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N^o 5

A
P R O P O S A L

For Humbling

S P A I N.

Written in 1711.

By a Person of Distinction.

And now first printed from
the MANUSCRIPT.

To which are added,

Some Considerations on the Means of
INDEMNIFYING GREAT BRITAIN
from the EXPENCES of the PRESENT
WAR.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Ox-
ford-Arms in Warwick-Lane.

(Price One Shilling.)

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THE
EDITOR
TO THE
READER.

 *S Treasure found in the Earth, belongs by Law to the Lord of the Soil: So whatever may benefit Society, if it falls into the hands of a private Man, remains there only in trust for the Publick. The first fair Occasion which presents itself of discharging this Trust, is a demand which he ought to be sensible of, and not be slow in performing a Duty, which is so much the more incumbent from its being known*

iv **The EDITOR**

only to himself. Atbousand Accidents, after one opportunity slipp'd, may intervene and deprive him of another. Which shews how careful one ought to be in the Concerns of one's Country, and how little, in such case, Time is to be trusted, which we can neither recall nor secure.

THE *Consideration of these Points induced the Publication of the following Proposal, which fell into my hands many Years ago by accident, and was called from a dusty Corner of my Study by the Declaration of War against Spain. As soon as I heard that, I thought of this; but tho' I always thought it both a curious and useful Piece, yet I was determined to publish it in the manner it now stands, by*
the

to the READER. v

the Report of a Law shortly to be made for encouraging his Majesty's Subjects to enter into Copartnerships, for the more effectually making Reprizals on the Spaniards, Had it not been for this, I believe I should have put it into the hands of the Publick by itself, without any Observations. But this making it appear to me a thing of greater Importance, I resolved to take all the pains I could to explain, and render it generally useful at the present important Juncture.

IT would have been very easy (had I been so inclined) to have thrown this Project into a new Form, and to have concealed entirely the original Author. But this would have been mean and base.

vi The EDITOR

base. It would have been committing the blackest kind of Theft, and instead of doing justice to the Publick, it would have been imposing on it. A just Sense of this hath obliged me not only to preserve the Piece in its old Form, and in its Author's own Words; but hath likewise restrained me from interpolating or curtailng it in any manner whatsoever. In a word, it hath inclined me to deal with this Gentleman's Work, as I could wish (were I capable of leaving such a one) a Work of my own might be dealt with.

AS to the Author, I can only say that he was a Person of great Abilities, much Experience, and some Distinction in the World, to which his Merit advanced him.
The

to the R E A D E R. vii

The Piece itself will shew thus much, and more I neither can, nor is it necessary I should say. He is long ago dead, and consequently out of the reach of Favour or of Envy. He was living a zealous Friend to his Country, and even in his Grave his Labours are not buried with him. To such a Man's Memory every true Friend to Worth must be grateful; and therefore I am in no pain for the Reception this little Treatise will meet with. It hath Merit enough to make it acceptable at any time. It is so proper to be considered at this time, that it must have pleased if it had less Merit.

THE Remarks which are added have the same Intention with the original Piece; viz. to awaken

viii To the READER.

a due Sense of Honour, and a just Regard for the Publick, in the Breast of every Englishman, in so critical a Juncture. If any way it shall further so desirable, so glorious a Purpose, it will do the greatest Honour to the deceased Patriot, and fully reward me for any little Pains I have taken about it. With these Reflections I commit it to the Hands of the British Nation, and sincerely wish to see them embrace either this, or some more profitable and laudable Proposal.





A
P R O P O S A L

For Humbling

S P A I N.

Written originally in MDCCXI.

IN my Opinion there is nothing more astonishing in the whole Course of * this ruinous and yet necessary War, than the little Advantage we have reap'd from our great Superiority at Sea, if our Hands are tied up by secret Treaties, and therefore must not exert ourselves where we naturally have the greatest Prospect of succeeding, as well as

B the

* *In the Reign of Queen ANNE of glorious Memory.*

the greatest Necessity of undertaking it; I say, if this is the case, 'tis a very unwarrantable piece of Complaisance either to our Allies, or Enemies. But without making further Conjectures about a thing that hath puzzled many more besides myself, I shall proceed to treat of the Subject that at present induc'd me to put Pen to Paper: And if I was not thoroughly convinc'd that the following Proposal is both very beneficial, and necessary to *Great Britain*, and likewise very proper to be attempted at this time, I should not be prevail'd upon to say a word concerning it.

I humbly propose to the Government, to send in the beginning of next *October*, eight Men of War, with five or six large Transports, which number of Ships may very well contain 2500 Men fit to land upon any occasion, to attack, or rather seize upon *Buenos*

Ayres, which is situated upon the River of *Plate*. I am convinc'd they will either make no Defence, or a very weak one, against such a Force ; for if I only design'd the plundering it, I would not in the least doubt of doing it with 400 Buccaneers. But I am far from forming so mean an Enterprize, but on the contrary, as soon as taken, propose the fortifying it in the best manner the Country will allow of, for here is no Stone, and the lazy *Spaniards* have never try'd to make Brick ; but these Defects are capable of being remedy'd more ways than one, and when the Place is fortify'd, there ought to be left the most numerous Garrison that can be spar'd, without weakening the Men of War too much : As to the Men on board the Transports, 'tis to be suppos'd they were sent to be left there. Now to shew the vast Importance of this Place, I am under a necessity of giving a short Description of

4 A PROPOSAL

Country, with the Use that may be made of it, by my Countrymen, if they please.

THE Mouth of the River of *Plate* lies in $35^{\circ} 00''$ south Latitude, and the Town of *Buenos Ayres* is situated on the south Side of the River, upon an Angle of Land, form'd by a small Rivulet call'd *Rio Chuelo*. It hath no other Fortification to defend it but a small Earthen Fort, surrounded with a Ditch, and mounted with 18 or 20 Guns; the Town contains about 500 Houses, inhabited by a very wealthy People, who have been so happy as never to be attack'd by any Enemies since it was first settled, which they owe to their being plac'd out of the way of the whole World, as one may say, except the *Portugueze*. Their whole Force is computed (by Mons. *Acarete du Biscay*) to be not above 600 Men,
the

for Humbling Spain. 5

the three Companies in Garrison included.

THE Fertility of this happy Country exceeds belief; for their Plains, which are the largest in the World, as being fifty, and some eighty Leagues in Circumference, are so cover'd with all sorts of Cattle, that 'tis credible to none but those who see them. But to give you an Idea of this matter, I will only mention a Device they have to hinder the landing of an Enemy; which is, to drive so vast a number of Bulls, Cows, and Horses to the Shore-side, that they suppose it would be an impossible matter to force a way through them. This Monsieur *Acarete du Biscay* affirms the Inhabitants told him when he was there.

THIS Author I have just now mention'd, without dispute, hath oblig'd the World with the best Account of
Buenos

Buenos Ayres, and the Country between it and *Peru*, of any yet extant; and indeed he had great Advantages to enable him to do it. I am sensible some will object, that things are very much alter'd since that time, for he made his Voyage thither by Order of the Court of *Spain*, in the Year 1657; but I was last Summer at *Lisbon*, when three *Dutch* Men of War brought in thither two large Galleons, which came the Day before out of *Cadiz*, and bound for *Buenos Ayres*, who never fir'd a Shot against the *Dutch*, because they had a Pass from the Queen of *England*, and they pretended that she was oblig'd to get the *Dutch* to release them; for which end they solicited my Lord *Gallway* to give them leave to go in the Pacquet-Boats for *England*, to negotiate their Business at Court.

DURING this time I had an opportunity of discoursing two of their Pilots
every

for Humbling Spain. 7

every Day ; the one was a *Greek*, a very sensible Fellow, and satisfied me in every thing I demanded of him very frankly ; the other was a *Basque*, and more reserv'd, but in the main, they confirm'd every Particular of Monsieur *Acarete's* Account. But now to make an end of the Description of this delicious Place ; the Soil affords all that *France* or *Italy* can boast of, as to Fruits or Garden-Ware ; and for Grain, Wheat, Barley, Millet, &c. thrives nowhere better. My Author says further, that Partridges are a Penny a-piece, and that Beef, Veal, Mutton, Venison, Hares, Rabbits, Pullets, Wild Fowl, &c. proportionably ; and for Health, which crowns all other Blessings, 'tis exceeded by no Place upon the Face of the Earth, and for that reason was call'd *Buenos Ayres*, or Good Air.

THIS short Description sufficiently demonstrates the Bounty both of the
Climate,

Climate, and Soil. And I am persuaded that I can easily prove, that the Situation, in regard to the Commerce of this Nation, is of the greatest Importance, and that no one Place or Country under Heaven is so capable of increasing the Trade and Riches of *Great Britain*; and this can be undeniably made out by Arguments that are self-evident : For

THERE runs a noble Highway from *Buenos Ayres* to the Province of *Los Charcos*, in which *Potozy*, and the most considerable Mines are found ; and as this Province is the southermost of the whole Kingdom of *Peru*, so consequently all *South America* may be supplied with Goods or Merchandize of all kinds they want this way, infinitely cheaper than any other now in use. And the reason why the *Spaniards* do not make use of it for this purpose, shall be told in its proper place.

But

But I think it not amiss, to give my Reader here an Account how all *South America* used to be supply'd with *European* Commodities, before this War broke out. In the first place, the Goods that come from *England* are shipp'd at *Cadiz* aboard the Galleons, who carry them to *Porto Bello*, where they are unloaded, and sent over Land on Mules Backs to *Panama*; and there re-shipp'd on board Ships in the *South Sea*, and carried to *Callao*, and from thence dispers'd over Land again to the several Provinces of that vast Continent: from whence 'tis plain the Charges of Exportation exceed the prime Cost of the Goods four or five times. Whereas by *Buenos Ayres* the Charges would be inconsiderable, in comparison with the usual way: for the Journey from hence to *Peru* is made with much ease in sixty Days; and for Horses or Mules for the Carriage, no Country in the World is so plentifully stock'd with
C them

them as this, for all *Peru* is supply'd with these Animals from hence : And throughout the whole Journey they pass not in the least danger of any hostile *Indians*, for the Province of *Tucaman*, through which they pass, hath enjoy'd a perfect Tranquillity from the first planting of it by the *Spaniards*, excepting about *Salta*, which borders upon the Valley of *Calchaqui*, from whence they used to be plagu'd by the *Chileans* ; and for which reason the Reguas or Caravan of Mules which constantly use this Trade never come near it. They meet likewise upon this Road at every forty or fifty Leagues with good Towns, as *Cordova*, *St. Iago de Lestro*, *St. Michael de Tucaman*, *Effeco*, *Xuxui*, *Omagoaca*, *Socchoa*, and others, and single Plantations dispers'd up and down the Country, which makes the way both pleasant and commodious.

Now

Now I desire the intelligent Reader to consider the vast difference betwixt the way now in use, and this I propose, and to cast his Eyes upon the Maps to help him to form a true Judgment upon the matter; he ought at the same time to remember the Inconveniences, as well as Charge in entering all the Goods at *Cadiz* in *Spanish* Names, to prevent Confiscation, before they can be put on board the Gallcons, and the many hazards they are expos'd to in imbarquing, and re-imbarquing so often; besides the Land-Carriage very often of several hundred Leagues before they come to their intended Market, which makes them so excessive dear, that what costs one hundred Pounds at *Cadiz*, must of necessity be sold for a thousand, to recompence the Merchant, in any tolerable degree, for the Charges and Risque he hath run, as well as

the long time he must be out of his Money.

WHEREAS by this way of *Buenos Ayres*, when the Goods can be carried thither in *English* Bottoms, if what costs one hundred Pounds in *England*, be only sold at Market for 250 *l.* the Merchant will gain considerably more by it, and be able to have three Returns in the time he made one the other way. And 'tis certain, upon so considerable a Fall of those Goods they stand in so much need of, the Consumption of them will be much augmented; for our Stuffs and Cloaths are so unreasonably dear, for the Reasons already mention'd, that the poorer sort, and even the trading People, make use of *Quito* Cloath for their wearing Apparel, and only the better sort use *English* Cloaths and Stuffs. But if we once can settle our Trade this way I propose,

pose, we should utterly ruin that Manufacture at *Quito* in a few Years.

THOUGH a great deal more might be said on this head, yet for the sake of brevity I omit it : I have said enough to those who are competent Judges, and to such I write. I confess 'tis an Article of the last Importance to *England*, and what we are now groaning under an expensive bloody War to secure : And if we fail of our purpose, farewell woollen Manufacture, &c. But if we were once settled here securely, (which if we can be persuaded to undertake it heartily, I don't in the least doubt may be easily effected) we would in despite both of *French* and *Spaniard*, though *Philip* kept the Throne of *Spain*, enjoy a more beneficial Trade than ever with *South America*. For

BUENOS AYRES, and the Country depending on it, affords several

ral Commodities that *Peru* cannot be without : In the first place, all the Mules and Horses that are used in the Presidency of *Los Charcos*, where they have so great occasion for them in carrying, first the Ore, and afterwards the Silver, from place to place, come from hence ; and they would have much to do to subsist here, I mean at *Potozy*, was it not for the great quantity of dry'd Cows Flesh that is brought from *Buenos Ayres* hither, which the ordinary People subsist upon. 'Tis not to be imagin'd how dear Provisions of all kinds are at the Mines ; and 'tis worth taking notice of, that all Countries in the World that afford Gold or Silver in any plenty, are destitute of all other Conveniences, and very unhealthy, *Chily* only excepted.

BUT what is yet of more Importance than all the afore-mention'd Commodities, is the Herb of *Paragua*, that is
only

only to be found in the Country adjacent, and depending upon the Government of *Buenos Ayres*; a thing of that mighty Consequence to *Peru* and *Chily*, that without it they would find it impossible to dig any silver Ore out of the Mines: for those poor Wretches, *Negroes* and *Indians*, that are employ'd in working in them, are almost every Hour suffocated with mineral Vapours, which they meet with in those vast subterranean Caverns; and then nothing will recover them but a Liquor, made by infusing this Herb in warm Water sweeten'd with Sugar, and drank plentifully, which restores them to their former Vigour. Sometimes when the Case is very bad, and the Slaves almost dead before they can be brought into the fresh Air, they use it for an Emetick, which is done by making the Infusion stronger, and leaving out the Sugar, which clears their Stomach of the offensive Matter, and saves their Life,

Life, when every thing else is found ineffectual. The Inhabitants that live on the Surface are likewise extremely plagued by these mineral Exhalations, and their Bodies dried, or rather parch'd up to that degree, that if it was not for this same Remedy, or Liquor, which they are all day sipping, there would be no living near the Mines. And with all the care they can take, without doubt their Lives are shorten'd extremely; but what is not Avarice capable of doing, especially in a *Spaniard*? In a word, without this Herb the Mines would be of little or no use, and the Province of *Los Charcos* very thinly inhabited. 'Tis the Tea of this Country, but what they are under an absolute necessity of drinking, not for pleasure, but to preserve Life.

THIS Herb is gathered in the Country of *Paragua*, near the City of *Assumption*, which is situated upon the
River

River of *Plate* about one hundred Leagues above *Buenos Ayres*, and there made into Packs, and sent down the River to *Santa Fe*, a small Village about eighty Leagues above *Buenos Ayres*, and depending upon that Government; where the Merchants from *Chily* and *Peru* come to buy it, and load it upon Mules, and so convey it to their respective Cities. This Village of *Santa Fe* is the only Pass by which it can go to *Peru*; for People must not imagine that one can pick and chuse which way they will go in those Countries, as they can in *Europe*; 'tis very providential they have that one good Road through so large a Country so sparingly inhabited. But suppose they could do this, it would be to little purpose; for if ever we seize upon *Buenos Ayres*, we must likewise fortify *Santa Fe*, which at present contains not above sixty Houses, without any manner of Fortification, and take *Assumption*,
D and

and settle it with a Colony of our own. This City is said to contain about 400 Families, but is no better defended than the other. It was settled by People that had, by their Laziness and ill Management, out-run their Fortunes in *Peru*; and to this day serves for a Retreat to all such People as can live no where else in the *Indies*. The Country round it affords every thing necessary for Life, even in too great abundance, for which reason the Inhabitants are exceeding lazy, and utterly neglect Commerce, spending their time in feasting, and playing on the Guitar. They have very little Money stirring amongst them, bartering one thing for another like the *Indians*. This Herb serves to procure them Cloathing from *Buenos Ayres*, as well as all other *European* Goods they want: In short, the Country is much too good for its worthless Inhabitants. I desire my Reader to observe, that all the Places I have described,

scrib'd, as *Buenos Ayres*, *Santa Fe*, and *Assumption*, are situated upon the same River; and though the distance between them at first seems to be very considerable, yet their having a direct and easy Communication by Water, makes the Passage more convenient than fifty Miles by Land would be.

I think now 'tis very obvious to every common Eye, that if we can settle ourselves at *Buenos Ayres*, the *Spaniards* will be under an absolute necessity to open a Trade with us; nay, 'tis in our power to impose what Terms we please upon them: but if we had no other way to obtain it than the affording our Goods as cheap again as they can furnish themselves with the other way, even that, with a little patience, would infallibly produce it. But without trusting to that, we should have them in a manner at our mercy, by

having the Herb of *Paragua* in our hands.

BUT we have still another Lure for the *Spaniards*, as powerful and as proper to produce the desir'd effect, as any yet mention'd; which is, the supplying them with *Negroes* in sufficient numbers, and cheaper than formerly. This is the great Inconveniency which the *Spaniards* have labour'd under this last Age: for having in a manner utterly destroy'd the natural Inhabitants, they are oblig'd now to perform the Work by *Negroes*, of which they could never get the number they wanted; and 'tis certain if they were fully supply'd, they would get yearly above twice the Quantity of Silver they now do. It must be confess'd they used all means imaginable to obtain them. The *Genoese* undertook to supply them at a concerted Price betwixt them, for which end they form'd a Company call'd the *Affiento*,
who

who had their Factors at *Jamaica*, *Curaçoa*, and *Brazil*; and pray consider what a prodigious Tour they made before they got to the Mines, first from *Guinea* to *Jamaica*, from thence to *Porto Bello*, and then to *Panama*, where they are reshipp'd on board the Fleet when returning to *Callao*; which is a Voyage of four Months at least, for they have the Wind in their Teeth every League of this Voyage. After staying some little time at this last mention'd Port, they are put on ship-board again, and sent to *Arica*, which is a Voyage of a Month, or thereabout; and when landed, they can't have less than 150 Miles to the Mines: From whence, I think, 'tis plain, that not above one *Negro* in three arrives at *Potozy*, or the adjacent Mines, of those that were originally bought by their Factors for that end. Whereas the *Negroes* that might be sent from *Buenos Ayres*, would be liable to none of the Inconveniencies

veniencies that the other poor Wretches suffer'd, as passing through so many different unhealthy Climates, and so many tedious Voyages by Sea, enough to wear out Bodies of Steel, especially considering how the miserable Creatures are accommodated all the time both with Lodging and Diet : but this way I propose, they would but have one short Voyage by Sea ; for from the Coast of *Guinea* to *Buenos Ayres* they would sail four Parts in five of the Voyage before the Wind ; and when landed, pass through one of the most plentiful and healthiest Countries in the World, even in a manner to the Mines Mouth : so that one may venture to affirm, that with careful Management, they would not lose one in ten. This Article alone is of a most prodigious Consequence, and capable to render our *African* Company the most flourishing of any in the Kingdom ; and it must be confess'd, that it is the most beneficial to
this

this Island of all the Companies that ever was form'd by our Merchants: for a Cargo rightly sorted for *Guinea*, consists of fourscore different Commodities at least, of which seventy are of the Manufactures and Produce of this Country; and they return us Gold, Slaves, Ivory, and Wood for dying; whereas other Companies export our Silver, and import us things we might better be without.

EVERY one knows that our *African* Company is now in a manner dissolv'd, to the great Joy both of the *Dutch* and *French*; and it behoves us, if we are not infatuated, to put it speedily on a better foot than formerly, and not to let such an important Branch of our Commerce be lop'd off, to the enriching our Neighbours, and our own Scandal. Nothing can be more melancholy than the present Face of our Trade. The *Spanish* Commerce,
that

that was deservedly call'd the Darling, and Silver Mine of *England*, utterly lost for the present; and what's worse, gain'd by an Enemy. The *African* for the present suspended; and 'tis difficult to judge what Fate it will meet with at last. In the *Russian* Trade, we are both out-traded, and out-witted by the *Dutch*. As to our *Mediterranean* Trade, we have so few of our Ships return safe, that 'tis allow'd by the Judicious we are losers by it every Year. I care not much for giving my Judgment concerning our *East-India* Trade; but I never heard any body pretend that we were enrich'd by it. In a word, our poor Country hath little to depend upon at present but the Plantation Trade; * and they are so harraß'd by the *French*, and ill Management, that they look with a very sickly Complexion; and if better care be not taken, will contract a Consumption.

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* The Reader must remember, this was written towards the Close of Queen ANNE's War.

I know the common Answer is, that *Peace will make every thing return to its former Channel*; but there are People who wish their Country as well as any of their Fellow-Subjects, that mightily doubt it; for they know by many woful Examples, when Trade by some unavoidable Accidents, or Mismanagements, hath changed its old Course, that all the Endeavours of the most skillful and experienc'd Heads to reduce it back again, have prov'd ineffectual: † Therefore I humbly beg my Countrymen, whom Providence hath plac'd like Centinels to watch over its Commerce, and are paid very liberally for their Pains by the Publick, to represent this betimes, as they tender either the Welfare of their Country, or discharging their Duty with Honesty and Ability.

E But

† This is an excellent Observation of our Author, and deserves particular notice at this time.

BUT to return once more to *Buenos Ayres* ; for before I can take leave of it, I ought to take notice of another Commodity it abounds with, which is Hides : tho' this Article sounds meanly, after so many great ones already mention'd ; yet when better examin'd, will be found of no small Consequence. Monsieur *Acarete du Biscay* says, when he first arriv'd there, he found riding in the Port twenty-two *Dutch* Ships, who had on board, one with another, 14000 Hides each ; and he computes the Hides to be worth in *Europe* twenty-five Shillings a-piece : And he further says, that if there had been fifty Ships, they might have had the like Loading ; now pray tell me if this is a despicable Article ? This happen'd when *Oliver* had declar'd War against *Spain*, which had put such a stop to the Trade betwixt *Cadiz* and *America*, that the Inhabitants were oblig'd to trade with the
Dutch,

Dutch, or want all sorts of *European* Goods; for by the Law of *Spain* this was capital, and the Governour, notwithstanding the necessity, was some small time after sent for this very thing a Prisoner into *Spain*, and all he had, was seiz'd for the King's Use.

THE Court of *Spain* suffers but two Ships to go yearly from *Cadiz* to this Colony; and there's not a little striving who shall be the People concern'd in them, for they gain above double what the Merchants do that send their Goods in the Galleons, and have their Returns in much less time. The *Spanish* Ministers of State have been very often strongly solicited to bring home all the Treasures of *Peru* and *Chily* this way, and utterly forsake that of *Porto Bello*, as apparently more expos'd to all Enemies, especially since they have lost *Jamaica*. The Court was very much inclin'd to this Advice,

as being sensible of the Truth of the Allegations, by many sorrowful Experiences in the Wars they have had both with the *Dutch* and us; but upon scanning this Proposal more deliberately, they rejected it, because they plainly perceiv'd if they should abandon the usual way, a great many Cities, and Tracts of Land that were then in a flourishing Condition, would in a short time become desolate, because they absolutely depend upon the Passage of the Silver, and other Merchandizes of *Peru* and *Chily*, either through or near them; by which means the other Nations of *Europe* that have not such choice of Countries to settle, would seize upon them, and become nearer Neighbours to the *Spaniards* than their true Interest will by any means allow of. It must be confess'd, that the *Spaniards* upon this occasion made a true Judgment upon the Matter in debate. But if any Nation in war with them should
seize

seize upon *Porto Bello*, and think that way to distress them, by hindering them from bringing home the Silver of *Peru*, they would find themselves extremely deceiv'd, and laugh'd at by the *Spaniards*, who would very readily change the Course of it this way; and when the War was over, re-settle it again if they saw occasion. I cannot help taking notice here of a great many People, that I have fallen in company with since the beginning of this War, that were full to the brim with the Notion of taking *Porto Bello* and *Panama*, and so, as they thought, imprison the Silver in the Mines; for by their Politicks the *Spaniards* were neither to have *Negroes* to work them, or a Passage to bring it to *Europe*. I have lost too much time in mentioning such a weak ineffectual Project, if it was not in every body's Mouth almost that pretends to speak of this matter.

AND

AND is only to be match'd with another Project that made a mighty noise upon Change about two Years ago; which was to fit out a small Squadron of Ships, and suit them with proper Cargoes for the *South-Sea*, and send them now we are in war, to trade with them. Surely this was one of the most rascally, villainous Proposals that ever was offered to the Publick. I can't spend much time in speaking to it here; but some I will, for the sake of some well-meaning People, that entertain'd too good an Opinion of it.

OUR Merchants in King *Charles* the Second's time, when we were in a profound Peace with the *Spaniards*, had a mind to try if they could not procure a Trade with them in the *South Sea*, as we then had in the *North Sea* from *Jamaica*. But they either knew not, or had not well consider'd the
great

great difference of the two opposite Coasts; for the north Side is almost all low Land, and full of many more excellent Harbours than the *Spaniards* can yet settle: into these uninhabited Harbours our Sloops from *Jamaica* enter, and fire a Gun, the usual Signal for the *Spanish* private Traders, and ride securely all the time requisite to dispatch their Business; or if they miss of a Trade, as they very often do, they have but a short trip back to *Jamaica*.

WHEREAS the south side is all an *Iron-Coast*, as the Seamen term it; and as Captain *Dampier* hath truly observ'd, hath the fewest Harbours, or Roads, of any known Coast in the whole World, and these few all settled and fortify'd by the *Spaniards*. These things not being rightly consider'd, as I told you, lost our Merchants both their Ships and Loading. The first that I ever heard was sent thither was Captain *Swan*, in

a small Ship call'd the CYGNET, with a very rich Cargo, in which the Duke of York was concern'd as an Adventurer. The Captain at his Arrival there, in conjunction with the *Super-Cargoes*, did all that was possible to obtain a Trade; and what was the success? The *Spaniards*, after they had held him in suspense some time with fair Words, in hopes to surprize his Ship, which he had the prudence to prevent, took his Boat, kill'd some of his Men, and kept the rest Prisoners. And it was a great Providence that he and all his Men were not starv'd to death; for one must be very well acquainted with these Seas to know how to subsist in them. And after so long a Voyage as from *England*, 'tis to be suppos'd that a Ship's Crew stands in need of Refreshment; but it was his Fortune in sailing further along the Coast, utterly out of all hopes of Trade, to meet with a Company of Privateers, who had come into these

these Seas over the Isthmus of *Darien*, under the Conduct of one *Harris*, who had taken *Santa Maria* in their way, and met with a large Booty of Gold; which so charm'd Captain *Swan's* Men, already enraged with the loss of their Comrades, that they forc'd Captain *Swan* to entertain them, and turn Privateer: which I am persuaded, though not strictly lawful, preserv'd their Lives. What happen'd afterwards to them, Captain *Dampier* has related; but Ship and Cargo was intirely lost to the Merchants.

THIS one trial could not satisfy every body, the Merchants sent again one Captain *Strong*; and, as they flatter'd themselves, with better Instructions than formerly, how to succeed. But the luck happen'd to be much the same; only Captain *Strong* by great Accident, and suffering extraordinary Hardships, made a shift to get back; and the Account

he gave utterly discouraged the Merchants from any further Attempts. And pray let us consider how 'tis reasonable to imagine it ever can be otherwise; for a Ship after a long Voyage, all weather-beaten, and without doubt several of her Crew sick, arrives in the *South Sea*. Well, what can she do, here is no Port for her to enter into, except she will go into their Harbours, under the Command of their Forts; the Captain can only send his Boat ashore with Proposals for a Trade, and lie by at Sea with his Ship to expect an answer? Well, what can you reasonably hope for from the *Spaniards*? To be sure, full of wonder at the Novelty of the thing, as knowing it to be capital, and directly contrary to the Orders of the King to trade with you for the Value of a Dollar, and what a Governour of any Town would infallibly lose his Head for permitting; 'tis possible there may be a great Tendency

dency in the People to trade with you: but I will tell you, notwithstanding, what they will most certainly do; they will endeavour by all possible means to surprize your Ship, or Ships, or upon failure of that, any of your Boats or Men. They will, upon discovering you at the first Town, send notice to the Viceroy, that he may give Orders to fit out the King's Ships at *Callao* to take you, and dispatch his Orders all along the Coast to distress you as much as possible. Now what can a Merchant-Ship do in this case, she has no *Jamaica* to retire to, and can't so much as get fresh Water here, without understanding these Seas very well? If they would then use force, it would be, without a Miracle, to little purpose; for the Country will be every where upon its guard, and Merchant-Ships are suppos'd not to have the requisite number of Men to succeed that way. Thus, in all human Appearance,

will end such a fine Undertaking. And pray, what is strange in all this? Do we (any more than the *Spaniards*) suffer any other Nation to trade with our *American* Plantations?

IF we succeed better in our Endeavours for a Trade in the *North Sea*, 'tis owing to the Reasons already mention'd; for their Governours never favour it, but take with their Gallies and large Periaguas (by surprize) as many of our trading Sloops as possibly they can; and 'tis not seldom, that we trade in the Day, and fight in the Night, with the same People. But there being so many fine Ports and Roads without any Inhabitants, 'tis impossible to hinder it: Besides, *Jamaica* lies so very conveniently for this Business, that upon the least notice of a Market, two or three Sloops whip out of *Port Royal* to the appointed Place.

BUT

BUT in the *South Seas* you have neither a friendly Port to retire to, or one uninhabited, that will serve for this purpose, or any possible means to settle a Correspondence: In a word, I am of opinion, that there is a great deal of Villany lurking in the bottom of this Project, let them gild it as they please. But

IF my Countrymen have this at heart, as one would think there should be little reason to doubt of, let them turn their Thoughts upon *Buenos Ayres* or *Chily*; but the first is by much to be prefer'd, for many reasons: For a Voyage to *Chily*, and back again, can't take up less time than twenty Months, and a Ship must pass through as stormy and tempestuous a Sea as any in the World; whereas to the River of *Plate* will not take up half the time, and in all probability will meet with little or no bad

bad Weather in the whole Voyage. Secondly, the *Viceroy* of *Peru* will not be able to disturb you at *Buenos Ayres*, before you probably will have receiv'd a second Supply, or Reinforcement; but not so with *Chily*. Thirdly, we are more certain of procuring a Trade with *Peru* from hence, than from *Chily*, because of the several Commodities that *Buenos Ayres*, and the Country adjacent afford, which *Peru* stands in absolute need of, and can no way dispense without them. There are yet many more Reasons, and, in my opinion, very cogent ones, which, for brevity's sake, I omit.

WHEN this Acquisition is once made, you need never fear procuring Inhabitants, for there will be more occasion for the *Bridle* than the *Spur*; the certain Prospect of being enrich'd, the Plenty, and Healthiness of the Country, will be such Incitements to People
impoverish'd

impoverish'd by a long War, and want of Trade, that the Country would infallibly abound with Inhabitants on a sudden. But there ought to be better Order observ'd in settling this Country, than what we have hitherto practis'd in our other Colonies in *America*; for 'tis the greatest wonder in the World they ever arrived to any Perfection: and indeed it was in a great measure owing to our *civil Wars*, which made many wealthy People fly thither with their Substance. This was the occasion of the hasty Growth of *Barbadoes* and *Virginia*, our two most important ones; indeed *New England* and *Pensylvania* owe their Rise to the Sectaries.

It hath both anger'd and griev'd me to observe in our contiguous Colonies upon the Continent, this want of foresight; for I am very sure if *one* was attack'd by an Enemy, the Governour
of

of the *next*, though ever so well dispos'd, would find it the hardest matter imaginable to get 500 Men together to march to the Relief of his Neighbour, though they were sure their own turn would be the next. This is but a small Instance to what I can give, if I thought it proper.

IN the peopling *Buenos Ayres*, I advise my Country to follow the *Turkish* Policy, and make the People hold their Lands by the same Tenure as their *Timariots*; only it should descend to their Heirs, upon keeping or observing the Original Contract; which is, to be ready to come compleatly arm'd to the appointed Rendezvous, and serve where-ever, and as long as the Government requires. The number of Acres that might be thus allowed for every Soldier, must be settled after some Years Observation. Another thing that must be remembered, is, never to grant too
great

great a Tract of Land to *one* Man; for this is the greatest Hindrance to the peopling a Colony that can be, and is the very Disease that some of our Plantations are sick of, as *Carolina, New York,* and the *Jerseys*; neither is *Virginia* or *Maryland* free from this Distemper, which is occasion'd by Rascals taking up the Land because the free Rent is little or nothing, and hardly ever paid, in hopes to sell it dear to new Comers; though in the mean time they neither stock the Ground, or any other way make it useful to the Publick. This very thing hath done several of our Plantations incredible damage, by forcing People away who came to settle in them.

BUENOS ATRES will allow of these, and yet more Restrictions, if it is found necessary; for here they enter upon the *Spanish* Improvements without any of their Labour, and will have so many other advantageous ways

of growing rich, by the Situation and proper Commodities of the Country, that it may justly be reckon'd a favour to be permitted to settle here, and to have reasonable Tracts of Lands granted them upon equitable Conditions.

THIS Country will, in a very few Years, have Funds of its own, without any ways oppressing the Inhabitants, more than sufficient to defray the Charges of the Government; as a small Duty upon *Negroes* brought hither for the *Spaniards*, the like upon exported Hides, and a very considerable one upon the Herb of *Paragua*, which will render it one of the least chargeable, and yet one of the most important Colonies the Crown of *Great Britain* ever had.

Thus far the Manuscript.

I am next to shew how reasonable the present Publication is, otherwise
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some may imagine I had done quite as well if I had buried it in my Closet. This however I take to be too hasty a Decision. For admitting this Publication precipitate, the Piece without question is well written, and of great Importance to the Publick ; so that how wrong or right soever the sending it abroad may be in regard to myself, it is infallibly right with respect to the Nation. That may be done *hereafter*, which cannot be done *now* : And this serve for a *Guide* to *Posterity*, which for good reasons was rejected by their *Fathers*. The *Dutch*, four or five Years ago, sent two stout Ships on Discoveries (not without success) on a Plan which had lain dormant *threescore Years*. Projects of publick Utility may *sleep*. But if they *sleep* in a *publick Place*, 'tis ten to one some time or other they *wake*. The very Piece before us hath taken a *twenty Year's Nap* ; I am going to shew the Motives which engaged me

to *disturb* its *Rest*. If you think them *just*. *Well*. If *not*, let it e'en *Nod* again.

THE *War* we are at present engaged in I take to be *perfectly just*. We are a *trading People*, in which we follow *Nature*. We are placed in the *midst* of *Seas*, which shews that Providence invites us to *traffick*. Our Neighbours on the *Continent* therefore can have no reason to *fear*, but on the contrary many to *love* us. We form no *Pretensions* on their *Dominions*. We do not *affect Conquests*; and whenever we do meddle with the *Affairs* of those *about us*, 'tis to prevent *Force* from becoming *Law*, the *weaker* from being swallowed up by the *more potent*, and to support that *Equality of Power*, which is as beneficial to *others* in its *Effects*, as in the *Maintenance* thereof 'tis honourable to *ourselves*.

WHEN

WHEN therefore any *Nation* whatsoever either willfully or wantonly undertakes to disturb our *Trade*, she gives us just Cause to attack her. *Trade* is a *universal Concern*, and the injuring thereof from *Pride* or *Prejudice*, an Offence against the *Law of Nature* and *Nations*. But in our case *Trade* is a *particular Concern*. It is from it we have, if not our *Being*, at least our *Wealth* and our *Greatness*. The *Nation* therefore which would *distress* us herein, shews her kind Intention to *beggar* and *destroy* us. *Prudence* may indeed make us *dissemble* this for a time, but *Stupidity* only can make us *doubt* of it as a *fact*. In the present case, his Majesty's well-penned *Declaration of War* shews plainly, that we fight *pro Aris & Focis*; and the *Success* of the *present Dispute* will certainly determine, whether the *Trade of Great Britain* shall be *free* or *no*.

THIS

THIS War however is not only *just*, in as much as it is *reasonable*, but 'tis likewise *just*, because 'twas absolutely *necessary*. We did not kindle like *Touch-wood* from the first *Spark* of *Injury* which fell upon us. No, we have been now *twenty Years* a *lighting*; and if in that space any true pains had been taken to *extinguish* our *Resentments*, (for that some *cold Water* was thrown, I acknowledge) it would fully have recompensed the Labour. But it is now too late to look back. We have been *compelled*, visibly *compelled* to have recourse to the *ultima Ratio Regum*, and we must stick to that *Argument* till we carry our *point*.

I do not say this to gratify a *Party*. I am persuaded what I have advanced must be grateful to *all Parties*, at least 'tis the Sense which *all Parties* affect to have, of the present State of things;
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and if in this case any *Party* dissemble, 'tis *they* are to blame, not *I*. In conformity to the *publick Sentiments* I have regulated *mine*, and I make no question but my Reasoning will be admitted amongst Men of *publick Spirit*, and therefore I will return to the *Point*. I mean the *Point* to be carried by the present *just* and *necessary War*. A War, which if Arguments were wanting to demonstrate its *Use* to the *People*, the *People themselves* have supplied. For the *Sword* was not drawn till they were ready to *break* the *Scabbard* to *pieces*. Let us inquire then what it is they *expect*?

THE highest Authority in the *Nation* hath told us, *That* it is hoped *the Freedom of our Navigation will be established not only beyond all Disturbance, but also beyond all Cavil*. This is what must be done (cost what it will) to prevent future Wars. For should
there

there remain any possibility of Dispute about this, the carrying on a *clandestine Trade* with the *Spanish Plantations* in time of Peace, which is all that his Catholick Majesty contends for, would not be prevented; but our Trade to our own *Plantations*, (which the *Spaniards* themselves must allow us justifiable, in shewing the warmest Concern for) this Trade I will not say is the only *beneficial one*, (though that hath been said) but this Trade which is of the utmost Importance to the *Wealth*, and to the *naval Power* of this *Kingdom*, will be impaired by degrees, and in time totally *lost*: I mean, as a *beneficial Trade*. The *Freedom* of our *Navigation* therefore is a *Point*, which, as the *Lords* and *Commons* have asserted, so every private Man is convinced in his Conscience ought never to be departed from. It is our first and favourite Point.

BUT

BUT besides this, when *States* make *War*, 'tis as private Men go to *Law*, there must be *Costs* as well *Damages*; otherwise *getting the better* may imply being *ruined* with a *good grace*. Every body knows that we have not negotiated without Expence, that our Armaments, to inforce Argument; hath cost us *Money*, and that the present War will not be fed without considerable Provisions. Now if these accumulated Expences fall intirely upon us, we shall be but very indifferently off, even if we gain our great Point, *That of sailing in peace to and from our own Plantations*. This we had always a right to, whatever the *Spaniards* might think; and to lay out Millions to bring them to a just way of thinking on this head, is to lay out more than we can afford. *Spain* would soon perceive this, and quarrel again. 'Tis her Policy. She has, since the Treaty

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of

of *Utrecht*, got ten times as much by being troublesome, as other People have done by being quiet.

THE worst Treaty, in all outward Appearance, made by *Spain* since that time, was the *Quadruple Alliance*, into which she entered at the Expence of *Sicily*; but we see she did this with a View not only to get it *again*, but *Naples* into the bargain. An odd Stroke of Policy this, but a successful one. Just so *France* gain'd by losing *Poland*. *Stanislaus* by having *Lorain* hath done more for his *Son-in-Law*, than *Lewis XIV* for his great Grandson. We must have a care of these *refined Politicians*, who when *defeated* in the *Field*, retrieve their *Losses* in the *Cabinet*.——But how?——*Why, let us get something worth keeping, and keep it when we have got it.* Some smart Retainer to the Great may say I am no *Politician*. True. But I may have *common Sense*

for Humbling Spain. 51

Sense for all that. I am not talking about *Negotiating*, but *Acting*. I am so little skilled in *Politicks*, that I am not for trusting them *at all*. They are a *sort* of *Gaming*, in which we have never been *lucky*. Of late Years indeed our *Sharpers* have been too many for *Foreigners* at *Cards*. But in this sort of *Play*, as *Sharpers* are not employ'd, the *Foreigners* are too *hard* for us *still*.

I know it has been said, though I know not on what grounds, that the rest of the *Powers* of *Europe* would be dissatisfied if we made any *Conquests* in *America*. But ought this to *fright* us? Which of the *European Powers* shewed any extraordinary Concern when the *Spaniards* robb'd and plunder'd us? Who *arm'd*, who entred into *Treaties* to obtain *justice* for us, or to humble *Spain*? No Power in *Europe*, because *Peace* was their *Interest*. Why then

should they *arm* or enter into *Leagues* on our doing *ourselves Justice*? Why should we imagine they would join *Spain* in *distress*, when they did not *join* us when we were *injured*? I grant, should we turn *Spaniards*, and pretend to usurp on the *free Navigation* of other *Nations* to and from their own *Colonies*, such a *League* might be formed. But while we keep within the Bounds of Reason, we may better *conquer* like a *Nation*, than *plunder* like *Buccaneers*. The rest of the *European Powers*, whatever they may pretend, must secretly *applaud* such a *Conduct*: Besides, such a Conquest will raise the *Credit* of our *Arms*, and the *Spirits* of our *People*. *Real* and *certain Advantages* these, and those *distant* and *chimerical Apprehensions*.

LET our Situation be remembered when we took *Jamaica* from the *Spaniards*. Were we at that time *united at home*?
Had

Had we any considerable *Allies* abroad? Neither. Yet we *conquer'd*, and we *kept*. But it may be said the *European Powers* were *divided*, and *jealous* of each other. So they are now, and the *grand Mediatrix* with all her Skill can scarce keep them *quiet*. Can it then be supposed that those who saw the *Emperor* weaken'd, and even stripp'd of *Belgrade*, the *Bulwark* of *Christendom*, by the *Turks*, without fitting out a *Squadron*, lending him *Troops*, or supplying him with *Money*, should immediately unite against us on our taking a *single Place* from the *Spaniards*? No. The *States* of *Europe* are neither so fond of *Spain*, nor so desirous of *quarrelling* with us. We may indeed raise such a Spirit, by seeming afraid of it. But if we resume our ancient heroick *Disposition* of neither offering *Wrongs*, nor bearing them, we shall find few *Nations* inclined to *provoke* us.

THERE

THERE is yet another Reason which ought to persuade us into this way of acting. It is this. If we do not pursue it, we must again have recourse to *Negotiations*. We must, under the *Auspice* of some *Mediator* or *other*, fall to examining of *Treaties*, proving our *Losses*, stating our *Demands*, and so on for *half* a *score* Years, while the *Spaniards* perhaps are a *plundering*. But we are already *sick* of this sort of *Diet*, and therefore let us stick to the *other*. For *twenty* Years together we had *Peace* to no *end*, let us have now a *War* to *some purpose*? I do not mean a cruel, bloody, merciless *War*. *God forbid*. All I mean is a *War* for the Advantage of the *Publick*, whereby we may gain *something* as a *People*, after all we have *lost*; as well as the Reputation of knowing *how*, and *daring* to do ourselves *justice*.

OUR

OUR *Neighbours* are apt to fall into *Errors* about the Strength of *Great Britain* in time of *Peace*, which are set right when the *Sword* is drawn. Our nearest *Allies* on the *Continent* did not imagine that we could put to Sea so soon such *formidable Fleets*. We have always appeared with Lustre at the *Head* of *Confederacies*, but we have been most *terrible* when we have made War *alone*. I speak this to our *Honour*, and not with a view of representing us as the *Bullies* of *Europe*, which the *Spaniards* have often *been*, and are naturally inclined *to be*. But I speak it as the gallant Effects of *national Resentment*, when *Right* is not to be come at but by *Force of Arms*. Then it is that the *People* of *Britain* forget the *Value* of *Wealth*, and all *Thoughts* of *Safety*, till their *Honour* is *retrived*. And shall so *brave a Nation* sit down afterwards like a *Prize-Fighter*

Fighter with Honour and a *torn Coat* ?
No, no ; win *fine Clothes* and wear them.
Let those who did the *Wrong* mourn in
Sackcloth and *Ashes* : But let us triumph
in the *Justice* of our *Cause*, and the
Success of our *Arms*.

THAT we may the better form an
Idea of the *Right* we have to some
Satisfaction, as also what sort of *Sat-*
isfaction we ought to have, let us con-
sider briefly what has passed between
Spain and *us* since 1714. I know it
may be surmized, that such a *Recapi-*
tulation may be made a handle for *Re-*
fections, and that now all Differences
about *past Measures* ought to be *buried*
in *Oblivion* ; but this concerns not me.
I enter on this Retrospect purely for the
sake of making my Subject clear, and
shall pursue it without making any *Re-*
fections. I could wish this Method
more in use than it is at present in all
Debates, and in all *Disputes* in writings
for

for while Men cry *the Publick, the Publick*, and yet endeavour only to gratify their *private Prejudice*, or to defend their *private Interest*, the *Publick* is *undone*. For my part, I have not the smallest Connection with *any* of our *Parties*. I wish the *Whole* well, and no *harm* to *Individuals*, wherefore I hope shall have a fair hearing; for if I talk *Nonsense*, 'tis *impartial well-meaning Nonsense*, and for *Novelty's* sake deserves to be heard.

ALL the World knows it was entirely owing to *Great Britain*, that PHILIP V was ever acknowledged King of *Spain* and the *Indies*. The *Regent* of *France*, whom his very Enemies allowed to be a most wise and discerning Prince, own'd as much in a *Manifesto*, which is the fairest and most authentick Evidence. After this, when King *Philip* married his present *Queen*, his Children by her had only a much disputed Right
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till by the *Quadruple Alliance*, out of a pure regard to Equity, it was fixed by the late King GEORGE I. a Prince of incomparable Virtues. And this was done when nothing was to be taken from *Spain*. *Sardinia* was in the hands of the *Emperor*, *Sicily* belong'd to the Duke of *Savoy*. King *Philip* had this good turn done him, (besides his Imperial Majesty being oblig'd to own his *Title to Spain*) merely to consent to an *Exchange* which cost him nothing. Yet a War ensued, and, as he had often been before, Master *Philly* was *well beat*; but it was all for his *good*, and after a little fighting and sobbing, he was so gracious as to accept of *two or three* Duchies.

THE *Dance of Treaties*, into which we were afterwards led, was wholly owing to *Spain*, where (except while Mr. *D.* resided at that Court) none of our Ministers could ever meet with fair footing.

footing. One Delay after another, one Demand after another, one ridiculous Complaint on the heels of another, were made use of to keep up the Circulation of treating, while that Court in reality was seeking out for new *Allies*, in order to support her in quarrelling with *us*, who, when we were scarce become her *Friends*, did her more service than all her *Allies* ever did her since, and which was very generous, took *nothing* for it. At last the Emperor set up the *Ostend* Company, which gave Umbrage to the *Maritime Powers*, and to SPAIN; whereupon she applied first to *us* to oppose it, as *contrary to Treaty* — and next made, I say, next made a *Treaty* with the *Emperor*, for the *Support* of that *Company* against *us*, and all *others* who should *oppose* it. This was the famous *Treaty of Vienna*, followed by that of *Hanover*, which drew *us* into great Expences.

WHEN these Disputes were finally adjusted, we endeavoured by fresh Acts of Kindness to gain the *Friendship* of *Spain*. We had secured the *reversionary Right* of *Don Carlos* before, and now we put him into possession of the *Italian* Dominions. When the War broke out with the Emperor, we remained *neuter*, and have testified no Displeasure at seeing the *Mox Veniet* fulfilled. Now what did we *demand* for all this? ——— why, *only* to be *quiet*. But was this granted? *No*. The *Spaniards* plunder'd us all the time. It must be owned they pretended to justify what they did, by alledging the *illicite Trade*. But when did any *Crown*, especially that of *Spain*, do *wrong*, without setting up a *Right* to do it? However, the *Spaniards*, forced by the plainest Proofs, have acknowledged, that our Merchants have been injured to a *large Amount*. Who can dispute then that
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the Nation hath clearly a Right not only to *Restitution*, but to a *full Satisfaction* for her *Expences*?

IF, as I have indubitably proved, we have for upwards of *twenty Tears* been buying and paying for the *Friendship* of *Spain*, and *never had* it; why now all *Treaties* are broken off, should not we have our *Money* again, or *something for it*? Is not this a *distinct Demand* from the *Merchants*? Is it not a just and reasonable one? Was not this *Nation* fairly, and *bonâ fide*, at all the *necessary Charges* for carrying whatever was promised on our side into execution? Have not all our *Promises* been *executed*? Is not *Spain* possessed at this hour of all these *Advantages*? And in our turn, what have we had but *Treaties unperformed*, and *fair Promises*, which were *never kept*? Have we not seen this asserted from the *Throne*, by *Parliament*, and to us and all the
World

World by his Majesty's *Declaration of War*? What doubt then can arise about the *Nation's* being fairly intitled to *Satisfaction*, to *full Satisfaction* (if we can get it?) For the *Land Taxes*, *Salt Taxes*, and all *other Taxes*, induced by the *Spaniards*, *Breach of Faith*, and whatever we have suffered farther in our *Trade* or *otherwise*, by the *same Cause*.

I do not pretend to enter into any Calculation of the *Sum*, which might, with propriety, be called a *national Satisfaction*. I would not willingly inflame the Reckoning. I am no Enemy to *Spain*. I am concern'd only as a *Native of Britain*, for my *Country*. I remember all the Passages I have mentioned, and I believe I could give a tolerable guess at the *Extraordinaries* raised upon the *British People*, for many Years treating with, and obliging the *Spaniards*, and for the last two
Years

Years in carrying on a *Spanish War*. But without talking of any particular *Sum*, I presume to say, that if we have no *Satisfaction* for it, the *People* will suffer excessively. And if we have a *Satisfaction*, it must come in the way I have proposed. For if *Spain* could not, or would not pay 95000*l*. when thereby she might have barred all *Claims* from us on *account* of our *Merchants*, she will be less inclined perhaps, she will not be in a Condition to *ballance*, what may be made appear *due* to us as a *Nation*, and what as a *Nation*, at least as a *wise Nation*, we cannot *compliment away*.

THE *Advantages* reaped heretofore from our *Friendship* with *Spain*, were in the *way* of *Trade*. The *Hardships* we have met with lately have been in the *way* of *Trade*. I am therefore of opinion, that *Satisfaction* must be made us in the *way* of *Trade*, which induced
me

me to send these *Papers* into the *World*. In this way we may be in time, and by good Management among ourselves, thoroughly *repaired*; and in this way though we are *repaired*, I do not conceive the *Spaniards* will be any *Losers*, rather I think the *contrary*. These Points, when once cleared up, so far as my Capacity will allow, I shall submit the *Whole* to the *Publick*, supposing that herein I have discharged my Duty; and that it would be as impertinent in me to enter into a *Plan* for the *Execution* of this *Project*, as it would have been *criminal* not to have published what I sincerely thought might contribute in such a *Conjuncture* as this, to the *Benefit* of the *State*.

IN the *first place*, I say, that by making a *Settlement* in or near the Place mentioned in the MS, we may obtain such a *Trade* as will effectually make good the *Damages* we have sustained,

tained, if that *Trade* be put under necessary *Regulations*. How, with whom, and for what we are to trade, is in some measure explained in the Proposal. I shall however add a few Remarks here. When the *Affiento Treaty* was concluded, by which our *South-Sea Company* obtained a *Right* to send a *Register Ship* into these Parts, it was spoken of as a thing prodigiously *beneficial* to the *Nation*, and as a mighty *Condescension* in *Spain*. As to the *publick Benefit*, I shall say nothing, because, in truth, I have nothing to say; only I must remark, that we set out oddly, and that before the *Company* made a *Shilling* of their *Licence*, some *Understrappers* of the then *Ministry* were for extracting *Thousands* out of *them*. This mighty *Condescension* in *Spain* too amounted to little more than she had formerly granted the *Genoese*, and had lately permitted to the *French*, who managed their Trade to the *Spanish*

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Plantations so indifferently, that at length they over-stock'd the Market, and were no Gainers by it *themselves*. Whence I conclude, that our *Trade* here is far from being incompatible with the *Safety* of the *Spaniards*, and that it must be *properly regulated*, so as to be made useful to *us*.

THE *first* Observation obviates any *Objection* which might be started, from the *Jealousy* such a thing might raise in other *European Powers*. We know well enough that they are interested in the *Concerns* of *Spain*, and we know *why* they would be afraid of seeing the *Indian Treasures* in other hands. But in the present case such Fears would be *chimerical*. We have many reasons to deter us from attempting any such thing. We may, in time of *War*, think of attacking and taking *Spanish Towns*, and the *Wealth* we find in them. As the *French* did formerly *Carthagene*,
and

and in the last War the *Portuguese* Settlement at *Rio de Janeiro* ; but for grasping at the *Indies*, it would be equally unreasonable and impracticable. Such a Settlement as I am speaking of would effectually secure a lawful, beneficial *Trade*, which *Foreigners* might envy, but could have no more right to *disturb* us in, than in the *Possession* of *Gibraltar* or *Jamaica*.

THE *Spaniards* themselves, how much soever they might be alarmed at *first*, would by degrees find out many *Conveniences* in this *Settlement* ; I shall mention *two*, which I take to be very considerable. *First*, the *Catholic King* might, by proper *Duties* on the *inland Commerce*, indemnify himself for what is paid to the *Chamber* of the *Indies* for *Licence* to trade here : And *secondly*, if necessary *Precautions* were taken about the *Traffick* in this place, an end would be put to that *clandestine Trade*, [for it

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would

would be then our Interest, as well as his] about which so much *noise* has been made. Our Concerns would be in a manner one in those Parts, and consequently we should join together in promoting them. I do not say but *intriguing Governours* might possibly promote *publick Fars* for the sake of *private Benefit*, but I am sure these could not be of *long Continuance*, or, after a little time, of any *great Importance*.

THE *Trade* with the *Spaniards* this way, would be a Trade of the same Nature with that to which we were intitled by *Treaty*; and though it may be enlarged, and on our side secured by this means, yet could it not possibly be construed into a *Trade* dangerous to the *Spaniards*, (who from pure necessity have always permitted, and cannot be without it) or alarming to the other *States* who have *Dominions* in that part of the World, for it interferes with
none

none of *them*. But these are no Reasons why both may not be pretended. However, I hope the Eyes of this Nation are sufficiently opened, not to be led aside by *Pretensions*. We know how many Years *Spain pretended* she would *do us justice*, but we paid dearly for trusting to her *Pretensions*. Other *Powers* also have pretended great Concern for the *ill Usage* we met with. But methinks we have drawn little *Benefits* from these *Pretences*. Let us therefore beware at last of all *Pretences*. Let us judge coolly and fairly of what is *necessary* for our own *Interest*, and let us not be beaten from this *Judgment* by any *Pretences* whatsoever. We have, without question, as good a *Right* as any other Nation to do ourselves *justice* when we are *injured*, and no body can have a *Right* to dictate to us what we shall account *Justice*.

BUT

BUT we are not to imagine that the Trade with the *Spaniards* is the sole Advantage to be drawn from this *Settlement*; besides that, there will be others of infinite Consequence, and some which are not mentioned in the foregoing *Memorial*. In the Voyage made by Mons. *Acarete du Biscay*, of which the Author of the MS speaks so much, (and which, to deal ingenuously, I have never seen) there was a certain *Englishman* who had lived long in *Spain* gain'd his Passage, and had a principal *Trust* in all that *Affair*. His *Journal* I have by me, and a multitude of very curious Particulars are contained therein; from whence I am induced to believe we might open a *Trade* with the *Indians* to vast Advantage. This ought to give no Displeasure to the *Spaniards*, since they from long Experience are certain, that these *Indians* will have no *Commerce* whatsoever with them, especially
in

in the way we ought to *aim* at. As to the Umbrage *another Power* might take at a Settlement in the *Vicinity* of their *Plantations*, it might be easily removed by proper Assurances of *Protection*, rather than *Annoyance* from the *British Colony* settled there. Which Promises, I imagine, it will be always found our *Interest* religiously to *perform*.

It were indeed to be wished, that both in *Europe* and *America*, the Reputation of the old *British* Sincerity was inflexibly maintained. This would incline our *Friends* and *Allies* to run any *hazard* rather than *desert* us, as of old did the *Allies* of *Rome*. This would oblige our very *Enemies* to *revere* us, and this would in a short time raise us, not to that proud and arbitrary Dignity, fatal to all who have pretended to it, UNIVERSAL MONARCHY, but to a *Superiority* founded in *Virtue*, to an *Authority* grounded in *Equity*, and to a lasting and
unenvied

unenvied *Peace*. This is the *Condition* at which we ought to *aim*, and at which we shall never arrive by the *crooked ways* of *Machiavellian Policy*. Let us then lay aside our foolish *Divisions* at *home*, provide for the *restoring* our *ancient Integrity*, and banish from amongst us, that *Corruption* which is so loudly, so generally complained of. And now what remains but that we recommend *this*, and *all* our *Concerns* to the *supreme Arbiter* of the *Universe*, the God of *Justice*, and of *Battles*, to whom after *long suffering* we have appealed for the *Decision* of our *Cause*.

F I N I S.

