yet if the Dutch shall better Govern and Regulate Trade than we, thereby only the Dutch may and will drive the Trade of the World exclusive to the English.

Prop. 10. Theorem 3.

The Dutch States govern Trade better than the Council of State in England, or any other.

Subjects, Are the Dutch States, and the Council of State in England, or any other.

Question, Whether the Dutch States govern Trade better?

I say they may.

Ax. 15. For they who may understand any business better than anther, may govern it better.

Prop. 7.2. But the Dutch States may and do govern Trade better than the Council of State in England, or any other. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotations

From hence it is that the Trade of England is managed confusedly, distractedly, and sharkingly by the Traders: neither is there any established Power by which it may be better Regulated: And to this great Wisdom and understanding of the Dutch in governing Trade, may be justly added so great a staidness and prudence in all Treaties with Forrein Princes and States in reference to Trade, that thereby they have advanced their Trade with all Forein Princes and States: And to this they conjoyn power, by which they, upon all occasions, improve their Trade above what they had before got by Treaty; which whoso reads Leon ab Alzma, one of the States easily observe.

Prop. 11. Theorem 4.

A Dutch States-man is less subject to be corrupted to the prejudice of Trade than a Council of States-men in England.

Subjects, Are a Dutch States-man, and a Counsellor of State in England.

Question, Whether the Dutch States-man be less Subject to be corrupted to the prejudice of Trade?

I say he is.

Ax. 16. For where men are more interested in any Business, they are less Subject to be corrupted to the prejudice of it.

15 Pet. 2. But a Dutch States-man is more interested in Trade than any English Council of States-men.

Therefore less subject to be corrupted to the prejudice of Trade. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotations.

So as to the great wisdom and power of the States in governing, is conjoyned Interest, whereby their Counsels are established in greatest security, not only safe hereby from all possible bribery or corruption from any Power from abroad or at

home: but this moreover creates a diligence in them all to inspect the management of all Foreign, as well as Domestick Trade, whereby as well in the Fishing Trade, as in all their Domestick Manufactures, their Fish and Manufactures have a reputation incomparably above ours Whilst our Aulnage, etc.

#### Prop. 12. Theorem 5.

Dutch Merchants may and do improve their Trades better than English.

Subjects, Are Dutch and English Merchants:

Question, Whether the Dutch improve their Trades better?

I say they may.

Ax. 17. For they who have fewer Impediments in any business, and less charge and trouble in it, may improve it better than others, who have more.

Pet. 17. 2. But Dutch Merchants have fewer impediments and less trouble and charge than English, and have Controversies in Trade sooner determined, and with less charge.

Therefore with less charge Dutch Merchants may and do improve their Trade better than English. Which was to be done.

#### Annotations

When Controversies in Trade arise in England, it will be first a very probable question, whether the conusance of them belong to the Common Law or Admiralty: Here the Merchant must wait and intend this business, whatsoever his concernments are otherways; if after God know when the Jurisdiction be determined, than it may be they are removed into the Chancery, where after a tedious delay they may be decreed, and upon a motion, a new Order for re-hearing; or it may be returned to the Common Law, or perhaps brought into Parliament: and after all this flux and reflux of vexation and charge to the certain undoing of one or both parties, these Controversies resolve in the determination of men, who it is impossible, should understand them: for all Judgment is from antecedent Knowledge; and therefore if the nature of Trade, Bills of Exchange, and accounts in Trade, etc. and all the particularities which lead to the Controversies in question, be not before understood, which it is impossible the Judges in Chancery, Common Law, or Admiralty should do, their Education and Breeding having been otherways, it is impossible they should judge aright.

#### Proposition 13. Problem 7.

How Dutch Merchants and their Wives generally understand Trade better than English.

Subjects, Dutch Merchants and their Wives, and English.

Question, How Dutch Merchants and their Wives generally may understand Trade better?

Construction. By the 16 Pet. 2. Dutch Merchants and their Wives are more conversant in Trade, and 12 Pet. 2. The Dutch generally breed Youth of both Sexes more in the studies of Geometry and Numbers especially. I say Dutch Merchants, etc. may understand Trade better.

Ax. 14. For they who are better Educated and more conversant in any business may understand it better.

13 Pet. 2. But Dutch Merchants and their Wives are generally better educated to understand Trade.

16 Pet. 2. And are more conversant in Trade.

Therefore Dutch Merchants and their Wives generally may understand Trade better than English, which was to be done.

#### Annotations

In all rational designs men first consider the end. 2. From what principles they may attain the end: And thirdly, so to order these principles, that the end be attained by fewest means and shortest ways. The end designed by education of Youth is to live justly, to be assisting in Government, and to be helpful to other men. The first principle to do this by education is, that God hath given every Youth understanding, as well as sense, to govern all his Actions by reason, not love, hatred, fear, or desire. 2. That it is in the power of every learner to do something which is required of him, whereby he may improve his knowledge by practice. And 3. The means by which Youth is instructed is Speech and Method, both which must be before understood.

To live justly is not founded in the principle of Geometry and Numbers, yet this I say, that by these men are better enabled to live justly than others who are more ignorant in them; for God and Nature hath made all things to consist in Number and Quantity: that man therefore who is ignorant herein, though he means justly, yet does not understand in his dealings, whether he does justly or not: And in so high an esteem were most noble Sciences among the Grecians, when Learning flourished so among thme that they esteemed all the world Barbarous but themselves, that the greatest Philosophers of them, would have all Justice and Government to consist in Arithmetical and Geometrical proportion. Plato (who would have all Gods works to be done in Geometrical Proportion, and excluded every one his School, who was ignorant in Geometry) though bred in a Democratical State, would have Justice and Government to consist in Geometrical Proportion, Xenophon, though bred in an Aristocratical, would have Justice to be founded in Arithmetical proportion.

Afterwards Aristotle, that he might not be less a Philosopher than Plato, or Xenophon herein, divides Justice into Corrective and Distributive Justice; corrective to be in Arithmetical Proportion; and Distributive in Geometrical: though for my part I believe he never understood one Prop. either in Geometry or Numbers.

1. The ends designed by Education in Geometry and Numbers, are such, that every man by knowledge in them, is better able to deal in any business relating to Humane Conversation, not in Trade only.

2. All fortification is founded in these studies, especially in Geometry: so is encamping and approaches, and defences against them. Achimedes so excelled herein, that when Marcellus besieged Syracuse, he alone twice beat back the Roman Army, nor (its believed) had the Romans take it, if Archimedes had not been surprized.

3. Architecture, Surveying and Measuring all Bodies and Superficies, is wholly founded in them.

4. Astronomy is founded in Geometry and Numbers, so is measuring the distance of places, 'whereby Navigation is better to be improved.

5. History (which so enobles the minds of men) is rude and imperfect without knowledge of these Studies, for no man without understanding Numbers can compare Era's, EPOCHA's, and periods of times, when Actions were done; nor how they were done in place without Geography, which is founded in Geometry.

6. Youth by education in these Studies, where a method of

Reasoning is observed, does not only acquire by every Proposition a new and certain knowledge, which at some time or other may be beneficial, but gets a habit of right reasoning, whereby he is enabled to judge of any Proposition in any other Science or faculty, and to judge of the reasons in them.

2ndly. The Principles of Geometry and Numbers, as of all Sciences are three, viz. Definitions, Petitions, and Axioms, which as I understand, are not rightly understood by Euclid, nor any Commentator upon him: but Aristotle is as far from understanding the Principles aright, that he does not understand the Number of them: For he says Anal. Post. that the Principles of Science are two, Proper, and Common, Proper, as a Line: Common, as if equals be taken from equals, what is left will be equal; and the Logick taught in our Schools establishes no Principles at all.

3dly. The Means by which Youth is instructed in Geometry and Numbers, and in all other Learning, is Speech and Method. Speech is the instrument or mean by which men converse and instruct; our English Tongue therefore being copious enough to instruct Youth in Education, it is vain and superfluous to do it in any other, where men are not necessitated to speak different Languages: The Greek and Latin Tongues being the Language of no place, I know no necessity of them, unless men desire to multiply Gods Curse in the Confusion of Tongues, by retaining these now there is no necessity of them. Yet the better sort of the Youth of England is condemned to the learning of these tongues, which they at last understand so imperfectly, that not one of a hundred can speak or know in either so well as his own: and whether this is the nearest way to Instruction, I leave to any man to judge. The Antient Egyptians, Syrians, Caldeani, Grecians, and Romans instructed their Youth in their Mother Tongue, whereby they become so eminent in Learning, that this present Age enjoys much benefit from them.

The Africans before the Reign of Mansour Emperour of Affick, and all the Spains, who reigned, as Pedro Mexico says, about the year 1105 were accounted barbarous. This Emperour, being a great lover of Learning, caused all Books written in Greek, either concerning Philosophy, Physick, or History to be translated into the Arabian Tongue, and founded many Colledges in the Cities of FEx, Morocco, Affrica, Trevissin, Tunis, Argier, Hippona, etc. and endowed them with great Revenues for reading these Studies in the Arabian Tongue: whereby not men only, but women so profited in Learning, that as Leo Affricannus affirms, the women of Lybia in those days were very learned, and above all things else, sooner busied in good Books, than medling with Cloth and Garments. And it ws in this Emperours Reign, or soon after, that those famous Philosophers, Averroes, Mesues, Rafit, Rabbi Moses, and many other flourished. Nor do I know any reason, but if Learning were taught Youth in the English Tongue, whereby the English might be as learned as the Romans, and Grecians, but the English Tongue would be in as much esteem as the Greek, and Latin.

The Method of Learning in Geometry and Numbers, and in all other Learning, is by disposing the knowledge in the Petitions and Propositions before known; so the knowledge what was before understood to be eternal and necessary in the Axiom, that the question of every Proposition not known before, may necessarily be known in the conclusion of the Syllogism. But this is impossible to be done by any Authority of Aristotle, where are no

Petitions or mean knowledge in the Subject: and those Principles which he establishes are so confounded, that as he makes a Line to be a Proposition Principle, so he makes a man Anal. Post. to be a Universal, yet a Line is as much a Universal as a man: From whence, as it is impossible any progress of Learning or Rational Knowledge can follow; so such knowledge as this will. Universals are every where and cannot be perceived by sense, Ana. Post. I. x. c. 31. tit. 1.

A Man is a Universal.

Therefore a man is every where, and cannot be perceived by sense.

If it be impossible from Principles thus established to learn or know; then must it be more impossible to learn by the vulgar Logick, where no Principles at all, and all Rules of Learning inverted in the first Definition (as it is called) which sayes Logick proves (not the Consequences but) Principles in its own and other Sciences.

Consequences.

From hence then it it, that in Germany, is no method observed in Reasoning, whereby the study of it is rendred perplexed and difficult, which is of all others the most natural and easie: The construction of the fourth Proposition, lib. 1, is from no antecedent knowledge; and if the negative part of that triangular demonstration be true, which makes two triangle lines to comprehend no space then is all the doctrine of Triangles false; for if a right lined Angle be not space, it is nothing; yet nothing but two right lines comprehend it: And in the vulgar Arithmetick is no reason at all taught; but the learners without understanding any reason are required to divide the Product of the second and third, by the first, and the Quotient will give a fourth proportional number, etc. But how this comes to pass is not understood, whereby learners take no pleasure in learning, and soon forget what was told, without any possible means of improving knowledge in any other Proposition: So as it is from hence that the nobler and better sort of the Youth of England being bred up in these vain and fruitless Studies of Grammar, Logick, and Arist. and, being thereby fitted for no Business or Conversations, are disposed to lead idle and debauched lives: and the Female Sex, though it be of mankind as well as the Male, and endued with a rational soul, and therefore accountable to God and their Superiours for their Actions, are less bred ingenuously in England, than in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and the United Netherlands, whereby they may be enabled to govern themselves when Virgins and Widows, and to be assisting to their Husbands and Families, when Wives.

I have before often treated by Apology, as well become me, because the King and Laws to which I am Subject were concerned. I need none if what is said upon this Proposition: I have equal right here with any man, and any man with me. The method prescribed is not four lines, whereby in Geometry as well as Numbers I will, by Gods leave, from causes before know, demonstrate the question of every Proposition not known before: whereas by twenty years learning of Grammar, Logick, and Aristotle this was never done, nor possible to be done.

Proposition 14. Theorem 7.

How Dutch Merchants and their Wives generally may govern Trade better than English Merchants and their Wives.

Subjects, Dutch and English Merchants and their Wives.  
Question, Whether the Dutch govern Trade better than the English?

I say they may, and do.

Ax. 15. For they who understand any business better may govern it better.

Prop. 12. 2. But Dutch Merchants and their Wives generally understand Trade better than the English.

Therefore may govern Trade better. Which was to be demonstrated.

Annotations.

From hence it is that Dutch Merchants Wives frequently, when their Husbands are abroad in Trade, or any other business, order and govern their Trades as diligently and discreetly as if they were at home; which is a very great advantage both to the State and their Husbands, and Families, and might be of as much, or more to the King and Merchants here in England, if their Wives were so educated, as to be enabled to do so.

Epilogue

So as Reader thou mayest understand, and that by demonstration, in the former Treatise from what causes, and by what means the English Nation is become so degenerate in Strength, Wealth, and Trade. In this thou mayest understand by what means and degrees the Dutch in less than 100 years have attained such prodigious Riches and Strength by Trade (wherein we undo our selves) and the Trade of our Manufactures and Plantations. And in these two the Dutch may out do the English in Forein Trade, if their charge in acquiring them does not exceed their charge otherways. And herein they may clearly out-do the English, if it be true; which is said, that in them English Factors Trade in their own names, yet upon the account of Dutch Merchants; whereby it much more comes to pass, which Sir Walter Rawleigh long ago observed, that our Sea and Land Commodities serve only to enrich and strengthen other Countries against our own.

If we lose the Trade of England, we must lose Navigation; if we lose Navigation we lose the Sovereignty of the Seas; if the Sovereignty of the Seas, then read the condition of the Nation in the Danish Invasion, and remember it not long since.

Notwithstanding the Nation is in this condition, yet are we so ingaged in Factions and Dissentions, that neither the continued series of Gods manifold Judgments these many years upon it by Wars Intestine and Forein, Plagues, Fires, and Hyrricanoes, nor the growing greatness of our Neighbours the French and Dutch, does any ways alarm or awaken it.

I might here Reader proceed to a third Treatise, by observing the same method, and demonstrate that England is capable of greater Wealth, and strength than the United Netherlands (or perhaps any Country else) and that from thos natural prerogatives wherewith God hath endued it, the Nation may manage a greater, better, and more valuable Trade upon much less terms than the Dutch can a less, worse, and les valuable Trade: But it will be to no purpose to proceed herein, until Trade be relieved, wherein we shewed cause.

THE END.





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