

129-1



Chronicon Rusticum-Commerciale;

O. R,

M E M O I R S

O F

W O O L, &c.

B E I N G

A COLLECTION of HISTORY and ARGUMENT, concerning the WOOLEN MANUFACTURE and WOOLEN TRADE in general; particularly, the *Rise, Progress, Improvements, Declensions, Revolutions*, and the respective *Causes* thereof (with a View of the different *Prices* of WOOL, at certain distant Periods) in *ENGLAND*; as given by a Succession of Writers, from ancient down to the present Times.

A L S O

An Account of the *several* LAWS, from Time to Time made, and of many SCHEMES offered, for *preventing* the Exportation of raw WOOL; likewise of other Expedients for preserving, and promoting the Interest of the Kingdom, in *that Commodity manufactured*: With occasional *Notes, Dissertations, and Reflections* upon the whole.

By JOHN SMITH, L.L. B.

In TWO VOLUMES.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. OSBORNE at *Grays-Inn*.

MDCCLXVII.

TO THE
KING


TO THE
KING

TO THE
KING



TO THE
KING.

SIR,

 OUR MAJESTY, as the
common Guardian of your
People, is naturally the Pa-
tron, and most graciously
disposed to be so, of all Attempts for
their common Good.

A 2 YOUR

DEDICATION.

YOUR Nobility, Clergy, Gentry; all Land-holders and their Dependants; the Manufacturers and Merchants of this Realm, receive a Benefit from WOOL, the chief Subject of the ensuing Pages. Whence, tho' it may seem strange, that, after a long Age of much Inquiry and Discernment, there should be wanting any proper material Disclosure, touching this great Staple Commodity; yet so it is, that while the People of *Great Britain* are not without sufficient Light in every other Part of their Concerns; in this they have but obscure, imperfect, and some very false Ideas.

THE Perplexity and Errors hereby occasioned, have been such, as to induce them, at Times, to complain heavily, and call loudly for Redress, in the wrong Place. They had even gone so far, as to rob Your Majesty, for a Season, of one of the Glories and

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and Felicities of Your August Reign; by misrepresenting Trade in general, as then most decayed, when, there is Reason to think, it flourished most: and the *Woolen Exports* in particular, as sunk to the lowest Ebb, when, certainly, they rose higher than at any foregoing Period whatsoever.

To dispel a Cloud of False History; to undeceive the People in this Case; and to do Justice on this Head to Your Majesty's *Annals*, is the first Intention of *these Memoirs*; which, besides what is gathered from the Recesses of various Voluminous Works, comprise also many lesser Tracts wrote purposely, or principally upon the Subject; several of them, in regard to the Importance of it, and its near Connection with the Interests of the *State*, heretofore dedicated to one or other of Your Royal Predecessors, from *Queen Elizabeth*, downwards.

THESE

DEDICATION.

THESE last, however useful, yet, as small Bodies, were in a manner lost; but are since recovered, and here restored to the *Public*, under one View. And this *Collection*, from the same Consideration which moved originally some of their respective *Authors*, I most humbly beg Leave to lay at Your Majesty's Feet.

I am,

May it please Your MAJESTY,

Your MAJESTY'S

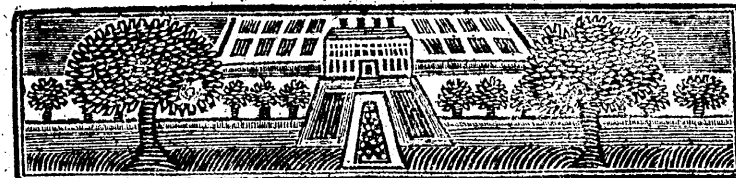
Most Devoted,

Obedient Subject,

AND

Servant,

JOHN SMITH.



T H E
P R E F A C E.



HE *Public* is here presented with a Work, of which the *Design* is wholly new, upon the same Subject.

The *Title Page* says briefly what it is; and the *Table of Contents* gives further Light into it. Yet *Custom* demands a *Preface*; and there may be *Reason* also for adding somewhat under that Form, to tempt, if possible, the shy Reader to bestow a few Weeks of his Time in a Way, to which it has been known that a very few Hours * have been denied.

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Nor

* Upon a particular Occasion, a certain Person more than ordinarily concerned, and not uncommonly employed, gave it as a Reason for not reading a *Traet* upon this Subject, 'that it would have cost him *two* or *three* Hours.'

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Nor is this a singular Instance of Neglect; It has been said, (and from what the *Author* himself hath seen and heard †, he partly believes it) that it is become almost a standing Rule with many Gentlemen, as often as this Subject is started for their Deliberation, to take up their Hats and move off.

And it is not indeed a *Party Subject*, making any thing particularly against, or even for a *Minister*. It is not a Subject, of *Literature*, or Entertainment. It is by no means palatable to the *Men of Taste*; nor yet greatly relished by those of *Business*.

Nevertheless, it is important; and generally interesting; and universally acknowledged to be so. And though it were not altogether of so much Importance as it really is; yet, as *every Subject* that is of any Consideration, does claim from some or other, (and especially of those who are concerned with it) at least so much Attention as is necessary to a right understanding of it; and, for that End, does require to be invested properly: So, by what Means it comes to pass, that *this*, which is confessedly of a very great and extensive Concern, and which has been accordingly often brought upon the *Tapis*, should be so little the Object of *close*
Con-

† A Gentleman going into ——— met several coming out; and asking one of them, what was doing within? he answered, 'something about WOOL;' to whom the Gentleman gravely replied, 'and do you 'run away from it?' (See *Ch.* 143. N^o. 6. §. 1.)

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Consultation and *due Enquiry*, is somewhat mysterious; and, I think, not to be accounted for, but in the following Manner.

The *good People of England* either think, 1. That Things, in this respect, are as well as they can, or need to be. Or, 2. Leaning severally to their own Opinions, (however various, and taken up by Chance rather than Choice; more upon Trust than Examination) they believe they have an intuitive Knowledge of it; and that it requires no Search or Pains to be fully informed concerning the same. Or, 3. That it is a Matter beyond the Reach of the most diligent and inquisitive, who are not bred to *Trade* and *Manufacture*. Or, 4. That it is so much the proper Business, and peculiar Province of those who are, that no other Persons need give themselves the least Care or Thought about it. — That the *Landed Interest* particularly, in regard thereof, is so far embarked upon the same Bottom with the *Trading*, that the Steerage may be safely left to the latter alone.

And though the most general Opinions are to be found under the one or the other of these Heads; and though these are, some of them, very contrary to each other, yet are they all wide of the Truth; for, 1. This Business is neither in a State of Perfection, nor yet incapable of Amendment. 2. A right Understanding thereof does not lie so near the Surface, as to

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present itself, at the first Glance, to every Eye. 3. Nor is it a Matter inscrutable, but, like other Knowledge, may be attained, with due Application and Attention, as well by Persons not bred to *Trade and Manufacture*, as by those that are. As to the 4th Opinion (which is the most plausible, and therefore the most general) *That it is their peculiar Province, and may be safely trusted with those, whose immediate Profession is, Trade and Manufacture*; it is thought best, (because least exceptionable, and carrying most Conviction along with it) to reply in the Words of some Persons, no less eminent as *Traders* themselves, than as *Writers upon Trade*; and first, of Sir JOSIAH CHILD.

‘ *Merchants* (says he) while they are in the busy and eager Prosecution of their particular Trades, although they be very wise and good Men, are not always the best Judges of Trade, *as it relates to the Power and Profit of a Kingdom*. The Reason may be, because their Eyes are so continually fixed upon what makes for their *peculiar Gain or Loss*, that they have no Leisure to expatiate, or turn their Thoughts to what is *most advantageous to the Kingdom in general*. Of this I could give pregnant Instances, in the Age we live in, and former Councils of Trade, since the *Restoration*.

‘ The like may be said of all *Shop-keepers, Artificers, Clothiers, and other Manufacturers*, until they have left off their *Trades*; and

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‘ and being rich, by the Purchase of *Lands*, become of the *same common Interest* with most of their Countrymen.’

2. JOHN CARY, *Esq; Merchant of Bristol*.

‘ The Representations made by private *Merchants*, (who generally differ, as their Interests clash with each other) tend rather to distract, than to inform the Government.’

3. Mr. JOSHUA GEE, *Merchant*.

‘ ’Tis true indeed, that a considerable Number of *Merchants* is always chose into the *House*; but then it has been observed, that by the mutual Opposition of those who are engaged in different Interests, they rather puzzle than give Light to the Argument in Debate. And I must confess, I have usually found *Gentlemen* more ready to entertain right Notions of *Commerce*, as it respects the Advantage or Disadvantage of the Public, than most *Men in Trade*; few of whom, though otherwise well skilled in their own Way, give themselves the Trouble to look further than what concerns *their own particular Interest*.’

4. THE BRITISH MERCHANT *says*,

‘ The *Merchant* may have a *distinct Interest* from that of his *Country*. He may thrive by a Trade which shall prove her *Ruin*.’

5. To these may be added, what Dr. DAVENANT has said, although no Merchant, but a Person of Ingenuity, Experience, and Observation.

‘ There is hardly a Society of Merchants
 ‘ that would not have it thought, the whole
 ‘ Prosperity of the Kingdom depends upon
 ‘ their single Traffic: So that at any Time,
 ‘ when they come to be consulted, their An-
 ‘ swers are dark and partial; and when they
 ‘ deliberate themselves, ’tis generally with a
 ‘ Bias, and a secret Eye to their own Ad-
 ‘ vantage.

Hence it follows, that this Subject is more properly the Gentlemens Care and Study; not only because their Stake is considerable in their Country, and they have Leisure for Speculation—But because they are, of all others, the most nearly interested in this Particular. The Wool of the Kingdom is, in Effect, their Property, making a large Part of the Landed Estates. And most Gentlemen, how indifferent soever, otherwise, to Politics in a general Sense, or however thoughtless about what, of a public Nature, seems to them of a more remote and doubtful Consideration, have yet an Eye to that which so certainly and immediately affects them, as do their Rents. Being willing to have the Use and Enjoyment of their own Estates, to themselves, THEY are desirous, so far as may be, to have also the Tuition of them, in their
 own

own proper Persons. And where that, by the Law, is vested in others, for them, THEY hope from such Trustees, an equal Regard to their Property and Interest, as if it was their own Concern alone. This is expected on the one Hand, and is understood to be promised on the other. And to these Ends, i. e. in order to form a right Judgment, and to pursue just Measures in this Case, both the Gentleman in a private Station, and he that has undertook a public one, may be at least as well qualified, as any other Persons in the Kingdom, provided they will bend their Minds thereto, by acquiring a due Knowledge of certain Facts; that being what they chiefly want, to acquit themselves perfectly about it.

The GENTLEMEN of GREAT BRITAIN are Masters of Argument; and the Maxims of Trade and Policy are at this Time, almost generally pretty well understood by them. — But, with regard to Facts, it must be said, there is almost a general Ignorance on this Subject; there being scarce a single Point of Consequence, historically true, as now, or for some Years past, commonly urged about it, either in Conversation or Writing.

This will appear sufficiently in the following Collection.

If the Work shall seem tedious, it must be confessed that a more succinct Account might have been given of several Matters therein contained — But then it would have wanted Authority sufficient for removing those Pre-

judices, which through a long Course of *false History*, in one regard or another, has taken deep Root in the Minds of the People. And as it would have been unreasonable to have expected that implicit Credit, without Evidence, which this Work denies to many others, on the like Score: So it was judged better to be prolix, than to omit any Thing in the least Material; and still better, than to leave any Fact of Moment doubtful.

From the Nature of *which*, many of them, it was necessary to be the more large and circumstantial, in several Quotations or Transcripts, in regard they are not *simple*, but *complicated Facts*, viz. 1. *Opinions and Arguments*; or, if it is allowable to use the Word on this Occasion, *Doctrines or Theories*. 2. *Policies or Measures* taken in Consequence thereof. 3. The Result or Consequence of *those Measures*. And these being contained partly in *small Tracts*, long since, out of Print; the Purport of them did not admit of being so briefly fumm'd up, with Reference made to the *Tracts* themselves, as if they had been *more accessible Authors*; but in order to a competent Pourtrait, they required to be exhibited in their original Dress; and though not at full Length, yet in some due Proportion.

It was further necessary, for the ascertaining and pointing out to Observation, several of *these Facts*, to make large Additions, occasionally, by way of *Note, &c.*; which has contributed to swell this Work to what it is, the

the Quantity of *Four Volumes*, altho' in the Compass of *Two*.

The *Materials* which compose the *Text* of *these Memoirs*, are, Books of *Records* and *Antiquity*, the *Statute Books*, (*English, Scottish, and Irish*) *Rymer's Fœdera*, *State Papers*, *Debates*, and *Votes* in Parliament; *History*, ancient and modern; *Dictionaries*, *Atlases*: All the best Books of *Trade*, general, and particular; *Foreign* as well as *English*. Among the *foreign* are, v. g. *The History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*: By Mr. HUET, Bishop of *Auranches*. His *Memoirs of the DUTCH TRADE*: *De Witt's Maxims of HOLLAND*: Mr. *Savary's Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce*: *The Traite le Negoce d'Amsterdam*; by Sieur JEAN PIERE RICARDS: *The Trade of Marseilles*; by GASPAR CARVEUIL. And, if not *all* the lesser *Tracts*, of *English Authors*, which have been occasionally wrote with an Eye to the *English Woolen Trade*; yet many, and those the *best* that have been wrote upon every *extraordinary Incident* relating thereto, have been consulted, and, more or less, transcribed into *this Work*.

It contains then, for Instance, all the *strong Pleadings* or *Appeals to the Public*, which have been made, at different Times, on one Side of the Question, or on the other, 1. In regard to a *free and open Trade*, or to *Trade* limited to *Companies*. 2. To the prohibiting or permitting of *Irish Cattle*. 3. To the

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the Expediency of an *absolute Prohibition*, or, instead thereof, a *Duty on Wool exported*, (a Question agitated in the Reign of Car. II.)

4. In regard to *East India Silks*, and *Calicoes*. 5. To *Irish Manufacture*, *Woolen* and *Linen*. 6. To the *French Trade*. 7. To the Use and Wear of *Calicoes* painted and printed in *England*; with all the *Laws* relative to each of these particularly, and to the *Woolen Trade* in general; and a Number of *Schemes* for preventing the *Exportation of Wool* from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. To which are added many *Custom-House Accounts*, of Imports and Exports; Also Accounts of the *Price of Wool*, at different Times, and in different Places, in *England* and elsewhere. The whole disposed into a regular History, as the Subject would bear.

Among the *English Writers* made use of in this Work, may be mentioned more particularly, as a principal one, *The British Merchant*; of which it is said by the Editor, Mr. King, that 'it contains many valuable Papers, and *so much Knowledge in Trade*, as 'would never have appeared in the World, 'had it not been upon a particular Occasion '(a *pernicious Treaty of Commerce with FRANCE*) extorted from some worthy Persons (*eminent Merchants of LONDON*) the 'Authors.'

Yet is *The British Merchant* but *Three Volumes*, of more than *Two hundred*, larger and lesser, which have been collated towards the forming

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forming of these *Memoirs of Wool, &c.*; and the greater Part of which *The British Merchant* does not appear to have been at all acquainted with.

The BRITISH MERCHANT is, it's true, incomparably the best of all our *English Writers* in this Way; contradicting most materially the Bulk of those his Countrymen, who had gone before him upon that Subject — But, for that Reason; and, because (as may be conceived) the Title of the Work does not point directly to the Business of *WOOL*; therefore, all succeeding Writers on that Head, have had as little regard to the *Facts* and *Sentiments* therein contained, as if no such Work had ever been published for the better Information of *this Kingdom*.

In short, a Spirit of *Romance* on the one Hand, and of *Credulity* on the other, had for a long time before, possess'd both the *English Writers* and *Readers* upon the *Woolen Trade*. And, as a Bone which has been too long out of its Place, is not to be reduced, but with uncommon Difficulty and Pain, after repeated Efforts; so the single Attempt of *The British Merchant*, for want of being properly followed up, has had in this Particular, it may be said, no Effect at all. For there is not so much as one Writer, that the *Author of these Memoirs* hath met with, since him, who (instead of correcting inveterate Errors by a Work of such good Authority, and

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and by other Helps that were to be had, and as might have been expected in an Age of more Light and greater Accuracy in all other Matters) has not ignorantly or obstinately persisted in the old beaten Path of their other Predecessors; or rather exceeded them, by wandering still further from *Sobriety, Sense, and Truth*. Infomuch, that a Series of *Tracts* (from one particularly, intitled, *The Golden Fleece, &c.* (Ann. 1736-7) to another, or rather the same in Substance, under the Title of *The Danger of Great Britain and Ireland becoming Provinces to France, &c.*: By the same Author, Ann. 1746) are penned with so much Extravagance and Ignorance; containing such a Heap of *Falseness* and *Chimera's*, as are even a Disgrace to the *English Name*, justly renowned for masterly Productions in every other Part of useful Knowledge.

Not only *Pamphlets*, such as have been mentioned, but, which is far worse, *some Books of Price*, that would be thought to convey the most solid Intelligence, and which are very good Authorities in the Main, as to most other Matters, have erred egregiously in this. Among these are particularly, *The Atlas Maritimus Commercialis*, and *Chambers's Dictionary*. Upon the latter lies the greatest Stress; because *that Work* has deservedly obtained a Place in most Libraries; and besides, to many private Persons, is, itself, in the Place of a *Library*; and however

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however useful in other Regards, yet in respect of this Subject, it has only a Tendency to sooth the Nation in a Folly to which it has been long habituated, and to buoy up the People in Notions, false (and therefore unprofitable) which they have already too strongly imbibed.

In general, 'As^a the Care of our *National Free-Commerce* redounds more to the Riches and ^{holder.} Prosperity of the *Public*, than any other ^{N^o 41.} Act of Government, [on which Account] it is a Pity that we do not see the State of it marked out in every particular Reign, with greater Distinction and Accuracy, than is usual among our *English Historians*.' So, that Defect, in regard to this greatest Branch of *English Commerce*, is, in some measure, here supplied; and perhaps, to a Degree, beyond what could well have been expected; considering how much, 'Those Authors^b ^{Vol. 1.} who have heretofore applied themselves to ^{Pag. 7.} preserve the most considerable Events, have ^{Note.} neglected *this Part of History*.' And con- ^{Ch. 3.} sidering also that the *Custom-House Books* ^{§. 6.} (which are our most faithful Registers in this Case) are not searchable at Pleasure, like some other *Public Offices*.

Notwithstanding which, *some Custom-House Accounts* having occurred in one occasional *Tract* or another; and *others* having, at Times, and of late especially, been exhibited to *Parliament*, the Author of *these Memoirs* has been careful to collate all he could
so

so meet with; and tho' they are but few in Comparison, yet the Light *these* do afford, is not inconsiderable.

The Publication of the *Bibliotheca Harleiana*, with the Sale of that Library, and of some other very large Collections of Books and Pamphlets, hath also furnished Helps for this Work, which, otherwise, so far from procuring, a Person could not have known, either *where* to have sought, or *how* to have ask'd for. And tho' some of the scattered Materials, so gleaned up, if viewed and considered apart from other Matters, and from one another, would not have been much to any Person's Edification; yet, *as* several Fragments of one and the same Body, when collected and rightly disposed, do make something of a significant Figure, although not a compleat one; *so*, these, upon the same Subject,

Juxta se posita magis inclarescunt;

being placed, as they are, chiefly according to their respective Dates, *they borrow Light from what goes before, and help to render that which follows, perspicuous.*

Upon the whole, if any *Gentlemen* shall (and some methinks there should be found that will) think it worthy of their Time and Pains, to make themselves Masters of this Subject: In that Case, *they* have here, the Matter fully before them; at least, they have a much larger Fund of Materials here, to exercise

ercise their Judgments upon, than, in reference to the *same Things*, is to be met with in any other single Work whatsoever.

It is upon the *Truth* of these several *Premises*, that the *Author* grounds the *Use* of the following Collection; wherein, as he is not conscious of any partial Concealment or Secretion, so he is confident that he has not, in any regard, acted otherwise than as a *faithful Editor*.

And therefore, however Persons may see Cause to dissent from his *Conclusions* or *Comments*; the *Facts* upon which he has built, will not, he thinks, be disputed. And tho' the Generality of his Countrymen should not immediately fall into his Way of thinking altogether; yet he flatters himself that the careful Reader will soon entertain other Sentiments, on this Head, than what he had before; and that in the end, he will not so much differ from *him*, as from what, at his first setting out upon *these Memoirs*, was his own Opinion.

He concludes his Preface with this Hope at least; that they who shall take these Volumes in hand, will be pleased to read the same throughout, before they pass a final Judgment upon any Part thereof; and that no Prejudice will be entertained to the Work, on the Score of its being (as it is) so much out of the Way of his proper Business, the immediate Duties of his Profession, as a *Clergyman*. Of this indeed he has the less Reason
to

to be apprehensive, as some of the greatest Personages of the *Church* have, in all Times, thought it no Diminution of their Character, to approve themselves Friends to the *State*, by employing their Pens, tho' not on the same, yet on Subjects of a like secular Nature; and as some of those who now adorn the highest Stations in it, have done him the Honour to appear in the small List of his *Subscribers*. Nor can he fear that Men of true Learning will be wanting in the same Equity and Candour; since such never fail of shewing all reasonable Countenance and Favour to whatever has a Tendency to the Knowledge of Things, that are in themselves useful, though of humble Fame.—But whatever Judgment may be passed upon the *Author*, or his *Book*, nothing can rob him of the pleasing Consciousness, of sincerely intending the Good of his Country, to the utmost of his Power. Satisfied, as he is, with himself, in that Particular; having secured this Point, *the Peace of his own Mind*; he is not greatly anxious for what *Others* shall say or think about the Matter.

T H E



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- P**AGE 26 l. 15 *comparitively* r. comparatively
 Page 27 l. 34 *which under &c.* r. which Expedients,
 under such, &c.
 Page 31 l. 15 *for France* r. from France
 Page 47 l. 14 *Varacity* r. Veracity
 Page 60 l. 18 r. 140000
 Page 72 l. 14 *Kingdon* r. Kingdom
 Page 74 l. 1 Importation r. *Exportation*
 Page 122 l. 1 Manufactures r. *Manufacturers*. l. 27 *Ma-*
nufactures r. Manufacturers
 Page 139 l. 22 *Naiton* r. Nation
 Page 184 l. penult. Merchants r. *Merchant*
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- Page 206 l. 27 *Laws* r. *Laws*
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- Page 219 l. 10 *most the* r. *most of the*
- Page 232 l. 24, 750 r. 750000. l. 25, 600. r. 600000
- Page 241 l. 39 *condemning* r. *condemning it*
- Page 264 l. 22, 23, 24, *the Quantity of Wool, from this and other Provinces? and whether Wool may not probably be exported hence* r. *the Quantity of Wool? and whether Wool may not probably be exported from this and other Provinces, clandestinely, &c.*
- Page 280 l. 9 *Affortments of &c.* r. *Affortments, without a Mixture of British or*
- Page 285 l. 28 (Marg.) *Ch. 127.* r. *Ch. 176*
- Page 327 l. 17 *Good* r. *Goods*
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- Page 355 l. 4 (Marg.) *3 Geo. II.* r. *12 Geo. II. l. 40 (Marg.) §. 4. r. § 5.*
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- Page 424 l. 22 *ivres* r. *Livres*
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- Page 472 l. 9 *is,* r. *it is*
- Page 503 l. 21 *Shilling* r. *Shillings*
- Page 508 l. 5, 6, 7, r. *The ancient Price, as then accounted o l. 13 s. 4 d. The present Price, viz. An. 1581. { 1 l. 0 s. 0 d. 1 2 0*
- Page 509 l. 4 1713—14. r. { 1713. } l. 5. 1717—18. r. 1717.
- Page 511 l. 6 *Wools,* r. *Wool.*
- Page 520 l. 31 *Branch of the* r. *Branch, the*
- Page 522 l. 42 *toe* r. *the*
- Page 536 l. 16. *would* r. *should.*
- Page 539. l. 3. *commoa* r. *common.*
- Page 573. l. 27. *organized* r. *organzined.*



MEMOIRS
OF
WOOL, &c.

CHAP. I.

Extract from the Holy Scriptures: Of Sheep, Wool, and Woolen Manufactures.

IN all Undertakings of History, 'tis usual to begin with a Summary of what is most ancient upon the Subject: Hence I am induced to set out with an Extract from the Holy Scriptures, which contain the first Notices we have, as of most other things, so concerning Sheep, Wool, and woolen Manufacture. And this I do, not merely in compliance with Custom; but as some Proof of Inadvertency at least in certain modern Writers, who have laid it down as a Foundation to build upon, * That our Wool for clothing, viz. the Wool

* See Draper of London 1740. p. 7. who infers from hence, that ' if we be wife enough to manufacture our own Wool

2 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. I.

of England and Ireland, is to ALL THE WORLD as much a NECESSARY of Life, as any thing else. For here the Scriptures inform us of other Parts of the World abounding, at that Time, in Sheep and Wool. And tho' some of those Countries have since undergone great Revolutions, as to Empire and Arts; yet the Prophet foretelling the same, said of their Sea-Coasts, their populous trading Places, that they should become Dwellings and Cottages for Shepherds, and Folds for Flocks.

- Gen. iv. 2. 2. Abel was a Keeper of Sheep. Abraham being well entreated in Egypt, had Sheep; returning from thence, he was very rich in Cattle. Lot
- xii. 6. also who went with Abraham had Flocks, &c.
- xiii. 2. Abimelech took Sheep, &c. and gave them unto Abraham.
- xx. 24. Isaac (in the Land of the Philistines) had Possession of Flocks, &c.
- xxvi. 14. Jacob coming to Padan-aram, to the Well of Haran, there were three Flocks of Sheep lying by it.
- xxix. 2. Rachel came with her Father's Sheep.
- xxxii. 14. 9. Jacob sent his Brother Esau, as a Present, two hundred Ewes and twenty Rams.
- xxxvii. 14. Joseph's Brethren went to feed their Father's Flock in Shechem. Being come into Egypt, and asked by Pharaoh, what was their Occupation, they said, thy Servants are Shepherds †, both we and our Fathers.

Moses

at home, we must have the serving of all the World with it; *ibid.* p. 17. that we may have the Market to ourselves, at our own Price.

By others also it has been said, that we may fix our Goods (in that Case) at what Rates we please, and dispose of them at whatever Rates we think proper to fix them. *Gee's Impartial Enquiry* 1742. p. 49. And many Writers besides might be quoted, to the same Effect.

† But tho' the Patriarchs were yet in their original State of rural Simplicity, yet was it not so with every other Part of Mankind. At this Time, their Cargoes of Spicery, Balm and Myrrh, carried upon Camels, and their Traffick in young Slaves, Commodities only for a rich and luxurious People, sufficiently declare the established Power and Wealth of Egypt. We find a Captain of Pharaoh's Guard, a chief Butler and Baker. — In the Vestures, fine Linen,

Ch. I. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 3

Moses kept the Flock of Jethro his Father-in-law in Exo. iii. 1. Midian.

The Israelites leaving the Land of Egypt, took with them Flocks and Herds, even very much Cattle. xii. 38.

Having spoiled the Midianites, a Part of the Booty Numbers which the Men of War had caught, was 675,000 Sheep. xxxi. 32.

Saul being sent to destroy the Amalekites; contrary to God's Appointment, spared the best of the Sheep. 1 Sam. xv. 9.

David returned from Saul to feed his Father's Sheep at Bethlehem. xvii. 15.

The Sons of Reuben took from the Hagarites 250,000 Sheep. 1 Chron. v. 21.

The several Companies that came to David at Ziklag to make him King, brought with them Sheep abundantly. xii. 40.

Asa King of Judah spoiling the Ethiopians, carried away Sheep in abundance. 2 Chron. xiv. 15.

Abah in Samaria killed for Jehoshaphat and his Company Sheep in abundance. xviii. 2.

And the Arabians brought him (Jehoshaphat) 7700 Rams. xvii. 11.

In the Days of Hezekiah, upon a particular Occasion, were at one time of the consecrated Things 3000 Sheep. xxix. 33.

Hezekiah King of Judah, at the Feast of the Passover, did give to the Congregation 7000 Sheep. And the Princes gave to the Congregation 10,000 Sheep. xxx. 24.

A Part of Job's first Substance (in the Land of Uz) was 7000 Sheep; of his second, 14,000. Job i. 3.

Mesha King of Moab was a Sheep-Master, and rendered unto the King of Israel 100,000 Lambs, and 100,000 Rams with the Wool.

3. Laban went to shear his Sheep. Genesis xxxi. 19. Judah went up to his Sheep-shearers. xxxviii.

B 2 And 12.

Linen, gold Chains, State Chariots given to Joseph, we see all the Marks of Luxury and Politeness. *Divine Legation*, Vol. II. p. 31. Yet Pharaoh himself had his Shepherds; the Egyptians were at this Time Shepherds themselves, as well as the Israelites. *Connection of the sacred and prophane History*, by J. Shuckford, p. 342.

* Consequently of Silk and Woolen Manufacture, in that, or some neighbouring Country.

4 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 2.

- 1 Sam. xxv. 4. And *David* heard in the Wilderness that *Nabal* did shear his Sheep.
- 2 Sam. xiii. 23. *Abfalom* had Sheep-shearers in *Baalhazor*, which is beside *Ephraim*; and *Abfalom* invited all the King's Sons.
- Deut. xviii 1—4. And this shall be the Priest's Due, the first of the Fleece of thy Sheep shalt thou give him.
- Ezek. xxvii. 18. The Prophet speaking of the rich Trade of *Tyrus*, and its approaching Ruin, says, *Damascus* was thy Merchant in white Wool.
- Rev. i. xiii. 14. One like unto the Son of Man, his Head and his Hairs white like *Wool*, as white as Snow.

- Prov. xxxi. 13, 19. 4. The virtuous Woman seeketh *Wool* and *Flax*, and worketh willingly with her Hands. She layeth her Hands to the Spindle, and her Hands hold the Distaff.
- Exod. xxxv. 26. And all the Women that were wise-hearted, did spin with their Hands, and brought that which they had spun, both of blue and of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine Linen.
- 1 Sam. xvii. 7. And the Staff of his Spear (*Goliath's*) was like a Weaver's Beam.
- Job vii. 6. My Days are swifter than a Weaver's Shuttle.
- Levit. xiii. 47, 48. Whether it be a woolen Garment, or a linen Garment; whether it be in the Warp, or the Woof,
- Isa. vii. 6. The High-way of the Fuller's Field.
- Mal. iii. 2. Like Fuller's Soap.
- Num. iv. 8 12. Cloth of Scarlet. — — Blue.

C H A P. II.

Pliny, Columella, and Strabo, of Sheep, Wool, and Woolen Manufacture; and Polydore Virgil, &c. of the first Invention of Spinning, Weaving, Fulling, Dying.

1. IF it is not true, That our Wool for Clothing is to all the World as much a Necessary of Life as any thing else; as it is wrong to say so much, and unwise to believe it; so perhaps it may be found not to be good Policy

Ch. 2. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 5

licy, to pursue quite the same Measures, in respect thereof, as if that was really the Case. But this home-bred Sentiment, which has long been cherished in some Degree, and of late very strongly, though most absurdly maintained, is as little-favoured from other Books of Antiquity, as from the Holy Scriptures. *Pliny* * in his natural History, and † *Columella de Re Rustica*, speak largely in Praise of Sheep and Wool; distinguishing the Kinds and Sorts of each; informing us in what Parts of *Italy* and *Asia*, &c. were the best; but don't so much as mention the Sheep of *Britain* and *Ireland*. *Strabo* † speaks of the fine Woolen Manufacture of *Turtedania*, a Part of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and the yet finer of the *Coraxi*, a People of *Asia*, and the large Price of Rams there for breeding; this so early as in the Time of *Tiberius Cæsar*. *Polydore Virgil* † (in his Book *De Inventoribus Rerum*)

* 'Magna est Pecori Gratia, vel in Placamentis Deorum, Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 8. vel in Usu Vellerum. Ut boves sumptum Hominum excolunt, ita Corporum Tutela Pecori debetur. c. 47.
'Ovium summa Genera duo sunt, testum & colonicum. Illud mollius, hoc in Pascuo elegantius. Lana autem laudatissima *Apule*, & quæ in *Italia Græci* Pecoris appellatur, alibi, *Italica*. Tertium locum *Milesiæ* Oves obtinent. Circa *Tarentum Canusumq;* summam Nobilitatem habent. In *Asia* vero eodem Genere *Laodiceæ*. Alba circum *Padanis* nulla profertur; nec *Libra centenos* Nummos ad hoc ævi excessit ulla.
† 'Post majores Quadrupedes, ovilli Pecoris secunda Columella Ratio est, quæ prima fit, si ad Utilitatis Magnitudinem la, l. 7. referas, Nam id præcipue nos contra Frigoris Violentiam protegit; corporibusque nostris liberaliora præbet Velamina.
'Pinguis & Campestris Situs proceras Oves tolerat, gracilis & collinus quadratas, Sylvestris & montosus exiguas, Generis eximii *Milesias*, *Calabras*, *Appulasque* nostri existimabant, earumque optimas *Tarentinas*. Nunc *Gallicæ pretiosiores*.
‡ Speaking of *Turtedania*, 'Frequens inde primum Vestis Strabo. veniebat, nunc vero *Coraxorum* amplius Lanificium excellentissimæ Pulchritudinis, unde admiffarii Arietes Talento emantur.'
† 'Arachne Lanificii peritissima *Minervam* in Certamen *Polydore* provocavit.—Nendi autem texendique *Artem Palladem* instituisse nemo ambigit, quippe quæ *Minervæ* Ars nominatur;
B 3

Rerum) informs us who were by the *Gentile* World reputed the Inventors of the Arts of spinning Wool, weaving, fulling, and dying Cloth. And however they might be mistaken, in attributing that to one, which belonged to another, or concerning the exact Times when the supposed Persons did live; it shews nevertheless that there was such a thing as Woolen Manufacture long before England had the Art (as will † appear) and probably before it produced the Material.

† Chap. 4. §. 1.

CHAP.

‡ natur; quod innuere videtur Naso his Versibus:

‘ Quid facis Æacide, non sunt tua Munera Lanæ.
‘ Ah! Titulos alia Palladis Arte pete.

§ Plinius tamen dicit Egyptios textilia comperisse. Fullo-
niam artem Nicias Megarensis invenit. Lanæ infecere
primum Sardibus Lydi, autor Plin. Usus vero lanificii
Justinus, lib. 2. Athenienses primitus docuisse tradit.
Quod ego Minervæ potius tribuerim; siquidem illa erat,
antequam Athenæ conditæ forent, & quoniam lanificium
callebat, credibile est eam primo lanificium monstrasse,
præsertim Atheniensibus, apud quos castissime colebatur.
Quapropter Justinus, ut puto, facile intelligit Athenien-
ses lanificii Usus primos post Minervam * docuisse.

* ‘ Here I must take my Rise, and to you show
‘ What Sanquet or Cooper would have us know
‘ Out of their Chronicles; for they do say
‘ Weaving invented was by Naamah,
‘ Sister to Tubal Cain.
‘ Poliodorus, in his History
‘ De Inventione Rerum, doth specify
‘ Three worthy Women; and of these three one
‘ Minerva is; and he says, she alone
‘ Devised first to make Wool into Cloath,
‘ Which very likely is to be a Troath:
‘ (For she with her Brother Bacchus went to India)
‘ And there Minerva might her Knowledge learn;
‘ Although ’tis very likely that they there
‘ (The Country being hot) all Silk did wear,
‘ But she to Greece returning, where the Sun
‘ Being not so vehement, she first begun
‘ To exercise her Skill in Wool; and so
‘ It may be true, what Poliodore doth shew.

The Antiquity, Utility, and Excellency of the Art of Weaving. By R. C. 1677.

CHAP. III.

* *The History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients; written in French by Monsieur Huet Bishop of Auranches; made English from the Paris Edition: and printed at London 1717.*

1. **P**LINY places the Omanians in Persia. Arrian P. 30. adds, that the People carried to Barigaza, an ancient City of India, and to Arabia, Pearls, Purples, Habits of their Country, &c.

2. When

* Altho’ this is so far an entertaining Book, as to give a pleasing Idea of the Learning, Labour and Sagacity of the Author; yet the Reader who expects from it, by reason of the Title, any very particular Account of Trade and Manufacture, as exercised among the Ancients, will find himself disappointed; nevertheless in this Book is the best Account thereof which he can hope to meet with. For it was not for want of Inclination, or through any superficial Neglect in Mr. Huet, that Things of that sort are so sparingly touched upon by him in this Work: but because it being but a Transcript from other Works, the Copy could not possibly exceed the Originals. Some Books, he tells you, of Commerce and Navigation were lost, which might have given Light into these Matters; particularly those of Varro on that Subject. Moreover he says, the Generality of ancient Historians (like it seems to those of later Date) are employed in recording Things of a different Nature; Things which are certainly more entertaining to the Reader, and which it is thought more polite to be acquainted with. Hence it comes to pass that this Book entitled, *A History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, is chiefly a History of Sea Fights and Naval Expeditions; only Mr. Huet judiciously observing that all Strength at Sea implies necessarily a considerable Commerce, as the Basis and Foundation thereof; therefore where-ever he meets with the one, he concludes for the Certainty of the other also. §. 7, 16.

I observe from one Place of his Book (c. 59.) he is so entirely destitute of other Light into that Part of the Roman History, which respects maritime Affairs, for a certain Period,

Page 32. 2. When the Romans became Masters of Asia, the Persians applied themselves more to Trade, but chiefly embraced the Commerce of the Southern Sea.

3. Xenophon speaking of Athens mentions it as a City of great Trade, and well furnished with all Sorts of Commodities * for Traffick.

Page 49. 4. About fifty Years after the Reign of Minos, the Argonauts went to Colchis in Search of the Golden Fleece. Now altho' the Fable would give the Air of a military Expedition to this Enterprize; yet nevertheless there is some Appearance that it was equally carried on by War and Merchandize. This Golden Fleece is a Mystery, which has been variously explained by the Ancients. Some say it was the Profit arising from the Wool of Colchis;

riod, that he is forced to glean all his Intelligence from the Laws of the Empire, as contained in the Theodosian Code. And this again is in some measure the Case of these Memoirs. The Statute Books are not only the Compiler's best Authority, but chief Materials, till towards the latter End of Queen Elizabeth, when writing and printing came more into Use upon all Subjects. What is here selected from Mr. Huët, is all that appeared to have any Relation to the Subject in Hand.

* And no doubt but Cloth was one of them. A Fable ascribed to Demosthenes supposes that the People of Athens were well acquainted at least with the Nature of Sheep, and the Business of Shepherds.

' He had served them with great Fidelity in the Station of an Orator, when upon a certain Occasion, apprehending to be delivered over to his Enemies, he told the Athenians his Countrymen the following Story. Once upon a Time the Wolves desired a League with the Sheep, upon this Condition, that the Cause of Strife might be taken away; which was the Shepherds and the Mastiffs: This being granted, the Wolves without Fear made havock of the Sheep.' DRAPER'S Letters, p. 127.

And a Dialogue between Socrates and Aristarchus shews no less, that they were accustomed to Woolen Manufacture; for that the latter by the Advice of the former, in order to maintain his Sisters, Nieces and Cousins, in a Time of public Distress, laid in a Provision of WOOL; on which they worked from Morning to Night.

chis; others, that it meant the † Gold that was taken out of the Rivers of the Country.

5. The City of Corinth, for its Land Trade, was, in Pag. 103. its Situation, the most commodious Staple || in all Greece; from whence she drew such large Tolls, that Philip used to call her the Chain of Greece.

6. After the Defeat of the Pirates (by Pompey) Commerce (which had been fore interrupted) began to re-establish itself among the People who inhabited the Coast of the Mediterranean. Wherein that Commerce particularly consisted, is not so easily known, because the ancient Authors, who chiefly applied themselves to preserve the most considerable Events, have very much neglected this Part of History.

7. When Cæsar subdued the Belgians, the People of Vannes (which Strabo places among the Belgians) were obliged among others to give them Hostages. But the Vannes chiefly carried on a considerable Trade with Britain; and as they foresaw that Cæsar was about to attack the British Nation, they endeavoured to turn him from it. Now these People were more powerful than any others in those Quarters, by the Number and Strength of their Ships, which they maintained chiefly on Account of Trade with Britain.

8. Now altho' the Romans knew Britain, yet was it hardly known to the Gauls; they were only apprized of its Coasts opposite to them; and that by the Relation of their Merchants, who from time to time had traded with the Britons.

9. The Expeditions of Cæsar, and those which the Romans had made before his Time into Spain, did mightily promote Commerce in the Western Parts of Europe. The People of Belgium did not willingly admit Strangers upon that score: But the British Ports were open to foreign Merchants.

10. The

† Might it not be both? (See §. 20. of this Chap.) And does it not plainly argue a Sense the Ancients had of the Value of Wool and Woolen Manufacture, their Experience of the Use and Benefit thereof, and this before England (as we shall see) knew any thing of the matter?

|| And must not Wool, or Cloth, or both, necessarily have been in the Number of those Staple Commodities at Corinth?

10. The Spaniards, and Phœnicians who had great Establishments in Spain, made frequent Voyages into the Western Parts of Britain, and into the adjacent Islands, which Antiquity comprized under one general Name of *Cassiterides*. The great Gain which they drew from the British Lead and Tin, induced them to make a Secret of it, lest the Multitude of Buyers should diminish their Profits; and therefore a Phœnician Ship being closely pursued by one of the Romans, was by the Pilot run upon the Rocks, and split to pieces, and shipwreck made of all its Cargo, that thereby he might decoy the Roman Vessel into the same Disaster, lest it should have found its Way to the great Mart of Tin, as *Strabo* tells us. The Phœnician Nation approving their Countryman's Conduct, made good unto him all the Damage he sustained by the Loss of his Ship.

11. But the Romans being greedy after Gain, at length found out the Way to Britain. *Strabo* adds, that *Publius Crassus* making a Voyage to that Country, discovered the Way thither. 'Tis likely he meant *Crassus* the Father, who was slain in the Parthian Wars; for when he was Proconsul, he made Wars against the Portuguese, and triumph'd over the Spaniards, and was informed by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians (inhabiting *Cadiz*) of the Trade of the *Cassiterides*. Yet I find better Reasons to attribute this Voyage to *Crassus* the younger, whom the Parthians put to Death together with his Father; for while he was Lieutenant under *Cæsar* in the War with the Gauls, he subdued the *Vanni*, and all the neighbouring Nations inhabiting the Western and Northern Coasts of that Country; and during his Abode among them, he was apprized of the Traffick they carried on with the Britons and the Island *Cassiterides*; and being a young, valiant, enterprizing Hero, formed the Design of visiting in Person those Islands, to be fully assured of the Relations made of them; or 'tis likely he was commissioned by *Cæsar* to take Cognizance of the Western Coasts of Britain, as *Volusenus* was to discover the Eastern and Southern Parts of the same Island.

12. *Crassus* being nearer to *Hibernia* than any of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, he learned, without doubt, that that Island had good Harbours, and was much frequented by Merchants. In *Strabo's* Time, the Vessels that sailed from

from *Gallia* towards the North, did not pass farther than *Hibernia*; for they then believed, that the more Northern Climates were altogether uninhabitable, by the Extremity of the Cold; but afterwards the *Hibernian* Harbours came to be more known than those of *Britain*. *Tacitus* tells us, that the People of *Cornwal*, by conversing continually with Foreigners, became more tractable and courteous than others of their Countrymen, as *Diodorus Siculus* likewise assures us. But as for the Inland and Northern Parts of the Island, and the adjacent little Islands belonging to *Britain*, 'tis highly probable, that the Inhabitants thereof, notwithstanding the Conflux of Foreigners, did yet retain their natural Brutality and uncultivated Manners. And notwithstanding *Solinus* says, that the Inhabitants of the *Cassiterides* did refuse to take Money for their Commodities, this is no Argument of their Ignorance, but was rather for the Furtherance of their Traffick; for the Britons that were known to *Cæsar* used Money made of Copper or Iron, and paid *Cæsar* their Tribute Money in those Coins.

13. *Strabo* tells us, that Corn, Cattle, Gold, Silver, Hides and Hounds were the Commodities furnished by the Britons; and speaking of the *Cassiterides* as making a Part of the same, he adds Tin and Lead*. 'Twas from Pag. 118. the Western Parts of *Britain* and its adjacent Islands, their Tin and Lead came, which more than any other Commodity enriched the Country, and gave it the Name of *Cassiterides*.

14. As for the Dogs of *Britain*, they had them at *Rome* before the *Cæsarian* Expedition into that Island; inasmuch as *Strabo*, and the Poet *Gratius* cited by *Ovid*, Pag. 120. make mention of them; and the Poem about hunting is still extant, wherein mention is made of the British Dogs, and the Use the Gauls made of them in their Wars, and the Romans in hunting.

15. The Merchandizes imported into *Britain* were, Salt, earthen Wares, Implements made of Copper, of Ivory, and Amber.

16. That we may have a just Idea of the Traffick of *Britain* by Sea in *Cæsar's* Time, we must understand that

* Not a word here of *Sheep* or *Wool*; Cattle and Herds always denoting Beasts, as Flocks do Sheep.

- that their Vessels were made of light, pliant Wood covered with Leather*, which were then used in other Nations, and in these latter Times, among the *Greenlanders*. This was the State of the *British* Trade, until the Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* made this Country to be neglected by the *Romans*. — And surely we cannot attribute the maritime Power of the *Vanni*, and their great Correspondence with the *Britons* to proceed from any other Cause than their Sea Traffick, and Naval Negotiations.
- Pag. 122. 17. But the principal Commerce of the *Gauls* was then carried on at *Marseilles*; and *Diodorus* assures us, that the *British* Tin was brought by Land Carriage through the Heart of *Gallia* to that Place, as also to *Narbonne*.
- Pag. 123. 18. Besides the Metals that were found in *Spain*, that Country afforded many other Merchandizes, viz. Wine and Wool, with fine *Stuffs* and *Cloth*, and fine Linen; which Inventions are attributed to them.
- Pag. 127. 19. All the Commerce of *Poland*, and the Provinces depending on that Country, was only carried on in their Ports of the *Baltick* Sea. It was at those Places they sold the Merchandizes of their own Growth, such as Leather, Wool, &c.
- Pag. 134. 20. Besides the Gold and other Metals of *Colchis*, the *Pontus Euxinus* also afforded Corn, Leather, Flax, Honey, Wax, Flocks of Sheep, &c.
- Pag. 140. 21. The *Tartars* changed their Furs, Butter and Horses with the *Turks* and *Armenians* for their Calicoes, *Woolen Cloths*, &c.
- Pag. 142. 22. If the Books of Navigation that were written by *Varro* had yet remained, they would certainly have given great Light into this Subject. In the Year of *Rome* 259 was instituted the College of Merchants.
- Pag. 146. 23. I think

* Mr. *Evelyn*, in his Treatise of Navigation and Commerce (1674), inclines, upon the Authority of certain Writers, to think that the Structure of their Vessels was not altogether of such slight Materials; and Mr. *Huet* acknowledges it no irrational Belief, from the Account given by *Julius Cæsar* himself, but that no Author has expressly said as much; and some have affirmed directly the contrary; and therefore, in regard it is uncertain Conjecture, he leaves the Matter undecided.

23. I think we may be certain, that the *Egyptian* Pag. 179. Commerce is as ancient as their Adoration of *Mercury* under the Name of *Thoth*. He was also worshipped under the Name of *Taautus* by the *Phœnicians*. Both of these People were equally given to Trade, and honoured *Mercury* as the chief God of Commerce.
24. From *Alexandria* to *Rome* came, in immense Pag. 185. Quantities, Spices of all Sorts, Cloth, Paper, Glass, Flax, Hemp, and magnificent Robes.
25. From the Borders of the *Persian* Gulph were Pag. 201. carried into *India* and *Arabia*, Pearls, Purple, Stuffs, Robes, &c.
26. The Merchandizes of *Thina* the Capital of *China*, Pag. 238. which are Wool, Thread and wrought Silks, are (according to *Arrian*) carried by Land by the City *Bactra* to *Barygaza**. 239.

CHAP.

* From the foregoing *History of the Commerce, &c. of the Ancients*, it is to be remarked, that tho' other Matters relating to *Britain* are there pretty circumstantially related; yet is there Nothing said either of *Sheep* in the Kingdom, or of Wool, or Cloth imported thither, or exported thence, as from, and to, some other Countries. And as, according to Historians, the *Britons* at this Time made no Use of Cloaths, so probably they had no Sheep, at least not any Number to be accounted of. *Speed*, it's true, (p. 180.) upon the Authority of some Writers which he quotes, is of another Opinion, namely, that they had Sheep, and did not know the Use of the *Wool*. But methinks by the same Means that they came to know that Tin, and Lead, and Hides were Commodities of some Value, they would have learned the Worth of *Wool* also, so far as to have made Merchandize of it, although they disdained to use it themselves.

C H A P. IV.

An Abstract from Records, History, and the Statute Books, relating to the State and Trade of England from the Time of the Romans first invading it, to the Year 1331, which was the 6th of Edw. III.

Rapin's
Introd.
Vol. 1.
p. 5.

1. **A**nciently, before the Romans first invaded Britain, the Use of Cloaths was scarce known in it. None but the Inhabitants of the Southern Coasts covered their Nakedness with the Skins of wild Beasts, to avoid giving Offence to Strangers that came to traffick with them. Their chief Commerce was first with the Phœnician Merchants, afterwards with the Greeks for Tin, and that in the extreme Parts of Cornwall only.

Pag. 14.

2. About the Time that *Ostorius Scapula* became Governor of Britain, London was made a trading Colony, and that Part of Britain lying between the Thames and the Sea was reduced into the Form of a Province.

P. 17---19.

3. All Britain by *Julius Agricola* being reduced into a Roman Province, the People by degrees were civilized, and learned to speak the Latin Tongue, and to dress after the Roman Manner.

Stilling-
fleet's
Chron.
pretios.
P. 50.

4. A. D. 712---727. In King *Ina's* Laws, which were made betwixt 712 and 727, it is said an Ewe with her Lamb is worth one Shilling 'till thirteen Nights after Easter. *Brompton Chron.* Instead of thirteen it should be fourteen, as in the *Saxon* of Mr. *Lambard*.

Rapin,
p. 95.

5. A. D. 885. About this Time King *Alfred* having provided for the Safety of the State, endeavoured to make the People relish the Fruits of Peace, by introducing Trade and Commerce, Arts and Sciences.

Pag. 99.

6. A. D. 92. *Edward* the elder died. He had Children by three Wives, first *Egwin* a * *Shepherd's* Daughter.

* *Speed* says (p. 36.) the Daughter of a mean Gentleman named *Berber*; perhaps a Country Gentleman, no Soldier; and therefore, in the Language of Courtiers at that Time, stiled a Shepherd. Not that we are to measure the Grandeur

Daughter. So that by this Time Sheep were not uncommon in England, tho' rare, as we may imagine in respect of After-times, when the Country became free from Wolves, from which (being greatly infested with them)

7. A. D. 961. *Edgar* the Peaceable bethought himself Pag. 106. of an Expedient, which so far succeeded, that in three Years there was not one left in the Kingdom.

8. A. D. 1000. In the *Senatus Consulta de Montico-Chron. lis*, in the Time of King *Ethelred*, if a Sheep be lost, pret. p. 51. the Compensation was to be 1 s. Saxon Money, viz. 5 d. to the Shilling, and 48 s. to the Pound.

9. A. D. 1100. *Liber niger Saccarii. Pro Ariete* Pag. 55. vel Ove 4d. This was the Exchange made by the King, that instead of Provisions for his Household, he might have Money to defray the Expences of his Court, and pay his Soldiers †.

10. A. D. 1100---35. In the Laws of *Henry I.* Pag. 56. (c. 76.) forty Sheep are valued at 1 l.

11. A. D. 1171. *Henry II.* subdued Ireland. Its Rapin, Fertility and Situation for Trade has raised in England a p. 234. Jealousy thereof ever since. Its chiefest Wealth however consisted at this Time in a great Breed of Cattle.

12. A. D. 1185. By the Custom of *Beleshal*, the Chron. Tenants of *Shireborn* are to pay a Ram, or 8 d.; and pret. p. 57. in the Preface to King *Atbelstan's* Laws, a Ram was at 4 d.

13. A. D.

deur and Delicacy of Courts in those Days by present Appearances. For it was remarked of this same King *Edward*, that being careful, as we may conceive, that his Children should have proper princely Education, he sette *Fabian's* his Sons to Scole, and his Doughters he sette to Woll Chron. werke, takyng Example of *Charles* the Conquestour. c. 179.

† At first, the Tenants of *Knights Fees* answered to Rapin, their Lords by military Services; and the Tenants of p. 189. Socage Lands and *Demesnes* in great measure by Work and Coin Note. Provisions. Afterwards the Revenues of the Crown were answered in Gold and Silver, and sometimes in Horses, Dogs, and Birds of Game, &c. sometimes in both together. The Pound of Silver at this Time was 20 s. and the Shilling consisted of twelve Pence; and a Penny was the twentieth Part of an Ounce, equal to our three Pence.

Rapin, P. 254.

13. A. D. 1193. Richard I. in his Return from the Crusade, being made Prisoner by the Duke of Austria, towards paying his Ransom, one Year's Wool was borrowed of the Abbeyes of the Cistercian's Order, and of the Religious Houses of the Order of Sempringham*.

Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, P. 532.

14. A. D. 1198. In the tenth Year of King Richard I. Gervase de Aldermanbury rendered an Account of the Chamberlainship of London, from Whitsontide in the eighth Year of Richard I. to the Feast of St. Philip and St. James next before the Coronation of King John, except nine Weeks. He accounted for 23 l. 12 s. the Fines of Merchants for Leave to export Wool and Leather—for 20 l. arising by Sale of Wool † belonging to William de Bologne—for 225 Marks for Wool, viz. for 45 Sacks which were taken at Hull ‖.

Pag. 265. Note 7.

15. A. D. 1202. Silver at this Time was but 20 d. an Ounce (every Pound at that Time being a Pound Weight) whereas now every Pound of Silver makes 3 l. Sterling; and accordingly the Weight of every Shilling was then the twentieth Part of a Pound. A. D. 1203,

P. 346--7. Note 3.

Hugh Oiseb proffered one thousand Marks to have the Quinzime arising from Merchandizes throughout England from

* This is the first Mention made of Wool in Rapin's History of England; so little has this Subject had the Notice of English Historians. And yet by this Circumstance of the King's Ransom, we may perceive that it had been for some Time the best merchantable Commodity of the Kingdom, and was now the next, of all other things, to ready Money. We shall hereafter find it frequently made use of as the great Stake upon all national Emergencies, like as, at present, the Land Tax, and Malt Bill, &c.

† Attempted (it is to be supposed) to be exported without Leave, or Payment of what was legally due, or customarily required in that Case by the Crown.

‖ Intended (again it is to be supposed) for Exportation without the proper Leave and Payment; by which means becoming forfeited, (see §. 26.) and 225 Marks being accounted for 45 Sacks, we learn from hence so far the Price of Wool in England at this Time, as that this particular Parcel was valued at 5 Marks the Sack (of 26 Stone) which is somewhat more than 2 s. 6 d. per Stone. Which 2 s. 6 d. being then one Eighth of a Pound of Silver, was equal in Quantity or Weight to 7 s. 6 d. present Money of Great Britain.

from Year to Year. A. D. 1204, William de Wrotham and others accounted for the Quinzime of Merchants at the several Ports of England. The Quinzime of London was 836 l. of Boston 780 l.

16. One Breadth of dyed Cloth, Russets and Haberjeets, Statute viz. two Yards within the Lists. 9 Hen. III. c. 25.* Book.

17. A. D. 1242, a War breaking out with France, Rapin, the Persons and Goods of the English Merchants were seized in the French Dominions, and of the French in the English Dominions, to the great Injury of Trade, which seems not to have been practised before.

18. A. D. 1250. About this Time Money was so shamefully clipped, that by an Order it was enjoined to be taken only by Weight; which Order (it's said) proved a great Obstruction to Trade for some time.

A. D. 1275. Upon a Quarrel between England and Rymer, Flanders, all Commerce having been prohibited, certain Florentine Merchants are permitted to carry over to Flanders 1068 Sacks of Wool, paying therefore to the King 10 s. per Sack.

19. A. D. 1284. About this Time Merchant Strangers were first permitted to rent Houses, and to buy and sell their own Commodities themselves, without any Interruption from the Citizens. For before this, they hired Lodgings, and their Landlords were the Brokers, who sold all their Goods and Merchandizes for them †.

20. A. D.

* ' True it is that broad Cloths were made, though in a small Number, at the Time, and long before it.' And Instit. yet this Time (A. D. 1224.) is 107 Years^m sooner than, by the Generality of Writers, the English are allowed to have had any the least Insight into the Woolen Manufacture. But here we find that broad Cloth was a Manufacture in the Kingdom now, and long before this Time, tho' not in the same Quantity or Number as in Lord Chief Justice Coke's Time. And if we observe the Accounts we shall meet with of Woolen Manufacture (in Scotland particularly) we shall find, that to be able to make broad Cloth, is looked upon as a Perfection in that Manufacture, not to be attained immediately, but by degrees.

† Fabian, who places this Affair two Years later, viz. in 1286, gives the following Account thereof.

' In this Yere also, whereas of olde Tyme, longe before this Season, the Marchauntes Straungers comynge with theyr

Fabian, 1291.

20. A. D. 1291. In this XIX of Edward I. the Kinge ordayned, That all woll whiche shuld be sold unto Straungers shuld be brought unto Sandewiche, where the Staple thereof long after was.

Rapin, p. 378. Note 8.

21. A. D. 1296. The Custom of Wool was raised by the King's sole Power from twenty to forty Shillings a Bag. (Walsing. p. 69.) But this being justly deemed a Grievance, gave Occasion to the following Statute, viz. A Release of Toll taken by the King for Wool, and a Grant

they Marchaundize were lodged within the Cytezins of the Cytie of London, and sold all theyr Marchaundyses by the procurynge of his Hooft. For the which his sayd Hooft had a certayne of every lib. By meanes of the sayd Marchauntes Straungers it was brought to passe, that they might hire to them Houses for to dwell in, and for Stowage of their Wares. By meane whereof they used many Disceytes both in the Utteraunce of falsse Wares, and also by their Weyghts, which they used in theyr own Houses to the greate Hurt of the hole Realme of Englande. Wherefore sodaynly Searche was made, and theyr Weyghtes found, and provyd falsse. And over that all such Wares as they shulde have weyed at the Kynges Beame, they weyed moche thereof in theyre sayd Houses, to the Hynderaunce of the Kinges Customes. For whych Offences agayne them provyd, to the Nombre of xx of the sayd Straungers were arrestyd, and sent unto the Toure of London, and theyr Weyghtes brent and consumed in Westchepe of London, the Thursdaye before the Feaste of Simon and Jude. And fynallie the sayd Marchauntes were delivered by Fyne makynge to the Kyng of a Thousande Poundes, when they had suffered by a Season harde and vyle Prysonement. It is difficult to determine, tho' not very material to know, at this Distance of Time, whether this happened through any real Crimes of these foreign Merchants, or whether it was the Effect of Indignation only in the Citizens of London conceived against them for the Loss of their Brokage; however,

Coke's 2d Institutes, p. 741.

In the 18th Year of Edward the Ist, [viz. A. D. 1289] in the Parliament-Roll it is contained thus, Cives London petunt quod Alienigenæ Mercatores expellantur a Civitate, quia ditantur ad Depauperationem Civium, &c.

Responsio. Rex intendit quod Mercatores extranei sunt idonei & utiles Magnatibus, &c. & non habet Consilium eos expellendi.

Grant that he will not take the same without common Consent and good Will. 25 Edw. I. c. 7.*

22. In the 26th of Edward I. there was payable to the King for Customs, for every Sack of Wool carried out of the Port of Len, half a Mark; for every 300 Pelles lanutæ, half a Mark. The King appointed Hugh de Massingham and Ranulph le Ken to collect and receive the said Customs at Len; and a Writ issued to the Sheriffs of [the Counties of] Cambridge, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Derby, Bedford, Bucks, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland and Norfolk, commanding them to make Proclamation, that all Merchants in their severall Balywicks should carry Merchandizes of that sort to Len. In like manner Customiers were appointed for the severall Towns or Ports of Newcastle upon Tyne, Kingston upon Hull, Boston, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Southampton, Bristol and London. The Mayor of London, and other Citizens, in Obedience to the King's Order, caused a Scale to be made for weighing of Wools. They brought it to the Barons of the Exchequer, assuring them it had been examined and approved by the Scale [or Beam] which was used for weighing the Wools in London. The Treasurer and Barons straightway delivered it to William de Barton, to be carried to Hugh de Massingham and Ranulph le Ken, Commissioners of the King's Customs of Wools and Leathers at Len, to be used there for weighing the Wools exported. And they delivered the said William

C 2

in

* And for so much as the more Part of the Commonalty of the Realm, find themselves fore aggrieved with the Maletent of Wools, that is, to wit, a Toll of xl Shillings for every Sack of Wool: and have made Petition to us to release the same. We at their Requests have clearly released it, and have granted for us and our Heirs, that we shall not take such Things without their common Assent and good Will, saving to us and our Heirs, the Custom of Wools, &c. granted before by the Commonalty aforesaid. In Witnes whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents ||.

† That is, by the common Assent of the Realm by Authority of Parliament.

|| Acts of Parliament are many times passed in the Form of Charters or Letters Patents. Coke's 2d Institutes, p. 525-6.

in a Purse, sealed with the Exchequer Seal, the Seals appointed to be used by the said Customers, for the Cocket, in customing the Wools and Leathers at Len; who was to convey them to the said Hugh and Ranulph.

P. 537. 23. A. D. 1297. About this Time* the Community of the Realm granted to the King, in Aid of his Wars against France, the Custom or Duty of 40 s. for every Sack of Wool for two or three Years, if the War lasted so long. And at the same time the King granted, that he would take no Custom of the Community without their common Assent saving to the King and his Heirs, the Custom of Wools granted to him by the Community before that Time.

Chron. pret. p.65. 24. A. D. 1298. At Scarborough in Yorkshire the Price of a Sheep 1 d.

Madox, p. 537. † The King released to the Community of the Realm the Custom or Subsidy of 40 s. and thereupon commanded the Custodes of his said Customs in the several Ports of England to forbear receiving the same, and likewise commanded the Sheriffs of the several Counties to make Proclamation in their Bailywicks, That all Merchants and others, who designed to export Wools, Woolfels and Leathers, might safely carry them to the several Ports, where the King had a Cocket, paying the old Duties only, viz. half a Mark for every Sack of Wool, &c.

Chron. pret. p.66. 25. A. D. 1299. This Year was made an Act of Common Council for Prices of Victuals to be sold at London by Consent of the King and Nobility, viz. a fat Lamb from Christmas to Shrovetide, 1 s. 4 d. The same for all the Year after at 4 d.

1302. In Dugdale's History of St. Paul's (p. 32.) a fat Mutton at 1 s. an Ewe at 8 d.

1309. Will. Thorn (inter decem Scriptores) among other things, notes it as an extravagant Price given, upon the Occasion of an Installation Feast, for 200 Muttons, 30 l. viz. 3 s. per Head.

Madox, p. 537. 26. In the ninth Year of Edward II. these Customs were payable to the King, viz. for every Sack of Wool carried

Rapin, p. 378. P. 380. * Edward forms a League against France (1297.)

† 'In order to gain the Affections of his Subjects, Edward called a Parliament, and of his own accord confirmed the great Charter, &c. which had a very good Effect upon the People.'

carried out of the Port of Bristol, half a Mark. And if Merchants defrauded the King of his Customs, they forfeited their Goods uncustomed. The Treasurer and Barons caused Inquisitions to be taken in all maritime Places about the Concealment of the King's Customs for Wool, &c. and to be returned into the Exchequer. — A Writ issued out of the Exchequer for arresting the Wools of certain foreign and English Merchants exported uncustomed. Ralph de Dalton and John de Aflagby were ordered to arrest them.

27. A. D. 1315. A very grievous Famine in Eng- Rapin, land, which lasted three Years, and destroyed an infinite p. 393. Number of People. The Parliament endeavoured to Note 4. help it by settling the Price of Provisions, but in vain. Chron. They enacted, that a fat Weather or Mutton unshorn pret. p.72. should not be sold for more at the most than 20 d. and shorn for 14 d.

28. All Staples shall cease, and Merchants may come in and go out with their Merchandizes. 3 Edw. III. c. 9.*

29. Sundry Merchants of Brabant were arrested by Pryn's the English Merchants for Wools taken up to the Use of Records, the Duke of Brabant; at which Duke's Request the King 5 Ed. III. requireth that all the English Merchants do appear before the Council, and abide further Order therein.

P. S. As the State of the English Silver Coin underwent many Alterations between the 28th of Edward I. and the 43d of Elizabeth; and as Silver is the common Measure of the Price of all things; and as the Quantity of Silver in every Coin, not the Denomination, is the true Measure of its Value, in Commerce especially; so it is thought proper to insert here the following Table; by turning to which, the Reader, as often as he meets with any Mention of the Price of Wool in that long Period, will be able to see

C 3 how

* 'It is enacted, That the Staples beyond the Sea, and on this Side, ordained by Kings in Times past, and the Pains thereupon provided, shall cease. And that all Merchants, Strangers and Privy, may go and come with their Merchandizes into England, after the Tenor of the great Charter (9 Hen. III. c. 30.) And that Writs thereupon shall be sent to all Sheriffs of England, and to Mayors and Bailiffs of good Towns, where Need shall require.'

how much of our present Silver Coin that Price is equal to, and so to make the Comparison, in that respect, between former and latter Times.

One Shilling contained of fine Silver,

28 Edw. I.	} Grains	264
18 Edw. III.		236
27 Edw. III.		213
9 Hen. V.		176
1 Hen. VI.		142
4 Hen. VI.		176
49 Hen. VI.		142
1 Hen. VIII.		118
34 Hen. VIII.		100
36 Hen. VIII.		60
37 Hen. VIII.		40
3 Edw. VI.		40
5 Edw. VI.		20
6 Edw. VI.		88
2 Eliz.		89
43 Eliz.		86

Locke, Vol. II. p. 88. And so it has remained to this Day. (Mr. Lowndes's Extract from the Mint, p. 69.)

CHAP. V.

An Abstract from Records, History, and the Statute Books, relating to the Manufacture, Trade and Taxes of England, from the 6th to the 28th of Edward III.

Rapin, p. 414. Note 1. A. D. 1331. This Year the Art of weaving Woolen Cloth was brought from Flanders into England by John Kemp, to whom the King granted his Protection,

Protection, and at the same time invited over Fullers, Dyers, &c. * Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. 4. p. 496. 2. Petitions and Aets moved at the Parliament at York, Pryn's 8 Edward III. Pet. That Remedy may be had for the Records, true making of Woolen Cloths according to the Affize. 8 Ed. III. Resp. The King will provide for the Execution of the Statute. On the Backside of the same Roll: For that the Staple was ordained to endure at the King's Pleasure, it is enacted that the same Staple should be revoked, and that all Merchant Strangers may freely buy any Staple Wares, paying the due Custom.

C 4 3. Mer-

* No 1. ' Pro Joanne Kemp de Flandria, Textore Pan- Rymer, tom. 4. p. 496. norum.'

1331. ' Cum Joannes Kemp de Flandria, Textor Pan- norum Laneorum, infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ, causa ' Mesterii sui inibi exercendi, & illos qui inde addiscere ' voluerint instruendi & informandi, accesserit moraturus, ' & quosdam Homines & Servientes ac Apprenticios de ' Mestero illo secum adduxerit.

' Suscepimus ipsum Joannem, &c. prout in ejusmodi Li- teris. ' Promittimus etiam Nos aliis Hominibus de Mestero ' illo, ac Tinctoribus & Fullonibus venire volentibus de ' Partibus Transmarinis consimiles Literas de Protectione, ' &c.'

It is generally understood, as if the People of England had been hitherto wholly unacquainted with the Arts of weaving Woolen Cloth, &c. And both this Note on Rapin's History, and this Letter of Protection to John Kemp, favour such an Opinion. But the Statute (9 Hen. III. c. 25.) Chap. 4. shews that broad Cloth was made in England above 100 Years before. And the Note of Lord Chief Justice Coke on that Statute tells us, that tho' it was small in Comparison of After-times, yet the first Beginning of the Woolen Manufacture in England was then ancient, beyond Remembrance, or Notice of History. So that from hence we are to date, not the first Rise or Introduction, but the Increase and Improvement of that Manufacture in England, by the Protection and Encouragement granted to certain foreign Manufacturers. Note also §. 2. of this Chapter, which shews further that the Woolen Manufacture was not a new thing in England at this Time.

3. Merchant Strangers may buy and sell within the Realm without Disturbance †. 9 Edw. III. c. 1.

Chron. pret. p. 75.

Rapin, p. 416. Note 4.

Rymer, tom. 4. p. 757.

4. A. D. 1336 ||. Plenty of Provisions, Money scarce, being carried abroad, on Occasion of foreign Wars. So that a fat Sheep gave but 6d. at the most 8d. Upon the Occasion of these Wars, the Merchants of England, by Act of Parliament, were to pay 40s. a Sack for all Wool transported, and Foreigners 3l. Knighton's Collect. p. 2568.

A. D. 1337. May 24. A License to Merchants of Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Bar-le-duc, Malines, Thievelmont, Lyewes, Nivelles, Diste, Herentals, Graven, Breda, Bergen four le Zoem, and Arscot, and other Villages, to buy as much Wool as was necessary to the Manufactures of each Place respectively, for half a Year; and so from one half Year to another, so long as the War should last.

5. At a Parliament held about the Middle of March this Year, the principal Business was to settle the Woolen Trade.

† The Act runs thus: 'Our Lord the King desiring the Profit of his People, by the Assent of his Prelates, &c. and by the Advice of his Council being there upon the said Things disclosed to him, and found true, to the great Hurt of the said Prelates, Earls, &c. and Oppression of his Commons, hath ordained and established, that all Merchants, Strangers, and Denizens, and all other, and every of them, of what Estate and Condition soever, that will buy and sell whatever is vendible, at what Place soever it be, within Franchise or without, may freely and without Interruption, &c.'

|| In this Year 1336, we find two Manufacturers from Brabant settled at York, under the King's Protection for one Year, as follows:

Rymer, vol. 4. p. 723.

1336. 'Rex omnibus, &c. . . . Sciatis quod cum Willielmus de Brabant & Hanckinus de Brabant Textores de Partibus Brabantie infra Regnum nostrum Angliae accesserint, & in Civitate nostra Eborum conversentur, Officium suum inibi exercentes. . . . Nos attendentes per ipsorum Industriam, si Officium suum infra idem Regnum nostrum exercent, Nobis & Subditis Nostris Utilitatem & Commodum inde posse multipliciter evenire, . . . Ac eo Pretextu Volentes ipsorum Willielmi & Hanckini Tranquillitati prospicere in hac Parte, suscepimus ipsos, &c. . . . In cujus, &c. per unum annum duraturas, &c.'

Trade. And it was enacted, That * No Wool of English Growth should be transported beyond Sea; and that all foreign Cloth-makers should be received, from whatever foreign Parts they came, and encouraged. It was also ordained, that none should wear any Cloths made beyond Sea. 11 Edward III. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 †. A. D.

Rapin, p. 417. Note 2.

* The Words of the Act, as in the printed Statute Book, are, 'It shall be Felony to carry away any Wool out of the Realm, until it be otherwise ordained.' Which Words are far from implying a fixed Resolution of prohibiting absolutely, for ever, the Exportation of Wool; on the contrary, they only denote at the most a temporary Expedient or Revulsion in Favour of the Woolen Manufacture, then about to be enlarged in England, as well by a sumptuary Law, restraining the Use of foreign Cloth, as by the Accession of foreign Workmen, which this Expedient might be supposed to facilitate. It was only a Prohibition on the Part of the People, and which plainly the Crown might not only dispense with (in virtue of the Writ *Non obstante*, much used in these Days, and long after) but which seemingly it was intended the Crown should dispense with, and accordingly did; for tho' it passed in the 11th of this Reign, yet in the 12th and 13th Years, the King did make Dispensations of that Statute in Consideration of Money paid. (See Coke's 2d Instit. p. 60.) See also A. D. 1338. This Statute was in the Month of March, and on the 3d of February following another Parliament was held, in which the Laity granted the King one half of all their Wool for the next Summer. At the same time he took the whole from the Clergy, making them pay nine Marks for every Sack of the best Wool. Which nine Marks per Sack was equal to 14s. per Stone of our present Money. (See Chap. 4. P. S.)

Ch. 30. §. 5.

† In this Year we find the following Protection granted to a Number of Manufacturers of the Province of Zealand: De Protectione pro Alienigenis Operariis Lanarum & Pannorum. . . . Rex universis, &c. . . . Sciatis cum Lestinus de Holland, Johannes de Hilford, Lestinus Neuhone, Willielmus Favehales, Gerardus Isaac, Petrus Hundrepen, Bohdonus de Thorneck, Johannes de Overnulle, Nicolaus Undrechapel, Johannes de Cratherine, Cornelius Hufs, Johannes de Semptilace, Johannes Bishop, Cornelius Storthyn & Gofinus Cornhitwait, ac quidam alii Operarii Lanarum & Pannorum, cum Hominibus & Servientibus suis de Partibus Selandiae, infra Regnum nostrum Angliae, pro Lanis ibidem operandis, &c. in proximo mo,

Rymer, vol. 4. p. 751.

- Rymer, tom. 5. p. 32. P. 44. A. D. 1338. Pro Mercatoribus Brabantiae. A Pass for 2200 Sacks of Wool.
- De Conductu pro Lana Cardinalium. A safe Conduct for a certain Quantity of Wool to be exported to *Barbant*, pro Liberatione summi Pontificis & Cardinalium inde facienda.
- P. 51. Pro Mercatoribus Brabantiae. A Direction to the Admiral to afford the Merchants of *Brabant* a Convoy for their Wools.
- P. 73. De Lana capienda, & cum omni Celeritate ad Antwerpam transevehenda.
- P. 80. De Intendendo super Lanis transportandis.
- Coke's 2d Infit. p. 60. A. D. 1339. A great Imposition was set upon Wools; and it is called a great Wrong, [meaning that it was not according to Magna Charta, i. e. by Authority of Parliament.]

Pryn. 13 Ed. III. The Lords grant to the King the tenth Sheaf of all the Corn of their Demefnes, except of their bound Tenants, and the tenth Fleece of Wool, and the tenth Lamb of their own Store, to be paid in two Years; and would that the great Wrong set upon Wool be revoked, and that this Grant turn not into a Custom.

Demands of the Commons, That all Customs of Wool and Lead may be taken as it hath been (and not as lately enhanced) with common Assent; and that if it be, Resistance may be made.

For to help the Want of Money, it was thought good that every Merchant, for every Sack of Wool, should bring in forty Shillings in Bullion to be stamped within the Realm.

Remembrances of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the Octaves of St. Hilary.

The same Day the Commons offer to give the King 30,000 Sacks of Wool for his Relief, upon Condition expressed in a Pair of Indentures. The Lords send to the King to know his Pleasure. The Lords granted that such

mo, ut accepimus, venturi. . . . Nos Securitati ipsorum Operariorum, & omnium aliorum, infra Regnum nostrum predictum, ex causa predicta, venire volentium, volentes providere, suscepimus ipsos, &c.

such of them, or of their Peers, as hold by a Barony, should give the tenth of their Grain, Wool and Lamb, and of all their Demefnes. For more speed after long debating, the Commons grant to give presently to the King 2500 Sacks of Wool, so as if the King liked the Conditions aforesaid, the same should run in Part of Payment; if not, they would freely give to the King.

6. It having been enacted, * that *English Wool* should not be exported out of the Kingdom, but be made into Cloths within the King's Dominions, one *Thomas Blanket*, and some other Inhabitants at *Bristol*, set up Looms in their own Houses †. *Rymer's Fœdera.*

7. A Subsidy was granted to the King of Wools from Easter to Pentecost in respect of the Wars; for which the King granteth, that after that Time, he nor his Heirs would

* See §. 5. Note.

† This Piece of History will be best understood by the following public Act itself; whence it will appear that the same narrow monopolish Spirit, which gave Occasion to several Laws in behalf of Merchant Strangers, made it necessary for the executive Power to interpose its Authority, to defend these new erected Looms from the vexatious Pretences of certain of the Inhabitants of those Places, in which they had been fixed.

1339. De Ordinatione super Instrumentis, pro Pannis texendis, erigendis. *Rymer,* vol. 5.

Rex Majori & Ballivis Villæ suæ Bristollæ salutem. — Cum nuper de Assensu Prelatorum, &c. in Parlamento, &c. Ordinatum fuisset, &c. — Jamque ex Parte Thomæ Blanket, & quorundam aliorum Burgensium Villæ predictæ acceperimus, quod cum ipsi diversa Instrumenta pro Pannis hujusmodi texendis & faciendis in Domibus suis propriis fieri, &c. fecerint. — Vos diversas Pecuniæ summas ab eisdem Thoma & aliis exigitis, & ea occasione multipliciter inquietatis & gravatis, ut asserunt.

Nos advertentes, &c. — Vobis mandamus, quod ipsos Thomam & alios, Pannos hujusmodi operari & facere volentes, Instrumenta pro Pannis hujusmodi texendis & faciendis, Domibus suis propriis, pro voluntate sua erigi facere, & Operarios illos ibidem tenere & habere permittatis absque Impedimento vel Calumnia, seu Exactione indebita inde facienda.

Teste, &c.

would take more than the old Custom ||. 14 Edw. III.

c. 21.

Pryn. Wednesday after Midlent-Sunday they granted to the King the Ninth of their Grain, Wool and Lamb for two Years, on Condition the King would grant their Petitions contained in a Schedule. Statute 2. c. 1.

8. They granted a second * time the Ninth of their Grain, Wool and Lamb, and many Devices made for the due answering the same. An Order taken, that the Subsidy of the next Year should be employed for the Payment of those Wools, and to be confirmed by the King's Letters Patents.

Every Sheriff by Writ shall cause some certain Merchants of every City and Town within their Bailiwick to appear before the Council at a Day, and proclaim that no Person buy any Wools before the King be served; whereunto all Customers shall have an Eye.

It is enacted, That twenty thousand Sacks of Wool granted to the King shall be taken in whose Hands the same

Coke's 2d Infit. p. 60.

|| ' But after this Time ended, the King entered into a new Device to get Money, viz. that by Agreement and Consent of the Merchants, the King was to have forty Shillings of a Sack of Wool; but hereof the Commons (that in troth were to bear the Burden †, for the Merchant will not be the Loser) complained in Parliament, for that the Grant of the Merchants did not bind the Commons, and that the Customs might be taken according to the old Order, (which in the End was granted) and that no Grant should be made but by Parliament.'

† But see (§. 15.) a Device to raise 40s. a Sack on Wool, without Loss to the Grower.

Rapin, p. 420. Note 2.

* ' During King Edward's Absence, viz. July 7. a Parliament met at Westminster, wherein the Lords and Commons granted the Ninth of their Corn, Wool and Lambs, and the Clergy undertook to raise 20,000 Sacks of Wool for his Service. So that for every Sack of the best Sort the King should be answered six Pounds; for others five Pounds; and for the worst four Marks, besides his Custom of forty Shillings. April 23. a Parliament met at Westminster, which granted the King 30,000 Sacks of Wool, as a Compensation for the Ninth granted in one of the last Parliaments.'

Note 3.

same may be found, on Agreement to be made therefore on the two Payments of the Ninths †.

9. Henry Gould le Better, Thomas Gray, William of Lancaster, and John of Lutrington take 1500 Sacks of Wool within the County of York, to pay for every Sack 4l. 10s. over and above 40s. Custom, within three Weeks.

Hardolf of Barto Merchant of Hull, and Thomas Thurwitt Merchant of Beverley, took 1000 Sacks of Wool: 500 of Nottingham at 4l. 13s. 4d. the Sack, and 500 of Derby at 3l. 3s. 4d. the Sack, over and above the 40s. Custom, to pay as before.

Thomas of Loveshed, William de Mallerstrange, and William of Banbridge, Merchants of York, do take 400 Sacks of Cumberland and Westmoreland at 4 Marks every Sack, to pay over and above the Custom as aforesaid, &c.

Walter de le Priest of Melton-Mowbray, and Hugh Coskhead Merchant of Barto upon Humber, have 500 Sacks of Leicester for † eight Marks the Sack, 100 Sacks of Rutland for 4l. 10s. the Sack, over, &c. to pay as before. Thomas Colls, Richard Weston, Adam de le Hone, and John Retoun, have of Salop 400 Sacks at 6l. 6s. 4d. * 100 Sacks of Stuff || at 5l. 6s. 8d. the Sack, to pay, &c. over and above as before.

Writs sent to every Sheriff to execute as before.

10. The

† This was not so satisfactory to the People, but that we shall find them conveying their Wool privately beyond Sea for better Security. (See §. 11.)

† A Sack was 26 Stone; and eight Marks for a Sack was something more than 4s. for a Stone; which four Shillings, as every Shilling then contained 264^a Grains of fine Silver, now but 86, was more than 12s. of our present Money; besides the Duty of 40s. which made a Part in the Price of the Wool.

* This by the same way of reckoning, viz. the Quantity of Silver; was more than 14s. per Stone of our present Money, which with the 40s. Duty, brings it to near 20s. a Stone of the same Money. If to this we add the Difference of the Value of Silver now, and then, the Price was equal to more than I chuse to speak of, and would exceed Belief, if it was not Matter of Record, so circumstantiated that there can be no Mistake in it. I do not make this Remark.

^a Ch. 4. P. 5.

10. The Merchants of *Bard* and *Pernich*, upon the Payment of the Ninth in sundry Counties there named, appoint to pay to sundry of the King's Creditors beyond the Seas 28,695 l. 15 s. 2 d.

11. A Letter sent from the Lords of Parliament to the King by Sir *William Trussel*, containing the Grant of their Ninths, and their Policy of Wool for the present Shift^a. The Postscript requireth of the King to buy at ^a Ch. 4. *Sluice*, and other Parts of *Zealand*; for the greatest Store ^b §. 13. N. of Wools were conveyed by Stealth^b, [therefore] ^b §. 8. N.

12. *A. D.* 1340. (Saturday in the Week of Pentecost.) ¹⁵ Ed. III. Because the King should before *Michaelmas* next transport twenty thousand Sacks of Wool, it was provided that no Man, before that Time, should pass over any Wool, on Pain of treble Loss, Life and Member*. That the Bishop of *Chester*, Sir *Robert Wake*, Sir *Robert Lodington*, by such as have Knowledge of every County, may apportion Wool granted to the King, according to the Assessment of the Fifteenth, late made in every County; who did so.

13. The

mark, as imagining a Possibility of bringing English Wool again to its ancient Estimation, altho' I do think it long has been, and now is depressed below its natural Value. I have said thus much, in order to have it observed of what Price it was at this Time, compared with later Days: to account exactly for the whole Difference, is perhaps no easy Task.

|| By the Term *Stuff*, I imagine, is to be understood Skin Wool.

* How often and grievously hath this Statute, or 27 *Edward III.* c. 3. been misrepresented? This Penalty for exporting Wool in this Reign has frequently been cited, as originally devised, for no other End, than to keep the Wool of *England* at Home, in order to its being manufactured within the Kingdom; whereas this Statute particularly was made only with the View, 1st, to secure to the King his 20,000 Sacks; 2dly, to procure him a more ready Market for it beyond Sea at a better Price. *And here note a Difference between these extraordinary Grants and Devices, and the Subsidies on Wool, which will occur so frequently hereafter; the former was in the Nature of a Loan, and as a Land-Tax, general; the latter will appear to be particular, only upon Wool exported.* (See §. 34. *Edw. III.* c. 1, Ch. 7. §. 1. Note. Ch. 8. §. 2, 10, 15, 18, 25, 33.)

§. 35.

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* §. 13.

13. The particular Rates* of every County for Wool granted to the King, were delivered into the *Chancery* by Roll entered, and thereupon Commissions made for gathering the same.

14. It is enacted, That whofo transporteth Wool out of the Realm, shall bring in for every Sack carried forth, four Nobles in † Bullion, and so all Merchandize according to the Rate of a Sack. ¹⁷ Ed. III.

15. To increase the Goodness of Money, the Prices of Wool for three Years are enhanced; the Buyers under to forfeit the same^a; and the King to have forty^a Shillings for every Sack over the old Custom; in Consideration of which Subsidy, the King promiseth that he will neither pardon nor license any Man to buy any Wool contrary to the Statute^b aforesaid. ^a §. 7. Note. ^b §. 7.

16. *Petitions of the Commons, with the King's Answer:* That Customs of Wool may be at half a Mark, according to the old Order, and the forty Shillings revoked, seeing the same was the Grant of the Merchants, which bindeth not the Commons. *Answer.* It cannot be hurtful to the Commons, sith upon their Price set, Order was, that no Man should buy under †. *On the Back-side of the Roll are contained sundry Articles of Advice given by the Merchants.* To raise 40 s. in every Sack of Wool, and to establish the Staple rather in *England* than beyond the Seas. *And there you may see the strange Practice for abusing the Staple.*

17. That

* *A. D.* 1341. 'De Lanis pro Deliberatione Comitum *Rymer*, *Derbiae*, liberandis. tom. 5. 'Captores, &c. in Com. *Leyc.* 34 Sarplar. tribus Saccis p. 248. & 22 Petris.'

† Not by way of Tax, but to be stamped or coined^c with-^c §. 5. in the Realm, to help or prevent the Want of Money. ¹³ Ed. III.

‡ Had it been true, even at this Time, what has since been vulgarly conceived, that Foreigners could not make Cloth without *English Wool*, the 40 s. a Sack imposed under this Device, had been a Tax upon Foreigners, and not upon the *English* Landholder. But we see that the Commons had a very different Notion, and were sensible that the Subsidy even on Wool exported, however disguised or contrived, was nevertheless a Burden upon the Subject, as taking so much from the Grower in the Price of his Wool.

§. 13, 15. 17. That the Ordinances^c made before this Time, upon taking of Sorts of Wool in every County, be annulled and defeated, and that every Man, as well Privy as Stranger, may buy Wools, according as they may agree^d with the Seller, as they were wont to do before the said Ordinances, and that the Sea be open to all manner of Merchants. 18 Edw. III. c. 3.

Prin. 18. The Writ of Proclamation for the free buying of 20 Ed. III. Wools.

19. The Commons being ask'd what Aid they will grant to the King, declare the sundry particular former Aids, the Imposition of forty Shillings Custom of Wool extorted from them against Law; notwithstanding they grant, &c. *Petitions of the Commons with their Answers:* That forty Shillings Subsidy of every Sack of Wool may cease. *Answ.* The King must first therein be moved.

21 Ed. III. 20. *Petitions of the Commons with their Answers:* Whereas the Staple of Wool which is holden at *Bruges* in *Flanders* hath used to be free, so as all Merchants might there freely buy Merchandizes, and carry the same from thence whither they list, by Land or Sea; and now the same Freedom is restrained, so as none can freely buy and carry away from thence, according to the ancient Usage with them of *Flanders* and *Brabant*. And they of *Brabant* cannot bring the Wools bought in the Staple out of the Town of *Bruges*, without Sureties in what Town of *Brabant* those Wools shall be uttered; whereby the Price* of Wool is much abated. Also the three good Towns

* It may be gathered from this Article, that *Bruges* was an appointed Staple or Market beyond Sea for *English* Wools; which Market used to be free, not only to the Inhabitants themselves, and those within certain Districts, but to as many as thought fit to repair thither in order to buy or sell that Commodity. But the People of *Gant*, *Bruges* and *Ipre* wifely collecting, that if they could be the sole Purchasers of Wool, and the only Makers of Cloth in those Parts, they should have it in their Power to buy the one so much cheaper, and to sell the other so much dearer, had accordingly put this monopolish Design in Execution; which so far succeeded, as to give just Occasion for this Complaint to the King in Parliament, from the Commons of *England* about it, who were too sensible of the Grievance, to suffer patiently, in any Shape, a Monopoly against them-

Towns of *Flanders*, *Gant*, *Bruges*, *Ipre*, will not suffer the small Towns, which were wont to buy great Quantities of Wools, to make Cloth, but do destroy their Instruments, to the Abatement likewise of the Price of Wools; for these Matters may it please the Parliament to provide a Remedy. *Answ.* The King will that the Ordinance of the Staple shall be viewed, and that *Thomas Melchburn*, with whom the Patent touching that Ordinance doth remain, be called to bring the same with him; and that some Merchants of the County, who best understand this Matter, and the King by the Advice of his Council will provide Remedy.

21. Whereas in a Council held by *Lionel* the King's Son, the Guardian of *England*, it was in the 21st Year of the King ordered, without the Commons, that for keeping of the Realm, and safe Conducts of the Ships, should be taken upon every Sack of Wool passing the Seas, two Shillings; upon, &c. — and this Charge to continue until *Michaelmas* next coming; which Charge is yet demanded, That the King will be pleased that the same Charge may be let fall, and to write to his Collectors thereof, that it cease. *Answ.* All Charges supposed in this Article are laid down, except two Shillings upon the Sack, which is to endure until *Easter* next; and forasmuch as these Charges were ordained for the safe Conduct of Merchandizes into the Realm, and forth to foreign Parts, upon which Conduct the King has spent much, which cannot before *Michaelmas* well be levied; it seemeth that the levying it for so small a time to come should not be grievous.

22. That all Men may freely pass Wool over the Sea at their Pleasure, paying the ancient Custom of half a Mark: which Thing was ordained by the King's Charter. *Answ.* That Subsidy was granted for a Time yet enduring; within which Time, the King will advise with his Council what shall be best to be done therein for the Good of his People.

23. That the new Custom lately set, viz. upon every Cloth carried forth by *English* Merchants 14 d. and by Strangers 21 d. and upon every worsted Cloth 1 d. and

D of

themselves, or any other Measure tending to abate the Price of their Wool.

P30

of Strangers 1 d. ob. and of every Litt 10 d. and of Strangers 15 d. may be taken away *. Answ. The King, Prelates, Counts, and autres Gents, will that the Custom shall stand; for it is good Reason that such a Profit be taken of Cloths wrought within the Realm, and carried forth, as of Wools of the Land, rateable the Cloth, as the Sack.

24. Whereas it hath been ordained, That all Men may pass freely with their Wools, and other Merchandize; certain Merchants that have of the King the Custom and Subsidy, for a certain Sum yearly, by Colour of a Bargain or Purchase, which they have made of the King's Wools, will suffer no Man to pass over Wools, except they pay two Marks for a Sack of Wool above the Custom and Subsidy, to the great Damage of the People, and Abasement of the Price of Wools; whereof they desire Remedy, and that the Merchants may answer in this Parliament for such their Outrage. Answ. Let the Merchants be called into Parliament and answer.

25. The poor Merchants shew, That whereas Wools were taken at *Dodraghe* to the King's Use; for which by Parliament Allowance was made to the Merchants for their Debts out of the Subsidy and Custom granted to the King, viz. 20 s. for every Sack carried over Sea. And whereas a great Part of the rich Merchants are satisfied of the Subsidy and Custom aforesaid, and the poor Merchants yet behind of that which to them belongeth, by reason that the rich Merchants have sued to the King, that they, and no other, *puissent a chatre les dits debts poures Merchants* ——— and do take Allowance of the King, and pay little to the poor Merchants, but at their own Will; so as the rich Merchants are satisfied, and the Poor undone: that therefore the King will pay them Part of their Debts, or make Assignment to them of Part thereof, and they will lose to the King the other Part of their said Debt; or that the King will make to them such Allowance, as he made to the rich Merchants. Answ. The King is pleased, that the poor Merchants that are not satisfied, shall shew to the Treasurer their Obliga-

* Here note, that but sixteen Years had passed from 6 Edw. III. (See §. 1, 2. Chap. 6. Note.)

Obligations and Patents, whereof the Treasurer shall inform the King; and he by Advice will take Order that *Gree* be made unto them as soon as he well may.

26. Whereas divers Aids have been granted to the King, to the Intent the same should be wholly to his Profit; divers Merchants by Confederacy among themselves have colourably and covertly by way of Usury bargained with the King, and have imposed upon these Goods great Sums, viz. upon every Sack of Wool 23 s. 4 d. — Also after their Bargain, at their Suit, there hath been great Stay and forbidding that no *English* Wool may pass over Sea, whereby the King hath lost his Subsidy and Custom to as much as they made * *Chievesance*; by reason of which Stay the Commons could not sell their Wools to pay their Fifteens, &c. And further, some of the Collectors and their Deputies, in gathering the said Wools, have used great Extortion upon the People by false Weights. Wherefore they pray the Particulars may be examined in Parliament. Answ. The King will appoint some of the Sages of his Council to hear and determine the Things contained in this Article.

27. Whereas it was ordained, that all that would pass with Wools to the Staple, should pay 12 d. upon every Sack for safe Conduct; and certain Merchants undertook for the same, and safely to conduct the Merchants to the Staple, and yet have not, nor will not perform that Contract, and yet took the said 12 d. on a Sack; whereby many Merchants have lost their Lives, Wools, &c.

D 2

* *Chievesance* or *Chievance*, according to *Bracton*, signifies a Tribute by the Head, or a kind of Poll-Money anciently paid by such as held Lands in Villainage, to their Lords.

The Word also seems to have been used for a Sum of Money yearly given to a Man of Power for his Patronage and Protection. *Chambers's Dictionary*.

So that a particular illicit Action, injurious to the Subject and the State, seems to be denoted here under a borrowed Term; and hence [I suppose] *Chievance* in our [later] Statutes is often mentioned, and most commonly used for an unlawful [usurious] Bargain or Contract. 37 Hen. VIII. c. 9. 13 Eliz. c. 5, 8. 21 Ja. I. c. 17. 12 Car. II. c. 13.

Jacob's Law Dictionary.

&c. That they which undertook the Conduct, may be made come into this present Parliament, to make *Gree* to the Merchants, who by their Defaults have lost their Goods, and to answer, &c. *Answ.* Let Persons and Places be assigned for hearing Plaints of all which will complain of the said Merchants, to the End Right and Reason may be fully done to the Plaintiffs*.

22 Ed.III. 28. They shew the great Charges laid upon the Commons. — The Subsidy of Wool amounting to *threescore thousand Pounds* yearly, and yet without Law, the Restraint of passing over Wool.

Petitions of the Commons with their Answers: That all Wool, &c. may freely pass without any Loans or other Subsidies over the due Customs. *Answ.* The Passage shall be free, saving to the King his Due.

§. 5. That the Order made, that all Merchants for every Sack of Wool should bring in two Marks, of Bullion, may be repealed; for the carrying over of Bullion is forbidden in *Flanders*. *Answ.* The King will learn the Truth of the Ambassador here.

13 Ed.III. It is agreed, that the Customers at *Easter* next, stay the Receipt of two Shillings of every Sack of Wool †.

29. Petitions

Rapin, p. 426.

* 'The important Town of *Calais*, after a Year's Siege, became subject about this Time to the *English*. A few Days after the King had made his publick Entry into this Town, he turned out all the Inhabitants, in order to people it with, *English*. Probably this Precaution was the Means of *England's* keeping that Place 200 Years.'

Ibid.

† 'About this Time, a terrible Plague raging in *Asia* and Part of *Europe*, spread itself into *France*, and from thence into *England*, where it made such havock, that one half of the Nation was swept away. *London* especially felt the Effects of its Fury.'

Chron. pret. p.76.

'*Knighton* says, that in the Pestilence things were sold for almost nothing. A fat Mutton at 4d. A Stone of Wool at 9d. The Historian says upon this Matter, *Erat leve Pretium cunctis præ mortis timore*, p. 2599. They were not only afraid of the Cattle's dying, but of their own; for otherwise Wool need not have been so cheap.'

But this learned Writer seems not to have considered, that a Dread, in Foreigners, of receiving the Infection along with the Wool, so entirely stagnated all Trade, that it is rather to be wonder'd at, that Wool gave any Price at all, than that it was so low at this Juncture.

29. Petitions of the Commons with their Answers: 25 Ed.III. That the Subsidy of Wool, viz. of every Sack may cease. *Answ.* The same was granted to the King for a Time yet enduring. On the Backside of the Roll: The Writ of Proclamation for the true making of Woolen Cloths.

30. The Aulnager shall be sworn to do his Duty: the Penalty if he offends. 25 Edw. III. St. 4. c. 1.*

Merchant Strangers may buy and sell without Disturbance. Cap. 2. †

D 3

Auncel

* This Statute enacts, 'That all Cloths vendible shall be measured by the King's Aulnager or his Deputy. And all Cloths which shall be found of less Measure by a Yard, than of the Assize appointed by the Statute, shall without defoiling Cloths be forfeited and arrested to the King, and delivered by the Aulnager to the King's Wardrobe by Indenture. Which Aulnager shall be sworn to do his Office well, upon Pain of Imprisonment for one Year, (and to be fined at the King's Pleasure) and Loss of his Office for ever. And he shall answer, as well for his Deputies, as for himself. And if any Buyer of such Cloths shall prove that the Aulnager hath done any Fraud or Deceit in his Office, he shall be entitled to one half of the Forfeiture incurred. He may also measure the Cloth after he hath agreed for, and before he hath paid for it; and in case it be proved to be defective, he may sue and recover, &c. both of the Aulnager and Vender.'

N. B. The Office of Aulnager is very ancient. In the Time of *Edw. I.* *Perout le Taylour*, who held the Office *Madox*, of Aulnager of Cloth in the several Fairs of the Realm, p. 538. having forfeited it; the King by Writ of Privy-Seal commanded the Treasurer to let *Pieres de Edelmeton* have it, if he was fit for it. And a Writ was made out *Teste The-saurario*, whereby the King committed the Custody of the Alnage and Assize of Cloth throughout *England*, during the King's Pleasure, to the said *Pieres de Edelmeton*, who took the Oath for that Office before the Treasurer and Barons.'

† This is a fifth of the Kind, with a non obstante of any Grants or Privileges to the City of London; for that such had been found to be to the common Prejudice of the King and People.'

* *Auncel Weight shall be put out, and weighing shall be by equal Balance.* Stat. 5. c. 9.
Pryn. 27 Ed. III. 31. The Commons by whole Assent grant the King the Subsidies of three Years.

Petitions, &c. That the King will revoke the Office of Aulnage, and take three Pence of every Cloth.
Answ. Let the Commons talk with the Chancellor and Treasurer, to the end good Recompence may be made for the said Aulnage.

32. *The Aulnagers Fee for every Cloth sold. Cloths shall be sealed before they be put to Sale. † A Subsidy granted to the King of every Cloth sold.* 27 Edw. III. c. 4.

33. That

* *Auncel, quasi Handfal Weight, an ancient kind of Balance, consisting of Scales hanging on Hobks fastened at each End of a Beam or Staff, which a Man lifts up on his Hand or Forefinger, and so discovers the Equality or Difference between the Weight and the Thing weighed.*
Chambers's Dictionary. This Manner of weighing was, we perceive, by a Beam without a Balance fixed in the Center; so that resting it, whether on the Hand or Finger, or otherwise, a little nearer than the Center, to the Weight, or to the Thing weighed, made a very considerable Difference, more or less than the true Weight.

Ch. 11. §. 8. Note. The Act says, 'Whereas great Damage and Decoit is done to the People, for that divers Merchants use to buy and weigh Wools, &c. by a Weight which is called Auncel, the same shall be wholly put out, and the Balance used instead thereof: so that a Sack of Wool weigh but 26 Stones, the Stone 14 lib. and the Weight according to the Standard of the Exchequer.'

† 'Whereas the great Men and Commons have shewed to our Lord the King, how divers Merchants, as well Foreigners as Denizens, have withdrawn them, and yet do withdraw them to come with Cloths into England, to the great Damage of the King and all his People, because that the King's Aulnager surmifeth to the Merchants Strangers that their Cloths be not of Assize. And whereas the same have been arrested as forfeit, &c. they have prayed to have released and put out such Forfeitures, in Ease of his People, for a convenient Recompence to be made to him of the other Party: Our Lord the King wil- leth and granteth, that there shall be no Cloths forfeit, altho' they be not of the same Assize; but the King's Aulnager

33. That the Staple * may be appointed at Worcester, Pryn. Nottingham, Hull, St. Botolph's, Stamford, Lyn, Ips- 27 Ed. III, wich,

' Aulnager shall measure the Cloth, and mark the same; by which Mark a Man may know how much the Cloth containeth. His Fee of the Seller shall be, for every such Cloth as is not of Assize, an Half-penny; and for every half Cloth, a Farthing; nothing for less than half a Cloth; nor any thing but for Cloths exposed to Sale. And for this the Lords and Commons have granted to the King a Subsidy for every Cloth to be sold, over the Customs thereof due, viz. _____ with Proviso that Cloths put to Sale before they be sealed shall be forfeit.' Here note, That the Act, 11 Edw. III. c. 3. against Cloths made beyond Sea, appears no more to have continued in Force, than that of the same Year (c. 1.) against carrying Wool out of the Realm, (see §. 5.) which Act (11 Edw. III. c. 3.) as it does not appear to have been expressly repealed, I therefore suppose to have been superseded in general Words by the several Statutes made in Favour of Merchant Strangers. In this Act express Mention is made of foreign Merchants forbearing to bring Cloth into the Kingdom, not because it had been prohibited, (11 Edw. III.) but because the Aulnagers Office was a Grievance to them. And this Forbearance to bring in Cloth, it is further said, was to the Damage of the King, and of all his People. But all this is to be considered as, what it is, the Preamble to the Act for giving the King a Subsidy on all Cloths, which was the main Intention of it. For there was not only much Cloth made in England at this Time, but probably more exported than was brought into the Kingdom. (See Chap. 6.) Only it seems as if the Nation had not yet arrived to the Art of making the finest Cloths; or however not in sufficient Number, according to the Consumption of those Times.

* Staple signifies primarily a Market or publick Place, Chamb. whither Merchants, &c. are obliged to carry their Goods Dict. to be bought by the People. It signifies also a City or Town, where Merchants jointly agree (or where by Law it is appointed) to carry certain Commodities (thence called Staple Commodities) in order to be sold by the Great. The Staple Commodities of England were chiefly Wool, Leather, Cloth, Tin, Lead, &c. Though by Staple-Goods is now meant any proper saleable Commodities, not easily subject to perish.
' The Staple for the English Wools, &c. had hitherto Rabin, been chiefly in Flanders. But from this Time the Flem- p. 428. ings becoming disengaged from the Interests of England, it was the Cause that the Staple of the English Wools, &c.
D 4

wich, and Canterbury. *Answ.* At Canterbury only one to be in Honour of St. Thomas.

That the Lords and Commons may by *Easter* following appoint out three Sorts of Wool, which then shall begin. *Answ.* The King will be advised.

34. *A Statute* of Staple.* 27 Edw. III. *Where the Staple for England, Wales, and Ireland shall be kept. Whither Merchandizes of the Staple shall be carried, and what Custom shall be paid for them* †. c. 1.

35. *All*

&c. was removed into *England*, to their great Damage, but to the Benefit of the *English*.

* This the Preamble to a famous Statute, of 28 Chapters, which recites the Damage to the King and his People, by the Staple of Wools, Leather, and Woolfels having been holden out of the Realm, and the great Profits from holding the same within the Realm, and not elsewhere.

† This first Chapter directs, 'That the Staple of Wools, Leather, Woolfels and Lead, shall be perpetually holden for *England*, viz. at *Newcastle upon Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter and Bristow.* For *Wales*, at *Kaermerdyn.* And for *Ireland*, at *Dewylin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda*, and not elsewhere. And that all the said Wools, as well old as new, Woolfels, Leather, and Lead, which shall

be carried out of the said Realm and Lands, shall be first brought to the said Staples, and there betwixt Merchant and Merchant, or others, be lawfully weighed by the Standard. And every Sack or Sarplar of the said Wools, so weighed, be sealed under the Seal of the Mayor of the Staple. And that all Wools so weighed and sealed at the Staple of *York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury and Winchester*, (the Customs of the Staple thereof paid) shall be witnessed by Bill sealed with the Seal of the Mayor of the Staple, and brought to the Ports underwritten, that is to say, from *York* to *Hull*, from *Lincoln* to *St. Botolph [Boston]* from *Norwich* to great *Yarmouth*, from *Westminster* to *London*, from *Canterbury* to *Sandwich*, and from *Winchester* to *Southampton*. And there the said Wools shall another time be weighed by our Customers assigned in the said Ports. And all the Wools brought to the Ports of *Newcastle, Chichester, Exeter, Bristow, Kaermerdyn, Dewylin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda*, where the other Staples be holden, shall be but once weighed by the Standard, between Merchant and Merchant, or others, in Presence of our Customers there. And an Indenture shall

35. *All Persons may buy Wool, &c. so that they bring them to the Staple. It shall be Felony for an English, Welsh, or Irish Merchant to transport Wool, &c. c. 3.**

36. *The*

' shall be made between the Mayor of the Staple being in the Port of the Sea, and our Customers there, of all Wool so weighed, which shall come to the said Staples to pass there. And the said Wools customed and cocketed, and the Custom thereof duly paid to our Customers in all the said Ports, that is to say, of Denizens, for the Time they have passed, half a Mark of a Sack of Wool. Of Aliens, ten Shillings. Then the said shall be carried by Merchant Strangers, which have bought the same, and not by *Englishmen, Welshmen, nor Irishmen*, to the Parts beyond Sea.

* No Merchant, *English, Welsh, nor Irish*, shall carry any Manner of Wools, Leather, Woolfels, or Lead, out of the said Realm or Lands, upon the Pain of Life and Member, and of Forfeiture of the said Merchandizes, and of all their other Goods and Chattels, and of Forfeiture of all their Lands and Tenements to the chief Lords. There shall be no Collusion or Confederacy between Merchant Strangers and Denizens, in Fraud or Deceit of this Ordinance, upon the same Pains and Penalties.

N. B. The Penalties here denounced on Denizens offending by the Transportation of Wool, is in Part the same with those of 15 Edw. III. (See §. 12.) And this being a printed Statute, which the other is not, is probably what is commonly intended to be referred to by those, who have quoted, as an Instance of the great Wisdom of this Reign, the strict Measures taken for preventing absolutely the Exportation of Wool (as they would have it to be understood) whereas nothing was less intended by this Statute; the sole Design thereof being, to encourage Strangers to come and transport Wool, &c. by prohibiting Denizens from doing the like upon any Terms. The Reason of this Policy, or however the Wisdom of it, does not so clearly appear. But it seems to have been meant as an Inducement to Merchant Strangers to come and trade with the King's Subjects; concerning which, upon the Removal of the Staple into *England* and *Ireland*, there appears to have been some Doubt and Solicitude; for as the first Chapter of these Institutes removes the Staple, and fixes it in its several appointed Places; so the second Chapter, in order, as is there expressed, to replenish the Land with Money and Plate, Gold and Silver,

36. *The Penalty of selling Wool to a Scottish Man, to be carried into Scotland.* c. 4. *

Fryn. 37. It is enacted, That all the Articles of the Staple shall be proclaimed throughout the Realm, and confirmed by the next Parliament.

27 *Ed. III.* 38. It is enacted by common Assent, That all the Ordinances made in the last great Council assembled at *Westminster*, touching the *Staple*, be confirmed to continue for ever †.

CHAP.

* Silver, and Merchandizes of other Lands; and to give Courage to Merchant Strangers to come with their Wares, &c. into the Realm, gives a safe Conduct, and all possible Assurance of Protection, &c. to them.

* No Merchant, Privy, nor Stranger, nor other, shall carry out of our Realm of *England*, *Wools*, *Leather*, or *Woolfels*, to *Berwick upon Tweed*, nor elsewhere, nor into *Scotland*. Nor shall any Man, of what Condition soever, sell his *Wools*, &c. to any Man of *Scotland*, or to any other to carry into *Scotland*, upon the like Pains and Forfeitures contained in the third Article aforesaid. (See c. 3.)

The first and most apparent Reason of thus prohibiting the Carriage of *Wool*, &c. into *Scotland*, was, the almost constant State of Enmity between the two Kingdoms, and especially at this Time; *David King of Scotland* being then a Prisoner in *England*. (See c. 8. §. 2.)

† But observe the Instability of these Ordinances. Ch. 7, &c.

CHAP. VI.

The State or Balance of the English Trade in the 28th Year of Edward III. as said to be found upon Record in the Exchequer, with Remarks thereon.

	l.	s.	d.
EXP. One and thirty thousand six hundred fifty-one Sacks and a half of Wool, at six Pounds Value each	189,909	00	0
Sack, amount to —————			
Three thousand thirty-six hundred sixty-five Felts, at 40 s. Value, each	6073	01	8
hundred at six score, amount to —			
Whereof the Custom amounts to —	81,624	01	1
Fourteen Last, seventeen Dicker and five Hides of Leather, after six Pounds Value the Last, —	89	05	0
Whereof the Custom amounts to —	6	17	6
Four thousand seven hundred seventy-four Cloths and an half, after 40 s. Value the Cloth, is —	9,549	00	0
Eight thousand sixty-one Pieces and an half of Worsted*, after 16 s. 8 d. Value the Piece, is —	6,717	18	4
Whereof the Custom amounts to —	215	13	7
Summa of the out-carried Commodities in Value and Custom —	294,184	17	2

Imp.

* *Worsted*, a Stuff of Wool so named from a Town in *Norfolk*, where this Species of Goods was first made.

Camden's Britannia, 1695. p. 389. n. 15.

Imp. One thousand eight hundred thirty-two Cloths, after six Pounds Value the Cloth	} l. s. d.	10,992 00 00
Whereof the Custom amounts to		91 12 00
Three hundred ninety-seven Quintals and three quarters of Wax, after the Value of 40 s. the Hundred or Quintal	} l. s. d.	795 10 00
Whereof the Custom is		19 17 00
One thousand eight hundred twenty-nine Tons and a half of Wine, after 40 s. Value per Ton,	} l. s. d.	3,659 00 00
Whereof the Custom is		182 00 00
Linen Cloth, Mercery and Grocery Wares, and all other Manner of Merchandize,	} l. s. d.	22,943 06 10
Whereof the Custom is		285 18 03
Summa of the inbrought Commodities, in Value and Custom, is	} l. s. d.	38,970 13 08
Summa of the Inplufage of the out-carried, above the in-brought Commodities, amounteth to *	} l. s. d.	255,214 13 08

* P. 119, 120.

* Altho' there is no avouching this Account to be genuine, nor much Reason to suspect its being a Forgery, yet is it plainly imperfect, as wanting the two great Articles of Tin and Lead. It is taken from a Tract published an. 1623. entitled, *The Circle of Commerce* *. By Edward Misselden, Merchant. Who says he has it from an ancient Manuscript of a Merchant; which Manuscript was at that Time well known, and of good Authority, among Merchants. It has the Appearance of Antiquity, and shews the Frugality of those Times, and in Consequence thereof, an extraordinary Balance in favour of the Nation; such, I apprehend, comparatively, as no later Times can boast of.

This Year (according to common Accounts) was but the twenty-second, since the Woolen Manufacture was first set up in England. And tho' it does not appear, that the English had then arrived to the making of the best and highest priced Cloths, yet were exported this Year (according

ing to this Account) Cloths of a lower Price, to a greater Value, by near one Third, than all the finer Cloths, imported that same Year, amounted to: which is utterly improbable, had not the Woolen Manufacture in England been of a much longer standing than is generally represented. Again, the Value of Wool exported in this Year, appears to be above eight times as much as both Imports and Exports of Woolen Goods put together. And yet we shall frequently find this Reign celebrated, not only for first erecting the Woolen Manufacture in the Kingdom, as if no such thing had been practised before; which is not true; but (which is equally false) for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, by a fixed standing Policy, from the eleventh Year of this King; by which the Woolen Manufacture had been first established in the Kingdom. These are Instances of false History generally current upon this Subject, whereon great Strefs has been laid, and which therefore are needful to be corrected.

N. B. The Wool, Woolfels, Cloths and Worsted exported this Year, with their Customs respectively, amounted to £ 294,088 14 8; which, considering that the Shilling then contained 213 Grains, was nearly equal to £ 737,021 16 11 of the present Silver Coin of Great Britain. ^{h Chap. 4. P. S.}

C H A P. VII.

From 28 Edward III. to the End of his Reign.

1. A. D. 1354. The Scots having taken Berwick by Surprize, a Parliament was called, who knowing the Necessity of recovering Berwick, and the King's Want of Money to continue the War with France, granted * him fifty Shillings for every Sack of Wool sold in

* Sir Walter Rawleigh, in his Prerogative of Parliament, Remains, says, it was only for every Sack of Wool transported for six 1702. Years; by which Grant the King received a thousand p. 252. Marks a Day.

Prjn

in the Kingdom. It is said this Subsidy amounted to more than 350,000 Marks a Year, so considerable was the Woolen Trade in those Days.

2. No Wool shall be bought by Fraud to abate the Price thereof. Weights shall be sent to all Shires. 31 Edw. III. c. 2. * (See Chap. 11. §. 8. Note.)

What Refuse shall be made of Wool. All Wools, &c. shall be brought to the Staple. Cap. 8. †

The

Pryn. in his Abridgment of Records, says, the Lords and Commons, after short Conference, granted to the King, for six Years, the Subsidy of Wool, so as during the same Time, no other Aid or Imposition be laid upon the Commons.

N. B. The most usual Subsidy of Wool was, only of Wool exported.

* The Act recites, 'That the Merchants buying Wools in Fairs and Markets, &c. by Covin and Consent between them did abate the Price of Wools, and use other Weights than ordained by the Statute, in Annoyance of the People.' It was therefore ordained, 'That Proclamation be made throughout the Realm; and that no Merchant do such Covin, upon a grievous Forfeiture; and that certain Weights be sent down to the Sheriff of every Shire as a common Standard.' Thus we see not only that there has ever been a Propensity in the Buyers of Wool to combine against the Growers and Sellers of it; but also, that the Gentlemen, i. e. the Parliament of England, at this Time, thought the latter not below their Care and Protection.

† It is accorded and assented (the Monday next after the Week of Easter 1357) for the common Profit and Ease of the People, that every Merchant and other, as well Alien as Denizen, may bring to the Parts beyond the Sea, which be of the King's Amity, Wools, &c. from the fifth Day of May next coming, to the Feast of St. Michael next ensuing, paying for every Sack fifty Shillings for the Custom and Subsidy. No Merchant or other shall make other Refuse of Wools than was wont to be in Times past, that is to say, of Cote, Gare, and Villain Fleeces. Every Sack shall contain 26 Stones, and every Stone 14 lb. according to the Standard of the Exchequer, and no more nor less. And all the Wools, &c. bought in the Country shall be brought to the Staples, and there abide at the least fifteen Days. And those that may not there be sold within the fifteen Days, shall be brought to the Ports ordained for the Staple, to pass from thence to the Parts

afore-

The King's Council ||, upon Cause, may defer the transporting of Wool. Cap. 9.

3. * Ancel Weight shall be put out. Buying and selling shall be by equal Balance. 34 Edw. III. c. 5.

A Confirmation of Liberty granted by a former Proclamation to Denizens to transport Wool over the Sea until St. Michael next. Cap. 21. †

4. A. D. 1362. Parliament met for — and for the Pryn. enhancing the Prices of Wool. 36 Ed. III.

5. Sumptuary Laws in regard to Apparel, viz. of Servants, Handicraftsmen and Yeomen, Knights, Squires, Merchants, Citizens, Burgeses, their Wives and Children, Clerks, Ploughmen, &c. 37 Edw. III. c. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Clothiers to make Cloths sufficient of the foresaid Prices. So that this Statute, for Default of such, be in no wise infringed. Cap. 15.

6. Ordered, That Merchants Aliens should not trans- Pryn. port Woolen Cloths, but that Merchants of Almain 37 Ed. III. might carry Worstedes and streight Cloths, and that the Merchants of Gascoin might carry Woolen Cloths to the Value of the Wines brought in.

7. That

afore said, paying the Custom, &c. afore said. And no Wools vendible shall be lodged, shewed, or sold within three Miles of the Staples, but in the same Staple; saving that every Lord and other Man, saving a Merchant, may freely lodge, shew, and sell his Wools which be of his own growing, in his own House, and elsewhere, as shall please him.

|| The Chancellor and Treasurer, by the Advice of other of the King's Council, may defer the Term of Passage, when they see that need is.

* It seems that the Wool-buyers were very unwilling to forego the Fraud and Deceit this Method of weighing afforded them, in respect both to the Grower and the King's Revenue.

† See the Instability of Laws and Counfels in these Times. By 27 Edw. III. it was made Felony for a Denizen to transport Wool. But now (34 Edw. III.) an Act passes to confirm the Liberty granted by Proclamation to Denizens to transport Wool for a Term. This, I presume, might be intended to alleviate the Burthen of 50s. a Sack, the present Subsidy upon Wool exported, by which the Price to the Grower appears to have been not a little affected. (See §. 4.)

7. That three Shillings four Pence laid upon every Sack of Wool at *Callis*, and all other unreasonable Impositions, may cease.

8. It is agreed, that one Staple shall be at *New Melcomb*, and another at *Ipswich*; and that all Merchants and others for their Ease may ship Wools at *Lewes*, where the Customers of *Chichester* shall take the Custom; and the Customers at *Yarmouth* do the like for *Lynne*.

9. A Confirmation of the Statute of the Staple, 27 Edw. III. notwithstanding any Grant, Licence, &c. 38 Edw. III. c. 7. *

Rapin, p. 439. Note 6. Pryn. 42 Ed. III.

10. A. D. 1368. A Parliament met this Year on May 1. which granted, for two Years, thirty Shillings and eight Pence, over and above the old Custom of six Shillings and eight Pence on every Sack of Wool.

11. A War breaking out with *France*, the Staple of *Callis* is wholly put out, and order'd to be holden at *Newcastle*, *Kingston* upon *Hull*, *St. Botolph*, *Yarmouth*, *Quinsborough*, *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Winchester*, *Exeter*, and *Bristow* †. Those of *Ireland* and *Wales* at the Places where first ordained. 27 Edw. III. c. 1.

Rapin, p. 441. Note 2. Pryn. 43 Ed. III.

12. Upon the Occasion of this *French* War, a Parliament being call'd, granted the King for three Years, of Denizens, for every Sack of Wool, 43 s. 4 d. of Aliens, 53 s. 4 d.

13. Petitions. That all Merchants may pass over Wool freely.

Answ. The King will be advised.

47 Ed. III.

14. The Lords and Commons grant to the King the Subsidy of Wools for two Years, upon condition, that if the Wars do cease within two Years, then the latter Payments to cease.

Petitions

* By Statute 43 Edw. III. the Staple appears to have been fixed at *Calice* the Year before this, viz. 37 Edw. III. so that by doing things one Year, and undoing them the next, it was an Argument of Parties in *England* about the Business of the Staple. And no wonder that where Profit was to be made, there should be striving concerning the same.

† *York*, *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, and *Canterbury*, which were appointed Staple Towns, (27 Edw. III.) are left out of the Number in this Act.

Petitions of the Commons with their Answers.

15. That the Staple may be only kept at *Callis*, and no Patent and Grant to be made to the contrary.

Answ. The King will appoint the Staple, as by the Council he shall think best.

16. Certain Counties there named do pray, that for the Ease of their Carriage of Wools, a Staple might be at *Lyn*.

Answ. The King granteth thereunto, so as the Staple at *Yarmouth* do continue.

17. The Lords and Commons do grant unto the King the like Subsidies of Wool, &c. as were granted in the last Parliament, to endure for three Years from the Feast of *St. Michael* next. 50 Ed. III.

18. *Richard* * *Lyons*, Merchant of *London*, was accused by the Commons of divers Deceits; and, namely, for obtaining Licenses to convey over great Faizons of Wool and Staple Ware.

Lord Latimer is found in full Parliament in Default, and, namely, for divers Chevifances to the King's Loss, for Grants procured to the Destruction of the Staple, and of the Town of *Callice*, and for divers Impositions laid upon Wools. Chap. 51 §. 26.

Petitions of the Commons with their Answers.

19. The Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester* and *Derby*, praying, that the Staple may be holden at *Lincoln*, as it was at the first Ordinance, and not at *St. Botolph's*.

Answ. It shall continue at *St. Botolph's* at the King's Pleasure.

20. They require that Remedy may be had against certain *Lombards*, who have upon Credit bought Wool of *Englishmen*.

That no Woolen Yarn be carried out of the Realm, or sold to any Person, but employed in draping.

E

Answ.

* 50 Edw. III. *Richard Lyons*, a Merchant of *London*, punished for procuring new Impositions; and so was *Lord Latimer* the King's Chamberlain. *Coke's 2d Inst.* p. 61.

Anfw. No such Yarn shall pass out of the Realm upon Pain of Forfeiture.

21. The Citizens of York desire, that whereas the Lord of Arde and Cockham in Holland hath staid six and thirty * Surples of their Wools, to the Value of nineteen hundred Pounds, supposing that the King oweth him Money for his Service in France, and will neither for the King's Letters, nor other Means, deliver their Wools; that therefore they may have License to stay the Ships of the said Lord at Callice, 'till they be paid and answered to the Value.

Anfw. Let it be declared to the Grand Council, and they shall have Remedy according to Reason.

22. The Commons of the Town of Callice pray, that the Staple may be only holden there.

Anfw. The King granteth that it shall be holden there, and no where else in the Parts beyond the Sea.

23. Woolen Cloths shall not be transported before they be filled. 50 Edw. III. c. 7. †

24. Certain Cloths, whereof no Subsidy or Alnage shall be paid. 50 Edw. III. c. 8. ||

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* Chambers, in his Dictionary, will have a Surple of Wool to be but half a Sack, viz. 13 Stone. But the Value here (above 50 l.) shows it to have been a larger Quantity, probably a Pocket, of 100 Tod, or more. See Chap. 5. §. 13. Note. By which a Sarplar of Wool appears to have been, at the least, 4 Sacks, viz. 104 Stones.

† Petitions of the Commons, &c. That no Customs of Woolen Cloths granted 54 Edw. III. be paid, unless the same be filled. Anfw. The King hath commanded, that no Woolen Cloths be carried out of the Realm before they be filled, and that no Customs be paid before such filling.

|| Frise Ware made in Ireland, or otherwise in England of Irish Wool, brought within the Realm of England, because not containing Length and Breadth, like Ray Cloths, &c.

Pryn. 51 Ed. III.

CHAP. VIII.

RICHARD the Second.

1. THE Staple of Wool appointed to be kept at Pryn. Queensborough is revoked, and appointed to be holden at Sandwich. 1 Rich. II.

Petitions, &c.

2. That Remedy may be had, forasmuch as by the Inter-Commovage^k with Scots, the most of the Wools^k of the Shires of York, Duresm, Westmerland, Cumberland and Northumberland are transported into Scotland without any Custom. Chap. 5. §. 36. Note.

Anfw. The King by his Council will provide.

3. The Lords and Commons grant the King an additional Subsidy on Wools of 13 s. 4 d. the Sack.

4. The Citizens of Norwich require, that no Stranger* within their Liberty may there sell or buy any Merchandize by Retail.

Anfw. There is a Statute hereafter made therefore which shall be kept.

5. All Merchants may buy and sell within the Realm without Disturbance. 2 Rich. II. †

6. The

* See Chap. 15. §. 24. Note. Foreign Butchers.

† This Statute recites, 'That whereas heretofore in Edward III. as also in this present Parliament, great Complaint hath been made of Outrages by the Citizens, &c. who have not suffered, nor yet will suffer Merchant Strangers, &c. to bring things vendible and profitable, &c. to any other than to them. By which those things have been, and yet be sold to the King and his People by the Hands of the Citizens, &c. to a great and excessive Dearth, over that they should have been, if Merchant Strangers, &c. might freely have sold them. Nor yet will suffer the Merchant Strangers that do, or would come within the Realm to buy Wools, &c. against the common Profit, and against the Statutes, &c. thereof made. Our Lord the King considering clearly the coming of Merchant Strangers to be very profitable for many Causes to all the Realm, hath ordained, That all Merchants Aliens that be of the Amity of the King may safe-

6. The Penalty of the Aulnager that setteth his Seal to faulty Cloths. 3 *Rich. II. c. 2. **

Pryn. 7. The Lords and Commons grant the King a Subsidy of Wools. 3 *Rich. II.*

4 *Rich. II.* 8. A Subsidy of Wool as in the last Parliament.

Devices of the Commons exhibited in Parliament.

5 *Rich. II.* 9. That due Consideration may be had of the Poverty of the Nation, by the carrying forth of good Money, &c. — and by the low Prices of Wool. †

10. The Lords and Commons fearing, lest by the continual Grants of the Subsidies of Wool, the same would grow in Custom, and so be challenged by the King as of Right; for avoiding this, granted to the King the like Subsidy of Wools as was last granted from the Feast of the *Circumcision* until *Candlemas* then following, so as the Space between *Christmas* and the *Circumcision* should be an Interruption to the King's Claim, if it were attempted.

Reassembly after Adjournment.

11. The Lords and Commons grant unto the King the Subsidy of Wools, in such wise as was lately granted, for four Years.

6 *Rich. II.* 12. It is enacted, that the Staple at *Callice* may be removed from thence to any other Town.

13. A

ly and surely come, &c. And it is not the King's Mind that Merchant Strangers or Denizens, that will buy and sell their Wools, &c. at Fairs and Markets in the Country should be restrained or disturbed, &c.

* Because the Commons greatly complain to be grieved by the Aulnager setting his Seal to faulty Cloths in respect both of Measure, &c. A Penalty is appointed on the Aulnager who shall offend, viz. Forfeiture to the King of the Value of the same Cloth so sealed in Deceit, one Year's Imprisonment, and then Ransom at the King's Will.

† Woolfels and Leather may be carried into any Country by Aliens and Denizens, saving into *France*, until *Michaelmas* come twelve months. Certain Money shall be abated to them, who will pay their Custom beforehand. 5 *Rich. II. St. 2. c. 2.*

13. A Confirmation of all Statutes made against all Deceits in Cloths, Aulnagers, &c. 7 *Rich. II. c. 9. ||*

14. It is enacted, that all Denizens passing Wools, shall be discharged of 20d. Custom, of every Sack newly demanded by the *Customers*. 7 *Rich. II.*

15. *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk* and Chancellor of *England*, opening the Parliament, said 'touching the Staple, he thought it best that the same were planted in *England*; considering that the Burgesses of *Callice*, and other Towns beyond the Seas grew very rich thereby, and good Towns at home within the Realm were much decayed. That the Subsidy of Wools yeilded more to the King, when the Staple was kept in *England* by 1000 Marks yearly, than it did now, being holden beyond the Seas.'

16. It is enacted, that the Staple shall be holden in *England*, in such Places, as to the King and his Council shall be thought most meet.

17. The Lords and Commons granted the King the Subsidy of Wools. 10 *Rich. II.*

18. On *Tuesday June 2.* The Lords and Commons granted the King one Subsidy of Wool, &c. carried forth * of the Realm, viz. of every Sack of Wool over and above the old Custom of 6s. 8d. 4s. 4d. of Denizens, and of Strangers 4s. 8d. 11 *Rich. II.*

19. All Merchants, Aliens and Denizens, may buy and sell within this Realm without Interruption. 11 *Rich. II. c. 9. The tenth Law much of the same kind, from M. C.*

20. It is enacted, that the Merchants and Artificers of *Worsted* in *Norfolk*, may carry and sell their single Worsted to any Place or Persons, being of the King's Amity, notwithstanding any Inhibition or Liberty to the contrary. 13 *Rich. II.*

21. That every Constable may have the weighing of Wools, as it is there prescribed.

E 3 *Anfw.*

|| Joining to the same: 'He that findeth Defects in any Cloth set to Sale, contrary to former Statutes, shall have the third Part for his Labour. Aulnagers and Collectors of Subsidies shall make good to the King that third Part which the Finder shall have.'

* Here we see that Denizens were allowed to carry Wool out of the Realm, as well as Aliens, which by 27 *Edw. III. 32.* was only allow'd to the latter, and made Felony to the former.

Answ. The King granteth thereto, but for certain Considerations, the Execution was suspended 'till further Deliberation.

22. It is enacted, that every Man shall cocquet his Wools under his own Name, upon the Pain contain'd 18 Edw. III.

23. There shall be one Weight and one Measure throughout the Realm, saving in the County of Lancaster. The Weight of Wool † and the Refuse || thereof. 13. Rich. II. c. 9.

Certain coarse Cloths of coarse Wool, may be made of the Breadth of three Quarters of a Yard. c. 10.

24. * The Cloths of certain Counties, tacked and folded, shall not be put to Sale before they be opened. c. 11.

25. It is enacted, that no Denizen do ship or cocquet Wools, &c. in his own Name, which belong to Strangers, to debar the King of his Customs. Pryn. 14 Ric. II.

26. Merchants of Kerseys require, that they may freely transport the said Kerseys for the old Custom.

27. The Staple shall be removed from Callice into England. Every alien Merchant shall bestow half the Money received, upon the Commodities of the Realm. 14. Rich. II. c. 1. (See Ch. 9. §. 8.)

28. No Denizens shall carry Wool, &c. out of the Realm but only Strangers. c. 5. (See §. 18, and 32.)

29. A. D.

† Fourteen Pounds to the Stone.

|| Cote, Gare, and Villein.

* Forasmuch as divers plain Cloths wrought in the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Bristol and Gloucester be tacked and folded together, and set to Sale; of the which Cloths a great Part be broken, broufed, and not agreeing in the Colour, neither be according in Breadth, nor in no manner to the Part of the same Cloths shewed outwards, but falsly wrought with divers Wools, to the great Deceit, Loss, and Damage of the People, insomuch that the Merchants that buy the same, and carry them out of the Realm to sell to Strangers, be many times in danger to be slain, and sometimes imprisoned and put to Fine and Ranom. Therefore it's ordained, that no plain Cloth tacked and folded shall be set to Sale within the said Counties. Here note the Progress of the Woolen Manufacture in England, as also of Abuses therein.

29. A. D. 1390. Wool was so cheap (by reason of Chron. a Law which forbad Men to carry it, but to such and such Places, for stranger Merchants to fetch it, and might not export it themselves) that it was sold by the Stone at 3 s. 2 s. and 1 s. 8 d. (H. Knyghton who lived at Leicester. †)

30. This Parliament granted the King forty Shillings a Sack on Wool ||. Rapin, p. 466.

31. A Parliament summoned (which met next Day after All-Souls) as one Cause, to consider how the Prices of Wools, too much abased, might be enhanced. Note 1. Pryn. 15 Ric. II.

32. It is enacted, That the Staple of Wools shall be holden in Places within this Realm, according to 27. Edw. III. until the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next ensuing. And that every Merchant, Denizen and Alien, may during the same Time, buy any kind of Wools, bringing to Callice one Ounce of Bullion for every Sack. After which Feast of St. John Baptist, the Staple shall be kept in such Towns upon the Seacoast, as to the Lords and the Council shall seem good.

Petitions, &c.

33. The Mayor and Burgeffes of the Town of Berwick, praying that they may buy certain Wools of one Part of Northumberland, viz. of Cocket towards the North, paying for the Sack 26 s. 8 d.

Answ. The King will be advised.

34. That Merchants may transport Kerseys according to the old Custom.

Answ. They shall pay Custom according to the Statute therefore made.

35. Every Person may make Cloth of what Length and Breadth he will. 17 Rich. II. c. 2. *

E 4

What

† The Shilling containing, at this Time, 213 Grains, these were nearly equal Quantities, respectively, to 7 s. 6 d. 5 s. and 4 s. 2 d. of the present silver Coin of England.

|| Upon Condition that the Staple be removed from Callice to England. and so continue. Pryn. 14 Ric. II.

* Paying the Aulnage and other Duties, provided it be measured and sealed by the King's Aulnager before sold, and contain no other Deceit.

What sort of Worsted may be carried forth of the Realm, and what not. c. 3. †

36. No Aulneger, Weigher of Wools, &c. shall have Estate in his Office for term of Life or Years, but shall be under Governace of the Treasurer for the Time being. c. 5.

Pryn. 37. Certain Towns of the West, praying that they may have Passage of Wools into Normandy, and that the Normans may discharge their Wares at Southampton. 17 Ric. II.

Answ. Let them repair to Callice, as it is appointed.

38. It is enacted, that every Merchant should bring into the Tower of London, one Ounce of Gold, foreign Coin, of every Sack of Wool, &c. over and above the due Customs, or else 13s. 4d. and to put in Security therefore. 20 Ric. II.

Writs to the Customers and Officers of Ports to take such Sureties.

39. There shall be no Licences granted to Ship Merchandizes of the Staple, to any other Place but to Callice, without Licence thereof, to be granted by the King himself. 21 Ric. II. c. 17. (See Ch. II. §. 20.)

Rapin,
p. 496.
Note 8.

40. This Parliament granted the King the Subsidy of Wool, &c. for his Life.

CHAP. IX.

HENRY the Fourth.

Pryn.
1 Hen. IV.

1. THE Commons, by the Assent of the Bishops and Lords, granted to the King for three Years the Subsidy of Wool, &c. viz. 50s. for every Sack, of Denizens, and 4l. of Strangers.

2. It

† Bolts of single Worsted paying the Customs thereof due, without paying the particular Duties of Callice. No double Worsted, nor half double, nor Worsted Ray, nor Morley, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the same.

N. B. These latter, we are to understand, were not to be exported, on Pain of Forfeiture, without paying the particular Duties of Calais. (See §. 39.)

2. It is enacted, that the Gold granted Ann. 20 Rich. II. shall be brought to Callice, unto the next Parliament.

3. It is enacted, that the Staple of Wool, Fells, &c. shall be only at Callice, saving that the Merchants of Feane, Venice, and other Places towards the West, being of the King's Amity, may discharge their Merchandizes at Hampton, and take in such Staple Ware, saving also Liberty to the Men of Berwick for their Wools.

4. Merchants of London shall be as free to pack their Cloths as other Merchants, or other Strangers within the same City, or within other Cities, &c. And if any Letters Patents be made to the contrary, they shall be repealed. 1. Hen. IV. c. 10.

Petitions, &c.

5. The Burgesies of Lewes require, that the weighing of Wool may be at Lewes and Chichester, for the County of Sussex. *Pryn.* 4 Hen. IV.

6. That the Statute made in the first Year of the King, touching the Staple at Callice, may be observed.

Answ. The King granteth, except Worsted and other Cloths, Herring, and the Patent granted to the Men of Berwick.

7. There shall be a Seal of Lead provided to Seal Cloths wrought in London and the Suburbs. 4 Henry IV. c. 6.

8. Merchants which bring Merchandizes into the Realm, and the same do sell for English Money, shall bestow the Money upon other Merchandizes of England, saving their reasonable Costs. c. 15. (See Ch. 8. §. 27.)

9. At the Request of the Commons, it was enacted, that in Case of War with the French and Flemings, the King's Council should have Power to remove the Staple from Callice, to what Place they thought best, and that no Patent should be granted to carry any of the said Merchandize to any other Place. *Pryn.* 5 Hen. IV.

10. This Parliament granted the King the Subsidy of Wools for three Years. *Rapin,* p. 403.

11. A Subsidy of Wools; Denizens, for every Sack 43s. 4d. Aliens, 10s. more. *Note 2. Pryn.*

12. It 6 Hen. IV.

12. It is enacted, that the Merchants of *Italy* shall pay but four Marks Subsidy for every Sack of Wool, as *English Men* do *.

Petition.

13. That the shipping of Wools may be at *Ipswich*, and not at *Yarmouth* from henceforth.

Answ. The same Shipping with the Tunnage of Wools, shall be at both Places until the next Parliament. At the Request of the Commons, the King pardoneth 6s. 8d. of every Sack of Wool.

1 Ch. 63.

14. All Merchandizes¹ may be sold in gros, as well to all others, as to the Citizens of *London* †.

Rapin,

15. The Commons continued the Duty on Wool, as in the last Parliament.

p. 498.

Note 5.

Pryn.

11 H. IV.

16. It is to be noted, that in the 14th Year of *Richard II.* the Subsidy and Custom of Wools came to || 160,000 l. over and above Poundage, Tonnage, Aulnage, Pellage, &c.

17. Cloths shall not be tacked together and plaited before the *Aulnager* hath set his Seal to them. 11 Hen. IV. c. 6.

18. Mer-

* A Mistake this; four Marks being exactly the Subsidy paid by Aliens, which was 10s. above what Denizens were to pay, as see §. 11.

† This Statute recites, 'That whereas Cloth-makers, &c. by the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Drapers and Merchants of *London*, were grievously constrained to sell their Cloths, &c. only to the Merchants and Inhabitants of the said City, to the singular Profit of them of *London*, and particular Hurt of the Cloth-makers, &c. and general Damage of the Community.' Therefore it was ordained, &c. notwithstanding any Franchise or Liberty to the contrary.' (See Chap. 63.)

|| The Duty on Wools 14 *Rich. II.* (See Chap. 8. §. 30.) was 40s. per Sack; but whether with, or without the old Custom of half a Mark, does not appear. But admit the whole Duty to have been no more than 40s. a Sack, this proves Duty paid in that same Year, for 80,000 Sacks exported ‡, which is 130,000 Packs.

‡ See Chap. 5. §. 34. 27 *Edw. III.* c. 1. Ch. 7. §. 1. Note. Chap. 8. §. 2, 10, 15, 18, 25, 33. Chap. 11. §. 2, 19. Note: all tending to prove, that the usual Subsidies from Wool were only from Wool exported.

18. Merchants Strangers shall pay to the King the Customs and Subsidies granted to him by the Commons for Cloth cut in pieces, and for Cloths cut into Garments proportionably after the Rate of a whole Piece. Cap. 7.

19. Duties on Wool continued.

Rapin,

p. 501.

Note 3.

Petition, &c.

20. That no License be granted to export Wools, &c. belonging to the Staple, other than to *Callice*.

Answ. The King will forbear to grant any License for Wools growing on this Side the Water of *Cocket*, so always as the Men of *Berwick* may pass Wools growing beyond the said Water.

21. That all Merchants may freely transport any Staple Merchandize, so they pass the Streights of *Morocco* m.

Answ. The King thereof will be advised.

m *Gibraltar.*

22. Duty on Wool continued for one Year longer.

Rapin,

p. 502.

Note 6.

CHAP. X.

HENRY the Fifth.

1. A. D. 1413. The Parliament granted the King for four Years; the like Subsidy on Staple Wares (of which Wool was one) as had been granted to K. Hen. IV.

2. Merchandizes of the Staple, viz. Wools, &c. shall not be carried to any Part beyond the Sea without the King's Licence, until they be first brought to the Staple, upon Pain of Forfeiture of them. 2 Hen. V. c. 6.

Petitions, &c.

3. That the freight Cloths, called the Dozens of *Pryn*. *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, may pay *Cocket Customs*, 3 Hen. V. after the Rate of broad Cloths.

Answ. The King will be advised,

4. The

4. The Commonalty of *Coventry*, prayen that four of them yearly to be chosen, may surveye the Dyers of the same Town.

7 Hen. V. 5. For keeping of Money within the Realm, it is enacted—and also that certain Wools be bought and sent into *Normandy*, any Statute, for the Staple, to the contrary notwithstanding.

6. Every Merchant, Stranger, buying Wools in *England* to carry to the West Parties, and elsewhere, not coming to the Staple to be sold, shall bring to the Master of the Mint one Ounce of Bullion Gold, for every Sack, or the Value in Silver. (See Ch. II. §. 3.)

C H A P. XI.

HENRY the Sixth.

Rapin,
p. 536.
Note 5.

1. A. D. 1422. The Parliament granted the King 33s. 4d. on every Sack of Wool exported for two Years.

2. The Penalty if any carry Wools, &c. not customed out of the Realm, to any Place saving to *Callice*, shall be to forfeit them, and to be imprisoned. 2 Hen. VI. c. 5.

3. Merchant Strangers shall only pay 43s. 4d. for every Sack of Wool, notwithstanding the Grant made. 7 Hen. V. (See Ch. 10. §. 6.)

4. Sheep shall not be transported beyond Sea without the King's Licence. 3 Hen. VI. c. 2. *

5. A. D.

* 'Because divers Persons do from time to time carry out of the Realm great Number of Sheep with Fleeces into *Flanders*, and other Countries beyond the Sea; and there they shear them, and sell as well the same Sheep, as the Wools of the same, to Men of the same Country; so that by such Persons the Sheep within the same Country of *Flanders* are likely to be much increased, the Customs of Wool lessened, and the Price of Wool abated, as well at the Staple of *Callice*, as here in *England*.' Therefore it is enacted, &c. (except he have the King's Licence.)

But note, *Prohibitions of Parliament*, in these Terms, which occur very frequently, can only be understood, as so many Devices for squeezing Money out of the People for the granting of such Licences.

5. A. D. 1425. †. The Parliament granted the King 43s. 4d. on every Sack of Wool from Strangers, and from Denizens 33s. 4d. *Rapin,* p. 544. Note 2.

6. Subsidy of Wools as before. *Pryn,* p. 446. 8 Hen. VI.

Petition, &c.

7. That no Subsidy be paid for Lambs Wool, shearing and scalding, but only Poundage.

Ans. The King will be advised.

8. Every City and Borough shall have a common Balance and Weight. Who may buy Wool and Yarn ||. 8 Hen. VI. c. 5.

9. * None shall force, clack or beard any Wool. 8 Hen. VI. c. 22.

10. No Thrums or Woolen Yarn shall be carried out of the Realm. c. 23. †

11. Autho-

† A. D. 1425. Computus of the Prior and a Canon of *Chron. Burcester, Oxf.* in Dr. *Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.* For 21 pret. p. 80. Lambs, 4 l. For 36 Sheep Skins of two Years old, 9 s. For 23 Tod of pure Wool, (at 9 s. 6 d. the Tod) 10 l. 18 s. 6 d. N. B. In this Year (see Chap. 4. P. S.) the Shilling was altered from 142 to 176 Grains. So that according to the former, this Price of 9 s. 6 d. per Tod, was equal to near 15 s. 6 d. of our present Money; according to the latter, to 19 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. For two Yards of Ruffet Cloth for the Shepherd, 2 s. 6 d. P. 82.

|| This Act recites the Grievance of Auncel, not yet it seems rooted out of the Nation, and therefore enacts, 'That Wools, &c. shall be weighed by the Balance', so that the Tongue of the Balance do not incline more to the one Party than the other; that the Weights be sealed. 'That every City, Borough and Town, wherein is a Constable, furnish such Balance and Weights. And that no Man shall buy Woolen Yarn, unless he will make Cloth thereof.' Chap. 5. §. 30.

* 'Forasmuch as great Hindrance cometh to the King in his Customs, by them that do clack and force the good Wools of the Realm to carry them out of the same; it is ordained, 'That' no Stranger shall cause to be forced, clacked, nor bearded, any manner of Wools, to carry them out of the Realm.'

† 'Because the Weavers in this Realm be accustomed, when they have wrought a Cloth near to the End, to cut away

Pryn. 11. Authority is given to the Chancellor of England, 9 H. VI. to end the Suit between *Lewin le Clark* Burges of *Gaunt*, and *William Brampton* of *Chesterville* in *Derby*, touching a Bargain of Wool.

Wools carried any where but to Calice forfeit. 10 Hen. VI. c. 7.

Petition, &c.

10 H. VI. 12. The Commons of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*, and of the *Bishoprick*, prayen that the Merchants at *Newcastle* may at all times buy and transport their Wools.

Answ. The King will be advised.

13. That two Persons of every Hundred within the Realm, may by Commission be appointed to searh the due making of Woolen Cloths, and to seale the same, taking therefore one Penny †.

14. A Grant for one Year of the Subsidy of Wool.

15. *Of what Length and Breadth Cloths called Streights shall be.* 11 Hen. VI. c. 9. *

16. *A. D.* 1433. The Parliament granted a Subsidy of 53s. 4d. of every Sack of Wool for three Years.

17. *All*

Rapin,
p. 556.
Note 3.

Pryn.
11 H. VI.

away for their private Profit the Thread which is left unwoven, and call the same Thrums, which they sell to such Persons as carry them into *Flanders*, &c. tho' the King have thereof no Profit or Custom. And under colour of such Thrums, divers Persons do carry great Quantities of Woolen Yarn, to the Hindrance of the King's Customs and Subsidies from Cloth. Wherefore it is, &c.

† Though the two Searchers here required, in several Hundreds in the Kingdom, might not be necessary, and in many, the Number might be too small for the Occasion; yet the Nature of the Petition is an Argument, that the Woolen Manufacture had at this Time spread itself throughout most Parts of the Kingdom. Which is to be noted against the Opinion of those, who not only think the Woolen Manufacture in *England*, and the allowed Exportation of Wool to have been incompatible, but also that the *English* had not made any Progress in this Manufacture before the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*.

* This Act prescribes the Duty of the Aulnager in respect to the several Sorts of Cloth, and is an Evidence of the Growth of the Woolen Manufacture in *England*.

17. *All Wools and Fells that shall be shipped to be transported, shall be carried to Calice.* But the King with the Advice of his Council may modify this Statute: And saving to the Merchants of *Venice*, *Jean*, *Tuskane*, *Lombardy*, *Florence*, *Cataloign*, and the Burgeses of *Berwick*, the Liberties granted them by another Statute. 14 Hen. VI. c. 2.

18. *A. D.* 1435. This Year the Parliament granted *Pryn.* the King a Subsidy of 33s. 4d. of Merchants Deni- 14 H. VI. zens, and of 46s. 8d. of Aliens, for every Sack of Wool. *A. D.* 1436. the like Subsidy of Wools for three Years. *Rapin,* p. 558.

19. *No Merchant shall ship any Merchandizes of the Staple, but at Wharfs assigned, &c.* † 15 Hen. c. 8. *Note 6.*

20. *Butter and Cheese may be transported without Licence.* 18 Hen. VI. c. 3. †

21. *It*

† Our Lord the King, to avoid and eschew the great Damage daily done to him, in with-holding the Customs and Subsidies, and the Hindrance to the Staple of *Calice* in the Sale of Wools, &c. by such as do ship their Wools, &c. in divers secret Places and Creeks, stealing and conveying the same not customed to divers Parts beyond the Sea, and not to *Calice*, hath ordained (as above); and that every Master of a Ship carrying Wools, &c. shall find Surety to the Customers of the Ports to carry the same to the Staple at *Calice*, and bring a Certificate from thence, that he hath so done: saving always to the Merchants of *Jean*, *Venice*, *Tuscain*, *Lombardy*, *Florence* and *Cateloigne*; and to the Burgeses of *Berwick*, the Liberties to them granted by Statute heretofore.

‡ Whereas by Stat. 21 *Rich.* II. the Staple was limited to rest at *Calice*; and certain Persons had before that Time purchased Licence to carry out Wools, &c. whither it pleased them, to their own great Advantage, and Damage of others not having Licence. Wherefore it was ordained, that the aforesaid Statute should in all Points be observed, unless in Case of Licence to the contrary by the King himself. In respect to which Statute, the Chancellor hath often denied Licences for Cheese and Butter. But it being considered that Cheese and Butter cannot well be kept, nor bear the Costs of the Staple, therefore it was enacted, &c. (as above.)

21. *It shall be Felony to carry Wools or Wool Fells to any other Place than to Calice: Saving such which pass the Streights of Marrock.* c. 15.

Rapin,
p. 563.
Note 1.
Pryn.
18 H. VI.

22. *A. D.* 1439. A Parliament granted a Subsidy of 33 s. 4 d. from Denizens, and of 46 s. 8 d. from Aliens, of every Sack of Wool, for three Years.

23. *Those Denizens that shall have the King's Licence to carry Wools to other Places and Ports than the King's Staple, shall pay Aliens Customs and Subsidies. But this Statute shall not extend to those, who before this Time have Licences for the same End.* 20 Hen. VI. c. 4.

24. *Every Year, during four Years, four Wardens of Worsted Weavers shall be chosen to do right and make due Search of Worsteds in Norwich, and two in Norfolk: And of what Length and Breadth all Sorts of Worsteds made in Norwich and Norfolk shall be.** c. 10.

25. *There shall be a Reformation of the Partition of Money arising by the Sale of Wools, &c. by the Mayor and Constables of the Staple of Calice, during seven Years.* c. 12. †

26. *Pet.*

* Another Evidence of a growing Woolen Manufacture in England.

† From this and other Circumstances, it may be gathered, that the Merchants of the Staple in England, with their Agents or Correspondents at Calais, and the Mayor of the Staple, and other Officers there, were some way or other combined; and that they were possessed of the Advantage of a Monopoly of the English Wool, and other the Staple Commodities of the Kingdom, except as the same were clandestinely exported to other Parts, or by Permission, to Places within the Streights, or to Berwick; or as particular Persons purchased Licence from the Crown to carry them elsewhere than to Calais. And this creating a perpetual Struggle between the Merchants of the Staple, &c. and others, Country Gentlemen probably, (as often as they be-thought themselves of their own Interest) and private Traders not embarked with this Body of Men, is the Reason, as I take it, why we meet with such a Fluctuation of Counsels and Measures, touching the Conveyance of Wool, &c. to Calais, or to other Parts. For supposing the same Duties to have been regularly paid at the Ports of England, I cannot see what other Purposes the confining of Staple Wares particularly to Calais could serve, besides that of Monopoly; an Evil, Trade has ever groaned under, in one Shape

26. *Pet.* That no Stapler have any Voice at the *Pryn.* Election of any Mayor, or Constable of the Staple, unless he have Goods cocqueted in Calice to the Number of 10 Sacks. *Answ.* The King will be advised. 23 H. VI.

27. *Whoever shall pack or ship Thrums, or Threads to pass beyond the Seas, during three Years, shall forfeit the same or the Value.* 23 Hen. VI. c. 3.

28. *Four Wardens of Worsted Weavers shall be chosen yearly during three Years next coming, within the City of Norwich, and other * four within the County of Norfolk, which shall set down Orders for the true making of Worsteds within Norwich, Norfolk and Suffolk †.* c. 4.

29. *A. D.* 1446. A Subsidy of 34 s. 4 d. on Denizens, 53 s. on Aliens, for every Sack of Wool for four Years. *Rapin,* p. 569. *Note 6.*

30. *If Woolen Cloths made in this Realm shall be prohibited, and not accepted in Brabant, Holland and Zealand, then no Merchandize growing or wrought there within the Dominion of the Duke of Burgoigne, shall come into England upon Pain of Forfeiture thereof.* 27 Hen. VI. c. 1. †

31. *Because in the Reign of Edw. III. the Subsidies and Customs of the Staple of Calice were 68,000 l. yearly, and*
F
now

Shape or another. And we see that in this Struggle, the Monopolists of the Staple, the reigning Company of these Times, by being able to furnish the Crown with ready Money upon Exigencies (though the Country paid them again with Interest) were, for the most part, too hard for the Country Gentlemen and private Traders. That is, they did then, in all likelihood (as such Bodies of Men have often done since) enrich themselves at the Expence of the Landed Interest, and the rest of their Fellow-Subjects; insinuating with much Address, at the same time, themselves to be the great Benefactors of their Country; of which their own particular Wealth was the only Testimony to be produced.

* Two more than heretofore.
† This County put under their Jurisdiction. *A Sign of the Manufacture spreading in those Parts.*

‡ I observe, that debarring them of English Wool was not threatened by way of Reprisal; whence we may suppose it to have been understood at that Time, not to be the proper Revenge; but that the greater Inconvenience would have accrued to the Nation from such a Measure.

now be not above 12,000 l. therefore no Licence granted, or to be granted by the King shall be available for the Carriage of Wools, &c. to any Place out of the Realm but to Callice; and whosoever doth obtain, accept, and put in Execution any such Licence, shall be out of the King's Protection. c. 2.

Pryn. 32. The like Subsidy of Wools, for four Years, as 27 H. VI. before.

Chron. 33. A. D. 1449. Fifteen Sheep at 1l. 16s. 10d. pret. p. 86. viz. each Sheep at (within 1/2) 2s. 5d. 1/2.

34. A Confirmation of a Subsidy of Wools, &c. and Cloth transported. 31 Hen. VI. c. 8.

Rapin, P. 579. Note 3. Pryn. 35. A. D. 1452. The Commons granted the King Tonnage and Poundage, during his Life. Also a Subsidy of Wools, viz. 23s. 4d. for every Sack, of Denizens, and * five Pounds of Aliens, and so of other Staple Ware according to the Rate.

Pryn. 36. It is enacted, that the Mayor, Constable, and 31 H. VI. Fellowship of the Merchants of the Staple, shall be paid 10,000 Marks, of the Subsidy of Wool at Calice; which they lent towards the Payment of the Soldiers Wages there.

37. The Mayors and Merchants of the Staple made several Demands, and had Answers thereunto.

38. No wrought Silk belonging to the Mystery of Silk Women shall be brought into this Realm, by way of Merchandize during five Years †.

CHAP.

* This Policy is just the Reverse of 27 Edw. III. c. 1, 2, 3 °; and had not the Subsidy on Aliens extended to all other Staple Wares, in the same Proportion as on Wool; a Person comparing it with 27 Edw. III. c. 3. would have been apt to look upon it only as an intended Prohibition on the Exportation of Wool, because by that former Act it was capital for Denizens to export Wool, while Strangers were invited to do it. But Denizens had long since been at Liberty to export Wool, of which Merchant Staplers as a Company had, for the most part, reaped the principal Advantage, and were now laying the Foundation of a compleat Monopoly; see Chap. 12. §. 1. which shews their predominant Power and Influence, who, had things continued long upon that Foot, would have engrossed the Trade of the Kingdom, both buying and selling at their own Prices.

† Hence I presume we may date, if not the first Rise, yet the first public Encouragement of the Silk Manufacture in England.

° Chap. 5. §. 35.
P Chap. 7. §. 3. Ch. 8. §. 14, 18, 25.

CHAP. XII.

EDWARD the Fourth.

1. NO Alien shall ship or carry out of this Realm any Wools, &c. neither shall any Denizen carry them but to Callice*, except such as be growing in Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the Bishoprick of Durham, which shall be carried to Newcastle. 3 Edw. IV. c. 1. (See §. 7.)

2. Whoever shall bring into this Realm any wrought Silk to be sold, concerning the Mystery of Silk Workers, shall forfeit the same. c. 3.

3. Certain Merchandizes shall not be brought ready wrought into this Realm, viz. Woolen Caps, Cloths, nor (See the Act, which enumerates almost all Sorts of Haberdashers, Milliners, (except Linen) Cutlers, and Ironmongers Wares) c. 4.

4. The Parliament granted to the King, for Life, of Pryn. every English Merchant, of every Sack of Wool 33 s. 4 d. 4 Ed. IV. of every Merchant Stranger, as well Denizen † as otherwise, 3 l. 6 s. 8 d.

5. Whereas 3268 l. was due to the Mayor and Company of the Merchants of the Staple in Calice, the King by Authority of Parliament, in Contentation of the same, assigneth them to take a yearly Rate of the Subsidies of Wool, until Payment had.

F 2

6. The

* Thus was the Exportation of Wool confined in a great measure to Calais, which was a considerable Point gained by the Merchants of the Staple, because they alone had the Privilege of trading thither in Wool and other Staple Commodities; (see Chap. 11. §. 23, 36. Chap. 12. §. 5.) But at the same time, it was a Point carried at the Expence of the Landed Interest, hereby so far subjected to a Monopoly; (but see §. 4.)

† By Denizen, in Law, is understood an Alien enfranchised in England by the King's Charter and Donation, and thereby entitled, in many respects, to do as the King's native Subjects do. Chamb. Dictionary.

6. The Length and Breadth of Cloths made to be sold ||. No Cloths wrought beyond Sea shall be brought into England. 4 Edw. IV. c. 1.

7. The Wools of the Country beyond the Waters of Tweed and Teese, and of the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Richmondshire, Northumberland, and the Bishoprick of Durham only, and of none other Counties, shall be carried to Newcastle to be transported to the Staple of Callice; and all other Shires to the Staple of Callice. c. 3.

8. No Person during three Years shall buy or take any Promise of Bargain for Wools then not shorn, of the growing of Berks, &c. before the same be shorn, and until Bartholomew Day following, but they which shall make Cloth or Yarn of them. c. 4. (See Ch. 14. §. 9. Ch. 15. §. 23.)

Rapin, p. 604.

9. A. D. 1466. A Truce concluded with the Duke of Burgoigne, by which Commerce was restored with his Dominions, which had been interrupted from the Year 1448.

A. D. 1467. Prolonged for 30 Years.

10. The Election, Oath, Authority, searching and sealing of the Wardens of Worsted Weavers in Norwich and Norfolk. 7 Edw. IV. c. 1. †

11. The Inhabitants in certain Hundreds in the County of Devon, may put Flocks in their Cloth made of the Wool growing in the same Hundreds. c. 2. *

12. No

|| This Act recites sundry Deceits and Abuses practised in making Cloths in England, the Loss to the Nation thereby, and Discredit beyond Sea, the Importation, for that Reason, of foreign Cloths, and therefore ordains many Regulations of the Manufacture, and makes all foreign Cloths, except Welsh and Irish, to be forfeited.

† This Act recites, 'that divers Persons in Norwich and Norfolk make untrue Wares in all manner of respects of all manner of Worseds, by which means they lose their ancient Estimation beyond Sea, &c.' and therefore it was ordained, &c. The Number of Wardens increased from four to eight.

§. 6.

* By the Act 4 Ed. IV. c. 1. no Flocks might be put into any Cloth. Whereupon the Inhabitants of these Hundreds, Siston, Tavestock, and Rowburgh, Devonshire, represent, 'that they are like to be undone by this Act; that they have continually used from the Time, whereof is no Memory,

12. No Woolen Yarn or Cloth shall be carried beyond Sea unfilled. c. 3. †

13. In Consideration of 10000 l. paid, in Part of Payment of a greater Sum, due by the King, to Charles Duke of Burgundy, for Marriage between the said Duke and Margaret his Sister, and paid by the Mayor and Company of the Staple: The King by his Letters Patents, granteth, that they shall be paid the same of the Subsidy of Wools; the which Letters Patents, are by common Consent confirmed.

14. The Length, Breadth and Weight of broad set Cloths and strait set Cloths made in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex: And they shall be sealed by the Aulnager. 8 Edw. IV. c. 1.

15. A. D. 1468. Upon the occasion of renewing an ancient Alliance between England and Arragon, the King is said to have sent the King of Arragon a Present of some Ewes and Rams, which so multiplied in Spain, that it proved very detrimental to the Wool Trade in England. || Biondi, Habington, Hall.

Rapin, p. 605.

F 3

16. A. D.

'Memory, to mix Flocks in the Cloth made with the Wool growing in those Hundreds; without which Flocks, they could make no Cloth to sell, by reason of the Grossness and Stubbornness of the said Wool.' The Premises consider'd, it was enacted (as above.)

† One Reason assign'd in the Act is, that of such Yarn and Cloth the King had no manner of Custom.

|| The Translator of Rapin, in his Note upon this Passage, remarks, 'that tho' the King gave Licence and Liberty for some Cotswold Sheep to be transported into Spain, yet it is not thence to be inferred, that there were no Sheep in that Country before. For the contrary is evident from a Patent of King Henry II. granted the 31st of his Reign to the Weavers of London, importing, that if any Cloth were found to be made of Spanish Wool mixed with English Wool, the Mayor of London should see it burnt.' Whatever Truth there may be in this Account, or some others*, of Sheep being sent at any Time from England to Spain, the Notion grafted upon it, of Spain deriving their Plenty of fine Wool from thence, is to the last degree fabulous. I should rather be of Opinion, that England had borrowed some Part of its Breed from thence, (as it certainly did the whole from one Place or another:) Because we find that Spain and Portugal were anciently famous for Sheep and Wool, and the former for fine Cloth, before the English knew what it was to be clothed. (See Chap. 3. §. 18.)

Note 1.

Then

P. 610. Note 6.

16. A. D. 1470. At this Time the Merchants of the Staple were Persons of great Authority, and had a great Influence upon the Affairs of the Nation.

17. During five Years, the Wools of certain Counties only, shall be carried to Newcastle, and all others to Callice, upon Pain of Felony. 12 Ed. IV. c. 5. (See §. 20.)

P. 617.

18. A. D. 1472. It appears in several Papers of the Collection of the Publick Acts, that some Dispute arose concerning the Truce of Commerce for thirty Years, between England and the Duke of Burgundy. An Affair of much the same Nature, with the Hanse Towns, created the King likewise some Trouble. These Towns, whereof Lubeck, Hamburg and Dantzick, were the three Principal, had obtained of the Kings of England several Privileges for their Merchants, because their Commerce was

Then for the Patent of Hen. II. mentioned by the Translator, and for which he quotes Stow, that confirms my Lord Chief Justice Coke's Account of the much higher Antiquity of the English Woolen Manufacture in England than 9 Hen. III. Which yet is higher, above 100 Years, than is allow'd by all our modern English Writers.

* ' It is allow'd, that the Goodness of the Spanish Wool is owing to a few English Sheep sent over into Spain as a Present by Hen. II. of England; or, as others will have it, though we think mistakenly, by Edw. IV. in 1465. Chambers's Dict. English Wool.

9 Ed. IV.

' Great was the Loss and Hindrance which the Realm received by the Licence, which King Edw. III. gave unto King John of Arragon, for to transport into Spain a certain Number of Cotswold Sheep, both in respect of Wools and Woolfels. For we see what great Quantity of Wools (bettered under their Climate) doth continually come from divers Places of the King of Spain's Dominions into Fraunce and the Low Countries; especially into Flaunders, where divers fine Stuffs are made and brought unto us and other Nations.' England's View, &c. 1603.

Whence we learn not only that much Spanish Wool was carried into Flanders, but that in France, so early as before the Year 1603, was a Woolen Manufacture, where Cloth was made with Spanish Wool.

I may also add here what Sir Richard Baker has inserted in his Chronicle, p. 112. B. ' In the second Year of this King's Reign, (Edw. I.) there happen'd the greatest Rot of Sheep in England that ever was known, which continued five and twenty Years; and came (as was thought) by

964

was very advantageous to the English. This Affair produced an open War, which ended in a Treaty; and,

19. A Peace between the King and Merchants of Pryn. England, and the Duke of Hauns, or Merchants of the Stilliards, by which Restitution was to be made on all Sides, and a free Intercourse for ever to be had. This Treaty was confirmed by Act of Parliament*.

20. An Alteration of Part of the Statute of 12 Ed. IV. c. 5. (See §. 17.) touching the transporting of Wools growing in Cumberland, &c. which shall hereafter be shipped at Newcastle, and from thence conveyed to Callice, or to any other Place at the King's Pleasure. 14 Ed. IV. c. 3.

21. An Alteration of Part of the Statute of 4 Edw. IV. c. 1. viz. Cloths, half Cloths, &c. shall be sealed with Wax at both Ends instead of Lead. And the Treasurer of England shall be impowered to let the Aulnage to Farm upon good Security. 17 Edw. IV. c. 5.

22. No Ribbands, Laces, Corfes, Girdles, Calli Silk or twined, shall be brought into England to be sold, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the same or the Value thereof. 22 Edw. IV. c. 3.

CHAP. XIII. RICHARD the Third.

1. THE Length and Breadth of Cloths. Of what Ability an Aulnager must be, and what Cloths he may seal. 1 Rich. III. c. 8. †

F 4

2. In

' by one infected Sheep of incredible Greatness, brought out of Spain by a French Merchant into Northumberland.' This, in a literal Sense, is an incredible Story; but it may be an Allegory, denoting some Prejudice, imagined at least, to England in the Price of Wool, by the then Importation either of that Commodity from Spain, or of Cloth made beyond Sea with Spanish Wool.

* ' And the House called the Style House, or Stillyard; Pryn. in the Parish of All-Hallows in London, by Authority of 13 Ed. IV. Parliament, was assigned to the Merchants of the Hauns; and to their Successors, for ever, yielding yearly to the Mayor of London 70l. &c.'

† This Statute contains many Regulations in 19 Sections. The 14th provides, that no Stranger shall buy any Wool which

2. In what sort Italian Merchants may sell their Merchandizes. *Several Restraints of Aliens.* c. 9. ||
3. The Statute of 22 Edw. IV. c. 3. prohibiting wrought Laces of Silk to be brought into this Realm, continued for ten Years. c. 10.
4. Certain Merchandizes prohibited to be brought into this Realm ready wrought. (See Ch. 12. §. 3.)

C H A P. XIV.

H E N R Y the Seventh.

1. ALIENS made Denizens, shall pay such Customs as they did before. 1 Hen. VII. c. 2. *

Lord Verulam.
Hen. VII.
p. 59.

2. A. D. 1487. November 9. A Parliament met. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as Lord Chancellor, opening

which shall pass through the Streights of Marroch, sorted, clacked, or barked, (see Chap. 11. §. 9.) but that the same Wool be as it is clipped, and purely wound without Deceit. The 18th provides, that certain Clauses of the Statute extend not to any Cloth in Winchester or Salisbury, Places not before mention'd on the like Occasion; which may be observed as an Evidence of the Woolen Manufacture increasing in England.

|| This Act recites, that Merchants of Italy bought and sold Wool and Woolen Cloths within the Realm, and that many of them used the making of Cloth also within the same. And therefore enacts, (§. 8.) 'That none of the said Merchants of Italy shall sell or barter any Woolen Cloths, Wools, &c. within the Realm, but shall have and convey the same Wools, &c. over the Sea by the Streights of Marroch. And that no Alien shall make Cloth within the Realm.' I suppose this to have been an Act of Popularity at this Time, in the bloody Usurper. How much a wiser Course did Edw. III. take, in granting his Protection to foreign Manufacturers, &c. ?

* The Policy of this is obvious; to prevent Strangers being made Denizens, merely for the Advantage of saving in Customs. This Law is repeated 11 Hen. VII. c. 14. and gives for Reason, that Denizens made use of their Privilege to colour other Goods, of Strangers, besides their own.

opening the Sessions with a Speech to both Houses, said, 'His Grace prays you to take into Consideration Matter of Trade, as also the Manufactures of the Kingdom.

3. In this Parliament Taxes were as follows, 1. *Rapin*, Tunnage, 2. Poundage, 3. the Subsidy of Wools, &c. p. 662. which was 33 s. 4 d. of Denizens, and of Aliens, 3 l. Note 2. 6 s. 8 d. for every Sack.

4. The Beginning of this Year, Hen. VII. concluded *Rapin*, with Maximilian (Governor of the Low Countries, in p. 658.

the Name of his Son Philip a Minor) a Treaty wholly relating to Trade, and which was only Provisional, till certain Articles could be settled; upon which the English and Flemings with Difficulty agreed. The Trade between England and the Low Countries was so necessary to the Subjects of both Princes, that it could not be interrupted without both being Sufferers. But for that very Reason, each strove to reap some Advantage from the Situation of Affairs, which rendered the Treaties very difficult.

5. Free Men of London may carry their Wares to any Fairs or Markets, 3 Hen. VII. c. 9. †

6. No Cloth (above the Price of 40 s.) shall be transported, until it be barbed, rowed, and shorn. c. 11.

7. Whosoever shall sell by Retail a broad Yard of the finest Scarlet grained, or other grained Cloth of the finest making above 16 s. or a broad Yard of any other coloured Cloth above 11 s. &c. shall forfeit forty Shillings for every Yard so sold. 4 Hen. VII. Ch. 8. ||

8. Wines and Woods shall not be brought but by English Ships *.

9. No

† The Mayor and Aldermen, &c. of the City of London had made a Monopolish Order, viz. That no Freeman of the City should use any Fair or Market out of the City with their Wares, to the Intent that all Persons should resort thither to buy their Wares. In Consideration of the Hurt likely to grow of and by the Premises, this Act was made.

|| This, Lord Verulam says, 'was not prescribing Prices, but stinting them not to exceed a Rate; that the Clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.' See Chap. 18. §. 5. Note.

* 'Bowling, says Lord Verulam, the ancient Policy from Consideration of Plenty to Consideration of Power. For that

9. No Person during ten Years shall buy, take, promise or bargain of any Wool that shall grow in Berks, &c. before the Assumption^a of our Lady next after shearing thereof, but such as will make Cloth or Yarn thereof; nor any Merchant Stranger before the Purification of our Lady, &c. c. 11. (See Ch. 12. §. 8. Ch. 15. §. 23.

10. The Penalty for decaying Houses of Husbandry, or not laying of convenient Land for the Maintainance of the same. c. 19. †

Rapin,
p. 671.

11. A. D. 1492. Henry laying before his Council Articles of Peace between him and the King of France, which had been settled by Commissioners on both Sides. They highly approve the same, and among other Things give for Reason, that the Peace would secure the Commerce of the English Nation with Flanders.

12. A. D. 1493. Henry taking just Umbrage at the Archduke Philip's entertaining Perkin Warbeck, a Pretender to his Crown, broke off all Commerce with him, and banish'd all Flemings out of the Kingdom. The Archduke † did the like by the English who were in Flanders.

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that almost all the ancient Statutes incite by all means Merchant Strangers to bring in all Sorts of Commodities, having, for End, Cheapness, and not looking to the Point of State concerning Naval Power.

Lord Verulam adds, 'He made Statutes in this Parliament for the Maintenance of Drapery, and for keeping of Wools within the Realm.' As some Readers may be apt to understand hereby, that the Exportation of Wool was absolutely prohibited at this Time, it is necessary to observe, that the Statute of this Year, cap. 11. (see §. 9.) is what Lord Verulam alluded to, and which only gave the first Choice of a Part, not a Monopoly of All the English Wool, to native Manufacturers, for a Season; but left the other Part, and the Residue, to Strangers, in Benefit to the Grower and to the Revenue: which made a very wide Difference.

‡ Inclosures at this Time began to be more frequent.

† Lord Verulam says, 'For Form's sake by way of Requital, the Archduke did banish the English out of Flanders. But that King Henry recall'd his Subjects, and particularly the Merchant Adventurers (now first so called) (see §. 14. Note) out of his Dominions, translating the Mart (which commonly followed the English Cloth) from Antwerp to Calice.' Here note: Lord Verulam represents the

13. A. D. 1495. Philip being no longer under the Rapin, Emperor's Guardianship, sent about the end of this Year p. 678. Ambassadors to Henry, to desire the Renewal of the Commerce between England and the Low Countries.

A. D. 1496. The Ambassadors found no Difficulty to succeed in their Negotiation. So the 24th of Feb. a Treaty was concluded, called by the Flemings, Intercursus magnus ‖.

14. Merchant Adventurers. 12 Hen. VII. c. 6. *

15. A. D.

the Disadvantage of this Breach to have been wholly on the Side of the Flemings, because the Mart commonly followed the English Cloth. This indeed is a Sign that the English exported much Cloth at this Time; but from hence is not to be inferred, that foreign Merchants so readily followed those of England, merely for the sake of purchasing English Cloths. But, as one Reason, because the English Merchants, as considerable Venders of Wool and Cloth and other Staple Wares, had wherewithal to purchase the Commodities of other Countries from foreign Merchants in greater Quantities, and to an higher Value, than most other Nations could. (See Chap. 25. §. 4.)

‖ In explaining this Treaty, the Archduke desisted from the Duty of a Florin, which before he exacted upon every Piece of English Cloth that came into his Dominions. Rapin, p. 680.

Lord Verulam says, 'By this time the Interruption of Trade between the English and Flemish began to pinch the Merchants of both Nations very sore. The King, who loved Wealth, tho' very sensible of this, yet kept State so far, as first to be fought unto. Wherein the Merchant Adventurers likewise (a strong Company at that Time, and well underfet with rich Men and good Orders) did hold out bravely; taking off the Commodities of the Kingdom, tho' they lay dead upon their Hands for want of Vent.'

* 'This was a Law at the Suit of the Merchant Adventurers of England against the Merchant Adventurers of London, for monopolizing and exacting upon the Trade. The Merchant Adventurers of London, formerly known by the Name of the Fraternity of St. Thomas of Canterbury, had made an Ordinance (in Colour, it is to be presumed, of some ancient Grant or Charter, &c.) that no English resorting to the Marts abroad, should sell any Goods or Merchandizes without paying a Fine to the Merchants of London; which Fine, tho' originally but an old Noble Sterling, had been increased to an hundred Shillings,

15. A. D. 1502. A Treaty of Commerce with the Emperor *Maximilian*.

16. That no Person bring or cause to be brought into the Realm, any manner of Silk wrought by itself, or with any other Stuff. 19 Hen. VII. c. 21. †

Lord Verulam.

17. A. D. 1506. A Storm driving *Philip* of Spain and *Jane* his Queen into England, Henry made his Advantage of it, among other Things, to conclude a Treaty of Commerce, so much in Favour of the English, that the *Flemings* therefore termed it *intercurfus malus*.

18. A. D. 1507. *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, being sent by her Father, the Emperor *Maximilian*, to govern in the *Low Countries*, upon her arrival at *Brussels*, she concluded with *Henry* a provisional Treaty of Commerce, till some Differences caused by the late Treaty between the Merchants of both Nations could be adjusted.

Rapin, p. 705-6.

19. A. D. 1508. December the 10th, was signed the famous League of *Cambray*; of which the Emperor and the King of *France* were the Head, and to which the King of *Spain*, and several other Princes were Parties †.

CHAP.

lings, and from thence to forty or fifty Pounds Sterling, and was by this Act limited not to exceed ten Marks.

Lord Verulam.

† This Law is observed to point at a true Principle, That where foreign Materials are only Superfluities, foreign Manufactures should be prohibited: for that will either banish the Superfluity, or gain the Manufacture.

This was a Roman Policy, as appears from the following Imperial Decree or Constitution:

Constitutiones Imperatoriae de vestibus externis prohibitis.

Alterum vero illius Imperatoriae providentiae specimen: quod cum videret Romanas divitias in peregrinas ac sumptuosas vestes, sericas, Assyrias, Babylonicas, &c. vario ac solerti artificio confectas effundi: decreto sanxit ne quis subditorum iis uteretur, nisi ipse quisquis esset, cum omni familia in ordinem cogi, ac notari ignominia vellet: sed iis contenti essent, quas Romanae provinciae ac manus praebarent. Necessariorum enim rerum usus est immutabilis: & subditi, quantum licet, principum sequuntur cupiditates: idque lex eis est & honor, quod principibus visum fuerit. Proinde cernere erat illa quoque brevissimo tempore viluisse: nobilitatis autem limites Romanis vestimentis definitos: & divitias domo, quod aiunt, domum ferri.

† By which, under pretence of stopping the Progress of the *Turks* in *Europe*, it was agreed to dispossess the *Venetians*

CHAP. XV.

HENRY the Eighth.

1. THE several Duties of a Breaker, Kember, Carder, Spinner, Weaver, Fuller, Dyer, Clothier, and Aulnager, concerning true making, drawing and sealing of Woolen Cloths. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

2. An Act for perfect working of Cloths before they shall be carried out of the Realm. † c. 7.

3. An Act for searching of unlawful Oyls. c. 14. ||

4. An Act for true making Cloths in Devon, called white Straits. 5 Hen. VIII. c. 2. †

5. An Act concerning white Cloths, to be carried over Sea unshorn. c. 3. *

6. An Act to avoid Deceits in Worsted. c. 4. ∴

7. An Act concerning the true making of certain Woolen Cloths in the County of Devon. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 8. **

8. An Act avoiding Deceits in making Woolen Cloths. c. 9. |||

9. None

ans (a powerful Republic, in which the Woolen Manufacture flourished, as also in other Parts of *Italy*), of all their Dominions, except the single City of *Venice*, and to divide them between themselves.

† This is the third Act for this End. The Exception for Cloths not exceeding 40 s. is extended to those of four Marks.

|| Oils being used in the Woolen Manufacture, were, it seems, adulterated, so that this Act was chiefly to prevent Abuses of that sort.

† This Act directs the Length and Breadth, orders the Maker to affix his proper Mark, viz. such as no other Maker uses.

* This is the fourth of the kind. The Exception is extended from four to five Marks.

∴ None to be dry calendred.

** This is the fifth of *Hen. VIII. c. 2.* (which was §. 4. made but for one Year) continued, as being found convenient. And the same Regulations are also extended to another sort, called *Ruffet Straits*.

||| This Act contains several Regulations of Abuses, in ten Sections; and is not to extend to *Cornwall*, or *Frisland* made

9. None shall carry beyond Sea any Norfolk Wool meet for making of Worsteds or Stamins, upon Pain of Forfeiture of 40 s. for every Stone. c. 12. †

10. If any Person shall decay a Town, a Hamlet or House of Husbandry, or convert Tillage into Pasture, the immediate Lord of the Fee shall have the Moiety of the offenders Land, until the Offence be reformed. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

Rapin, p. 737.

11. A. D. 1517. There was this Year an Insurrection of the London Apprentices against foreign Trademen*.

12. A. D. 1519. The Emperor this Year received the News of the Discovery and Beginning of the Conquest of Mexico and New Spain †.

13. A. D.

made in Wales, Lancashire and Cheshire; which two last Places have not been mentioned in the Statute Books before, on occasion of the Woolen Manufacture.

† Of this Act it is, that Rapin says (from Lord Herbert) 'It was provided, that no unwrought Wool should be exported out of the Kingdom, for the Encouragement of the Woolen Manufacture.' Which if it be only understood of some of the Wools of Norfolk, is very true. But if he meant to say, that by this Act it was provided, that no unwrought Wool should be exported out of any Part of the Kingdom, it is a direct Falshood. And yet in this Sense the Reader will be apt to understand him, as it is pretty plain he himself meant, and intended to be understood, by what follows, viz. 'This Act has been often revived by reason of its Importance; and yet even now an effectual Means is wanting to prevent the clandestine Exportation of Wool.' And therefore taking his Sense from the whole put together, I note it among the many Instances of false History, on this Subject, wanting to be corrected.

* 'The chief Author of it was one John Lincoln, a Broker: he drew up a Paper full of Complaints against the foreign Merchants, which he got Dr. Bele, a noted Preacher, to read in his Pulpit on Easter Tuesday; whereupon the Mob assembled, and committed several Outrages.'

† By which Gold and Silver becoming more plentiful in Europe, Trade was greatly increased.

Lord Herbert.

'Hornando Cortes, Undertaker of the Expedition to America, going in the Year 1518 with about 400 Foot and 15 Horse, and seven little Field Pieces, into many populous'

13. A. D. 1520. The Treaty and Commerce made between England and Germany in 1506 was confirmed. Note 7.

14. A. D. 1521. It being observed that there was a great Decay of Tillage and Husbandry, occasioned by many Inclosures made by the Nobility and Gentry, who, within fifty Years had turned most of their Lands into Pasture, and kept them in their own Hands; from whence, among other Inconveniencies, it follow'd, that many Towns and Villages were depopulated, and the Prices of Wool and Meat were much enhanced. To remedy this, the King revived the Statutes against Inclosures, &c. (See Ch. 14. §. 10.)

15. A. D. 1522. The Imperialists and English after Rapin, having burnt and plundered several Villages in Picardy in France, took fourteen Thousand Sheep. Note 8.

16. No Person shall sell to a Merchant Stranger any broad white Woolen Cloth made in England, unless he cannot sell it to some English Merchant, within eight Days after brought to Blackwell-Hall, except the Sale be in Fairs, Ports or Creeks. 14, 15 Hen. VIII. c. 1. Ch. 63.

17. Touching Worsted Weavers of Yarmouth and Lynn. 14, 15 Hen. VIII. c. 3. ||

18. Cloths made in Suffolk, called Vesses or Set Cloths, not

'pulous but diversly affected Kingdoms, did so dextrously behave himself, that playing sometimes the Part of an Ambassador, and sometimes of a Soldier, he prevailed himself of all. And in Conclusion, notwithstanding the Opposition of his Countrymen and Enemies, laid the Foundation of a greater Dominion, than any Man before him did.'

|| This Act recites, that since 7 Edw. IV. the making of Worsteds, Saies, and Stamins had greatly increased in the City of Norwich and County of Norfolk; and that the same was now practised more busily and diligently than in Times past, at Yarmouth and Lynn; and therefore in regard they were Towns Corporate, it allowed them, at their Request, at each Place, a Warden of their own chusing, to search, seal, &c. subject nevertheless to the Jurisdiction of Norwich in that Case; and with this express Restriction, that none should shear, dye, or calendar, but in Norwich; and that no Person should convey or transport beyond Sea any Manner of Clothes, before the same were shorn, dyed, coloured, and calender'd. Chap. 12. §. 10.

not being above the Value of 40s. shall not be forfeited for lack of Length or Breadth, being wet. c. 11. †

Rapin, P. 763. 19. A. D. 1525. It was represented to the Emperor that the Flemings had broken the Treaty of Commerce in several Articles.

Note 5. An Insurrection in Suffolk, where the Weavers and other Artificers assembled out of Laneham, Subdury, Hadley, &c. to the Number of about 4000*.

P. 770. 20. A. D. 1527. Henry having entered into a League offensive and defensive with France, it was agreed between the two Kings, that in case the Emperor rejected their Proposals, or deferred his Answer, all Commerce should be forbidden with his Subjects by both of them. And by a separate Treaty, which concerned only Trade, the French King promised to give the English Merchants such Privileges, as should be agreed upon hereafter. ||

P. 772. 21. A

† These had been exempted in 3 Hen. VII. ^u but in 5 of Hen. VIII. ^w were forgot; to supply which Omission was the Cause of this Act; which further says, that these particular Cloths were made *only for Exportation*.

* This may serve to give us a further Idea of the Numbers employed in Woolen Manufacture, in those Parts, at that Time.

P. 779. || A precarious Treaty indeed (such as the French have been used to make.) But it is to be consider'd, that Woolsey, the English Minister, was at this Time in French Pay. The People indeed did not approve his Measures; they openly exclaimed against a War, which was going to ruin the Kingdom, to gratify the Favourite's Passion: Nay, some went further than Murmurs. As the Trade with the Low Countries was interrupted by the Declaration of War, and the Merchants would buy no more Cloth, which they could not vend, the Clothiers rose in Arms. Whereupon the Cardinal order'd the Merchants to buy the Cloths as usual; threatening, in case of Refusal, to buy them himself, and sell them to Foreigners. But they made a Jest of his Threat, and continued obstinate, resolving not to render themselves liable to inevitable Losses for his sake. I desire to observe two things here:

1. The Dependence England had at this Time upon the Exportation of Cloth, contrary to what the Writers on this Subject generally have said, dating that Branch of Trade no higher than the 12th of Elizabeth. 2. The Effects of

an

21. A Truce between England and Flanders for the Rapin, Benefit of Trade. P. 779.

22. An Act for annulling of the Letters Patents made to the City of York concerning the shipping of Wools. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 17. †

23. No Persons during ten Years next ensuing, shall buy any Wool growing in the Counties of Berks and 28 Counties, before the Assumption of our Lady next after the shearing of the same; but such as will make Cloth or Yarn thereof, upon Pain of forfeiting double the Value. No Stranger shall buy any Wool before the Purification of our Lady next after the shearing thereof. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 1. † Aug. 15;

24. Concerning the Number of Sheep one should keep. * 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

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25. An

an Interruption of Commerce with the Low Countries at this Time, while the English Correspondence lay chiefly there; namely, that the Merchants refused to buy the Cloth of the Clothiers; and why? Because they could not vend them. But how does this agree with modern Sentiments about English Wool and English Cloth; that the one or the other is necessary to all the World?

† Tho' York was the Staple Town, Hull was the Port for transporting their Wares. By 27 Edw. III. c. 1.

† This Act ^u seems to have had so far a wise and equitable Intention, as 1. to give the Manufacturers the first

Choice, at the first Hand, of a great Part of the Wool of England, without their becoming the Property of Jobbers. Ch. 14; §. 9. Ch. 12; §. 8.

2. To the End that the richest Manufacturers might not engross it too much from the poorer Sort, nor the Grower want a Market for his Wool in some reasonable Time, nor be beat down in the Price thereof, Merchant Staplers as well as Manufacturers, were permitted to bargain for Wools, after the Assumption.

And lastly, that all these together might not have it in their Power to exercise an absolute Monopoly against the Grower; after the Purification, it was allowable for Merchant Strangers to buy and export Wool from these Counties as well as others. And yet there is Reason to think, that these, comparatively, small Restraints, as tending so far towards a Monopoly, were a considerable Check to the Price of Wool in England. (See §. 24. Note.)

* Vix. No one more than 2000. But this with many Exceptions. The Statute by way of Reason, recites an advanced Price of all the Native Commodities

in

in the Kingdom. That some Persons had at this Time vast Numbers of Sheep, which for Victual had risen in Price from 2 s. 4 d. or at the most 3 s. to 6 s. or 5 s. or 4 s. at the least; and a Stone of Clothing heretofore in some Shires accustomed to be sold for 18 d. or 20 d. had risen to 4 s. or 3 s. 4 d. at least. In others where it had been sold for 2 s. 4 d. or 2 s. 8 d. or 3 s. at the most, it was then sold for 5 s. or 4 s. 8 d. the least.

If we look back to the Prices of Wool in the 13th and 14th of Edw. III. which was near 200 Years before, (see Ch. 5. §. 9.) the lowest, viz. the Wools of Cumberland and Westmerland, were sold for above 2 s. per Stone, exclusive of the Duty, which was something more than 1 s. 6 d. per Stone; and those of Salop, at better than 4 s. 10 d. per Stone, in like manner. So that in Fact, there seems to have been at this Time, no Advance in the Price of Wool from the Time just mention'd: but very much the contrary, considering that the Shilling was then 264 Grains; at this Time, but 118. Nor was it any Advance from the cheap Price of which H. Knygton speaks, (see Ch. 8. §. 29.) because the Shilling was then 213 Grains. Much less was Wool dearer at this Time, than in the 4th of Hen. VI. (See Chap. 11. §. 5. Note.) The Price being then not only nearly equal to the highest Rate mention'd in this Act, but the Shilling then, at the lowest, contained 24 Grains more than at the Time of this Act; (see Ch. 4. P. S.) and therefore we are to suppose the present Complaint concerning the Dearness of Wool, to have had respect to some intermediate later Times, in which the Price of Wool does not now appear; and which was probably occasioned by the Monopolish Usurpations of the Merchants of the Staple, and the Manufacturers. As to the Price of Victual, it will not be amiss to insert a little Piece of History, which Bishop Fleetwood takes from Mr. Stow in this present Year 1533. It was this Year enacted, That Butchers should sell their Beef and Mutton by Weight: Beef for a Half-penny the Pound; and Mutton for Three Farthings: which being devised for the great Commodity of the Realm, (as it was thought) hath proved far otherwise. For at that Time (i. e. 1533.) fat Oxen were sold for 26 s. 8 d. fat Weathers for 3 s. 4 d. fat Calves of the like Price; a fat Lamb for 12 d. The Butchers sold Penny Pieces of Beef, for the Relief of the Poor; every Piece two Pounds and an half, sometimes three Pounds a Piece. And 13, sometimes 14 of these Pieces for 12 d. Mutton 8 d. the Quarter, and 100 Weight of Beef for 4 s. 8 d. What Price it has grown to since, it needeth not to be set down. At this Time also, and not before, were foreign Butchers permitted to sell their Flesh in Leaden-Hall Market of London.

Foreign
Butchers.

25. An Act for Clothiers in Worcester-shire. c. 18. ||
26. The Act for the true making of Cloth. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 12. †
27. For Cloths Whites of 4 l. and not above, and coloured Cloths of 3 l. and not above, to be carried over Sea, unbarbed and unshorn. c. 13. †
28. For folding Cloths in North Wales. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 3. *

G 2

29. A

London? I suppose by Foreign Butchers, he means such Chron: as lived not, or had not served their Apprenticeship in Lon-pret. p. 94: don.

|| No Person shall make within the Shire of Worcester any Woolen Cloth for Sale, except within the City of Worcester, the Towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromesgrove. The Owners of Tenements within the said City and Towns, shall at no Time let any Tenement sufficiently repaired, to any Persons inhabiting therein, and exercising any of the Crafts relating to the Woolen Manufacture, at any higher Rent than was given for the same within twenty Years next before.

N. B. These are Names of Places, which tho' they have not before occur'd in the Statute Book, as employed in the Woolen Manufacture; yet this Act represents it to have been of long standing there; and, which is an Argument of its spreading still wider and wider, says, it had within a few Years past crept into the Villages of that County. And tho' it does insinuate, that the City of Worcester, and Towns above-mention'd, were hereby depopulated; yet the Clause against advancing the Rents of Tenements within the same, is a strong Proof to the contrary, as also of a prevalent Spirit of Monopoly.

† This Act recites, That great Infamy and Slander had of late Years risen, in sundry Out Parts beyond the Sea, of the untrue making of Woolen Cloths within this Realm: For Remedy whereof it was enacted, &c.

† By 5 Hen. VIII. no Woolen Cloth above the Price of five Marks should be conveyed over the Sea unrowed, &c. By this Act, the Limitation is extended to Cloths white of 4 l. or dyed, of 3 l. And the Reason assigned is, that Wools were so much advanced, that a Cloth (5 Hen. VIII.) sold for five Marks, was become worth 4 l.

* Welsh Cloths in North Wales and Orcester Hundred, called, &c. shall be folded as the Cloths of other Countries. The Statute recites, That they had been used to be so craftily and hard rolled together, that the Buyer could not perceive the untrue making thereof.

29. *A Bill for Worsted Yarn in Norfolk.* c. 16. ||
 30. *The Bill for making Coverlets in York.* 34-5
 Hen. VIII. c. 10. †
 31. *The Weight, Length, Breadth and Goodness of
 Welch Frizes and Cottons made in the Shires of Caer-
 marthen, Cardigan and Pembroke in Wales, and the
 Forfeiture for Default thereof.* c. 11.
 32. *An Act for certain Ordinances in the Principality
 of Wales.* c. 26. †
 33. *No Person other than Merchants of the Staple, and
 their Servants and Factors, to be shipped only to the Staple,
 and other than such as shall convert the same into Yarn,
 Cloth, &c. (and not to sell again) shall buy or take Pro-
 mise of Bargain of any Wools of the growing in the Shires*
of

|| *This Act says, 'That Worsted Yarn is the private
 Commodity of the City of Norwich, and County of Nor-
 folk, i. e. spun of the Wool growing, and of Sheep bred
 only within the County of Norfolk, and in no Place else-
 where;'* and therefore enacts, That none shall be trans-
 ported, or shipped to be transported, nor bought, nor cau-
 sed to be bought by any but Weavers in the said City or
 County. Hence we learn not to give entire Credit, always to
 the Preamble of an Act of Parliament, nor to be surprized to
 find Persons on this Subject, moved by some Prospect of Gain,
 asserting Things very remote from Truth.

† *This Act recites, 'That the City of York afore this
 Time hath been upholden principally by making and
 weaving of Coverlets, and the Poor thereof daily set on
 work in spinning, carding, dying, weaving, &c. con-
 cerning the making of them, and that the same have not
 been made elsewhere in the said County, till of late, that
 this Manufacture had spread itself into other Parts of the
 County, and was thereby debased and discredited;'* and
 therefore after ordaining some Regulations as to the Assizes
 thereof, it is enacted, That none shall make Coverlets in
 Yorkshire, but Inhabitants of the City of York.

† *Ordinance 121 recites, 'That the King in the 24th of
 his Reign had demised to William Webbe the Subsidy and
 Aulnage of all Woolen Cloths made, or to be made, in the
 County of Monmouth, and in the twelve Shires of Wales,
 for a certain Term of Years then enduring,' says how
 much he shall take for sealing each Particular, whether Frize,
 Cotton, Lining, Broad Cloth, Kersey, &c. But that the
 same made within the Owners Houses for their own Use,
 and not for Sale, shall not be subject to those Payments.*

of Kent, or 27 Shires, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the
 double Value thereof; but every Person may bring his own
 Wool to the Market and sell it. No Person shall buy or
 bargain for Wool for any Merchant Stranger, upon
 Pain of Forfeiture thereof. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15. *

CHAP.

* By comparing this with 22 Hen. VIII. c. 1. (See §.
 23.) it will appear, that the Merchants of the Staple had
 acquired once more by this Statute, not only a Monoply of
 all Wools to be exported, but that they were the only Persons
 allow'd to buy Wool within the Shire of Kent and 27 Shires,
 except immediate Manufacturers; which was another Instance
 of Monoply obtained against the poorer Sort of Manu-
 facturers, consequently in that respect also against the
 Grower too, but which therefore we shall soon find in Part
 repealed. (See 1 Edw. VI. c. 6. and 2, 3 Phil. and Mary
 c. 13.)

By this Act an effectual Stop seems to have been intended
 to the Merchants of Italy, particularly, buying Wool in Eng-
 land, which not only from ancient Times had been practi-
 sed, but encouraged*, tho' not without constant Envy and
 frequent Attempts of Interruption. This was just as Parties
 happened to prevail.

The Reasons for encouraging them were, seemingly, to
 preserve a double Market, in order to a better Price, for the
 native Commodities of the Kingdom, against the Merchants
 of the Staple, whose never-ceasing Views were, to engross
 and monopolize; and also to prevent the Nation being ex-
 acted upon in the Price of foreign Commodities by other
 Merchants dealing from Antwerp, to which they were not
 a little prone. The Italians brought Silks, Velvets, Wines,
 &c. taking in Return, Wool, and other Staple Wares. For
 which Wool and other Staple Wares, the Merchants of the
 Staple would have Calice to be the only Mart, and them-
 selves the sole Venders thereof abroad, consequently the on-
 ly Purchasers at Home for Exportation, and likewise, in a
 great measure, for Use, and, in that Case, as it must needs
 be, at their own Prices. Accordingly it may be observed
 from the foregoing Hints of Antiquity, short and imper-
 fect as they are, that Wool in particular constantly rose and
 fell in Price, just as the Landed, or Mercantile, Interest pre-
 vailed in the Nation; the former, for a free and enlarged
 Market; the latter, for a more circumscribed and limited
 Trade. This was Matter of frequent Strife; in which the
 Merchants and Manufacturers (as being the more united
 Bodies, acting most in Concert, and more intent upon their

CHAP. XVI.

EDWARD the Sixth.

1. THE Bill for the Continuance of making Worsted Yarn in Norfolk. 1 Edw. VI. c. 6. ||

2. A

Chap. 2, 3.

own particular private Gain, than the Nobility and Gentry of England commonly have been for their own and the general public Good) for the most part carried their Points. But here note, That tho' some of the Venetian Merchants, and of other States in Italy, chose to deal directly to England rather than to Antwerp, which was the most general Mart of Europe; we are not thence to conclude that it was altogether for the sake of purchasing English Wool. That Country itself (History both ancient and modern will tell us) did, and doth, produce good Wool in some Plenty; not only so, but Asia and Spain, which are much nearer to Italy, have always afforded better Wool, the latter especially, than that of England. And therefore it is to be supposed, that it was chiefly for the sake of vending their own Commodities, that the Italians courted an Intercourse directly with England, and which England for the like Reasons (i. e. for vending their Commodities) embraced, as often as the true Interest of the Nation was pursued.

P. S. There does not appear to have been any Tax or Subsidy of Wool during this whole Reign of Henry VIII. That is, there is no express Mention made of it, as in other Reigns, either in the English History, or the Statute Books. But as it had been from Edw. IV. constantly tacked to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, for Term of Life. And as Stephens, in his History of Taxes, (p. 180.) says of Henry VIII. 'Tonnage he had and Poundage once for a Year; and after for Term of Life;' so it is not probable that the Subsidy of Wools was intermitted; it is more likely to have been continued the same as in Hen. VII. (See Chap. 14. §. 3.)

Ch. 15: §. 29. Ch. 15: §. 33.

|| By this Act, the 33d of Hen. VIII. c. 16. for prohibiting the Exportation of Yarn, is made perpetual. And a Clause of 37 Hen. VIII. c. 15. (by which the buying of Wool (in Kent and twenty-seven Shires) was restrained to the Merchants of the Staple and Manufacturers only) is in Part repealed; viz. so far as that every Person dwelling in Norwich and Norfolk may by themselves, or Agents, buy Wool of the Growth of that County, and retail it out in open

2. A Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage granted to the King during his Life. c. 13. †

3. A. D. 1549. The Proprietors of Land, finding Rapine since the last Peace with France, the Woolen Trade vol. 2. flourished, took to breeding Sheep. To that End, they p. 15. caused their Grounds to be inclosed. This occasioned numberless Complaints and Murmurs among the common People. But the Nobility and Gentry still continued the same Course, without regarding the Consequences. In the last Session of Parliament, the Lords passed an Act for giving every one Leave to inclose his Ground if he pleased. But the Bill was thrown out by the Commons; and yet the Lords and Gentlemen went on inclosing their Lands. This bred an universal Discontent. The common People inflamed and animated by the Priests, the suppressed Monks, and those who were still addicted to the Romish Religion, rose in several Counties, and particularly in Norfolk. The seditious there sending their Complaints to the King, the Council answered in his Name. 'That touching their particular Complaints for reducing Lands and Farms to their ward's ancient Rents; altho' it could not be done by his ordinary Power, without a Parliament, yet he would so far extend his Authority Royal, as to give Charge to his 1549. G 4

open Market. The Reason assigned for this, in the Act, is, 'That almost the whole Number of poor Inhabitants of the County of Norfolk and City of Norwich had been used to get their Living by spinning of Norfolk Wool; which they used to purchase by eight Pennyworth or twelve Pennyworth at a time, selling the same again in Yarn.' And because the Grower chose not to parcel it out in such small Quantities, therefore for the Benefit of the Poor, the Statute of 37 Hen. VIII. c. 15. was so far forth repealed. Note, This shows the Use and Necessity of Wool Staplers, a sort of Dealers, which the richer Manufacturers, for monopolish Reasons, have often attempted to suppress.

† The Subsidy from Wool was 33 s. 4 d. the Sack, of Denizens; and of that exported by Strangers, 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. And therefore by this Act, I take the Clause 37 Hen. VIII. against Merchant Strangers (see Chap. 15. §. 33.) to be repealed, virtually at least. And this probably was one of the Reasons why Wool advanced in a few Years to a better Price than the Clothiers thought well of.

his Commissioners to travel with all Persons within their Counties, to reduce Lands to their former Rents, whereat they were farmed forty Years before; and that Rents should be paid at Michaelmas then next ensuing, according to that Rate.

Concerning their Complaint for Price of Wools, he would forthwith give Orders, that his Commissioners shall cause Clothiers to take Wools, paying only two Parts of the Price, whereat they were commonly sold the Year next before; and for the other third Part, the Owner and Buyer should stand to such Order as the Parliament should appoint.*

4. A. D. 1550. An Ambassador arrived from Gustavus King of Sweden, and concluded a Treaty of Commerce with England.

5. An

* The Reformation of Religion and the Dissolution of Monasteries was, no doubt, one great Cause of the general Murmurings at this Time. But more than that, the labouring Part of the People perceived themselves to be pinched, and could not tell what to attribute it to, with more Plausibility, than to Inclosures. And so much is true, that in Consequence thereof, Rents were raised, and Corn probably was dearer, and Labourers in Husbandry had for the present, less Employment. But Dearness of Wool we find also to have been equally a Topic of Complaint; and this could not be a Consequence of Inclosures; yet this Circumstance we find to have operated, as much as any, towards these Insurrections, which, it is to be observed, were chiefly in the Clothing Counties. But the principal real Grievance at this Time, of the poorer Manufacturers, they don't appear to have been sensible of, (and Historians since have overlooked it) which was, the State of the Coin. A Shilling, at this Time, contained but 40 Grains of Silver; so was not equal to one of our present Sixpences. This debasing of the Coin, which was now of near five Years standing, had undoubtedly given a nominal Advance to all things vendible; and tho' perhaps to Wages too, yet probably nothing near in proportion to the Difference of the Coin. And as the Money in which they were paid, not containing half the Silver as some little Time before, would not purchase half the Necessaries of Life as it was wont to do; that, in course, must needs have bore hard upon the lower Sort of People especially, who had every thing to buy, and nothing to sell, besides their Hand-Labour.

5. An Act for the true making of Woolen Cloths, 3-4 Edw. VI. c. 2. †

6. An Act for the true making of Woolen Cloths. 5-6 Edw. VI. c. 6. ‖

7. What Persons may buy and sell Wool, and who not, and at what times. † c. 7.

8. An Act limiting what Persons shall weave or make broad Woolen Cloth. * c. 8.

9. An Act for making of Hats, Dornecks and Coverlets in Norwich and Norfolk. c. 24. ∴

10. A. D. 1552. In these Times, it was conceived by many, that by erecting a Mart in England, or rather Sir J. Hayward's Marts, one at Southampton, the other at Hull, the Realm would be much enriched. Long Considerations were had about it. And in the End, the Thing was concluded upon. Edw. VI. But 1552,

† Describing sundry Abuses, and for Reformation of the same, in 15 Sections.

‖ Consisting of no less than 53 Sections, and shewing as well the vast Extent of, and Improvements in, the Woolen Manufacture, as the Increase of Abuses therein. It speaks of it in Kent, Sussex, and the Town of Reading; at Coventry and Worcester; in Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, Devonshire, Taunton, Bridgewater, Wales; of Northern Cloths, Manchester, Lancashire and Cheshire.

† This Act not printed.

* Persons who have been Apprentice to the Occupation, or who have been exercised or practised in and with the same, for the Space of seven Years.

∴ This Act recites, 'That the Manufacture of these particular Goods had been lately set up within the City of Norwich; since which, Persons not legally qualified for the same within the City, had withdrawn themselves into certain Towns nigh and about the same, and there followed that Occupation.' And therefore it provided, that 'no Person who had not served seven Years Apprenticeship to these Businesses in the City or County, should follow the same, unless licensed so to do, by the Mayor, Recorder, Steward, and two Justices of the Peace of the City of Norwich, or by four of them. And that no Person should follow the said Occupations, out of a Corporation or Market Town, except within the Town of Pulham.'

Burnet.

But the Execution was delayed, because || the Wool Fleet of SIXTY Sail was lately before departed for Antwerp, and could not possibly be called back. The King's Sickness next protracted the Design; and his Death put an End to the Project.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Merchants of the Stillyard.

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 24, 25.

1. A. D. 1552. About this Time, the Corporation of German Merchants, who lived in the Stillyard, † was dissolved, because it was become detrimental to England, by engrossing the whole Woolen Trade. It was proved that the Stillyard Men in the Year 1551, shipped 44000 Cloths, and all the English Merchants together did not export above 1100. The Regent of Flanders and the City of Hamburgh, earnestly solicited to have the Company restored, but it was to no Purpose. *

2. Sir

|| It is not certain that this Fleet, perhaps anciently so called, was now freighted entirely with Wool; the contrary is more probable; it being certain that Cloth now, notwithstanding the allowed Exportation of Wool, made a considerable Article in the English Trade, as may be seen in the following Chapter.

† See Chap. 12. §. 18.

* Henry the Third had been much supported in his Wars by the Assistance he received from the free Towns in Germany; in Recompence whereof, he gave them great Privileges in England; they were made a Corporation, and liv'd together in the Stillyard near the Bridge. They had gone sometimes, particularly in the Reign of Edward IV. beyond their Charters; which were thereupon judg'd to be forfeited; but by great Presents they purchased new ones. They traded in a Body, and so ruined others by underselling them. Trade was now risen much. Courts began to be more magnificent; so there was a greater Consumption of Cloth than formerly. † Antwerp and Hamburgh

Burnet, tom. 2. p. 207.

Strype, tom. 2. p. 5.

† About the Year 1550, it was a common thing to see 2500 Ships in the Scheld laden with all sorts of Merchandise. Memoirs of the Dutch Trade, p. 12.

2. Sir John Haywood in his Life and Reign of Edw. VI. gives somewhat a more distinct Account of this Matter. He says, 'the English Merchants exhibited a Bill at the Council Table against the Merchants of the Stillyard. After Answer by those of the Stillyard and Reply by the Adventurers, it was conceived, upon view of divers Charters, that the Merchants of the Stillyard were no sufficient Corporation, and their Numbers, Name and Nation, could not be known.' Also that when they had forfeited their Liberties, King Edw. VI. restored them upon Condition that they should cover no Strangers Goods; which they had not observed. And whereas at the Beginning, they shipped not above 80 Cloths, after that 100, after that 1000, after that 6000: At that Time 44000 Cloths were shipped in their Names every Year, and not above 1100 by all Strangers besides.

The material Difference between the two Accounts of Rapin and Sir John Haywood is, the former says, 'That the Stillyard Company exported in the last Year (viz. 1551) 44000 Cloths, and all the English Merchants together, not above 1100.' According to which Account, I conceive it is to be understood, that the whole English Woolen Exportation amounted, in that Year, to 45,100 Cloths, and no more. Whereas by the latter, there was exported that Number of Cloths by them and other Foreigners every Year, over and above what was exported by the English Merchants; which makes a wide Difference in the State of the English Cloth Trade at this Time.

3. Now the Merchant Adventurers, particularly, not only long before this had been, † but at this very Time were,

Hamburgh had then the chief Trade in these Parts of the World; and their Factors in the Stillyard (so called from the Steel imported by them) had all the Markets of England in their Hands, and set such Prices both on what they imported and exported, as they pleased; and broke all other Merchants. Whereupon the Merchants Adventurers complained of them; and after some Hearings, it was adjudged, that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was dissolved.

† See Chap. 14. §. 13, 14.

were, a numerous and rich Company ||, and therefore considering how great a Share that of Cloth then bore in the Trade of *England*; and that this Company professedly traded in Cloth chiefly, it is utterly improbable, that they did not ordinarily export at that Time, vastly more than their Parts of 1100 Cloths, as according to *Rapin*.

P. 10.

4. *Wheeler* speaking of this Company and that particular Branch of their Trade in the Time of Hen. VII. says, 'Whereas also the *Easterlings*, meaning the Merchants of the *Stillyard*, at this Time had entered into the said Trade, the prudent Prince Hen. VII. did not only straightly inhibit them so to do, but also took Recognizance of twenty thousand Marks of the Alderman of the *Stillyard* at *London*, that the said *Easterlings* should not carry any *English* Cloth to the Place of Residence of the Merchant Adventurers in the *Low Countries*, or open their Fardelles of Cloth in the said Countries, to the Prejudice of said Company, by putting the same to Vent there.' But indeed it appears by the Decree^a made against them, that they had not observed even this Condition. What follows will serve to make this whole Affair more intelligible.

^a See the Decree. *Wheeler*, p. 132-5.

Wheeler, p. 87.

5. Among other Privileges granted to these *German* Merchants in *England*, one was, that they might carry out and bring in their Wares and Merchandizes, for an old Custom of *one and a Quarter* upon the Hundred, and thereby were exempt from all personal and real Charge

|| *Wheeler**, who was Secretary to the Company, in his Treatise of Commerce, published in 1601, (p. 154-5.) tells, how that in *September 1549*, (which was but two Years before this Complaint) when King *Philip* of *Spain* came to take Possession of the *Low Countries*, 'Maister *John Sturgeon*, at that Time Governor of the Company, was at the receiving in of the said Prince, accompanied with thirty Merchants of the Company on Horseback, all richly equipped, and handsomely attended, nothing inferior to the Merchants of other Nations, namely, the *German*, *Easterlings*, *Italians*, *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, and furnishing some of them in costly Apparel, &c. whereby they wanne great Honour and Commendation to themselves and the whole *English* Name.'

* In 1601. This Writer reckons the Number of the Company of Merchants Adventurers to be not less than 3500. (See Ch. 25. §. 4.)

Charge or Contribution, which all other Merchants were subject unto, save that in time of Need, they were enjoined to repair and help to keep one of the Gates of *London* called *Bishopsgate*. Now this single Circumstance of their paying but *one and a Quarter* upon the Hundred, accounts for their doing all that was alledged against them, and for their final Dissolution; it accounts for their engrossing a large Share of Trade to themselves, and also for their Collusion with other Merchants and colouring their Goods with their Names, to the Injury of the Revenue and of fair Traders.

6. For that they had increased their Exportations from 80 to 44000 Cloths *per Ann.* was in itself no Crime. But their particular Privileges, in Point of Custom beyond other Merchants, both Strangers and *Denizens*, certainly was an Objection, such as the Merchants would be apt to make, and such as the State^b would readily give an Ear to. But as the Dissolution of this *German* Company is said to be, and certainly was, procured by the *Merchants Adventurers*, so we may be well assured that they brought it about by means of their Numbers, Riches and Power, and not by their Poverty. But how they could be numerous and rich, as Merchants, and particularly (which professedly they were) as Cloth-Merchants, without exporting largely, is inconceivable.

^b P. S. Note.

7. And therefore we must suppose, that either the whole annual Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from *England*, about the Year 1551, was ordinarily more than to the amount of 45100 Cloths; and that there was some Management on the Part of the *Merchants Adventurers*, in withholding their usual Exportations for the Space of that one Year, in order to furnish a better Handle of Complaint against the *Stillyard* Merchants, for the sake of compassing their intended Purposes against them; or else the *Merchants Adventurers* for the saving of Duty, were guilty of colouring their own Goods under the Names of Merchants of the *Stillyard*; and so were at the same Time Complainants and Aggressors both. And this is not very improbable, altho' it was only objected to the Merchants of the *Stillyard*; that they coloured other, *Strangers* Goods.

8. However that was, whether the Estimate was taken from the known Exportations of that Period upon a Medium,

Burleigh's a Medium, or only from the particular Account which State Papers had appear'd the Year before: In Burleigh's State Papers we find as follows, P. 127.

Provisions for Payments.

Uncerten. Imprimis, Of the Merchants Adventurers to be borrowed upon their Cloths 30,000 l. 1 December.

For the Devise to pay the Debt at November.

To procure the Prest upon every Cloth now going out of the Realm; which if they come in Nombre to 40000 l. having twenty Shillings upon the Cloth, cometh to 40,000 l. if one Mark, 40,000 Marks. †

Ch. 12. P. S. Thus we perceive, contrary to what we shall find frequently asserted by Persons attempting the History of the English Woolen Manufacture, that from Edw. III.

Chap. 14. it had been a growing Business, and that the Exportation of Cloth, for some Ages, had been, and now was, very considerable. And here therefore may be noted an Error in

Chap. 15. this particular, of two illustrious foreign Historians, who have been quoted by some of our modern Writers * in this Case,

Chap. 16. §. 6. Note. † Because the King was to make Payment of 48000 l. beyond the Seas, and had but 14000 l. towards the Sum,

Chap. 17. three hundred of the chief Merchant Adventurers granted to him a Loan of 40,000 l. for three Months, to be levied from the Cloths, which they were then to transport, after the Rate of 20 s. for every Cloth. But these Adventurers went not upon any Adventure, because at that shipping 40,000 Broad Cloths were by them transported.

Sir John Hayward, 1552. Hence it should seem, that the whole annual Exportations of Cloth from England, did about this Time far exceed 45100 Cloths; and also that the Merchant Adventurers had the Year before with-held their usual Exportations, as above conjectured (§. 7.)

* Grotius, of the Reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, says, 'At that Time the Pastures of Britain, with the only Produce of their Wool, did almost answer all Importations from foreign Parts; although nothing was fetched out of the Island, but RAW WOOL in the FLEECE.'

A Method in order to re-establish the Woolen Manufacture of England, &c. By Mr. Lowndes. 1745. P. 13, 14.

Case, and whose Authority has probably misled many others; I mean Grotius † and Thuanus ‖. These two eminent Persons date the Beginning of the English Woolen Trade low as the middle of the sixteenth Century; till which Time, they represent the Bulk of the People of England as only Shepherds and Husbandmen, and the English Merchants, as mere Exporters of raw Wool.

CHAP.

† Grotius speaking of the original Differences between the English and Germans, gives for History as follows:

Originem ejus Certaminis, quando Belgicas partes Grotius de eventu attingit, altius ordiar. Proximis seculis summa rebus Belg, mercaturæ Germanicas penes civitates fuit. Nec tantum lib. 7. sed & Londini forum posuere: ubi postquam fide p. 307, & utilitate claruerant, permixtum à regibus ut modico 308. vectigali res venales commutarent. Sed eo etiam tempore pascuus Britannia ager prope solo lanitii proventus externis advectionibus respondebat; nec rudia præter vellera quicquam ex Insula petebatur, DONEC Belgæ domestica periti mala, & diversis de causis exules, ut alia alias gentes, ita purgandæ inficiendæque lanæ usum ANGLORUM docerent. EDVARDI id principatu contigit, qui intentus novi quæstus partem ad ærarium trahere, sentiebat se Anstatiis pactioibus impediri. Quæstus igitur criminibus queis olim concessa eriperentur, Britannii cuncta evertere, &c. Hinc Invidia & ad Imperatorem querelæ.

‖ Thuanus yet wider from the Truth.

In Belgio Albanus rebus feliciter bello gestis, ubi initio anni Bruxellas rediit, de novis Episcopis ubique constituendis, & Inquisitionis telo in suspectos stringendo cogitare cepit, citatisque ad concilium sanguinarium, quod vocant, plerisque, multos terrore injecto solum vertere coegit; opificibusque quibus Belgium supra cunctas orbis provincias abundat statim ob placitorum severitatem dilabentibus, ingens vastitas ubique & tristis rerum facies apparuit. Britannia proxima illis perfugium fuit, quo exules lectum pannorum texturam intulerunt & eam Anglos antea agriculturæ & pecuariæ solum deditos magna Belgici opificii jactura docuerunt, tantoque numero in insulam confluxerunt ut urbes aliquot infrequentes ac pene desolatæ, ac Norvicam præcipue, Colchestram, Maidstonum, Sandwicham, Hamptonum, & alias instaurarint.

Thuanus, lib. 46. 1569. Ch. 11. §. 24. Chap. 12. §. 10. Note. Chap. 16. §. 1. Note. §. 9. Note. Chap. 18. §. 4. Note.

C H A P. XVIII.

Queen MARY: PHIL. and MARY.

i. **A** Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage. 1 M. Sess.

2. c. 18. *

2. An Act touching Cloth making in Corporate Towns and Market Towns. Sess. 3. c. 7. †

3. A. D. 1554. The Queen suspends the Act against the German Merchants.

4. An Act for making of Ruffets, Sattins, Sattins-Reverses and Fustians of Naples in Norwich ||. 1, 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 14.

5. An

Stephens's History of Taxes, p. 237. * The Subsidy of Wools therein included, and the same who were to pay 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. the Sack for Wool; in like manner as Merchant Strangers.

N. B. By this we may conceive, that Merchants of the Staple lost a Privilege as Denizens, which they had enjoyed without Interruption, from Ed. IV. of being, tho' not the sole, yet the chief Exporters of Wool; and that the Custom on Wool exported was, in effect, raised to twice as much as before, from Ed. IV. it had been. For while Denizens had it in their Power to export Wool, paying but half the Custom as Strangers did, it is to be imagined, that, excepting what passed the Streights, the greatest Part of the Wool exported went through their Hands. But the Value of Money being now much altered from what it was in Ed. IV. and the Woolen Manufacture in England being also much increased, this Advance of Custom, on Denizens exporting Wool, became not only more reasonable, but, if it did not amount to a Prohibition, answered all beneficial Purposes to the English Woolen Manufacture, as well as, or better than, a Prohibition ever has done, or can do. See c. 26. §. 6.

† This Act repeals that of 5, 6 Ed. VI. c. 8. † By which no Persons were permitted to make broad Cloth, who had not been Apprentices to the Occupation, or &c. for seven Years: and permits the making of such Cloth to all Persons inhabiting Market Towns, provided the same be substantially made, bearing lawful Length, Breadth, &c. according to the Statute 5 Ed. VI. c. 6.

|| These were certain Sorts of Woolen Goods, which, the Acts says, 'Had been used to be made abroad of English

5. An Act touching Weavers. 2-3 Phil. and Mary, c. 11. †

6. An

English Wools, and then imported into, and worn within the Kingdom, to the Injury of its Trade and Manufacture, particularly that of the City of Norwich. For Remedy whereof certain Persons, viz. the Mayor and others of that City, to the Number of twenty-one Persons, had been at the Expence of procuring Strangers skilled in that Work, and also of making of Looms, and all other Provisions for the same; and having made some Progress in the Business, were hereby made a Fellowship or Company, and Body Corporate, with separate Laws and Privileges.

† This Act recites, 'That the rich and wealthy Clothiers did oppress the poor Weavers, 1. By setting up and keeping in their Houses divers Looms. 2. By engrossing Looms into their Hands, and letting them out at high Rents. 3. By lowering their Wages.' Therefore enacted, 'That no Clothier out of a Borough, Market Town, or Corporate Town, shall have above one Loom. No Weaver dwelling out of a City, &c. shall have above two Looms. No Weaver shall be either Tucker, Fuller, or Dyer. No Fuller or Tucker shall keep a Loom. No Person shall cause any white broad Woolen Cloths to be made, but in a City, &c. or where such Cloths have been made for the space of ten Years before. No Weaver dwelling out of a City, &c. shall have above two Apprentices at one time. None shall set up Weaving, unless he have been Apprentice to, or have exercised the same seven Years. This Act shall not extend to York, Cumberland, and Northumberland.'

And what are all these but so many Evidences of the Trade's Increase, and of the Spirit of Monopoly growing up along with it?

Upon a Creation of Serjeants 16 October, A. D. 1555, Dugdale's 2, 3 Philip and Mary, Mr. Albany, a Draper in Watling-Origines street, was appointed to furnish them with Cloth, viz. Juridica-

Every Serjeant for his Robe of Scarlet, five Yards and a half, at _____ £ 33 s. 4 d. a Yard. See C. 14. p. 129.

Of Violet in Grain, for a like Robe, five Yards and an half, at _____ 16 0 a Yard. §. 7.

Of brown Blue, for a like Robe, five Yards and an half, at _____ 14 0 a Yard.

Of Mustard and Murrey, for a like Robe, five Yards and an half, at _____ 10 0 a Yard.

H

Ch. 48.
9, 10.

6. An Act for the sealing and viewing of Cloths, commonly called Bridgwaters. c. 12. *

7. An Act for the Inhabitants of Halifax to buy Wools. c. 13. †

Goodwin's Life of Q. Mary, 1557. 8. A. D. 1557. About the Beginning of this Year, came to England Osep Napea, from Evan Basilowitz Emperor of Russia, to treat a perpetual Peace and Friendship between the two States ||. On the Coast of Scotland

* This Act recites, That the Mystery of Cloth-working in Somersetshire had extended itself from the Towns into Villages; and to obviate certain Abuses there grown up, ordains, That no such Cloths shall be sold before they be viewed, searched, and sealed.

† This is the first Mention made in the Statute Book of a Woolen Manufacture at this Place. And yet the Act recites, 'That the Inhabitants of that Parish, and other Places thereunto adjoining, did live altogether by Cloth-making; and that above 500 Households were thereby increased within 40 Years then past.' It was made to take off so far, the Restriction of 37 Hen. VIII. c. 15. as to permit, under certain Limitations, the Inhabitants of Halifax to buy Wool, and retail it out for the Benefit of poor Craftsmen there, who could not purchase it in larger Quantities.

Ch. 15. §. 33.

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 46. Note 1.

Life and Reign of Q. Eliz.

|| 'Three English Ships having first in the Year 1553 failed to Russia under the Conduct of Sir Henry Willoughby, in order to settle a Trade in that Country: In the Year 1555, Queen Mary incorporated the Merchant Adventurers to these Parts into a Company, consisting of four Consuls, and 24 Assistants; and Sebastian Cabot, born at Bristol, of Genoese Parents, was constituted Governor, being the chief Encourager of this Branch of Trade.'

Camden's Account of this Matter is: 'Whilst some Merchants of the City of London, the chief whereof were Andrew Judd, George Barnes, William Gerard and Anthony Hufsey, were attempting a Passage through the North Channel into Cathay, in the Year 1553, under the Conduct of Sir Hugh Willoughby, who was frozen to Death; Richard Chancellor, who was the next Adventurer, was so lucky as to discover one into Russia, till then unknown, by the Mouth of the River Dwina. Hither the Emperor sent some Sleds to carry him and his Company to Moscow. He received and dismissed them with great Courtesy; promising the English vast Advantages, if they would open a Trade into his Country. Nor was he a little

Scotland he suffered Shipwreck, and lost, besides abundance of rich Goods, all the Presents sent from his Master to our Court. But this Loss was a Trifle, compared to that of Richard Chancellor, worthy of immortal Memory, a most skillful Pilot, that first discovered the Passage to those Northern Parts, and now more solicitous for the Ambassador's Safety, than for his own, was swallowed up in the Sea.

9. An Act touching the making of Woolen Cloth. † 4-5 Phil. and Mary.

H 2 CHAP.

'little pleased to find, that foreign Wares might be so easily imported by Sea into Russia; which the Russian had before brought to them with a great deal of Difficulty by the Way of Narva, and the Countries of Poland, which held no Agreement with them.'

'As soon as Chancellor return'd, and gave this Account, and how high a Rate English Cloths were sold at in those Parts, and what a cheap Rate Flax and Hemp, Wax and richer sort of Furs, went at there; those Merchants procured the Queen's Patent to establish themselves into a Company, called The Muscovy Company; who having many Privileges granted them by the Emperor, settled a vast Trade, and sent a Fleet thither once a Year.'

† This Act recites, 'that 5-6 Edw. VI. c. 6. was by great Deliberation and Advice, one good Act, for the true and perfect making of Woolen Cloth; since which, divers Clothiers found themselves aggrieved, it being impossible to observe the same in all Points; and therefore this was made by way of Mitigation in some Particulars. It contains 38 Sections. Sect. 32 enacts, 'that no Person shall make Woolen Cloth, but only in a Market Town where Cloth hath commonly been used to be made, by the Space of ten Years last past, or in a City, Borough, or Town corporate.' But then with this Exception, (§. 36.) which says, 'It shall be lawful to all Persons which shall dwell in North Wales or South Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, Bishoprick of Durham, Cornwall, Suffolk, Kent, the Town of Godalmin in Surrey, or Yorkshire, being not within 12 Miles of the City of York, or any Towns or Villages near the River Stroud, in the County of Gloucestershire, where Cloths have been usually made, to use the Mystery, &c. out of a City, Borough, or Market Town.'

In 53 Sections.

For 20 Years past.

The Places here mentioned, are sufficient to give another Idea of the State of the Woolen Manufacture at this Time in

C H A P. XIX.

Queen ELIZABETH.

1. *AN Act for shipping in English Bottoms.* 1 Eliz. c. 13. *2. *An*

in England, than what we receive from the Generality of Writers. And yet these are not by near, all the Places in England, considerable at *this Time* for that Manufacture. Nor were they the Places then most considerable in that Respect. There were besides, which have occurred before in the Stat. Books, London and the Suburbs, Somersetsbire, Devonshire, Coventry and Warwickshire, Norwich, Norfolk, Essex, Winchester, Sarum, Wiltshire, Worcester and Worcesterbire.

¹ Ch. 15.
§. 25.

^k §. 5.
Note.

^l See
Chap. 19.
§. 2. Note.

^m Ch. 26.
§. 6.

In this last County it was expressly provided, 25 Hen. c. 18. That no one should make Cloth, except within the City of Worcester, the Towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster and Bromesgrove. And by 2-3 Phil. and Mary, Ch. 11. §. 6. ^k No Person might make, or cause to be made, any kind of broad white Woolen Cloths out of a City, &c. where they had not been commonly made by the Space of ten Years: And this Act ordains further, as in Sect. 32: But with Exceptions as in Sect. 36. so that with regard to Worcesterbire, the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. was yet in Force. And in many Parts besides, many good Clothing Towns were precluded by it ^l, as if there was Danger of the Woolen Manufacture increasing too much. Such at this Time was the Nature of the Monopolish Avarice of Woolen Manufacturers in England. Which after all must be looked upon as a good Symptom in the main. For had not the Trade been then in a growing Condition, Laws to restrain Persons from entering into the Business, had been quite useless. Accordingly we shall find ^m, that the Cloth Trade of England in this Reign, was grown to such a Pitch that the Trade of exporting Wool was almost wholly decayed.

* It was provided (§. 4.) that Merchant Adventurers and those of the Staple, in their several Fleets and Shippings of Cloth and Wool out of the River Thames, as they were made only twice in one Year at the most, might for want of a sufficient Number of English Ships at such Times, use those of Strangers into the Parts of Flanders, Holland, Zealand or Brabant.

2. *An Act for the continuing and making of Woolen Cloths in divers Towns † in the County of Essex.* c. 14.

3. A Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage granted to the Queen during her Life. c. 20. (*the same as to Queen Mary.*)

4. *An Act avoiding divers foreign Wares made by Craftsmen beyond the Seas.* 5 Eliz. c. 7. ||

C H A P. XX.

Queen ELIZABETH.

1. *A. D. 1564.* At this Time the Commerce between England and the Netherlands was entirely broke by the Artifices of Cardinal Granvelle. As he foresaw a War was going to be kindled in the Low Countries, he was willing to remove the English, and for that Purpose, had prevailed with the Governess to forbid the Importation of English Cloths. This Prohibition obliged the English to set up a Staple for their Cloths at Embden, a Town at East-Friesland. But a new Embassador (*Don Diego Gusman de Sylva*) sent into England by Philip, considering that his Majesty's Subjects would from this Interruption of Commerce, receive no less Damage than the English, brought this Affair to a Negotiation. As there occurred great † Difficulties, it was mutually

H 3

† Bocking, Westbarfold, Cockshal and Dedham, which Towns not being Market Towns, nor particularly mentioned in 4 and 5 of Phil. and Mary, were by that Act precluded; altho' (the Act says) they were fair Towns for the Purpose, and had been a long time inhabited with Cloth Makers.

|| This Act prohibiting several Manufactures of the Netherlands, was made a Handle and Pretence for an ensuing Quarrel and Breach of Commerce; tho' another, and probably the chief Cause was, Differences on the Score of Religion. (See Ch. 20. §. 1. Note.)

‡ The Netherlanders complained of the Imposition of unreasonable Customs on their Wares, and likewise of the Prohibition by Act ⁿ of Parliament (5 Eliz. c. 7.) of many of their Manufactures.

ⁿ Ch. 19.
§. 4. Note.

mutually agreed, that the Treaty of Commerce, called the *great Intercourse* †, made in the Time of *Maximilian*, should subsist till one of the Parties notified the contrary to the other, with the Allowances of 40 Days to the Merchants to withdraw their Effects. This Affair was very important to both Nations. *Camden* says, in his Time, 'the Commerce between England and the Netherlands rose yearly to above twelve Millions, and that the Woolen Trade alone rose yearly to above five Millions.' This is *Rapin's Account*, for which he quotes *Camden*.

2. But *Rapin* does not give it as he received it from *Camden*; who does not say in his Time, but at this Time † (meaning plainly the Year 1564, of which he was writing) 'the Commerce between England and the Netherlands rose yearly to above twelve Millions of † Gold, and the Cloth Trade to above five Millions.'

Here then is to be considered, 1. what this Account amounts to; 2. the Credibility of it.

3. The Latin Word which *Camden* has made use of, may stand indifferently for any Gold Coin. The Question is, how it was commonly used, or rather what *Camden* intended by it in this Place. And there is no doubt but that he meant by it either *Florins* or *Ducats*, (the Coins by which Reckonings were then chiefly made at *Antwerp*) and the latter of which therefore the Translator of his Annals has adopted; or else *Angels*, *Nobles*, or *Crowns*, as *English Coins*; by any of which it was not uncommon to reckon, as well as by the Pound *Sterling*. That it was not *Angels*, I conclude; because *Camden* in a subsequent Passage upon another Occasion, using the same Word, adds, those which we call *Angels*. To suppose the very least then, *Florins* of 3 s. each, the annual Exports of Woolen Goods at that Time, from England

† All Orders and Decrees contrary thereto, from the first of *January* in the first of *Eliz.* on both Sides were suspended, consequently 5 *Eliz.* c. 7.

† 'Certe hoc nostro Tempore (ex rationum Tabulis loquor) Commercium inter Anglos & Belgas 12 Millions Aureorum in singulos Annos superavit, & Panni Anglici (ut Plumbum, Stannum & cetera taceam) Antwerpianam quotannis Exportati 5 Millionibus aureorum sunt estimati.'

England to *Antwerp* only amounted to 750,000 l. *Sterling*.

4. This was an immense Sum for those early Days of *English Trade*; and yet is there nothing incredible in it, all Things considered. For *Camden* tells us, that what he says is most unquestionably true; and that he has it from good Books of Accounts. Nor is he less to be regarded than other Historians ||, nor less in this Particular, but much more than many others, in some Instances of a like Nature. For it was so near his own Times, that he was a good Judge of the Probability of Things which he had occasion to relate. He was himself a Man of nice Observation; had, he says in his Preface, *Lord Burleigh's*, and the Queen's own Collection of Papers, besides other Helps. He had no Bias upon his Mind, in this Case especially; it being a Point in which Passion or Party, Favour or Prejudice, had not then the least Concern.

5. This Account of the high Pitch of the *English Woolen Trade* will receive further Confirmation from other Circumstances. 1. A Review of these Memoirs plainly discovers it to have been in a progressive State from the 6th of *Edw. III.* viz. the Year 1331; which was now full 233 Years. 2. 'About ° the Year 1450; ° *DeWitt's* 'or soon after, the *Hollanders* lost again most of those *Maxims*, 'Flemish and *Brabant* Manufactures, which they (as part 3. 'well as the *English*) had begun to gain soon after the chap. 3. 'Year 1300; (which Loss to *Holland* was no doubt some Gain to the *Woolen Trade* of *England*.) 3. From the Beginning of *Hen. VII.* which was now near 80 Years, many other Things had conspired to render the Trade of *England*, and the *Woolen Trade* in particular, considerably great. This Prince as a wise Man, and withal a Lover of Money, gave great Attention to Trade, and especially to Manufacture †. 4. With the Reign of
H 4 Hen.

|| 'His Annals of *Queen Elizabeth*, as long as Time shall last, is like to be the standing History of that Reign; no less than *Cæsar's Commentaries* will be of the *Gaulick Wars*.'

Bishop Gibson's Pref. to Camden's Britannia.

† See Chap. 14. §. 2, 4, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17.

Rapin,
vol. 1.
p. 736.

Hen. VIII. commenced the famous League of *Cambray* * against the State of *Venice*, then a flourishing Republick in Trade and Manufacture, as well as in Extent of Dominion; which League involved all *Italy*, (at that Time also deep in the Woolen Manufacture † as well as the *Venetians*) *France*, the *Emperor*, and the King of *Spain* in a War of almost nine Years; in which the *Venetians* particularly were engaged from the Beginning to the End, and expended no less than five Millions of Ducats of the public Treasure, besides the infinite Damage sustained by the Subjects; of which the Interruption of their Commerce and Manufacture must have been none of the least. And which it may be conceived, did naturally contribute to the Advancement of the Woolen Manufacture in *England*. 5. As did soon after || the Peace in *Italy*, the Discovery of *New Spain*, by which Gold and Silver becoming more plentiful in *Europe*, Trade every way was greatly increased. 6. Moreover the Treaty of Commerce concluded with *Sweden* ‡ in *Edw.* VI. and with *Russia* : in *Phil.* and *Mary* (which Trade was wholly new) must needs have been very propitious to the Woolen, which was then almost the sole Manufacture of this Kingdom, and in which its Trade then most peculiarly consisted.

6. A Treatise § wrote about this Time, may be considered as a farther collateral Proof of *Camden's* Evidence in this Case. In this Treatise it is urged as a Grievance, and charged (by Mistake) upon the Merchants, ' that

* Chap. 14. §. 19. Note.
† Chap. 9. §. 12. Chap. 11. §. 17, 19. Note. §. 21.
|| Chap. 15. §. 12. ‡ Chap. 16. §. 4.
∴ Chap. 18. §. 8. Note.

§ Intituled *The Customers Reply*; or, *Answer to a confused Treatise of Commerce*, &c. Printed in 1604. But wherein is the following marginal Note, ' *This Treatise was written about the Time of the Colloquy of Bruges, which was holden in Annis 1564 & 1565.*' The Title and Preface make it to be an Answer to *Wheeler of Commerce*, 1601. (See Chap. 25.) But the Treatise itself, tho' levelled at the Merchant Adventurers, and of the Staple, has no Reference to *Wheeler*, or any thing advanced by him; whence I conclude it to be the second Edition of a Piece wrote and first published (as the printed marginal Note informs us) about the Year 1564.

' all manner of Wares and Commodities, as well of the Realm as of all foreign Realms, had risen to huge, immoderate and excessive Prices.' It does not mention the particular Price of any one Commodity, but informs us, ' that when *Hen. VIII.* for the Benefit of his People (as he terms it) raised the nominal Value of the several Species of Coin then current (or rather he should have said, debased the Coin itself) thereupon began to grow some Disorder of Price in all Wares and Commodities; which *Edw. VI.* thought to help, by diminishing still more the Quantity of Silver in each Coin (*viz.* from 40 to 20 ^p) but the Consequence was, that the *English* Pound, heretofore exchanged abroad for 26 *Flemish* Shillings, became worth no more than 13 *Flemish* Shillings. And *English* Commodities rose in Proportion to double the Price, *English* Money, i. e. nominally.' This our Writer nonsensically attributes to the Selfish Management of the Merchant Adventurers and Staplers, as if Money in Trade was not a Commodity, as well as other Things, and considered only as so much Bullion.

Thus says he, ' The Clothiers which came to *Blackwell-Hall*, set their Prices on their Cloths, as they learned of the Merchants the Price of Money abroad at the *Mart Towns*, and not according to the Valuation thereof given and proclaimed by the Prince.'

As if it were to be expected that the Proclamation of a Prince could have made half an Ounce of Silver equal to an Ounce, in foreign Countries especially (where a great Share of this Cloth brought to *Blackwell-Hall*, was destined.) This Writer continues his Charge against the Merchants, and says, ' After *Queen Elizabeth* had restored the Coin to its true Purity and Weight, still the Price of all manner of Commodities, native and foreign, remained much as they were before,' viz. double of what they had been. And this, however the Matter might be mistaken at that Time, could proceed from no other Cause, than from a vast Increase of Trade, and thereby an extraordinary Flow of Money. And tho' our Author has not, as before observed, mentioned the Price at this Time of any one Commodity, yet, from Circumstances we may gather pretty nearly that of *Wool*, in the following manner, viz.

By

^a See Chap. 15. §. 24. Note. By 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.^a the then best Price of Wool appears to have been about 5 s. per Stone*. Which, according to this Writer, advancing with other Things, to double its Value, nominally, upon the Debasement of the Coin; and retaining with other Things, much the same nominal Value, after the Coin was reduced to its due Purity and Weight, (there is some Ground to believe) was now sold for about 10 s. per Stone, 20 s. per Tod; and this Conjecture we shall see confirmed presently by a reasonable Testimony †.

7. Lastly, it is to be noted here, that tho' *Antwerp* was at this Time the greatest Mart of *Europe*, yet the whole Exportation of Woolen Goods from *England*, was not brought under the Account of Exportations to that Place only. There was besides, *Amsterdam* ||, *Hamburgh*,^b *Scotland*,^c *Ireland*, probably some Parts of *France*; certainly *Sweden* §. 1. Note. and *Russia* ‡, to which Cloths were exported directly from *England*, if not some to the Streights too. So that if we fix the ordinary annual Exportations of *English* Goods in this Period, at ONE MILLION, two or three hundred thousand Pounds, I think is not going beyond the Bounds of Probability. And therefore, all Circumstances

^a See Ch. 4. P. 8. * Which, the Shilling containing then 118 Grains, was nearly equal to 7 s. 6 d. present Silver Coin of *Great Britain*; and to 15 s. of the Money of 37 *Henry VIII.* and 3 *Edward VI.* when the Shilling contained but 40 Grains; and to 30 s. of 5 *Edward VI.* when it was reduced to 20 Grains.

So that it is not at all to be wonder'd at, if, according not only to vulgar, but even general Apprehensions of the more intelligent in those Days, when the Nature of Money was less consider'd and understood, all Commodities had rose to huge, immoderate, excessive Prices.

† Chap. 23. §. 11.

|| 'The Trade to the Eastern Countries, since the breaking in of the Inlet or Passage into the *Texel*, about the Year 1400, when the River *Ye* began to be navigated with great Ships, settled by degrees mostly at *Amsterdam*.
De Witt's Maxims, &c. Chap. 11.

'Before *Antwerp* was taken by the Prince of *Parma* (1585) *Amsterdam* was, next to it, the greatest mercantile City of the *Netherlands*.' Chap. 12.

‡ Chap. 16. §. 4. Chap. 18. §. 8. Note.

stances laid together (such as the Difference of the Value of Money, the Introduction of *Spanish* Wool since that Time, &c.) it appears, that the Woolen Exportation Trade, so far as regards the Consumption of the *English* Produce WOOL, was in this Period at least as considerable as it has been at many Times since, and much more considerable than in some later Periods.

And yet this was not only a Time when Wool might lawfully be, and actually was exported; but it is a Period which all modern Writers upon this Subject have overlooked, as much as if no such Thing as a Woolen Manufacture in *England*, especially any foreign Trade for Woolen Goods of *English* make, had then existed; dating the first Rise thereof four Years later, viz. from the Year 1568, which I therefore note as another, and an extraordinary Instance of false History, which it is very fit should be corrected, not only because it is false, but because such Inferences are drawn from it, as commonly do attend Premises which are not true.

CHAP. XXI.

Queen ELIZABETH.

1. AN Act against carrying over Sea, Rams, Lambs, or Sheep alive. 8 Eliz. c. 3. *
2. An Act touching Clothworkers and Cloth ready wrought, to be shipped over Sea. c. 6. †
3. An Act touching Drapers, Cottoners and Frizers of Shrewsbury. c. 7. ||
4. An

* The Act says, 'It was for divers good Causes and Considerations moved in Parliament;' but does not mention what those were. (See Chap. 11. §. 4. Note.)

† 'For every nine Cloths unwrought (i. e. undressed, not barbed, rowed, coursed, shorn, &c.) to be carried beyond the Seas, contrary to the Statute, by force of any Licence, the Party shall carry over one like Woolen Cloth ready wrought and dressed. No Licence for transporting Cloths shall extend to *Kentish* and *Suffolk* Cloths.'

|| This was a monopolish Act, obtained in order to restrain the buying and selling at *Shrewsbury*, a Species of Woolen

4. *An Act for the Aulnagers Fee in Lancashire, and for Lengih, Breadth and Weight of Cottons, Frizes and Rugs.* c. 12.

C H A P. XXII.

Queen ELIZABETH.

Camden,
1568.

1. *A. D.* 1568. The Queen gave a courteous Reception to such of the *French*, as were forced on the Score of Religion to fly their Country. The same she did to the *Netherlanders*, who flocked to *England* in vast Multitudes, as a Retreat from the Storm of the Duke of *Alva's* Cruelties practised against them. She gave them the Liberty of settling themselves at *Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone* and *Southampton*; which turned to the great Advantage of *England*; for they were the first that brought into the Nation the Art of making those *light Stuffs*, called *Bays** and *Says*, and other Linen and Woolen Cloths of the same kind.

Rapin,
vol. 2.
p. 88.

2. *A. D.* 1569. A sudden Quarrel between the Queen and the King of *Spain*, obliging the *English* Merchants to send their Effects to *Hamburgh*, the Duke of *Alva* prohibited all Commerce with *England*. Then he appointed

Woolen Goods called *Welsh Cloth*, and another Sort called *Lining*, only to Persons free of a particular Company there incorporated. This was falsely alledged to be at the Instance, and for the Benefit of the Poor of that Place. But a short Experience proving the Reverse, it was repealed 14 *Eliz.* c. 12.

* See (Chap. 26. §. 3. Note.) *Bays* mentioned among the Woolen Goods of *England* prohibited in 1564; consequently *Camden* or *Wheeler* was so far mistaken.

Ch. 15.
§. 17. Note.

Also (14, 15 *Hen.* VIII. c. 3. §.) *Says* are mentioned with *Worsted* and *Stammins*, as Part of the Manufacture of *Yarmouth*. 'Tis true, these Refugees have been great Makers of *Bays* and *Says*; but the Arts they introduced as wholly new, I take to have been (besides many others in *Silk* and *Worsted*, as also *Linen*) that of *Stocking-Frame-Weaving*. (See Chap. 92. §. 10.)

appointed certain Spies † in all the Sea Ports, to give him Information of those that acted contrary to the Prohibition.

3. The *English* Merchants met with no better Treatment in *Spain* than in the *Netherlands*. *Philip* ordered all their Effects to be seized, by way of Reprisal, for the Money stopped in *England*.

4. At this Time also there was a Stop put to the *Camden, Russian* Trade, as well as that with the *Netherlands*, 1569. occasioned partly by the Unfaithfulness of the several Factors, and the unhappy Quarrels among themselves, and partly through the Odium that they lay under with the *Germans* and *Russians*; the latter complaining of their fraudulent Arts in raising the Price of their Goods; and the *Germans* and *English* that belonged not to the *Russia* Company, that they had engrossed the Trade and set up a Monopoly ||. But the Queen speedily sent thither

† Searchers, to hinder them from bringing in, or exporting any Goods from the *Netherlands*. An active and busy Man among these Commissioners was *John Story*, an *English* Renegade Lawyer, who being kidnapp'd on board a Ship, which was reported to have brought over *English* Goods, and some heretical Books and Writings, they presently set sail and carried him to *England*, where he was afterwards executed.

What is most remarkable in these Accounts we have of the several Ruptures and Prohibitions of Trade between *England* and the Low Countries, is, that we neither find the former laying any particular Restraint upon Wool exported, in regard to the *Netherlands*; nor have we any Intimations of the latter, for their own Interest, conniving at the Importation of Wool from *England*, tho' all other Intercourse was prohibited; both which, methinks, might have been expected, if *English* Wool alone had then been looked upon as the sole Foundation of the Order of the Golden Fleece there, the real Source of their immense Trade and Wealth; i. e. if it had been so far superior in its Nature to all other Wool, as that they could not have dispensed with the Want of it.

|| There is nothing in this, but what might naturally be expected. It is easy to imagine, that under such Circumstances of Monopoly, one Part of the *English* Merchants would want Moderation sufficient to confine their Gains within tolerable Bounds, so as to preserve Appearances; another Part would have too much Spirit, to permit them

thither Sir *Thomas Randolph*, who made up Matters and so managed the *Czar*, that he obtained diverse Privileges for the *Russia Company*.

Camden,
1573.

5. *A. D.* 1573. In *January* this Year, the Commerce which had been prohibited between the *Netherlanders* and the *English*, in the same Month of the Year 1568, was now at last permitted for two Years; and the Articles agreed upon at *Bristol* upon that Account, were ratified by the *Spaniard* in *June*. †

1576.

6. *A. D.* 1576. The most beautiful City of *Antwerp*, which hardly yielded to any the most flourishing Mart Towns in all *Europe*, was miserably sacked by the *Spaniards*, the Houses of the *English* Merchants plundered and rifled, and they themselves, tho' free of Blame, constrained to pay the Soldiers a great Sum of Gold for their Ransom.

7. *A. D.* 1579. About this Time the Grand Signior *Amurath Cham*, upon Treaty betwixt *William Harbourn* an *English* Man, and *Mustapha Bey* a *Turkish* *Bashaw*, granted that the *English* Merchants might freely traffick throughout the whole Empire, in like manner as the *French*, the *Venetians*, the *Polonians*, the King of the *Germans*, and the other neighbouring Nations did. Whereupon they by the Queen's Authority and Privilege, grew up into a Society or Company; which being called the *Turkey Company*, have ever since found a very gainful Trade to *Constantinople*, *Angori*, *Scio*, *Petrizzo*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and elsewhere in *Asia*, for Spices, Cottons, raw Silk, Tapestry, *Indian Dye*, &c. *

CHAP.

to enjoy the Benefits of such Monopoly without Envy and Molestation.

† *Persons dwelling in the Counties of Somerset, Gloucester, and Wilts, out of Corporate Towns, may make Cloths, notwithstanding the Statute 4, 5 Philip and Mary, c. 5. 18 Eliz. c. 16.*

Ch. 18.
§. 9.

* *An Act for abolishing certain deceitful Stuff † used in dying of Cloth, &c. 23 Eliz. c. 9.*

† *Logwood*, which, it seems, the People of *England* did not then understand how to use properly.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Compendium or brief Examination of certayn ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen in these our Days: which although they are in some Part unjust and frivolous, yet they are all by way of Dialogue, thoroughly debated and discussed. By *W. S. Gent.* 1581.

Knight, Doctour, Capper, Merchaunt, Husbandmen.

1. *H*usbandman. *Mary* for these Inclosures doe undoe us all: for they make us pay dearer for our Lande that we occupy, and causes that we can have no Lande in manner for our Money to put to Tyllage, all is taken up in Pasture. I have known of late a dozen Ploughs within less Compass than six Miles about me, layd down within these seven Years, and where three-score Persons or upwards had their Livings, now one Man with his Cattel has all, which is not the least Cause of former Uprores: for by these Inclosers many doe lack Lyvings and be idle: moreover, all Things are so deere, that by their Day Wages they are not able to lyve.

Fol. 3.

4.

Ch. 16.

§. 3.

2. *Capper*. I have well the Experience thereof, for I am faine to give my Journeymen two Pence in a Day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently lyve thereof.

Ch. 16.

§. 3. Note.

3. *Merchaunt*. Most parte of all the Towns of *England*, *London* only except, are sore decayed in their Houses, &c. whereof it is long, I cannot well tell, for there is such a general Dearth of all Things, as before 20. or 30. Yeares hath not bene the like, not only of Things growing within this Realme, but of all other Merchaunt-dize, that we buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wines, &c. then all kind of Vittayle are as deere or dearer agayne, and no cause of God's part thereof

thereof as far as I can perceive; for I never saw more Plentie of Corn, Graffe, and Cattle of all Sorte, than we have at this present, and have had (as ye know) all these 20 Yeares passed continually.

4. *Knight.* Since yee have Plentie of all Things, of Corne, and Cattel (as yee say) then it should not seem this Dearth should bee long of these Inclosers, for it is not for Scarceness of Corne, that yee have this Dearth, for (thanked be God) Corne is good cheap, and so hath beene these many Years past. Then it cannot be the occasion of the Dearth of Cattle, for Inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of any other: yet I confesse there is a wonderful Dearth of all Things; and that doe I and all Men of my Sorte feel most Grief in, which have no way to sell, nor Occupation to lyve by, but only our Lands. For you all with other Artificers, may save yourselves meetly well. Forasmuch as yee, as all Things are dearer, do aryse in the Pryce of your Wares and Occupations accordingly.

5. *Husbandman.* Yee raise the Pryce of your Lands, and yee take Farms also, and Pastures to your Hands, which was wont to be poor Men's Lyvings, such as I am.

6. *Merchaunt.* On my Soul yee say truth.

7. *Knight.* Syr, as I know it is true, that yee complayne not without Cause, so it is as true, that I and my Sorte, I mean all Gentlemen, have as great, yea, and far greater Cause to complayne; the Pryces of things are so risen on all Hands, we are forced either to minish the third Part of our Household, or raise the third Part of our Revenues; and for that we cannot so doe of our own Landes, that is already in the Hands of other Men, many of us are enforced to keep Peeces of our own Landes, when they fall in our own Possession, or to purchase some Farme of other Men's Landes, and to store it with Sheep, &c.

8. *Husbandman.* Yea, those Sheep is the Cause of all these Mischieves.

9. *Doctour.* I perceive by you all, that there is none of you, but have just cause to complayn.

10. *Knight.* I marvel much Maister *Doctour*, what should be the Cause of this Dearth, seeing all Things are so plentiful.

11. *Doctour.*

11. *Doctour.* Syr, it is (no doubt) a Thing to be mused upon, *Query*, Whether if the Husbandman were forced to abate the Pryces of his Stuff, this Dearth would be amended; if he should be commanded to sell his Wheat (for Instance) at 8 *d.* the Bushel, Rye at 6 *d.* Barley at 4 *d.* his Pig and Goose at 4 *d.* his Hen at 1 *d.* *ob.* his Wool at a Marke a Todd, the Landlord to return to his old Rent, &c. would Goods in that Case from beyond Seas be brought as good cheap after the same Rate? A Man would think yes. For Example, if they now sell a Yard of Velvet for 20 *s.* or 22 *s.* and pay that for a Todd of Wool, were it not as good for them to sell their Velvet for a Marke a Yard, so they had a Todd of Wool for a Marke.

P. S. *I think it needless to pursue this Dialogue * further; whence it is evident that the advanced Price of all Commodities, which appears to have been the Complaint of these Times, was only a Consequence of the Increase of Trade, and a greater Plenty of Money than heretofore. It also appears that the Price of Wool, before the general Dearth complained of at this Period, was 13 s. 4 d. per Tod, and that now, viz. in 1581, it sold for TWENTY and TWENTY TWO SHILLINGS per Tod.*

I CHAP.

* *The Doctour*, who appears to be the Moderator in this Dialogue, resolving the Original of these advanced Prices of things into the Alteration of the Value of Coin, discourfes very sensibly upon the Subject of Money; and accounts for Wool being dearer in Comparison than Corn, from the former being allow'd to be exported, the latter too much restrained in that respect; says, that reversing the Measures would produce just the contrary Effect; and wisely argues, that by giving an equal proper Liberty to both; in that Case, notwithstanding Inclosures, the Balance would be preserved; for that the Farmer would shift from Sheep to Corn, and *vice versa*, as he was likely to find his Account best, in the one, or the other.

C H A P. XXIV.

Queen ELIZABETH.

Camden,
1583.

1. *A. D.* 1583. The Emperor of *Muscovy* dying, the Trade of the *English* withal decayed by little and little; and the *English* Ambassador to that Court returned not without Danger of his Life.

2. *Theodore Joannides* succeeding to the Empire, granted to all Merchants of what Nation soever, free Access into *Russia*. And being oftentimes solicited by the Queen to confirm the Privileges granted by his Father to the *Muscovia* Company of *English* Merchants, to wit, that only *English* Men of that Company should come into, or trade in the North Parts of *Russia*, and that, *Custom free*, in regard they were the first that discovered the Passage thither by Sea: He thereupon desired her Liberty to all the *English* to trade into *Russia*; for to permit some and deny others was Injustice. Princes he said, must carry an indifferent Hand betwixt their Subjects, and not convert Trade (which by the Law of Nations ought to be common to all) into a *Monopoly*, to the private Gain of a few. As for his Customs, he promised to exact less by one half of that Company than of the rest; because they first discovered the Passage thither by Sea. In other Matters he confirmed their former Privileges, and added some few more out of his Respect to the Queen, and not for any Desert as he said, of the Company; many of whom he found had dealt falsely with his Subjects. *

3. *A. D.*

* *An Act touching the Breadth of white Woolen Cloths made within the Counties of Wilts, Gloucester, Somerset, and Oxon.* 27 Eliz. c. 17. This Act recites, 'That former Laws made in these Cases could not always be observed, and that through unavoidable Defaults, their Cloths were many times seized by the Searchers of London in *Blackwell-Hall* Market; therefore without intending to make void such former Laws, this was provided as a small Abatement from the Rigor thereof.

An

3. *A. D.* 1585. For the more advantageous and gainful vending of *English* Cloths, Licence was granted to *Ambrose*, Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother the Earl of *Leicester*, *Thomas Starky*, *Gerard Gore*, and divers others, Merchants of *London*, for the Term of two Years, to trade with the *Moors* in the Eastern Parts of *Barbary*, to make good the Losses they had before sustained in *Africa*; and all others were prohibited to trade upon those Coasts. These Merchants *Muley Hamet* the *Xeriff* took into his Protection. †

I 2

CHAP.

An Act concerning the making the Woolen Cloths in the Counties of Devonshire and Cornwall, called plain white Straights, and pinned white Straights. c. 18.

This Act was much of the same Nature with the preceding one, containing some Relaxation of the Laws in Being on that Head.

† *An Act touching the Breadths of Plunkets, Azures, and Blues, and other coloured Cloths made within the Counties of Somerset, and elsewhere of like making.* 35 Eliz. c. 9. This Act, of the same kind with 27 Eliz. c. 17, 18. *

* §. 2. Note.

An Act for the Reformation of sundry Abuses in Cloths, called Devonshire Kerseys or Dozens; according to a Proclamation of the 34th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady the Queen. c. 10.

This Act consists of 10 Sections. It recites, 'That grievous Abuses having been practised in these Cloths, upon representation thereof by several Petitions, Certificates of Justices, and even Complaints of *The States of Holland*, the Queen by Advice of her Council had issued a Proclamation in the Interval of Parliament, for reforming the same; which being found to have had a good Effect, the Rules, &c. therein prescribed, were hereby enacted into a standing Law.

An Act for the better Execution of the Statute made in the 23d of the Queen's Reign for the abolishing of Logwood. 39 Eliz. c. 12.

An Explanation of an Act made 11 Hen. VII. for Fustians. c. 13.

An Act prohibiting bringing into this Realm any foreign Cards for Wool. c. 14.

This Act recites, 'That many thousands of Woolen Card-makers and Card-wyer-drawers of *London*, *Bristol*, *Gloucester*, *Norwich*, *Coventry*, &c. had heretofore subsisted themselves and Families upon that Business, which was now greatly impaired by Importation of Wool Cards from *France*.'

An

C H A P. XXV.

A Treatise of Commerce ||, wherein are shewed the Commodities arising by a well ordered and ruled Trade, such as that of the Society of Merchants Adventurers is proved to be; written principallie for the better Information of those, who doubt of the Necessariness † of the said Societie in the State of the Realme of England.

By JOHN WHEELER, Secretarie to the said Societie. Printed at *Middleburgh* 1601.

The Merch. Advent. 1. THE Merchants Adventurers were first entitled the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of *Can-bow stiled terbury*; and in the Year 1248, obtained Privileges of *John at first.*

An Act against the deceitful stretching and tentering of Northern Cloths. c. 20.

This Act recites 'great Abuses herein, in all the Counties North of *Trent*, particularly those of *York* and *Lancaster*;' and at the joint Instance of the Clothiers and Chapmen, Inhabitants of those Parts, ordains Regulations in twelve Sections.

An Act for the true making of Woolen Cloths. 43 Eliz. c. 10.

This Act recites, 'how the Laws in many Places for true making of Woolen Cloth were eluded, by tentering, stretching, deceitful Mixtures,' &c. and therefore ordains Regulations much like those of 39 *Eliz.* c. 20.^b for the North of *Trent*, to be general throughout the Kingdom.

^b *Note.*

|| The Woolen Manufacture in *England* being much older than the Art of printing there; and that Art having been long practised, before it came into common Use, upon all Subjects; therefore these *Memoirs* have thus far been collected necessarily from the Statute Books chiefly, and other Records. In this Year 1601 was printed this first Book to be met with, so nearly related, as it is, to the Subject. It contains a tolerable History thereof, so far as the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth* reaches, and something higher.

† The Merchant Adventurers, who had been the great Instruments

John Duke of Brabant, which were afterwards confirmed to them by *Edw. III.* of *England*. They had afterwards Charters successively from *Hen. IV.* *Hen. V.* *Edw. IV.* *Rich. III.* *Hen. VII.* under that Name. Afterwards upon the Staple being removed to *Calice*, they were stiled MERCHANTS ADVENTURERS; under which Name their Charter has been continued and confirmed to them by *Hen. VIII.* *Edw. VI.* *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*.

2. In the Time of the Reign of *Edw. VI.* *John Tulle*, *John Dimoke*, and others, Brethren of the said Company, informed the Bishop of *Elye*, then Lord Chancellor, of Matter against the said Company, who upon a Hearing before the Council, were obliged to submit themselves to the Companies Orders; and the Ring-leaders were committed to the *Fleet*. Albeit, the said Persons renewed their Complaints in the first of *Queen Mary*, and did put up a Bill to the Parliament, which was also rejected. This Charter was twice renewed with further Privileges by *Queen Eliz.* viz. in 1564, and again in 1586.

3. *Lewis Earl of Flanders* granting them Privileges in *Their* 1358, they settled themselves in the Town of *Bridges*, *cient Esti-* afterwards at *Middleburgh*; afterwards in 1444 at *Ant. mation,* *werp* and *Bergen op Zoom*; afterwards in 1564 at *Ham. P. 15-* *burgh* and *Stade* in *Germany*. In all which Places they so demeaned themselves as to reap great Credit, &c.

4. The Company of *Merchants Adventurers* consisteth *Their* of a great Number of (not fewer than 3500) wealthie *Numbers,* and well experimented Merchantes, dwelling in diverse *State and* great Cities, Maritime Townes, and other Partes of the *Government,* *p.78.* *Realme,* viz. in *London,* *Yorke,* *Norwiche,* *Excester,* *Ipswich,* *Newcastle,* *Hull,* &c. These Men of olde Time linked and bound themselves together in Company, for the Exercise of Merchantdize and Sea Fare, trading in Cloth, Kerfye, and all other, as well *English* as foreign Commodities vendible abroad, by the which they brought unto the Places where they traded, much Wealth, and for that Cause have obtained may excellent

I 3

and Instruments in procuring the Dissolution of the *Stillyard* Company; as *Monopolists*^c, were now themselves become Ch. 17. the Object of like Complaint, and probably not without Reason.

and singular Privileges, &c. The Parts and Places which they trade unto, are the Townes and Portes lying between the Rivers of *Somme* in *France*, and the *Scaupe* in the *German Sea*; not into all at once, or at each Man's Pleasure; but into one or two Townes at the moste, within the abovesaid Boundes, which they commonly call the Mart Towne or Townes. Which tho' they have been forced to change at Times, yet wheresoever they seated themselves, thither presently repaired other Straungers. For on the one Side such is the Valew, Profite, and Goodnes of the *English* Commodities, that all Nations of these Partes of *Europe* and elsewhere desire them; and on the other Side the *English* Merchants buye up and carrie into *Englande* so great a Quantitie of foreign Wares, that for the Sale thereof all straunge Merchants doe and will repaire unto them. Now what these *Englishe* Commodities are, and how they be so profitable, may appeare by the Particulars following.

The Number of Cloths they export, &c. the Sorts each Year, with the Value, viz. 600,000 l. in white Cloths, &c. I reckon to arise to the Number of fortie thousande in colour'd Cloths at least, and they be worth one with another, four hundred thousande Poundes Sterling or *English* 400,000 l. Monie.

Wool is exported.

They buy

of Dutch and Germanians;

5. First, there is shipped out yearlie by the abovesaid Companie, at least sixtie thousande white Cloths, besides coloured Cloths of all Sortes, Kerseys short and long, Bayes, Cottons, Northern Dozens; the just Valew of these sixty thousande white Cloths cannot well be calculated or sett downe, but they are not lesse worthe (in mine Opinion) than six hundred thousand Poundes Sterling or *English* Money.

The coloured Cloths of all Sortes, Bayes, Kerseys, &c. I reckon to arise to the Number of fortie thousande Cloths at least, and they be worth one with another, four hundred thousande Poundes Sterling or *English* Monie.

6. There goeth also out of *England*, besides these Woolen Cloths, into the *Low Countries*, *Wool*, *Fel*, *Lead*, *Tinne*, *Saffron*, *Conyskins*, *Leather*, *Tallow*, *Alabastr*, *Stones*, *Corn*, *Beer*, and diverse other Things, amounting unto great Summs of Money. It follows, to shewe what the Merchants Adventurers buy for returne, of straunge Nations and People frequenting their Mart Townes, and bringing their Countrie Commodities thether.

7. Of the *Dutche* and *Germane* Merchants, they buy *Rhenish Wine*, *Fustians*, *Copper*, *Steele*, *Hemp*, *Onion Seed*, *Copper* and *Iron Wyre*, *Latten*, *Kettles* and *Pannes*,

Pannes, *Linen Cloth*, *Harnas*, *Saltpeter*, *Gunpowder*, all Things made at *NoreMBERGH*; and in summe there is no kinde of Ware that *Germanie* yeildeth, but generallie the Merchants Adventurers buye, as much or more thereof, than any other Nations.

8. Of the *Italians* they buy all kind of *Silk Wares*, of *Italians*; *Velvitts*, wrought and unwrought *Taffitae*, *Sattins*, *Damaskes*, *Sarfanettes*, *Milan Fustians*, *Cloth of Gold* and *Silver*, *Grograines*, *Chamlettes*, *Satin* and sewing *Silk*, *Organzine*, *Orfoy*, and all other kind of Wares, either made or to be had in *Italie*.

9. Of the *Easterlings* they buy *Flax*, *Hemp*, *Wax*, of the *Pitche*, *Tarre*, *Wainscot*, *Dealbords*, *Oares*, *Corn*, *Easter-Furres*, *Cables*, and *Cable-yearne*, *Tallow*, *Ropes*, *lings*; *Masts* for *Shippes*, *Sope-ashes*, *Estridge Wool*, and almost whatsoever is made or groweth in the *East Countries*.

Of the *Portingales* they buye all kind of *Spyces* and *Drugges*, of the *Portugueze*;

10. With the *Spanish* and *Frenche* they have not much to doe, by reason that other *Englishe* Merchantes have had a great Trade into *France* and *Spain*, and so serve *England* directly from thence with the Commodities of those Countries.

11. Of the *Low Countrie Merchants* or *Netherlanders*, of the *Netherlands* they buye all kind of Manufacture and Handwork not therland-made in *England*, *Tapestry*, *Buckrams*, *white Threed*, *ers*, *Incle*, *Linen Cloth* of all Sorts, *Cambrickes*, *Lawnes*, *Mather*, and an infinite Number of other Things, too long to rehearse in particular. But hereby I hope it sufficiently appeareth, that it is of an exceeding Valew, which the Merchants Adventurers buye and carrie into *England*; insomuch that I have heard it credibly reported, that all the Commodities that come out of all other Countries, besides *England*, were not wont to sett so many People at worke in the *Low Countries*, as the Commodities which came out of *England* only did; neither that any other two of the greatest Nations that frequented the said *Low Countries* for Trade, did buy or carrie out so much Goodes in Valew, as the Merchants Adventurers.

The Merch. Advent. buy more for Importation than any two Nations besides.

C H A P. XXVI.

A Review of the English Woolen Trade, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

- Ch. 20. 1. WE have already seen what was the State of the English Woolen Trade about the Year 1564: I shall here consider the Circumstances that were favourable to the Trade of England from the Year 1564, to this Time^d. 2. Those which made against it. 3. The State of the Woolen Exportations from England, at the close of this Reign; so far as may be gathered from Mr. Wheeler and from other Considerations, comparing it upon the whole, with Camden's Account in the Year 1564, and with other Circumstances:
2. The favourable Circumstances were, 1. The Reception given to the French and Flemish Refugees in 1568. * 2. The Turkey Trade opened in 1579. † 3. A Trade to Barbary, tho' Monopolish in 1585. ||
3. The Circumstances of Disadvantage were, 1. The total Interruption of Commerce between England and the Netherlands in the Year 1564, ‡ which lasted for some

Wheeler,
p. 51.

5 Eliz.
c. 7.
(Chap. 19.
§. 4.)

- * Chap. 22. §. 1. † Chap. 22. §. 7. || Chap. 24. §. 3.
‡ Chap. 20. §. 1. 'This happened through the Complaintes of the Merchantes of Antwerpe principallie, and others of the Low Countries, against the raising of the Custome of Clothe ** , and of foreign Wares brought in to England. and specially against an Act of Parliament made for the setting of her Majesties People on Worke; by vertue whereof foreign Wares, as Pines, Knives, Hatts, Girales, Ribbin, and such like, were forbidden to be brought in readie wrought; to the Intent that her Highness Subjects might be employed in making thereof. Upon which the Dutchesse of Parma, Regent of the Low Countries,

** 'In Queene Maries Dayes, after her Marriage with King Philippe, in the Year 1557, the Custome of Clothe was raised from 14 Pence to six Shillings eight Pence the Cloth, to be paid by English Men, and 13 Shillings and 4 Pence by Strangers transporting the same.

WHEELER, p. 88.

some Time. 2. The Quarrel between the Queen and the King of Spain which happened in 1569, * and caused an Interruption of Commerce between the two Crowns for five Years. 3. The sacking of Antwerp and the Sufferings of the English Merchants there in the Year 1576. † 4. The Russia Trade dwindled in 1583. || 5. Within a few Years after came on the Affair of the Spanish Invasion ‡; from which Time, during the Reign

Countries, by Proclamation forbadd the carrying into Englands anie Matter or Thing, wherewith the said Wares might be made, and banished out of the Low Countries all Manufacture or Handiworkes, as Bayes, &c. made in Englands, Clothe and Kerfie only excepted, which also she afterwards forbadd upon Pain of Confiscation. So that finallie the Merchant Adventurers, after they had kept their Clothes and other Goods aboorde their Shippes in the River of Thames and Scheld five Moneths together, and might not be permitted to land them at Antwerpe, were at length forced to departe with the same into the Town of Embden in East Friseland, where they obtained Priveleges, and contracted for a free Commerce; whereupon King Philippe and his Ministers grieving sore that they could not have their Will of her Majestie, and her Highness Subjects, an Edict or Proclamation was set forth, That no Person in the said Lowe Countries should have or use any Trade with the English at Embden, buye anie Cloth, or English Woollen Commodity of them, or carrie them anie Wares, upon Paine of Confiscation of the same.

* (Chap. 22. §. 2.) Mr. Wheeler speaks of the great Care and Travaile of the Merchant Adventurers in the midst of all these Troubles, and their exceeding great Losses and Hindrances to seeke and procure a Place, as in the first Instance at Emden, so in this second at Hamburgh, for Vent of the Commodities of the Realme.

† §. 6.

|| Chap. 24. §. 1.

‡ 'The Merchantes Adventurers were at this Time (viz. in the 29th of Eliz.) encombered with no small Difficulties; for that neither of their Mart Townes (Emden and Middleborough) were verie saufe or fitt for the Utteraunce of their Commodities, neither knew they where to finde a Place convenient for that Purpose: for at Middleborough, partlie through the continual Loanes of great Summes of Monie, upon the Necke one of another, required at their Handes,

Reign of *Elizabeth*, *England* was in a State of Hostility with *Spain*, and which must needs have had an ill Influence, as upon every other Branch of the *English* Commerce,

Handes, without Warrantie or Authoritie from her Majesty, and partlie through the Fear of Daunger they were put in by the Earle of *Leicester*, then Governour of the United Provinces, the Trade was in a manner wholly damped, and diverse of the principallest of the Companie in that Place, almost in flying manner, withdrew themselves, and their Goods into *Holland*. At *Emden*, on the other Side, Things were in no very good Tearmes, by reason of the Duke of *Parmaes* prevaylinge in the Provinces next adjoining, and that the States sent the Men of War into the River of *Embe*, whereby the Trade by Lande grew exceeding perilous, and by Water troublesome and chargeable; some also, to mend the matter, sticket not to put into Mens Mindes a Suspicion of the Count *Edgard* of *Eastfriseland*, as a secret Pentioner and Favourer of the King of *Spain*; and sure it is, that his chief Officer *Ocko Freez*, then Drossart of *Emden*, shewed himself by many Signes and Actions very much enclined to the *Spanish* Parte. The *Hanses* also in the Yeare 1582, at an Assemblie of the Empire at *Ausburghe* by Favour and Assistance of the *Spanish* Ministers, and of the Princes of the *Romish* Religion, (the most Parte whereof were at the Devotion of the House of *Austriche*) had, upon their Complaints and injurious Informations, obtained a Decree for the expelling of the Trade and Residence of the Merchant Adventurers, out of the Empire, &c.

The Companie, all these Difficulties notwithstanding, taking new Courage, and moved in Dutie towards her Majesty and their native Countrie, in the Year 1587 sent their Commissioners, Syr *Richard Saltonstall*, Knt. at that Tyme their Governour, and Doctor *Giles Fletcher*, a Civilian, unto *Hamborough* with four Shippes loaden with Cloth, to trie the Mindes of that People, and whether they could procure a Residence in that Towne again. The *Hamburgers* by the Instigation of the Duke of *Parma*, who at this Tyme was whollie intentive in a manner to the Matters of *Englande*, and had incling of a Commotion doubted among the Commons there, (the appeasing or decrease thereof, much depended upon the Merchant Adventurers Trade, and therefore sought by all means to disturb it) held themselves very nice and coye, and having daily in their Counsell Doctor *Wessendorp* of *Groeninghe* sent,

Commerce, so upon that greatest, the Woolen Trade. Thus when in 1598 a close Consultation was held touching the Expediency of a Peace with *Spain*, it was urged in favour thereof, 'that there would be a free and open Trade, for which the Queen and the Kingdom would fare much better. That the Trade of *Spain*, which had formerly brought in such handsome Advantages to the *English* Merchants, would again be open to them, and their Gain fetch them good current Money.' Lord *Burleigh*

sent thither by *Verdugo* Governour of *West Friselande* for the King of *Spain*, delayed and dallied with the foresaid Commissioners; so that after much Labour spent, nothing in the Ende was concluded; for the *Hamburgers* being certified by the abovesaid Doctor *Wessendorp*, of the great Preparation in hande, and the Invasion intended by the King of *Spaine* againste *Englande*; of the happie Success whereof he promised and presumed much, and of which the *Hamburgers* (it should seeme) conceiving no small Hope, upon every Dayes Newes, either confirmed or recalled, that which before-hand, with much adoe, had been passed and agreed upon between them and the Merchant Adventurers Commissioners; excusing this their light Dealing sometime by the Unwillingness of their Comons, (whose Consentes, as they said, they could not obtayne) otherwhiles by want of Authoritie from the rest of the *Hanses*, without whose Liking and Privitie they might not conclude any such thing.

So that in syne, the Commissioners being wearied with these Delays, procured a Residence and Privileges at *Stade*, an auncient free Towne of the Empire, in the Territorie of the Archbishoppe of *Breme*; whence they were driven by the Emperor's Mandate in the Year 1597.

Two Years before this, viz. 1595. the *Hanse Towns* had made great Complaints to the Diet of the Empire concerning Corn taken from them in Portugal, and their Privileges lost in England. *Elizabeth* sent an Ambassador to answer these Accusations, and the Affair seemed suppressed, when suddenly the Emperor, at the Sollicitation of the *Hanse Towns*, prohibited the Commerce of the *English* Merchants, called the Adventurers, with the Empire. This obliged the Queen to prohibit the Commerce of the *Hanse Towns* in England, who, tho' their Corporation had been dissolved, continued yet to trade upon the Foot of Merchant Strangers, and not without some peculiar Indulgences.

Burleigh particularly declared himself for Peace, upon these Considerations. Essex was of a contrary Disposition and Opinion; and the former dying this same Year, the War continued to the end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, altho' both Sides, as they had sufficient Reason, seemed to be heartily sick of it.

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 147.

4. But notwithstanding all these Embarrassments, Wheeler's Account of the English Woolen Trade at the Close of this Reign, is, that the Merchant Adventurers exported yearly to the Value of a MILLION Sterling in Cloths; beyond which there was the Trade to Russia, Sweden, Scotland, Ireland, France, a clandestine Trade to Spain, a considerable Trade to Turkey, and a Trade to Barbary, and that of the Merchants of the Stillyard, who still continued upon the foot of Merchant Strangers, and not without some peculiar Indulgences. Estimating all which at no more than 500,000 l. yearly, it is submitted to Consideration, whether this Conjecture (for it is no other) comes within the Bounds of Probability. And if it does, whether the Value of Money, and all other Circumstances considered, it can be thought to have been greater now at the latter End, than it was towards the Beginning of this Reign, viz. 1564, the Time Camden speaks of.

But if the several Branches above-mentioned, besides that of the Merchant Adventurers (which alone amounted to one Million yearly) shall be judged to have exceeded the Rate of 500,000 l. per Ann. In that Case, the English Woolen Exportation Trade will be found to have been greater in this, than at most succeeding Periods, especially before the Revolution, as will be shewn hereafter.

5. And this, it is to be noted, was during the allowed Exportation of Wool; contrary to what has been asserted by almost all modern Writers upon this Subject, who have not only falsely represented the Woolen Trade of England to have flourished first in this Reign, but with equal Untruth, ascribed the same to the particular Policy of prohibiting the Exportation of Wool. A Policy which does not appear ever once to have been so much as attempted to be put in Practice from the Beginning to the End of it; although upon the first Breach in 1563-4* with

* See §. 3. Note.

with the Low Countries, the Proceedings of the Dutches of Parma gave the fairest Handle for it imaginable, had the Queen and her Council judged it to be for the Interest of the Kingdom so to have done.

6. The exporting of Wool was not yet prohibited; nevertheless Mr. Wheeler tells us, 'that so early as in the Time of Phil. and Mary, the Cloth Trade was grown to be very great in England, insomuch that the Trade of EXPORTING Wool was almost wholly decayed.' And this is a Point that deserves especial Notice; it ought to be carefully remembered, because it shews seemingly at the least, a far better and more successful Method of checking the Exportation of Wool, than that of prohibiting it absolutely by penal Laws. The Method by which the Exportation of Wool was so much decayed, and by which the Cloth Trade had so far succeeded hitherto, was, 1. A Duty on Wool exported. † A due Regulation of the Manufacture at home, and proper Care of the Commerce abroad; above all there was, it is to be considered, an Adherence in those Days, chiefly to that particular Manufacture; in Consequence whereof, wanting many other Things (since wrought within the Kingdom) People abroad were not only then more willing, but also more able to deal with England for Woolen Goods upon the Foot of Exchange. And this is one good way of accounting for the English Woolen Trade being so very considerable as it then was. Nor is this said with a View to insinuate, that England has been a Loser by any Diminution it may be supposed to have sustained in its foreign Trade for Woolen Goods to any particular Parts, on the Score of its having fallen into the particular Manufactures of those Parts. On the contrary, it has undoubtedly been vastly a Gainer by them in all Respects, saving that of the Wool Grower's Interest, to whom it is certainly a Loss in the Price of Wool; that while every other Manufacture, even from foreign Materials, is encouraged

† Which was rather an accidental Benefit, than the Effects of particular Design and Policy; as for the most part, Wool was not treated differently from the other Staple Commodities of the Kingdom. They were all charged with Duties on Exportation; and Merchant Strangers were obliged to pay more than Denizens.

encouraged in the Kingdom, tho' never so much interfering with the Consumption of Woolen Goods at home, and with the Trade for them abroad, the Sale of this *English Product*, by which much Rent and many Taxes are paid, should be circumscribed in the manner it is; and it is particularly hard upon the Landholders, if that Circumscription answers *no other End* (but what might be compassed by Means more easy and equitable) than that of reducing the Price of Wool below its natural Value; which with good reason is apprehended to be the Case. And of this more fully hereafter.

7. But tho' the Exportation of Woolen Goods should be thought not to have been greater at the latter End of this Reign, *viz.* in 1601, than about the Year 1564, yet the Navigation, and consequently the Profits to the Nation, as well from the Woolen Goods, and other Staple Commodities exported, as also from Imports, beyond all Dispute was greatly, *i. e.* *so much* increased, (since the Trade being unsettled at *Antwerp*) by *how much* it was more advantageous to carry out the Produce and Manufacture of the Kingdom to distant Countries where wanted, and to bring from thence Commodities useful at home, than to sell in a manner at the first and cheapest Hand, and buy at the last and dearest, without any further Benefit of Carriage, than the short Passage between *England* and *Flanders*. As the Trade of *Europe* took a new Turn from the sacking of *Antwerp*, and the Troubles which happened in the *Low Countries*; so *England* under the auspicious Government of Queen *Elizabeth*, made no small Advantage from that Revolution of Commerce. Hence arose the *Turky* and *East-India* Trade, &c. And because the Nation was actually indebted to Queen *Elizabeth*, not only for those new Companies and their extended Navigation, but for the Restoration and Establishment of the reformed Religion, and for every other Blessing of Government that it wanted, and which Wisdom and good Oeconomy could bestow; hence I presume it was, that succeeding Generations, out of their abundant Gratitude and Reverence for her Memory, were more ready to ascribe to this Reign, the first Rise of the Woolen Manufacture also, as that whereby the Nation is justly supposed to have reaped most temporal Benefit.

8. Lastly,

8. Lastly, It may be proper to observe in this Place, that tho', as we shall see hereafter, the Woolen Trade of *England* has never since rose much higher, often not so high, as in the Times from *Edward VI.* to the End of *Elizabeth's* Reign; yet the *English* were far from having, even then, a Monopoly in this Trade, they were far from being the *Clothiers of the World*, as they have been stiled in Banter: But as many have in very serious sort, but most foolishly imagined, or knavishly represented. And this whether vulgar Error, or gross Imposture, the single Circumstance of the Sums dealt for, at the Times of which we have been speaking, will evince beyond all Dispute, even tho' we should advance them, contrary to Probability, to THREE MILLIONS a Year.

Hist. of John Bull.

CHAP. XXVII.

King JAMES.

1. AN Act* of Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage. 1 Jac. c. 33.
2. A. D. 1604. A Peace with Spain soon followed the Prorogation of the Parliament, upon a double Treaty, one relating entirely to Commerce †. *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 169.
3. The King was persuaded indeed to grant a Monopoly of the Trade with *Spain* and *Italy* to a Company of Merchants, and to forbid all his Subjects, except such as were authorized by the Company, to traffick in those Countries. But in the next Session of the Parliament, the Commons taking into Consideration, how destructive to Trade such a Monopoly was, represented so plainly to the King the ill Consequences thereof, that the Company's

Cokes's Definition, p. 176.

* By this Act a Merchant Denizen (See the Stat. §. 4.) shipping any Wools, was to pay the same Customs as an Alien born out of the Realm, *viz.* 3l. 6s. 8d. the Sack &c. † Ch. 33. §. 4. Note

† Mr. Coke says, 'It was most beneficial to the English Nation.' *Coke*, p. 10.

ny's Patent was revoked, and the Trade with Spain and Italy declared free as before ||.

Rapin, p. 174. Note 7. Camden's Annals.

4. A. D. 1606. This Year was signed a Treaty of Trade and Commerce between England and France.

5. A. D. 1607. The Peasants commit a Riot in Northamptonshire concerning Inclosures, and pull down the Hedges.

6. A. D. 1609. A Truce for twelve Years was concluded betwixt the K. of Spain and the United Provinces †.

7. A. D. 1611. This Year was published a small Tract by William Stansby, entitled, The Complaints of the Commons *.

CHAP.

|| See the Act (3 James c. 6.) which recites that 'such Monopoly tended to abate the Prices of our Wools and Cloths, &c.' Mr. Coke observes upon it, 'though the Reasons in this Act extend to all other beneficial Trades; as to Turkey, the East-Country and Hamburgh Trades, and to Africa and the East-Indies: Yet all these Trades are monopolized into Companies, exclusive to other Men, as much to the Prejudice of the Nation, as the making the Spanish Trade free was beneficial to it.'

Coke, p. 45.

† Which being an Help to their Trade was some Hurt to that of England.

* Containing two special Grievances, 1. The Waste of Woods. 2. The extreme Dearth of Victuals in the Kingdom. The Author says, 'they were grown more dear in Price for the six Years foregoing, than in twenty Years before.' Which, in regard it was for six Years together, I apprehend to have been, in a great measure, the natural Consequence only of the Increase of Trade, and greater Plenty of Money than formerly, the Effects of Peace and free Trade with Spain. Although, by reason of the Truce made two Years before between Spain and the United Provinces, and for other Reasons, as given in the next Chapter, that Trade seems to have been now upon the Decline.

For it appears from a Balance of the English Trade made in the eleventh Year of this King, by Order of the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsell, upon the Motion of the Right Honourable the Earle of Middlesex, that the Total of all the Exportations From Christmas 1612, to Christmas

1613, was	2,487,435	07	10
The Total of Importations,	2,141,151	10	00
So there remained more carried out	0,346,283	17	10
than brought in this Year,			

Circle of Commerce by E. Missenden, Merch^t, 1623. N. B.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A Declaration of the Estate of Clothing now used within this Realm of England, &c.

By John May, a Deputy Aulnager *, 1613.

1. THE Antiquitie of Wool within this Kingdom hath been beyond the Memorie of Man, so highly respected for those many Benefits therein, that a customable Use has always been observed to make it the Seat of our wise learned Judges †, in the Sight of our Noble Peers, (in the Parliament House) to imprint the Memorie of this worthy Commodity within the Mindes of those firme Supporters and chiefe Rulers of the Land. No Kingdom whatsoever can speak so happily of this Benefit as this Realme. The Quantitie so † much as serveth all Nations in the World, and the Qualitie † so good, as it is chiefly desired of all.

The Royal- tie and Benefit of Wool and Woollen Cloth, p. 1.

Page 2.

K 2. When

N. B. Tho' this Account of the English Trade at this Time will appear very considerable, compared with the State thereof at some succeeding Periods^b; yet, making proper Allowances for the Increase of Money, it certainly falls very short of Camden's Account at the Year 1564, (Chap. 20. §. 1.) and of what may reasonably be inferred from the Account of Wheeler in 1601. (Chap. 25. §. 5, 6.)

Ch. 34. §. 9.

* As this Writer lays open (not perhaps without some Degree of Aggravation, in order to magnify his own Office) several Abuses in the Woolen Manufacture; which sort of Abuses have given Occasion to many Laws both before and since the writing of this Tract; and which we shall almost constantly find to be one great Topic of Complaint, and subject for Reformation, in subsequent Writers on this Subject: therefore to help the Reader to a more clear Idea of these Abuses, here is once for all a Detail of them from this Author, J. May.

† Observe here, that this Writer does not pretend to say when the Wool-Sacks were first placed in the House of Lords.

‡ An Hyperbole, which some have since wisely taken in a literal Sense.

The Condition of the Makers, p. 4.

Page 5.

2. When the Use of Clothing was planted here, some in all Parts of the Realme undertook the Profession. These Men commonly made their Recourse to London weekly. Their Conference of meeting was, to uphold their Credits by Truth. While this Course continued, the Trade flourished. But corrupting Time not only infected some of this Fraternitie with the Knowledge of Deceit, but also stirred other Intruders in this Trade, to usurp the Name of Clothiers, and to supply their want of Knowledge by well studied Fraud.

This viperous Sort doth too much increafe.

The Aulnager his Antiquity & Power, p. 9.

Page 10,

11,

3. Before the making of Cloth within this Land, the Aulnager was ordained, to measure and trie all Cloths coming from foreign Parts. When the making of those Cloths were drawne hither, a Subsidie was graunted to the King, and his Successors, upon all Clothes made within this Realme; the Collection whereof was appointed to the Aulnager, with a Reservation of his former Power for Reformation of Abuses, and his Fee of a Half-penny on every Cloth. And in regard his Place stood upon two distinct Offices, one to collect the Subsidie, wherein was no Farthing Charge; the other was executing the Office of Aulnage, which tied him by great Penalties to perform truly*: he finding the Paines so much to make Reformation of the many Defects, and the Fee too small to countervail; and having two Seals, one for the Subsidy, the other for the Aulnage, he would afterwards only set on the Seal for Subsidie, leaving his Search and Fee of Aulnage (which was small in respect of the Trouble and Prejudice it created) to be freed of the same. By which Neglect, Deceits in Time grew to that Height, that, in order to prevent them, it was found necessary to appoint Searchers, with an Augmentation of the Fee from an Half-penny to Two pence. This had some good Effect for a while. But in a short Time those Mischiefs crept in again, and the Office of Search was worse executed by Searchers than before by the Aulnager.

12,

13,

14.

The Aulnager is the fittest Person to execute this Trust. But Offenders think him too busie in his Place. It was (say they) his usual Course to take his Money for

* 3 Rich. II. c. 2. 7 Rich. II. c. 9. (See Chap. 8. §. 6, 13.)

for his Seal, and to be quiet. Why should he trouble himself with such Labour, that will breed Envie to him, and Vexation to others? It must be answered, that although he hath long time lyen asleepe, the Necessitie of the Time, and loud Clamours of Abuses hath awakt him; herein he will aim at two Things, the general Good, and his privat Profit. Since his Forbearance, much Power and Profit hath been drawn from him by Usurpation, which he may easily recover as Branches pluckt from his Body; and his Service truly performed herein, would prove a large Fountain of Good, to his small Drop of Benefit.

Page 16.

4. The Law has effectually provided for the Search in all Points, that in every Place where Cloth is made and sold, two, four, six, or eight, shall be appointed for the Search thereof, that it be according to Law. Those Searchers are to act upon Oath, and give Bonds besides for the Performance of their Duty. If the Magistrates or Justices of any Place neglect the Choice of such Searchers, a Penaltie lies on them for that Default. But in many Places are no Searchers at all appointed. In some Places the Clothiers and Makers keep a searched Seal of their own, to set on what they please: but in most Places those Searchers chosen are insufficient in Knowledge, to perform their Places; or in Ability, to answer the Penalties: if they be of Knowledge, then are they Servants or Workmen to those Clothiers or Makers, which are the Offenders, whom they dare not punish, nor offend. There is not one Fault in a thousand called in question, much less punished, as the Law directs. If a Question be made upon him in some Places, then doth the Mayor take upon him; in other Places, the Justices of the Peace, to decide those Causes; for which they hold themselves of the 39 Eliz. c. 40. though that Branch is repealed by 4 Jac. c. 2. †

The Manner of Search and Searchers, how used, p. 17.

Page 18.

K 2

5. Here

† An Act for the true making of Woolen Cloths. 4 Jac. c. 2. This Act contains many Regulations in 26 Sections. Sect. 26. provides, 'That nothing in this Act shall extend to abridge or diminish any Customs or Duties appertaining to the Crown, or to any of the Officers, or Ministers of the Crown, for searching, measuring, or sealing any Cloths, &c. nor to hurt or prejudice the lawful Fees, due

The several Faults and Abuses practis'd in Cloth, p. 21.

5. Here a Difference must be noted between the Opinion of some People, and the true Intent of the Law. There are many Sorts of Cloth or Stuff lately invented, called new Draperie; and these are out of the reach of the Laws made for old Draperie touching Length, Breadth, &c. But shall the King therefore lose his Subsidie, or the Aulnager his Fee? No, it was long time since ordained by Statute, that all Sorts of Cloths, tho' not of Assize, should pay Subsidy and Aulnage. The 43 Eliz. c. 10. says, 'All Woolen Clothes, of what Nature, Kind, or Name soever they be, made within this Realme, shall be viewed, sealed, searched, &c.'

Deceits in mingling of Wool, p. 24.

6. The Abuses are as follow:
1st, In mingling Wool of divers Kinds, as Fleece Wool, Fel Wool, and Lambs Wool, which are contrarie one to another, and make the Cloth uneven.

7. Then the mingling of fine Floxe with long Wools, yet coarse, which being carded together doth hold spinning and working, but most deceitfull in use and wearing. The Use of short Thrums, which they take and shred into short Length, and then lay it in steepe in strong Lye or Liquor, which openeth the Threads into Wool again; and then card it with other Wool, which is worse than the Floxe, by making more uneven in the spinning.

Page 25.

This Abuse hath been put in Practize so intollerable, that it is certainly knowne, Clothes have been made with two Parts, Floxe and Thrums, and but one Part in Wool; which hath seemed good to the Eye, but in wearing,

'due or belonging to his Majesties Aulnager, or to hurt and prejudice the Use and Exercise of the Office of Aulnager; so as after any Cloth is once lawfully searched, and lawfully sealed, the same be not compelled to be further viewed, searched, measured, or sealed.'

§. 3.

|| This Writer, like many others to be produced, would gladly be esteemed as labouring for the public Good chiefly, though private Interest is confessedly a one Motive with him. He acknowledges himself a Deputy Aulnager; as such, is solicitous for the Fees of his Office, which had been lately, and seemingly still continued to be, contested in many Instances of the new Drapery. (See Coke's second Inst. p. 62.) But as that Office has now ceased, as well as the Subsidies on Woolen Goods, it is not material to examine this Affair very minutely.

wearing, such weak Strength, as would not endure a fourth Part of the time, like the perfit Cloth. If any make a question, whether these Floxe and Thrums, or Sorts of Wool, should be thrown away, and not put to Use; it is known that several Sorts of Commodities are appointed, wherein they may be lawfully put to Use.

Deceits in weaving.

8. The long Thrums left of broad Cloth, which cannot be wrought to that Shortnesse of narrow Cloths, those are cunningly knit together, and mingled with Yarne of better Nature, making the one helpe out the other, for the Ease of Workmanship. The Inconvenience whereof is verie hurtfull; for by reason of the many Knots in such Clothes, which after the scouring are most of them burl'd out, and afterwards shut up again by the Mill; but not so helped, but covered for a time, when this Cloth comes to wearing, in short time it proves full of Holles, and unserviceable in wearing.

9. In slaying of their Warps, they will cast the Yarne Page 26. to prove fine about a Foot broad by the Listes; which is so far as commonly the Merchant or Buyer looks into them, nor can they, having the Cloths pleighted and bound together with Threads, which will suffer no farther Search into them, unlesse they should cut them up, which is seldom or never done, the rest of the Cloth is wrapt through with a far coarser Yarne very deceiveably.

10. They have a Practize in their Woofe to shut in fine Woofe at both Ends of their Cloth, which serveth for a Muster to shewe, but all the rest of the Cloth farre worse; the same Ends also are better driven in the Loom with better Workmanship.

Deceits in the Mill.

11. When a Cloth made with Flox or Thrums comes to the Mill, who would be a true Searcher, and lay the Fault open, if their Cunning prevented it not, they preserve such Cloth by extraordinary Means with Tallowe, Pigs Dung, and Urine, which keeps the Flox in, and suffereth the thicking.

12. If a Cloth prove tender, and will not thicke kindly, in the Mill, by reason of its Defects, then have they Medecine to help it, with Oatmeale, and such like, which will remain in the Cloth, and make it seem fast and thicke in the hand, until it come to the dressing, where all that stopping vanisheth, leaving it to shame by Page 27. the true Sight of his Substance.

K 3

13. When

13. When a Cloth wanteth some of his Substance, or Allowance in Yarne, which would soon bee found being cleane scoured, thicked and dried, they will not scoure the same Cloth clean, but leave a bad Substance of Oyl, and Seame in it, thicking it up in the same Filth, which proveth noisome in use and wearing.

14. Whereas the Use of Tenters is altogether forbidden upon rough Clothes, with great Penalties thereupon; yet in those Countries, where those rough Clothes are made, and so to bee solde, many Tenters are erected, and used upon such Clothes, as should be left in that Order, as it cometh out of the Mill; yet by reason of the foresaid Abuses in Yarne and Weaving, the Mill leaves them shameful in Cockells, &c. narrower in some Places than other, which they by Colour to even out, do often strain beyond the Limitation allowed for drest Cloths, in deceivable manner.

15. When such Clothes have been so strained; the Tenter-hooks leave an evident Marke upon them along the Lifts, and at both Endes, which would plainly tell where they had beene, and how used; but they have a Tricke to hide that Fault, for with a wet Cloth and hotte Iron they over-runne those Lifts and Endes, which shutteth up the Marks or Tongues of the Tenter, as that shall tell no Tales.

16. If the Cloth by the same tentring do prove hollow in Hand, then doe they also overrunne the same Cloth with that hot Iron about a Span deepe from the Lifts, for the binding of the Cloth up with Threds keeps it from farther Sight, which Devise makes the Cloth feele close in Hand in that Place, howsoever the rest fall out. Those Cloths which fall out much too light they will let hang abroad in an Evening, sometimes all Night, to receive the Dew, or else do spout warm Water into it, which will make it weigh heavier by eight Pounds, besides to feele more kindly in Hand: this is so cunningly done, that it is hardly to bee perceived, yet many of them so over-done therewith, as they are returned againe from beyond the Seas rotten with the same Usage.

17. When a Cloth which is made up with Flox and Thrums, is too tender to endure due Workmanship, those Cloths shall be rowed drie, and wrought with solace and soft Liquor, to preserve the Flox from the
Force

Force of the Tefell, yet make it rise with a Ground to worke upon in shearing.

18. In the tentring of Cloth, which is allowed to straine but half a Quarter in Breadth, and a Yard in Length upon a whole broad Cloth: It is knowne, that divers is strained a Quarter and a half in Breadth, and five Yards in Length, so that a Cloth strained to thirtie Yards, beeing wet again hath lost above a third Part in Length and Breadth: And a Kersie allowed to be Page 29.
strained one Naile in Breadth, and halfe a Yard in Length and no more: It hath been known, that a Devonshire Kersie of twelve Yards hath been strained a Quarter of a Yard in Breadth and three Yards in Length; so that in Breadth and Length the Tenters lend them one half of the Price, which as soon as it comes to Water, flies away invisible to his own Countrie, but never to bee found again. The like Abuse in other Sorts of Kersies and narrow Cloths.

19. If a Cloth by much Milling is run in, which may cause them more Labour to bring unto the Length and Breadth they appoint to, then will they use warme Water in the tentring thereof, but commonly the Warmth of the Sunne, which they alwaies observe, will make a Cloth yeeld any way in stretching.

20. In the finishing their Worke of rowing and shearing, they will use a Deceit with Flox of the same Colours of the Cloth, which they can sheare as small as Dust, which mixt with Solace, they spread upon the Musters, and where the Cloth may be seene, which makes it seeme much finer than it is, and feele more substantial in Hand; but the same Cloth lying a while after the dressing, the Solace drieth up, and then the same Flox flyeth away, leaving the Cloth in his owne Nature againe.

21. For the false dying of Colours, both in Wools, Colours, Cloth and Stuffles, with the use of Logwood, it is in- p. 30.
tollerable and too common, to the great Discredit of the Things so died. The Ground of good Colours is substantial Woading, without which, divers Colours cannot be perfectly made, but whereof many of them are made without Foundation of Woad, which is very prejudicial, for the Truth of the Colour is as material as the Goodness of the Cloth.

Deceits used by some Merchants and Drapers, p. 32.

22. There are some Merchants that deale in Stuffles, termed new Draperie, especially in Perpetuanas, which are now grown to great Use and Traffique, but not like to continue long, by their Falshood since their making, which brought them into Estimation: for where at first their Pitch in the Loom was twelve hundreth, but now brought to eight hundreth, yet keep their Breadth and Length. There are also bastard Perpetuanas made of Says milled, *Manchester* or *Lancashire* Plains dressed and dyed in form of Kersies, to the Discredit of those Sorts of Goods. Fustains another Species of new Draperie, are so deceivably made for want of good Government, that the Trade is wholly discredited, and like to be entirely lost.

The Inconvenience and Hurt by these Abuses, p. 35.

23. Whilest the true making of Cloth indured in reasonable manner, it was most vendible in all Parts. But what maketh those now to refuse our Cloth being brought to their owne Dores, which before time earnestly sought it at ours? Falshood. What makes the Gentleman complaine of his Wool which lyeth on his Hands? The Clothier complaine of his dead Sales? The Merchant complaine on his Losse? all but Falshood. How thick are Certificates of Falshood returned upon our Merchant from beyond the Seas? In Provinces beyond the Bounds of *Christendom*, when a Turke or Infidel brusheth his Garment bare, that he may number the Threeds, and find it to have feeling. Sence to runne in at a wet showre, or a hot Iron, then our Christian Profession is called in Question by those prophane People. In Kingdoms nere us, these Abuses have been found so odious, and their People so much wronged, that they have made Laws and Edicts to banish our Cloth out of their Countries, rather desiring our Wools, wherewith they can make true Commodities. In our own Countrey, where much of our Wool may be vented, the Falshood of Clothing is so common, that everie one striveth to weare any thing rather than Cloth: If a Gentleman make a Liverie for his Man, in the first Showre of Raine it may fit his Page for Bignesse.

The Remedy by the Aulnager, p. 40.

24. As this full growne Evill hath now procured a dangerous Hurt, so hath it verie happily falne out in a time which can afford an especiall Remedie; the ill divided Office of Aulnage, which ran to Ruin in many Hands,

Hands, is now reduced into one * worthie Man's Hands; which hath not only Power to command, but also Will to performe, all Means and Courses which may tend to the Reformation of this grievous Enormitie. In this Business many Hands must be employed, whose Worke may seem harsh to those which shall be put out of their wonted Course; but to a general Good, everie particular Help must be applied: heere must be more Paines in the Aulnager, more Care and Truth in the Workman, and more Trouble to the Clothier, but all to a good and profitable End.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of the East-India Company, its first Erection (in the Year 1600) and Progress; the Quantity of Cloth exported by this Company Anno 1614.

1. **QUEEN Elizabeth**, about the Year 1600, was *Camden's* pleased to erect an *East-India* Company, and to *Annals of* endow them with large Privileges for the Improvement *K. James.* of Navigation, the Glory of the Kingdom, and the Increase of Trade; and they immediately sent thither with three Ships *James Lancaster*, and every Year since they have dispatched a Fleet thither, with an answerable Success and Advantage; besides, they have to the Honour of the *English* Nation, placed Factories in *Surat*, in the Great *Mogul's* Country, in *Masitipatam*, *Bantam*, *Pattane*, *Siam*, *Sagad*, *Macasser*, and likewise in *Japan*, having obtained glorious Successes, big enough to curb the Insolence and Baseness of their Adversaries; but whether it be for the real Advantage of the Kingdom to have such a Mass of Money exported, and so many Men † yearly lost in the Voyage, I leave Posterity and wiser Judges to determine.

C H A P.

* The Duke of *Lenox*, to whom this Tract was dedicated.

† A Tract published an. 1615, entitled, *The Trade's Increase,*

C H A P. XXX.

Touching Manufactory: A Letter to King James; being Part of a Tract, entitled, Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander, and other Nations, as presented to King James, and commonly said (I think untruly) to have been wrote by Sir Walter Raleigh, and as such printed with his Remains, London 1702 †, but wrote, if not published, before the Year 1616.

1. **T**H E R E have been about some fourscore thousand undrest and undyed Cloths yearly transported. It is therefore evident, that the Kingdom has yearly been deprived of about 400,000 *l.* within this five and fifty Years, which is near 20 Millions, that would have been gained by the Labour of poor Workmen in that Time, with the Merchants Gains for bringing in dying Stuffs, and Return of Cloths drest and dyed, with other Benefits to the Realm, besides exceeding enlarging of Traffick, and Increase of Ships and Mariners.

2. There

crease, complains of the Decay of the *English* Navigation, which he ascribes to the great Consumption of Mariners in the *East-India* Trade, and recommends the Herring Fishing as the best Means of repairing that Loss.

In Answer to this Tract was published in this same Year 1615, a Pamphlet by Sir *Dudley Diggs*, entitled, *The Defence of Trade*; asserting, that the *East India* Trade was highly beneficial; that the Loss of Seamen therein was greatly aggravated, and that it had carried out in the Year 1614, Bayes, Kerfies, and most broad Cloths dyed and drest, to the Kingdom's best Advantage, to the Value of 14000 *l.* And that in Spice only it did save the Land 69666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

† Mr. *Oldys*, in his *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 180. makes many Objections to the Probability of his having been the Author of these *Observations*, &c. particularly this, *viz.*

2. There would have been gained in that Time about three Millions, by Increase of Custom upon Commodities returned for Cloths drest and dyed, and for dying Stuffs,

viz. 'That there are several Manuscripts of this Tract in the Libraries of our Nobility and Gentry, more ancient, than the earliest Edition in Print (1651), which do all entitle it to one *John Keymer*.' And thence, as also for other Reasons, he concludes it to have been his, and not Sir *Walter Raleigh's*.

I am very willing to acquit that great Man of this particular Letter, touching *Manufactory*, which, in my Opinion, does no Credit to his Memory, abstracting from the Consideration of the ill Effects it produced. And indeed, as Mr. *Oldys* observes, from some Circumstances, in regard to Time, Sir *Walter Raleigh* could not be the Author of it. And for the like Reason, tho' the other Parts of these *Observations touching Trade*, *viz.* the *Herring Fishery*, &c. agree well enough with the Character of *John Keymer*, (who was a Projector, and whose Schemes of Improvement, by a Commission^b under the Privy Seal, bearing Date *Decemb. 20.* ^b *Rymer's* 1622. directed to the Prince, and all the great Officers of *Fœdera*, State, were order'd to be examin'd, &c.) yet this particular Discourse touching *Manufactory*, I think, could not be his neither. The Instrument of Commission indeed is conceived only in general Terms, authorizing and requiring the Commissioners to hear and examine his Proposals, and all Objections thereto, and to report the same, with their Opinions thereon; so that nothing particularly for or against it, is to be gathered from thence. But considering that the Experiment, of prohibiting the Exportation of all undressed and undry'd Cloths, beyond all Dispute, had been made already, as will be seen, (Chap. 31. §. 2. Chap. 32. §. 2.) and that so very lately, as in the Year 1616^c; and as that^c Ch. 33. Trial had been attended with notorious extreme bad national Consequences^d, it is as unlikely that a Project of the same kind (without so much as mentioning the former §. 1. Miscarriage, or saying any thing to obviate the same a second time) should be offered so very soon after, as within the space of six Years, by any Man in his Senses; or that such Offer should have been so far well received, to be referred to a Committee, for Examination, as that the *South Sea Directors*, in *June 1725*, should, after the wicked Example of their immediate Predecessors, have declared a Dividend of 30 *l. per Cent.* at *Christmas* following; and for twelve Years to come, not less than 50 *l. per Cent.*; or that Stock would have rose thereupon, as before it did, if Directors could have

Stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and used for the same.

3. There hath also been transported in that Time, yearly by Bayse, Northern and *Devonshire* Kerfies, white, 50,000 Cloths, counting three Kerfies to a Cloth, whereby hath been lost about five Millions by those Sorts of Cloths in that Time, which would have come to poor Workmen for their Labour, with the Customs for dying Stuffs, and the Peoples Profit for bringing them in, with Returns of other Commodities and Freights for Shipping.

4. Baize are transported white into *Amsterdam*, and these being dressed and dyed, are shipped into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Kingdoms, where they are sold in the Name of *Flemish* Baize, setting their own Town Seal upon them, so that we lose the very Name of our home bred Commodities, and other Countries get the Reputation and Profit thereof. Lamentable it is, that this Land should be deprived of so many abovementioned Millions, and that our native Commodities of Cloth, ordained by God for the natural Subjects, being so royal and rich in itself, should be driven to small Advantage of Reputation and Profit to your Majesty and People, and so much improved and intercepted by Strangers; considering that God hath enabled and given your Majesty Power to advance dressing and dying, and transporting of all your Cloths within a Year or two; I speak it knowingly, to shew how it may be done laudably, lawfully, and approved to be honourable, feasible, and profitable.

5. All the Companies of the Land, transport their Cloths dressed and dyed, to the good of your Kingdom, except the *Merchant Adventurers**, whereby the *Eastland* and

have been found hardy enough to have made a second Attempt of the same sort, so soon after Thousands had been ruined by the first, and after the Lords (in Parliament) had resolved concerning the same, that *it was a villainous Artifice, to delude and defraud his Majesty's Subjects.*

But as this Letter was neither Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, nor probably *John Keymer's*; so I think it will be found to have been Alderman *Cockayne's*, or of his procuring.

Misselden, * The Parliament having prohibited the Exportation
p. 47. of white Cloths undressed above the Price of 4*l.* the Cloth:
27 H. 8. the Observation of that Statute was found to be very pre-
c. 13. judicial

and *Turkey* Merchants, and other Companies, do increase your Majesty's Customs, by bringing in and spending dying Stuffs, and setting your People on Work, by dressing before they transport them; and they might increase far more Custom to your Majesty, and make much

judicial to the Trade and free Vent of the Cloth in foreign Parts. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* granted a special Licence to *The Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers* to export all Sorts of white Cloths with a *non obstante* † to that Statute. And tho' all other Men stood liable to that Statute still, and were restrained, yet the Utility that hereby arose to the *Commonwealth* did far exceed the Restraint of the publique Liberty. For within few Years after the granting of this Licence, the Vent of Cloth in foreign Parts increased twice as much as formerly it was, during the strict Observation of the Statute.

† *The Pope in his Usurpations upon the Church and State of England had been used to insert this Clause in his Bulls for the Disposition of Preferments in England: Non obstante, &c. (i. e.)* Notwithstanding the Right of Patronage, *Rapin*, or other Privilege to the contrary. *This was strongly re- p. 319.*
monstrated against by the Barons of England at a general Council held at Lyons in 1245. And yet this Clause in a little time, tho' copied from the Court of Rome, crept into Charters from the Crown. The first Instance of it was in 1251. Afterwards it became more frequent; which being Page 324.
observed by Roger de Thurksby, one of the King's Justices, he said with a deep Sigh, Alas! what Times are we fallen into! Behold the Civil Court is corrupted in Imi- Note 2.
tation of the Ecclesiastical, and the River is poisoned from the Fountain. Hence in the foregoing Part of these Memoirs we may observe how frequently Acts of Parliament have stood for very little; as particularly those remarkable Statutes of the Staple, which were most solemnly enacted, 27 Edw. III. This dispensing Power, which is in itself horrible and dangerous, and accordingly did at first appear so shocking to good Judges, by long Usage grew to be more familiar to the Nation, insomuch that it became as if it had been the settled Law of the Land, and a certain established Maxim, That the Crown had Power to dispense with a penal Law, when prohibiting only that which is not malum in se. Upon this Principle my Author Misselden of free Trade (Chap. 32.) defends the Licence with a Non obstante of the Merchant Adventurers for exporting white Cloths, &c. altho' contrary to the Statute.

much more Profit to themselves and this Realm, and set many thousands of People more on Work, for dressing and dying, and likewise employ more Ships and Mariners, for bringing in dying Stuffs, were it not for the *Merchant Adventurers*, who transport their Cloths white, rough, undressed, and undyed into the *Low Countries*, where they sell them to the Strangers, who afterwards dress, dye, and stretch them to such *unreasonable* Length, contrary to our Law, that they prevent and forestall our Markets, and cross the just Prohibitions of our State and Realm, by their Agents and Factors lying in divers Places with our own Cloths, to the great Decay of this Kingdom in general, and Discredit of our Cloth in particular.

6. If the Accompt were truly known, it would be found that they make not less (clear Profit only, by Cloth transported rough) than sixty thousand Pounds a Year. But it is most apparent, your Majesty in your Customs, your Subjects in their Labour, your Ships and Mariners in not bringing in of dying Stuffs, and spending of Allum, is hindred yearly near a Million of Pounds. So that Trade is driven to the greatest Hindrance of your Majesty and People, by permitting your native Commodities to pass rough, undressed, and undyed by the *Merchant Adventurers*.

C H A P. XXXI.

Remarks upon the foregoing Letter touching Manufactory.

1. THE Notions advanced in the foregoing Chapter, of promoting the Trade of *England*, by prohibiting the Exportation of white and undressed Cloths, are, as Mr. *Locke*, upon a like Occasion expresses himself, to the Tune of — *If all the World was Oatmeal*. The Principle upon which they are founded, as by the Authors own Words, is evidently this, viz. ‘That the Materials of the Woolen Manufacture are such as other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but of Necessity must

must be furnished from England.’ Taking which Principle for granted, and that this was the genuine Opinion of a Person of Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* great Character; this Letter touching *Manufactory*, has been often transcribed with Approbation, by Writers on the same Subject, as undoubtedly his; and of good Authority, without observing what followed upon it, altho’ that is very material to be known; and concerning which,

2. Mr. *Coke* says, and *Rapin* from him, ‘The *Coke*, p. 59. English at this Time were not * skilled in the Art of *Rapin*, dressing and dying English Woolen Manufactures, but vol. 2. after they were made here, they were vented into P. 175. Holland, where they were dressed and dyed. Alderman *Cockaine* and some rich Citizens, having, as was said, promised *Rocheſter*, *Northampton*, and the Lord Treasurer, great Sums of Money to procure them a Patent for the dressing and dying of Cloths, and that the King would seize into his Hands the Charter of the *Merchant Adventurers*, for transporting white and undressed Cloths; *Cockaine* pretending, that besides the enriching the Nation, Multitudes of poor People might be employed to the Benefit of the Nation, which now were a Burden to it †. Hereupon the King seizes upon the *Merchant Adventurers* Patent, and grants to *Cockaine* ‖ and others, a new Patent for dressing and dying of

* But see Chap. 30. §. 5. where it is said, that all the other Companies, besides the *Merchant Adventurers*, did transport their Cloths dress’d and dyed.

† This is exactly the Argument of that Letter to the King, which is commonly ascribed to Sir *Walter Raleigh*; † Ch. 30. and is a very good one; for desiring to export Cloth dyed §. 5. and dressed, rather than white and rough; but it does not therefore follow, that it was good Policy to prohibit absolutely the Exportation of Cloth undyed and undressed, unless it had been true, (which was also alledged in this Case) that the first Materials of the Woolen Manufacture were peculiar to the Kingdom; which, as we shall see, they were not then, neither now are.

‖ According to Mr. *Coke*, this Patent commenced about the Year 1609, and was finally suppressed in 1614. But tho’ he was right in the main, as to the Fact; yet was he mistaken, in Point of Time. An Author (*Malines*) whom I shall have further Occasion to mention presently, and who wrote

of Cloths. But *Cockaine's* Project succeeded both Ways quite contrary; for the *Dutch* prohibited the Importation of *dressed* and *died* Cloths from *England*, and *Cockaine* and his Company, not only dyed and dressed the Cloths worse and dearer (which are ever the Consequences of Monopolies) than they were in *Holland*; but these being restrained to a Company, they could not dress and dye the Cloths made in *England*. Whereupon the making of Cloths stood at a stand, and infinite Numbers of poor People, which were employed in making Cloths, lay idle, and were reduced to a starving Condition. This raised great Clamours, which

arrived

Ch. 33.
§. 1.

wrote both in the Years 1601 and 1622, speaks of this Patent to *Cockayne*, as a Transaction in 1616. And with this many other Accounts agree; particularly *Camden's*, in his Annals of King *James*, viz. 'June 8. 1616. the King dined with one *Cockayne*, Alderman of London, and dubbed him Knight.' Again, 1617. 'There happened sharp Disputes and Consultations about re-instating the Company of Merchant Adventurers, lately put down, which is re-established.' Hence, as Mr. *Oldys* has given good Reasons why Sir *Walter Raleigh* could not be the Author of the Letter (Chap. 30.) touching *Manufactory*; and there being, at least, equal Reasons to believe, that *John Keymer* did not write that particular Letter^h; I don't know to whom it can be imputed with more Probability, than to Alderman *Cockayne* himself, or to some Person of his procuring and instructing. But if so; as a Name which had been rendered vastly unpopular by a most pernicious Project, could derive no Advantage to the Sentiments contained in that Letter; which Sentiments nevertheless being since thought as plausible, as they are pleasing to monopolish Imaginations: It is very remarkable, that either Care has been taken, or else it has so fallen out by a strange Chance, that the real Author of these Sentiments, and the particular bad Consequences that attended them, have been concealed, while the Letter which contains them, has been conveyed down to Posterity, under the Cover and Sanction of one of the greatest Names, which that Age, or this Nation can boast of. And, since Mankind are so apt to rest their Opinions, especially such as flatter their Inclinations, upon the Authority of great Names, rather than be at the Trouble of enquiring into the Truth and Reason of Things, this Letter, touching *Manufactory*, (Chap. 30.) passing under the Name of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, is no inconsiderable Part of the false History we so frequently meet with upon this Subject.

^h See
Chap. 30.
Note.

arrived at the Council, which to pacify, the Council permitted some Quantities of white Cloths to be transported; this did at present skin the Sore, but not cure it. In the next Parliament, in which no Law was passed, nor any Notice had of it in the Statute Books at large, the Commons voting *Cockaine's* Patent for dressing and dying English Cloths, to be a Monopoly and Grievance, it was recalled and cancelled, and the Vent of white Cloths left free.

CHAP. XXXII.

*Free Trade: or, the Means to make Trade flourish; wherein the Causes of the * Decay of Trade in this Kingdom are discovered, and the Remedies also to remove the same are represented.* London 1622. By *E. Misselden* of *Hackney*, Merchant.

1. THE Consideration of the Draperies of this Kingdom is of high Consequence. They are termed old and new. By the old are understood broad Cloths, Bayes and Kerseys; by the new, Perpetuanoes, Serges, Sayes, and other Manufactures of Wool.
2. The Causes then of the Decay of Trade in these Draperies, are either domestick or forreine. The domestick Causes are some past, some present; those past, are apparent

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* As one special Cause, as well as Effect, of the Decay of Trade, this Author assigns the Want of Money; which Want he in a great measure accounts for, 'by the Excess of the Kingdom in their Consumption of foreign Commodities, such as the Wines of *Spain*, *France*, of the *Rhine*, the *Levant*, and of the *Islands*, the Raisins of *Spain*, the Corints of the *Levant*, the Lawns and Cambricks of *Hannault* and the *Netherlands*, the Silks of *Italy*, &c.' And after instancing in many other Particulars of Loss to the Nation, proceeds to the Head of Drapery.

parent in the late † Disturbance of the Cloth Trade, which is so obvious, that I had rather *pass by it*, than *presse upon it*, because it is past; and I would to God that so were the Effects of it also. In Charitie we may think it was *good* in the *Purpose*, tho' it proved ill in the *Practice*: For thereby the Draperies in this Kingdom are much diminished, and the forreine advanced and advantaged. The Quantities of which last, were formerly few or none, but now they exceed our highest Numbers issued out of the Land; as by a Collection thereof which myself made in those Parts by his Majesties special Command, in the time of Secretary * *Winwood's* Service, may appear.

3. *These present* may be discerned in the *Cloth Trade*, either under the *Clothier*, or under the *Merchant*. Under the *Clothier*, either by *ill making*, or *false Sealing* the the Cloth.

4. For the making of good and true Cloth, many excellent Lawes have been invented, and enacted by the Wisdom of the *Parliaments* of this Land, from time to time. And the Statute of the ^k 4th of the King, c. 2. doth seeme to be an Epitome or Compendiary of all the former Statutes in this Kinde. In this Statute is prescribed the true Breadth, and Length and Waight, that may conduce to the making of a true and perfect Cloth, *Kersye* or *Manufacture*. If a Clothier make a Cloth of lesse Waight than is set downe in the said Statute, he offendeth in *Quantitie*; if of lesse Breadth or Length, or of forbidden Kindes of Wool, he offendeth in *Qualitie*. If a Clothier offend in neither of these, by his own *Aet*, yet he may offend in *both* by his *Instruments* or *Workmen*; either by the *Weavers*, by not *putting* in the *Stuffe* at the *making*, or by the *Tuckers*, in *pulling out* the *Stuffe*, *after the making* thereof.

5. A Cloth also may be well made, and yet false sealed.

† Occasioned by Alderman *Cockayne's* Patent, *i. e.* by prohibiting the Exportation of Cloths undyed and undressed; upon a vain and ill grounded Conceit, that *England* alone had the Means of furnishing Cloth to all other Parts of the World.

* Secretary *Winwood* died at *London*, having been three *Annals of Years* in his Office, *October 27. 1617.*
K. *James.*

sealed. A Cloth may be said to be lawfully made, when it is truly sealed. For although it may be impossible to make some Cloths just of those Quantities and Qualities prescribed by the Statute, as the Clothiers terme it, *A Man cannot cast a Cloth in a Mould*: Yet I hope they will give me leave to say, that it is possible that a Cloth may be true sealed, though false made. And then a Cloth *ill made* and *true sealed*, whereby the Buyer may see what he hath for his Money, may be said to be a good and lawful Cloth, according to the Statute.

6. Now the Execution of the Statute of *searching* and *sealing* of Cloths, seemeth to be referred to two Sorts of Men; which are either the *Aulnager* or *Searcher*. The former may seem originally to have been an Officer appointed for that Purpose, as well by Notation of the Name, as by some *ancient Statutes*.

7. But because the Care of *Aulnage* is committed to so ¹ noble and *honourable* a *Personage*, that will not suffer any ¹ *See* Abuse in the Execution of that Office; and the said *Chap. 28.* Statute of the 4th *Jacobi*, and the former Statutes of 39 *§. 2. Note.* and 43 *Elizabethæ*, doe refer the *searching* and *sealing* of Cloths to certain *Overseers* or *Searchers*, so called by the said Statutes, I will proceed unto them.

8. And forasmuch as *Execution* is the very *Life* of the *Law*, and the *Prudence* and *Providence* of the State have been very great, in devising and enacting such good Lawes, from time to time, as might tend to the Increase and Advancement of the *Draperie* of this Kingdom: If therefore now any thing be amisse therein, it must needs come through want of *Execution* of those Lawes. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* For these *Overseers* and *Searchers* being silly Countrymen, and generally not expert in the *Mystery* of making Cloth; in the search whereof, there is as much neede of Skill, as in the making; for how should they find the Fault, that know not how it is committed? These *Searchers*, I say, thus being ignorant and unskillful in their Offices, and negligent also (in which last, it hath been againe and againe confessed, that they have set the Seals of their Office to Cloths they never searched nor saw) needs must there be a great Abuse in the *Execution* of those good *Lawes*.

9. Nay, I would I could not say, how much our Nation hath been upbraided by the People of forreigne Parts

Parts with this Abuse, that the *Searchers Seales* of *England*, are bought and sold as in a Market, and put on the Cloths by the Tuckers, and other Servants of the Clothiers, as if the same had been lawfully searched and sealed according to the Statute; when as the *Searchers Eye* never so much as beheld the Cloths.

10. Wherein the People of the *Netherlands* are so exact, that you shall never find any of their Country Cloths false searched or sealed. For you shall have a Seale set upon the Cloth when it cometh from the *Weavers*; another when it cometh from the *Tuckers*; another when it cometh from the *Dyers*; and that by Men of good Quality, appointed for that Purpose in every City and Towne where Cloth is made; termed *Curemasters*, so called from the *Care* they ought, and doe performe in the Execution of their Office; wherein indeed they are so strict, that you shall never finde any of the *Seales* aforesaid, set to any manner of false or defective Cloth.

11. For indeed, the *Searcher* being a *sworne Officer*, ought to be as a Witness without Exception, between Man and Man; that when a Man seeth the *Searchers Seal* set upon the Cloth, it should serve as a true *Certificat* of the true making thereof. It is a great Impiety before *God* and *Man*, to be a false Witness in any Case: But these *Searchers* are false Witnesses *ipso facto*, when they doe testifye to the World by their *Seales*, that those Cloths are good and true, which indeede are utterly false. And which aggravateth the matter yet more, that the *King's Seale of Arms*, which is *testis omni exceptione major*, should also be set to Cloths thus falsely searched and sealed; whereby not only the *King's Subjects*, but *Strangers* also in *forreine Parts* are deceived, is a very gross and grievous Abuse.

Page 95.

12. Among other Abuses of this Kinde, one Precedent comes to my Minde, of ten Cloths bought not long since by a *Merchant*, of a *Clothier* of *Wiltshire*; which Cloths were all sealed by the *Searchers* of that Place, for good and true, according to the Statute. But being tried by the *Merchant Buyer*, and afterwards by the *Sworne Measurer* of the *Citie of London*, were found so defective in Length, Breadth and Waight, that where these ten Cloths cost but 60 *l.* or thereabouts, the Faults

in these ten Cloths came to near 20 *l.* which was one third Part of the Value of the Cloth. And being a notable Contempt of the *Law*, the *Lords* of his *Majesties most Honourable Privie Councell* were informed thereof; who were pleased to send down a *Messenger* into that *County*, and fetcht up both the *Clothier* and *Searchers*, who worthily underwent the *condigne* Censure of the *Lords*.

13. Under the *Merchant* also, the *Cloth Trade* suffereth both at home and abroad. At home by exporting the *Materials*^m, either of *Wooles* or *Woolfels*, from the ^m See §.18. *Sea-coasts of England*, and the *Kingdome of Ireland*; *Note.* or by overlading the *Cloth Trade* with any *general* or *special* Charge. The latter I cannot pretermit, for as the chief Weight of the *Cloth Trade* lyeth on the *Merchant Adventurers*, so also is the Burden of the Charge most felt under that *Trade*. For the *Impositions and imprest Money* by them laid upon the *Cloth*, for the defraying of the Charge of their Government, and Payment of their Debts, hath driven many good *Merchants* out of the Trade, and given the *Clothiers* occasion to complaine of want of *Buyers*, and thrust the Trade itself more and more into *Strangers Hands*.

14. Abroad the *Cloth Trade* suffers by the *unfit*ⁿ *Place*ⁿ *Delft.* of *Residence*, which the *Merchant Adventurers* are fallen upon in *Holland*; whither they go with great Perill of *Shippe* and *Goods*; and where they come far short of what they hoped for, and of that quick and ample Vent of their Cloth, they found in *Zeeland*. The Agitation of which remove, is vehemently suspected to have moved the *Merchants* of *Holland*, to procure Privileges of the *States Generall*, to incorporate themselves and keep *Courts*, to confront the *Merchant Adventurers*, which they never did before; to have drawn the *taring*^{*} of Cloth into *Holland*, where the *Buyers* are in some sort *Judges* and *Parties*; which before was in the *Mart Towne*, where the *Seller* was present; and lastly, to have hastened the *great Imposition* † in *Holland*. All which are Matters

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of

* Which is abating for the Faults thereof.

† *Viz.* Upon a Pack-Cloth, 9 *Gilders*; upon a long Cloth, 18 *Gilders*; upon a fine Cloth, 24 *Gilders*; which is 18, 36, and 48 *s.* of our Money. And yet nevertheless

of moment, and concern the *Cloth Trade* very much, and whereof the *English Factors* there residing doe generally complaine. Moreover the *Merchants* of the *Netherlands* are discouraged, whereby many of them have given over their Trades, which heretofore they followed in ample manner unto *Moscovy*, the *East Countries* and other Places, in our *English Cloths* bought of the *Merchants Adventurers* from time to time.

15. Lastly, there are ill Effects that fall upon the *Common Wealth* in the *Forme of Trade*; and that in respect 1. of *Monopolies*; 2. of *ungoverned Trade*. By the former this *Commonwealth* is deprived of that true Liberty of Trade, which belongeth to all the Subjects. By the latter || (which is most remarkable in the Trade of his

Majesties

‘ lesse they free their own Countrey Cloth of all manner of Charge; nay, they give Encouragement to the Makers thereof by many *Privileges* and *Immunities*, whereby it is more than manifest, that they do what in them lyeth to plant their own *Draperies*, and to supplant ours.’

The latter Part of this Inference is extremely just, and destroys entirely the Hypothesis said, though very wrongfully, to have been Sir Walter Raleigh's; viz. ‘ That the *English Cloth*, or the Materials of which it is made, are such as other Nations neither have, nor cannot be without, but must be furnished from hence.’ As to planting of *Draperies* in Holland, the *Woolen Manufacture* there is at least coeval with the same in England. But 'tis plain, the Dutch aimed to prejudice the *English Draperies* in favour to their own, and knew themselves to be in a Condition to do it; otherwise they would not have laid their Duties upon *English Cloths* particularly, because that would have been only taxing themselves.

|| This Author, tho' professing to be an Enemy of *Monopolies* in the Case of particular Persons, yet (being one of the *Merchant Adventurers*) cannot divest himself of his Attachment to trading Companies, with Charters exclusive, any more than did Mr. *Wheeler*, in his *Treatise of Commerce* 1601; altho' the latter could not help owning, (p. 13.) ‘ *Bonum quo communius eo majus.*’ His (*Misselden's*) Argument for it, is, the Necessity, as found by Experience, of what he calls *Government in Trade*; and, for Example, the want of which he instances, in those that trade into the Dominions of the King of *Spain* without Order or Government. For, says he, (p. 87.) ‘ At the Beginning of his

Majesties

Majesties Subjects into the Dominions of the King of *Spain* and the *Mediterranean Sea*) the Trade of this Kingdome, consisting in *Bayes*, *Perpetuanoes*, *Kersies*, *Waxe*, *Tinne*, *Lead*, and other the native Commodities of this Kingdome, is betrayed both into the Hands of those with whom we are in *Amitie*, and others that are with us in *Enmitie*. The one taketh Advantage of our *Unmerchant like Courses* for lacke of Order; the other of Shippes sent forth straggling for lacke of *Fleets*; whereby the *Perpetuanoes* and other *new Draperies* have by little and little been made worse and worse, so that they are now become quite out of use, the Trade lost, the Traders ruined, the Manufactures by other Nations supplied.

16. One Means of Remedie in these Cafes, may bee his Majesties gracious Protection of the *Persian Trade*, now

L 4

fo

‘ Majesties most happie Reign over this Kingdom, this Trade, by his Majesties princely Favour, was made a Corporation and Societie of Merchants, and flourished under Government. And then the *new Draperies*, and other the native Commodities of the Kingdome, were maintained in their Estimation of Goodnesse at Home and Abroad. But soon after, by the Clamour of some, who preferred their own Liberty to the Utility of the Publique, and by some Misinformation given to the Parliament of that Time, this Company, after it had flourished two Years, was dissolved, and ever since exposed to Confusion and Disorder; a *Rendezvouz* for every Stragler and unskilful Person.’ But we find from other Hands, that this Trade † continued to be in a flourishing Way, for some Years after; tho' now it was, with every other Branch of Trade, (even that of the Merchant Adventurers, as by this Writer's own Confession) in but a languid Condition, and all for the very same Reasons; of which the Truce * between Spain and Holland for 12 Years ° had been none of the least, as that gave ° Ch. 27. the latter the Opportunity of exerting themselves more in §. 6. Trade and Manufacture, and of regarding England less.

† See Chap. 27. §. 3. Note.

* Of the Year 1616 Mr. *Coke* speaks thus: ‘ This Year, seven of the twelve Years Truce, made between the King of *Spain*, the Archdukes, and the *Dutch States* in 1609, were worn out; and now the *Dutch* hugely swelled their Trades, not only in *Europe* and *Africa*, but in the *East-Indies*, and to *Turkey*.’

so happily set on Foot*; so that neither the Envy of any at home, nor the Power or Policy of any abroad, supplant us in the same. Whereby the Cloth and other the native Commodities of this Kingdome, may be brought into Use and Commerce among the Persians also. Which through God's Blessing, and his Majesties Royall Assistance, may be a Means to draw the whole Trade of Persian Silk into this Kingdome, and make it the Magazine thereof, for the Supply of other Nations, to the weakening the Turkes Power, the Increase of Trade in this Commonwealth, &c.

17. For Remedy of the ill making and false sealing of Cloth, and both through the non Execution of the Statute of the 4th of the King; the Abuse whereof is grown to be very great †, and the Reformation hath been by his Majesties Proclamations and otherwise, so much and so often attempted of late Years, and nothing therein effected, that it seemeth a very difficult matter to reforme the same. Neverthelesse, it may please his Majesty to commit the Care of the Execution of the Statute to some of the principal Cities and Townes in the Clothing Counties, where broad Cloths, Kerfies, and Perpetuanoes are made, and to make them the Overseers mentioned in the Statute, instead of those ignorant and negligent Searchers, with reasonable Allowance for their Paines; I am confident it would prove a singular Remedy. For we have not only the Example of the Low Countries, where this Course is taken, but also here with us, as Worcester for that sort of Cloths, Colchester for Bayes, and Canterbury for Says. In all which Places the former Abuses are removed by this Means; and the Cloths and Bayes and Manufactures of those Cities triumph in great Credit and Estimation.

18. Then

Rapin,
vol. 2.
p. 181.

* 'In 1612, or soon after, Sir Robert Sherley, an Englishman, who had served the King of Persia many Years in his Army, desiring to see his native Country, obtained of that Monarch the Character of his Ambassador, and a Letter of Credit to the King, with the Offer of a free Trade to the English throughout the Persian Dominions.

Miffelden,
p. 95.

† 'The Merchant Adventurers can give you an Account of Ten thousand Pounds a Year at least Losse to this Commonwealth, by the Tare or Abatements upon the Cloth in forreine Parts for the false making and sealing thereof.'

18. Then for Remedy of Exportation of Wools, (whereby not only our Draperies are impaired, but the forreigne thereby also much improved) a Restraint should be laid upon the Wools, and Woolfells of Ireland, and the Execution quickened of the Statute || for that Purpose

|| The Statute here meant must be an Irish Statute; altho', from this Writer's Manner of expressing himself, one wou'd be apt to imagine that the Exportation of Wool both from England and Ireland was absolutely prohibited at this Time; whereas it was not literally so in either Place. From England, Wool might be exported (1 Jac. c. 33. 9) paying the Duty of 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. the Sack. But by an Irish Statute 13 Hen. VIII. c. 2 the Exportation of Wool from thence (even to England) was prohibited, on Pain of forfeiting double the Value thereof. By 28 Hen. VIII. all Licences granted by any of the King's Lieutenants, contrary to the true Meaning of the Statute 13 Hen. VIII. c. 2. were to be void. By 11 Eliz. Sess. 3. c. 10. the Exportation of Wool, Fels of Sheep, Goats, Deer, &c. Beef, Tallow, Wax, Butter, &c. was charged with such Duties, Customs, and Forfeitures, (Wool, for Instance, 14 s. a Stone) as amounted to a Prohibition. By 13 Eliz. Sess. 5. c. 4. the foregoing Act was more strictly enforced. Thus the Law stood at this Time. And therefore the Abuses here meant, must have been those of exporting Wool from Ireland; or from England, without Payment of the respective Duties and Customs: That this was the Case in Ireland, is not at all to be wonder'd at, considering the Statutes above-mentioned; which yet must be looked upon, as intended, when made, to excite the People of that Kingdom to Industry, so far as to manufacture their own Wool, Fels, &c. But whatever the Intention of those Acts might be, the Effect, I believe, was, their purchasing Licences, to export those their native Commodities, from the Lieutenant. This appears to have been a good deal the Practice from the Time of the first Statute in this Case (13 Hen. VIII.) to the 28th of the same Reign; and tho' the Statute 28 Hen. VIII. made Licences void that were granted contrary to the true Meaning of the Statute (13 Hen. VIII.) and the Statutes 11 and 13 Eliz. were still more enforcing; yet both the Interpretation and the Execution of those Statutes was in the Breast of the Lieutenant, whose Power at that Time was not confined within narrow Bounds; for before the Kingdom was entirely reduced by the Submission of Tyrone in the last of Elizabeth, there was a Period of 400 Years, which was a various Scene of Peace and War between the English Pale and the

Ch. 27.
§. 1. Note.
Irish Sta-
tutes, 11
and 13
Eliz.
See
Chap. 46.
§. 5. Note.
Irish Sta-
tutes, 11
and 13
Eliz.

pose in *England*, by encouraging the Discovery of such Abuses.

19. As for the Charge upon the Cloth, if for Government or other just Causes in *Societies* and *Corporations*, there be a Necessity of paying of Debts or defraying of necessary Charge, I should think it better Policy to spare the *Cloth* and levy it upon the forreine Commodities.

20. If it appear upon Examination, that *Delft* in *Holland* be inconvenient for the Trade, let it be disposed in some more fit Place.

21. Let all Monopolies, properly such, be rooted out, but let the Trade of *his Majesties* Subjects, which are now loose and distracted, be disposed into Order and Government (of Companies) whereof none hath more need, as hath been shewed, than those that trade into the Dominions of the *King of Spaine*; whose Trade the rather calls for Redresse, because it exporteth *Cloth* and other Manufactures of the *Kingdome*, and importeth *Treasure*, the Life of Trade: In both which there is now a marvellous great Defect; and Trade in all Men's Hands, is become so *poore and leane*, that it doth scarce *hæere offibus*.

CHAP.

* the *Irish* Natives; and the Government of that Part of the Island which lay in *English* Hands, was in many things under the immediate Administration of the King, *i. e.* by his Vicegerent there. If then the above-mentioned Statutes were, through Licences, in a great measure eluded by those of the *English* Pale, the *Irish* Natives cannot be thought to have paid any Regard to them before they were reduced; nor afterwards, were either they or the *English* very likely to desist from a Practice to which they had been long accustomed, nor the Lieutenant to forego a Perquisite of his Station which was of some standing, and perhaps at that Time made no inconsiderable Part of his Appointments. Here then, by the way, it may be noted, that the Exportation of Wool from Ireland is a Complaint of a more early Date than is commonly observed; most Persons ascribing its Origin either, 1st, to the Prohibition of Irish Cattle (18 Car. II.) or to the prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from Ireland to foreign Parts (1699.)

* Ch. 41.
§. 7.

C H A P. XXXIII.

An Answer to a Treatise of Free Trade lately published.

By GERARD MALYNES * Merchant, London
1622.

I. **T**Hough the dressing and dying of Cloth was instituted on to be done in *England* in the Year 99 Ch. 31. 1616, to establish the Manufacture within the Realme §. 2. Note. (at which time 64 thousand Cloths were exported) I cannot but observe the Practises † which were used by Combination with other Nations abroad, and domestick Intelligences at home, whereby many good Actions are over-

* This Writer (who appears to have been a *Dutchman*, and the Author of a larger Book on Trade, entitled, *Lex Mercatoria*) had published a Tract in 1601, under the Title of, *A Treatise of the Canker of England's Commonwealth*. It was chiefly about *Exchange*, which had long been a Topic of Complaint against the *Merchant Adventurers*, and of the *Staple*. But therein he had a remarkable Paragraph † See §. 4. relating particularly to the Cloth Trade; for which, and *That our* some other Passages, *Misselden*, in the foregoing Tract, made *Cloth, &c.* sharp Reflexions on this Author. Whereupon comes out this, as an Answer; to which, in the Year following, *Misselden* made a Reply, entitled, *The Circle of Commerce*.

† Here is insinuated, that the *Merchant Adventurers*, touched with the Loss of their Patent, had combined with the *Dutch, &c.* more especially to defeat the Design of exporting all Cloths dressed and dyed. But to this *Misselden* replied, 'That it was a foul Aspersion which he (*Malynes*) was unable to prove, and was therefore liable to Prosecution and Punishment for it.' And indeed, tho' the *Merchant Adventurers* might be secretly glad of the Occasion to get their Patent restored; yet had the Case been so, that the *Dutch, &c.* could not have dispensed with the want of *English* Cloth in some Shape, they must have been content to have received it *drest* and *died*, rather than not at all, and it would have been out of the Power of the *Merchant Adventurers* to have wholly frustrated the Intentions of the State about it.

Ch. 30.
§. 5. Note.

overthrowne, to the general Hurt, and with little Advancement to the particular.

2. It cannot be denied but that by the Draperie of forreine Nations (not only the making of Cloth in the *Low Countries*, but of late Years in *Italy* * and *Spain* also) the Trade of Cloth is much diminished both in the Number made, and in the Price thereof, which is a Canker to the Commonwealth. But this is not to be cured by the abating the Price of our Cloth, continually as it were, striving to our undoing, to underfell other Nations. For

3. First, other Nations (buying heretofore our Cloths when they were sold dearer by one half in Price than they be now) did never complaine that the Cloths were sold too deere, but they did alwaies complaine of the false making of our Cloth.

4. Secondly, other Nations are as willing to sell unto us their forraine Commodities, as we can be to sell our Cloths to them. And in this Place it may be convenient to make an Answer to the Imputation and false Interpretation of the said Author (*Miffelden*) upon my wishing, 'that our Cloth might be sold at so deere a Rate, and according to the Price of forraine Commodities, that thereby other Nations should take to make our Cloths.' And the Remedy is added, by selling our Wooles dearer, whereof they MUST † make them. For in those Days of the latter time

* The Woolen Manufacture, with all other Arts and Improvements, was undoubtedly both in *Italy* and *Spain*, (in its Way from *Egypt* by *Greece*) more early than in *England*, and many other Parts. But this is a Foible which runs through almost all *English* Writers upon this Subject. They will imagine a foreign Woolen Manufacture to have then only first existed, when they themselves first came to be sensible of it; and this through Ignorance of History in this Case, and a foolish Conceit, that the *English* once had a Monopoly of Cloth, were literally the Clothiers of the World; not considering that they never exported half so much as would supply any one Kingdom, equal, in its Demands of that sort; to what this Island alone consumed annually.

† Tho' it is not easy to make good Sense of this Argument, yet the Author's Meaning is very intelligible, viz. That Foreigners could not make Cloth without some *English* Wool. In Answer to which, see Chap. 34. §. 1.

time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and unto the second Yeere of King *James* †, Wools were permitted to be transported by Staplers and others; and the Makers of Cloth beyond the Seas, *must needs* have them to cover their Wools in the indraping, which is now prohibited, and the Case is altered. Hereupon this moderne Merchant says, 'This seems to have in it much more Dutch than English.'

5. Returning * to the Cloth Trade and the Clothier, with a Consideration of the Merchant Adventurers, *Eastland Merchants*, *Russia Merchants* and others, and the *Woolgrower* or the *Gentleman*. Let us carefully observe them in particular and in general. The *Merchant Adventurers* having ingrossed into their Hands, by Colour of their last Letters Patent, the sole Power of exporting all white Cloths, coloured Cloths, Kerfies, Bayes, Sayes, Serges, Perpetuanoes, and all other new Draperies into *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Brabant*, and other Parts of the lower and higher *Germany*, hath abated the Trade.

6. For all Merchant Strangers might, and did heretofore export white Cloths out of the Kingdome, paying double Custome, which now they may not.

7. The

† This Writer insinuates here, as if the Exportation of Wool from *England* had been prohibited from the second Year of King *James*; which I venture to say, is an absolute Falshood; forasmuch as nothing like it appears in the Statute Books. And I cannot but think what he means by the second Year of this Reign, is the Statute for Tonnage and Poundage including the Subsidy on Wools, 1 Jac. c. 33.^w Ch. 27. which was passed in 1604, and which because King *James* §. 1. Note. came to the Crown *March* 24. 1603, he therefore accounts to be in the second Year of his Reign. In this Statute is a Clause, which perhaps he thought was new, by which Denizens exporting Wool were to pay the same Duty as Strangers, viz. 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. the Sack. And this, I conceive, he thought was an Abridgment of the Privileges enjoyed by them under Queen *Elizabeth*. This Statute indeed happens to be printed at large; which is not the Case of the foregoing ones, on this Head, from *Edw.* IV. But from *Stephens's* History of Taxes, we find * that this very * Ch. 18. Clause was inserted first in the Tonnage, &c. Bill, 1 M. §. 1. Note. Sess. 2. c. 18. Upon which Foot it had been continued in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, for any thing that appears to the contrary.

* Here the Author had made a Digression, to vindicate his own private Character.

7. The *Merchants of the Staple*, from all the Staple Ports, as *London, Westminster, Bristol, Southampton, Hull, Boystone* and *Newcastle*, have heretofore exported either Cloth or Wool, or both, which now they may not †.

8. All other Merchants at large, as well at *London*, as of all other Parts of the Kingdom, have usually heretofore exported coloured Cloths, Kerfies, Bayes, Sayes, Serges, Perpetuanoes, &c. which now they may not. So that all the Trade of the Merchants of the Staple, of the Merchant Strangers, and of all other *English* Merchants, concerning the Exportation of all the Commodities made of *English* Wool into those Countries, where the same are especially to be vented, is in the Power of the Merchant Adventurers only, and is come to be managed by 40 or 50 Persons of that Company, consisting of three or four thousand. Nay, one Man alone has compassed into his Hands the whole Trade of coloured Cloths and Kerfies, for these Parts, by Means of Exchanges and Money taken up at Interest. These have borrowed 50 or 60 thousand Pounds at Use, for the Service of the Company, and thereby engaged the Trade and fet themselves in Debt; which causeth many of the best *Merchant Adventurers* to give over the Trade, and become Purchasers, or Lenders of Money at Interest. Many others of them have engaged themselves in the *East India* Company, which did carry away the Money and left the Cloth.

9. This small Number to manage so great a Trade, encourageth the Clothier to adventure to make false Cloth, because it is impossible, that so few Merchants can search and visit every Cloth as it ought to be done, and the Clothier's Conscience is satisfied. For he saies, that the falsest Cloth is answerable to the best Price, because none may export but they, and therefore they give what Price they please; for this deceitfull Cloth hath caused

† In this Year 1622, July 20. King James forbid by Proclamation Wool to be exported, (and that was probably before the Publication of this Treatise); which Proclamation does not appear in the publick Acts. But it is observable that it is called, A Proclamation, not to enforce the Execution of any Laws already made against exporting Wool from *England*, but a Proclamation prohibiting such Exportation. (See §. 11.)

caused great Jarrs and Differences between the *English* Merchants, and the forraine Nations for Tare or Rebatelements; and the general Report of the Falseness of the *English* Manufactures, hath caused a wonderful Decay of the Sale thereof.

10. The Trade thus limited to a small Number of a Page 52. Company, residing for the most part at *London*, is a general Prejudice to the whole Kingdome; which though it have made *London* rich, it hath made all the Ports, and other Parts of the Kingdome poor; for it enforceth needlesse and chargeable Carriage and Recarriage of divers Commodities. It causeth all Chapmen to give poor and faint Prices for Wool; for every Losse and Prejudice that comes upon Cloth and the Clothier, doth fall upon *Wool* and the *Woolgrower*.

11. Touching the Exportation of Materials, there is Page 56. a provident Order taken to prevent the same in *England*, by a late Direction and Proclamation^a, prohibiting the^a July 20. Exportation of *Wools, Woolfels, Wool Yearne**, *Fullers* 1622. *Earth* and *Wood-ashes*. And the like will be done in
Scot-

* Hence we are to date the Original of prohibiting the Exportation of Fuller's Earth; as also the first Act of Authority, however the contrary has been so often affirmed of *Edw. III.*, which did pretend to forbid absolutely, for Continuance of Time, the Exportation of Wool. That King James acted by wiser Counsels than his immediate glorious Predecessor, I can hardly think will be granted in any other Instance besides the present. Nor do I imagine he would be justified by Posterity even in this, if his Successors had not, after some Time, adopted the same Measure in good earnest; which I think was now, and for an Age or two after, but State Craft and Farce; or at the most, a Measure enveloped in that crude Notion of Trade, which once prohibited the Exportation of Boots and Shoes; for a long time, Leather, Corn, &c. in short, almost every thing which might be supposed to bring Money into the Kingdom. But not to digress too far, I note here, That after the Nation, by private Frauds and publick Folly, had lost a Part of its Woolen Trade, which under wiser Management it had retained, during the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding the allowed Exportation of Wool; it was now supposed at least to be attempted to retrieve all, by prohibiting the Exportation of Wool: but this without the least Shadow of Success.

Scotland; and for the better Execution, there is a Committee † appointed of certaine selected discreet Persons, under the great Seale of England.

12. The

Oct. 21. 1622. † De Concessione speciali directa Domino Presidenti & aliis concernente Negotium Lanæ.

Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. 17. p. 410. The Instrument recites, 'A want of the usual Vent for Cloth—That Wools were fallen from their wonted Price—That the Merchants were discouraged, and the Manufacturers wanted Work—That Rents were fallen, and the Customs and other Duties decayed.

Ch. 36. §. 3. Note. 'That a [temporary] Committee of twelve Persons had been appointed to enquire into the Causes of all this, who, after consulting with Gentlemen, Merchants, Clothiers, and the rest, had made their Report in writing. That thereupon a Proclamation had issued for Reformation of some things.

Note, it is not said contrary to any Statute. 'That this is to be a standing Committee to enquire, first, why Wool was fallen, and how it may be raised to its former Price. 2dly, To advise how the Transportation of Wools, Woolfels, Fuller's Earth, &c. into foreign Parts, and into Scotland and Ireland, may be prevented; and how Offenders contrary to Proclamation lately made in that Case, may be discovered and punished. How the Wools of Ireland, not draped there for Use or Merchandize, may most commodiously be transported into England, bought at reasonable Prices, and employed; also the Wools of Scotland.

'And also, lest the whole Quantity should occasion a Glut, so as to vilify the fame, to consider whether there will be in truth any such Excess; and if so, how the Inconvenience may be prevented.

'To revise the Laws for true making of Drapery, and particularly to make Orders touching the new Draperies, concerning which no Statutes had yet been enacted.

'And, whereas the Brogers and Jobbers of Wool had been complained of, to enquire if there be any Good at all from them; and if there be, how, and where, they are fit to be continued.

'To have a strict Eye to the Balance of Trade, &c.'

If we look into the History of this Part of King James's Reign, we shall find, that having quarrelled with his Parliament, he had dissolved it, and was determined to govern without the Advice and Aid of that great Council; and that being in the utmost Distress for Money, he had Recourse to extraordinary and illegal Measures for extorting it from his Subjects.

12. The Price of Wool being fallen from 33 Shillings the Todde, to 18 Shillings and under, difimproving the Revenue of Lands, can never increase Trade, but impoverish the Kingdome and all landed Men. *Wool said to be fallen from 33 s. to 18 s. per Tod.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Circle of Commerce, a Reply to Malynes.
By E. Misselden, 1623.

1. TO affirm, as Malynes does *, 'That the Makers of Cloth beyond the Seas, cannot † make their Cloth without our English Wool,' is as true, as that wherewith the State has been so much abused, that the Dutch could not subsist without our English Cloth. That the latter is false, our own ill Experience can tell us. That the former is foolish, all Malyne's Countrymen, and those that know the State of Dutchland, will witness against him.

M 2. Tho'

Subjects. Now, that under these Circumstances, he should chuse to prohibit, in good earnest, the Exportation of Wool, and thereby forego a Revenue that probably brought him something, and to which he was legally entitled, is what all Persons acquainted with those Circumstances, the Character and Dispositions of that Prince, will think strange, or rather incredible. It is therefore to be suspected, that the real Intention of the Proclamation mentioned, was not to prevent the Exportation of Wool, but either to exact, under the Colour of Licences, more Money, from such as should be desirous of exporting it, than by Statute they were obliged to pay; or else, by taking less than the Statute required, to promote the Exportation of Wool by Licences, rather than in a clandestine Manner without paying any Duty. This is a rational Supposition, both from the Circumstances premised, and from the Tenour of this Commission, and from other Circumstances, which will appear hereafter. (See Chap. 36. §. 3. Note.)

* Chap. 33. §. 4.
† Here we see how, even by a Cloth Merchant, the Notion is ridiculed, 'That Foreigners cannot do without English Wool.'

2. Tho' it hath pleased his Majesty, in his last Letters Patents, to confer many Privileges and Immunities upon the *Merchant Adventurers*, in Point of Exportation of white and coloured Cloths, Bayes, Sayes and *other new Draperies*, there is no more Power given them in these latter, than in the former Letters Patents of the || 8 *Hen. IV.* 1 *Hen. V.* 8 *Hen. VI.* 2 *Edw. IV.* 1 *Rich. III.* 20 *Hen. VII.* 4 *Hen. VIII.* 1 *Edw. VI.* 1 *Phil.* and *Mary*, 26 and 28 *Elizabeth.* And whereas *Malynes* suggesteth that *all Merchant Strangers, might and did heretofore export white Cloths*, that is as far from the Truth as the former. For whereas by the Statutes of 3 *Hen. VII.* the 3 *Hen. VIII.* 20 and 23 of the same King, no white Cloths might be transported rough above 40 s. the Cloth, in the time of *Hen. VII.* and five Marks and four Pounds a Cloth in *Hen. VIII.* it came to pass by the discreet Carriage of the Cloth Trade in the *Merchant Adventurers* Hands, that the Trade of Cloth thrived so fast, and the Prices of Cloth rose so much, that few or no Cloths could be shipped out by any, whether *English* or *Stranger*, but by a *non obstante* to the said Statutes; whereupon special Licenses were granted from the State; as *Queen Elizabeth's* free License of 30 thousand white Cloths a Year to the *Merchant Adventurers*, and other Licenses to the *Earl of Cumberland.* But when any Questions arose upon any of them, they were restrained to the *Merchant Adventurers* only.

3. If *Malynes* had said, that the *Merchant Strangers* might heretofore export white and coloured Cloths dressed, *Kersies*, Bayes, Sayes, *Perpetuanoes*, and other *new Draperies* into the *Merchant Adventurers* Privileges, paying *Strangers* Customs, he had said true. And so they either doe or may doe now.

4. The *Merchant Staplers* never shipped any Cloths as *Staplers*, but as *Merchant Adventurers*; and so they may doe still, such of them as are free of that Company.

5. If there be three or four thousand of the *Merchant Adventurers*, then certainly there is lesse need of more Help.

|| Hence we perceive, that the *Merchant Adventurers* were a Company, but under another Name^c, exporting Cloth, so early as *Hen. IV.*

Page 56.

^b Ch. 30.
§. 5. Note.

Page 57.

^c Ch. 25.
§. 1.

Help. And if there be so few that trade, then there will be but cold Comfort for new Men to begin, where the old have left off. It is true, that the Trade through the late Disturbance^p of it, the great Quantities of Cloth^p made in forraine Parts, and the too heavy Charge fallen upon the Cloth, is become so poor and lean, that there is no Comfort in the World in it for new nor old. But it is most false, that forty or fifty Persons manage that Trade.

6. That one Man, which *Malynes* picks and points at, is indeed an ample Trader in *coloured Cloth*, but not in *Kersies*, yet so as there are very many others of the Company, that are also Traders in *coloured Cloth*.

7. It is true, that the *Merchant Adventurers* Trade is engaged in a great Summ of Money*, yet not for the Service

* 22 *Jac.* ' This Business being in Debate in the Parliament, there was a Certificate given of 25000 Cloths made in *Holland*; and it was made apparent to the Parliament, that the Cause hereof was the Restraints, which were used to be made by the aforesaid Company; whereupon these two Votes passed in full Parliament.

Die Veneris 30 Aprilis, 22 *Jac.*

' Upon a Report made this Day to the Commons House of Parliament, from the general Committee for Trade, concerning the Imprest Money set by the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* of London upon Cloth; and after long Debate thereof in the House, it is resolved and declared by the said House of Commons, the Opinion of the House is, That such setting of the Imprest Money upon Cloth, is unlawful, unjust, and a Grievance to the People; and is to be taken off, and no longer to be continued by them. And upon further Report by the said Committee, and like Debate in the said House, it is further declared, That the House thinks fit, that as well the *Merchant Adventurers*, as all other Merchants promiscuously, may transport to all Places, all Northern and Western Dozens, *Kersies*, and new Manufactures.

H. E L S I N G, Cler. Dom. Com.

Die Lunæ 10 Maij, 22 *Jac.*

' Upon a Report made this Day to the House of Commons from the Grand Committee for Trade, concerning the Freedom of Exportation of deyed, and dressed, and all coloured Cloths, into the Parts of Germany and the Low Countries, by

^p Ch. 32.
§. 2. Note.

Interlopers
Reasons
1662, a-
gainst the
Merchant
Adventu-
rers.

Service of the Company, but of the State. It is not the small or great Number of the Merchants, that encourageth the Clothier to make false Cloth, but the want of Execution of the Statute 4 of the King.^d

^a Ch. 28. §. 4. Note. Page 62. Page 114. Wool is confessedly fallen from 33s. to under 20s. per Tod.

8. *Malynes* calls the *Staplers* to witness against the *Merchant Adventurers*, when he and they are both their professed Adversaries. He addeth, 'That our Wool is fallen from 33 Shillings a Todde to under 20 Shillings.' † *Animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit!*

9. The
' by other Merchants, besides the Merchant Adventurers; and after a long Debate thereof in the House, it is resolved and declared by the said House of Commons, that the Opinion thereof is, That other Merchants besides the Merchant Adventurers may freely trade with deyed, and dressed, and all sorts of coloured Cloth into Germany and the Low Countries.'

H. ELSING, Cler. Dom. Com.

Here note, That the Parliament did not think fit to attack the Patent of the *Merchant Adventurers* for exporting white and undrest Cloths. But a Monopoly in that single Article, we shall find^e, did not content them.

^e See Chap. 36. §. 5. Note.

† Though neither this Writer, nor *Malynes*, is so exact as to name the Time, when the Price of Wool began to abate, the first Beginning and Cause thereof is accounted for, but indeed at a distant Period, of 40 Years, in the Manner following.

Answer of the Merch. Advent. to the Interlopers, 1662.

' Sir *William Cockaine*, 13 *Jac.* presented to the King a most specious Project to dey as well as dress all the Woolen Manufacture of this Kingdom before Exportation. This was so far embraced, that the Fellowships Charter was called in, and this new Company of so high and popular Undertakers, incorporated in their stead.— But presently the *States General*, and great Cities of *Germany*, resenting this Design, banish all Cloth of *England* deyed in the Cloth: and altho' his Majesty, within less than two Years, did, upon the Infeasibleness of the Undertaking, annul this new Patent, and restore the Fellowship to their ancient Charter, the *States General* to this Day would never revoke this Proscription of *English* Cloth deyed in the Cloth. But they have ever since proceeded further, as well against all Cloth of one Colour, and not mixed, as other Manufactures of Wool of this Kingdom. When this Project so fell to the Ground, the Clothier cried out that he could not find a Market for what he made. The Wool-

9. The Ballance of the Trade of the Kingdom for one whole Year, from *Christmas* 1621, to *Christmas* 1622, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
Total of Exportations	2,320,436	12	10
of Importations	2,619,315	00	00

The Imports exceed the Exports^e 298,878 07 02 ^e See Chap. 27. §. 7. Note. Page 130.

So then we see it to our Griefe, that we are fallen into a great *Underballance of Trade* with other Nations. We felt it before, but now we know it. We found it before, but now we see it. And if all the Causes of this our *Underballance*, were contracted in two Words, they

M 3 are

' Wool-grower as much clamoured as them, for that their Wools either stuck upon their Hands, or did not yield them that Price as formerly.'

But I beg Leave to think, that had the *English* had a Market, as usual, beyond Sea, for Wool, the Price thereof could not have been so greatly affected by what has been here mentioned, as to make the Difference from 33s. to 18s. And therefore I conclude, there was a Concurrence of some other Causes. The Price of Wool, as well as many other Things, does ebb and flow; besides which, the Duty of 3l. 6s. 8d. the Sack, amounted somewhat towards a Prohibition; and the Proclamation mentioned of July 20. 1622.^f forbidding absolutely the Exportation of Wool from *England*, and permitting it to be imported from *Ireland*, had filled up the Measure of the Grower's great Loss, of near 50 per Cent. ^f Ch. 33. §. 11.

But then we shall find, that notwithstanding the Prohibition, by Proclamation, Licences were granted for exporting Wool; which probably is some Reason why the Grower had yet a Price for the same, that at many times since has been thought a good one. What we call the best, *i. e.* the best long combing Wool in *England*, has not, from the Restoration (when the Exportation of Wool, we shall see, was first prohibited in good earnest) sold, at a Medium, for 18s. a Tod; however, from 1721 to 1742 inclusive, not at any thing near it; altho' Silver in this Period has grown abundantly cheaper than in the Time of King *James* the 1st; and although the Woolen Exports alone from *England* have been so much larger in this latter Period, as to exceed considerably the total Exportations in the Reign of King *James*. (See Chap. 27. §. 7. Note. Chap. 34. §. 9. compared with Chap. 171. No 5.)

are Poverty and Prodigality. The Poore starve in the Streets for want of Labour; the Prodigall excell in Excesse, as if the World, as they doe, ran-upon Wheels.

C H A P. XXXV.

King CHARLES 1625---40.

1. FROM the last Section of the last foregoing Chapter, it appears that *England* had not only fallen under an Underbalance of Trade, but that the whole Exportations of the Kingdom very little exceeded, if they did not come short of, what the Woolen Manufactures alone exported, amounted to in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, as far as may be concluded from *Camden's Account* ^g in the Beginning, and from *Wheeler's*, at the latter End of her Reign ^h. So that the Woolen Trade of *England* must be reckoned to have declined considerably under King *James*, especially from the memorable Project of Alderman *Cockaine* in 1616. And the Beginning of this Reign, by reason of the Wars with *France* and *Spain*, cannot be supposed to have been more propitious to the Trade of *England*, than was the latter part of King *James's*.

2. But a general Peace abroad ensuing about the Years 1629 and 1630, from that Time to the Beginning of the Civil Wars, there is room to think, that the Woolen * Trade of *England* flourished in some tolerable degree,

Lord Clarendon.

* Lord *Clarendon*, speaking of the Felicity of the Times before the long Parliament, notwithstanding some Invasions on the Subject, says, 'I must be so just as to say, that during the whole Time that these Pressures were exercised, from the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year, to the Beginning of this [the long] Parliament, which was above twelve Years, this Kingdom enjoyed the greatest Calm, and the fullest Measure of Felicity that any People in any Age, for so long Time together have been blessed with; to the Wonder and Envy of all other Parts of *Christendom*.'

g In

degree, by means especially of the free Intercourse this Nation had with *Spain*; while upon the Expiration of the Truce between that Kingdom and the United Provinces, the War had broke out afresh between them, which lasted till the Peace at *Munster* 1648.

3. Only it must be remembered, that about the Year 1634, Archbishop *Laud* imposing some too rigorous Injunctions upon the Descendants of the *Dutch*, the *Wal-Rapin-loons*, and *French Protestants*, who had taken Refuge in *England* since *Edw. VI.* thousands of Families were *Coke*, frighted out of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into *New-England*; p. 358. and about 140 Families of the Workers of those *Woolen Manufactures*, wherewith *Hamburgh* † and the Coun-

M 4

tries

' In this Comparison, I am neither unmindful of, nor ungrateful for, the happy Times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*. — But —

' The Happiness of the Times I now mention, was indignously set off by this Distinction, that every other Kingdom, every other State, was entangled and almost destroyed by foreign or domestick Wars, while these Kingdoms were alone looked upon as the Garden of the World.

' *Scotland*, in a Competency at least, if not Excess of Plenty, and in a Temper free from Rebellion. *Ireland*, which had been a Sponge to draw, and a Gulph to swallow, all that could be got from *England*; was reduced to that degree of Husbandry and Government, that it not only subsisted of itself, and gave this Kingdom all that it might have expected from it, but really increased the Revenue forty or fifty thousand Pounds a Year, besides a considerable Advantage to the People by the Traffick and Trade from thence.

' When these Outworks were thus fortified, it was no wonder if *England* was generally thought in a State of Security and great Happiness — Trade increased to that degree, that we were the Exchange of *Christendom* (the Revenue from thence to the Crown, being almost double to what it had been in the best Times) and the Bullion of neighbour Kings brought to receive a Stamp from the Mint of *England*.'

† Mr. *Coke* says, 'As the *Spanish* Trade was most enriching to this Nation, so the Trade to *Hamburgh* and the Countries and Kingdoms within the *Sound*, with the Woolen Manufactures, was the best the *English* had for the

tries within the *Sound* were supplied, went into *Holland*, where the *Dutch*, as wise as *Queen Elizabeth* was in entertaining the *Walloons*, persecuted by the Duke of *Alva*, established these *English* Excise free, and House Rent free for seven Years; and from these the *Dutch* became instructed in working these Manufactures, which before they knew not. †

C H A P. XXXVI.

King CHARLES 1625---40.

1. **W**HAT in the foregoing Chapter is transcribed from Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Coke*, is all that our Historians have mentioned upon the Subject within this Period. During which, the Sittings of Parliament were short and rare, so that no Statutes occur; and for the same Reason, I conceive, not a single Tract about it, so far as I can be informed. And indeed it may be observed, that occasional Treatises upon the Subject of Trade, have always an Eye to the Meetings of Parliament. But as Government never dies, and cannot Sleep long, what was wanting of Legislature, the executive Power undertook to make up in this Case. And the Privy Council unhappily usurping the Province of the Lords and Commons, Proclamations were made to serve instead

‘ the Employment of People, Shipping and Navigation.
 ‘ The Company which traded into the *Sound*, was called
 ‘ the *East Country* Company; and *Queen Elizabeth*, and
 ‘ after her King *James*, to honour them, called it the Royal
 ‘ Company.

‘ This Trade the *English* enjoyed Time out of Mind;
 ‘ and the Cloths which supplied it, were principally made
 ‘ in *Suffolk* and *Yorkshire*. And *Ipswich*, as it was the
 ‘ finest Town in *England*, and had the noblest Harbour
 ‘ on the East, and most convenient for the Trade of the
 ‘ Northern and Eastern Parts of the World, so till this
 ‘ Time it was in a flourishing State, as any other in *Eng-
 ‘ land*.’

† See Ch. 39. §. 4. Note.

instead of Acts of Parliament; several of which Proclamations are here selected for the Readers Observation, viz.

2. *A Proclamation touching the Eastland Merchants.* * March 7. 1629.

3. *A*

* Reciting, ‘ Whereas the *Society and Company of East-land Merchants*, trading to the *Baltique Seas*, have, by the Space of *fifty Years* at least, had a constant Possession of Trade in those Parts, by Letters Patents under the great Seal, for the sole bringing in and carrying out to and from those Parts ————— *Polonia Wool*, &c. with general Prohibitions to all others. We minding that the said Society shall not sustain any Violation or Diminution of its Priveleges, do straightly charge all our Customers, &c. that they suffer not any broad Cloth, Dozens, &c. or such like *English* Commodities, to be shipped for Exportation to those Parts; nor any Hemp, Flax, Yarne, Cable Yarne, Cordage, Pot-ashes, Soap-ashes, *POLONIA WOOL*, &c. or any other Commodities whatsoever of those foreign Parts (Corn and Grain excepted) to be landed, except only such as shall be brought in by such as are free of the said Company.’

Whether this was the Result of Money paid to the Crowne and its Officers, or only of ill-judged Policy in these Matters, mistaking the Benefit of particular Companies of Merchants for the Interest of Trade, and the Nation in general, I will not take upon me to determine. I suspect the former; but may venture to pronounce certainly, that upon whatever Motives this was done, it was, to all Intents and Purposes, confirming a Monopoly.

*I must further remark, That in these Times, one Article of the Imports of the English Eastland Company, appears to have been *POLONIA WOOL*, which, tho’ no way prohibited, seems not to have been practised of late Years: And I conclude the Reason of that Intermision is, because the English Wool is render’d so much cheaper, than the Wool of Poland, as that the latter can have no Vent here, as formerly it had. But this shows, that the Causes commonly assigned for prohibiting the Exportation of English and Irish Wool, are not founded in Truth; consequently they are not the true Cause of this Policy; and that the English Wool-grower lies under the particular Hardship of having his Produce depressed below its natural Value, for Reasons that are not so well to be avow- ed.*

April 17. 1630. 3. *A Proclamation for preventing the Exportation of Wools, Woolfels, Yarne, Fullers Earth, and Wood Ashes, and of Hides both tanned and raw.* †

Rymer, p. 155.

Ch. 33. §. 11. Note.

† Reciting, 'That the late King James, after Report made by divers Persons of Quality, That Exportation of Wools, &c. were a great Means to the foreign making of Cloth, and a principal Impediment to the Vent of Cloths made in England', did by his Royal Proclamation, July 20. 1622. straightly charge and command, that no Manner of Wools, &c. should be transported out of the Realm, or from Ireland, except to England. Which Proclamation by his late Majesties Decease determined. And yet we find the Reason and Necessity do still remain. — We therefore have thought fit to renew the said Proclamation, with further Prohibition of the Exportation of Hides both tanned and raw, (by reason of the Exportation whereof, as we are informed, divers of the like Inconveniencies have and do daily happen) upon Pain of Confiscation, &c. and the severest Censure of our Court of Star-Chamber, and such other Pains, as by our Laws and Prerogative Royal may be inflicted.

'And in case there be now in Force any former Licences, or Authorities heretofore given or granted by us, or any of our Predecessors, for Transportation of Woolls, we do hereby revoke and disanull the same, and are resolved that none such hereafter shall be granted.

'And for the better Utterance of Cloth within this our Kingdom, we do straightly charge and command, That when, and as often as upon the Occasion of any Burials or Funerals, any Blacks be hereafter given or worn, that then such Blacks and Mourning Stuffs shall be only of Cloth and Stuffs made of the Wools of this Kingdom, and not elsewhere, or otherwise.'

I remark upon this Proclamation,

1st, *The Reason assigned for prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, 'That it was a great Means to the foreign making of Cloth, and a principal Impediment to the Vent of Cloths in England.'* This is nearly, if not altogether the same Notion with that ascribed, tho' falsely, to Sir Walter Raleigh (See Chap. 31. §. 1.); which Notion see exploded by a Merchant (Chap. 34. §. 1.) But we shall have frequent Opportunities of proving, that Foreigners have ample Means of making Cloth without the Help of English or Irish Wool; as also that the chief Obstruction to the Vent of English

4. *A Proclamation to restrayne the Transportation of Sept. 30. Corne, Wool, Woolfels, Fullers Earth, and Leather.* * 1632.

5. *A*

English Cloth, hath ever been, not the Exportation of English Wool, but another Cause, namely Prohibitions, or Impositions on English Cloth, &c.

2dly, *It is next to be observed, that as the Proclamation mentioned of King James, determined with his Life; so we may believe that Wool had now been freely exported for six Years.*

3dly, *Whereas mention is here made of former Licences granted for the Exportation of Wool, that proves what was before a reasonable Conjecture, that King James's Proclamation tended to the Exportation of Wool, and not to a Prevention thereof, that it was only a Device for Money, and to blind the People. In like manner, the Proclamation of King Charles was pleasing to the Manufacturers, at the same time that it made way for his extorting Money by Licences, which he was no way entitled to by Law. And altho' King Charles says, 'No such Licences shall be granted for the future; yet as he, by disagreeing with his Parliament, had just then put himself into the like Circumstances with his Father in 1622; so there is little Reason to imagine, that he meant more or less by this Proclamation, than his Father before him, in the like Circumstances, and in the same Case, had done; or that it was other than one Device, among many, to relieve himself without the Aid of Parliament. And to this he had a stronger Inducement, than even King James himself had; as the latter was entitled by Act of Parliament to 3l. 6s. 8d. from Demizens for every Sack of Wool transported; but Tonnage and Poundage (of which the Subsidy on Wool had, from Ed. IV. constantly made a Part) not having been granted to King Charles, as to his Predecessors; altho' he continued to exact the same, yet was it not obtain'd without Force; consequently the Revenue came very short in those respects, of what otherwise it might have been.*

I may observe further, that his including tanned Leather in the same Proclamation, is a further Evidence, if not of the real Motives upon which it issued, yet of the very crude Notions entertained in those Times, concerning Trade in general.

* 'The King's Majesty taking into Consideration the evil Practices of Corne Masters and Hoorders of Corne, as by Merchants and others, to inhanche the Price of Corn and Grain; which hath appeared not only in the late Dearth, but in the Years now past, when by the Goodness of God, there was such Plenty and Abundance of Corn, as seldom hath been greater; and yet the Rates and Prices of Corn

Ch. 33. §. 11. Note.

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 285.

in

in many Parts of this Kingdom, especially in the City of London, and the Parts near adjoining, were kept up at far higher Prices, than was fit to be in a Time of so general Plenty; and that howsoever by the provident and constant Care of his Majesty and his Privy Council, Transportation of Corn was restrayned, even in that plentiful Year, yet in many Parts of the Kingdom false Rumors were and are spread and divulged, of great Transportation of Corn licensed and authorized, to the great Dishonour of his Majesty and the State, and of a wicked Purpose to keep up Corne and Grain at inordinate Prices. His Majesty with the Advice of his Privy Council, doth hereby declare, that the said Rumors were most false, &c.

And albeit his Majesty is well satisfied, that by the remaining Store of the last, and the Increase of this Year, there is ample and good Provision of Corne to supply the whole Kingdom; yet considering the want of Corne in other Parts might occasion the Transportation thereof, which would necessarily draw on an Inhancement of the Prices: Therefore his Majesty doth forbid the Transportation of Corne for one Year, and from the End of that Year, until his Majesty shall signify his Pleasure to the contrary.

And whereas his Majesty is informed, that sundry Merchant Strangers of foreign Countries in Amity with his Majesty, have accustomed, under the Pretence of taking in a Supply of fresh Victuals for their Necessities, to carry away much Beef, &c. His Majesty doth hereby command, that the same be not hereafter suffered to be done.

And further his Majesty doth prohibit and forbid, that Wool, Woolfels, Fullers Earth, tanned Leather, or raw Hides, be at any Time hereafter transported.

And his Majesty being likewise informed, that great Abuses have been committed in Times past, by Corruption and Negligence of Officers, as well in permitting Wool, &c. to be transported, as also in permitting the same to pass, either without Licence, or in greater Quantities than hath been licensed, or in suffering the same to pass beyond the Seas, under Colour of Transportation from Port to Port. And therefore his Majesty willeth and commandeth, that no Corn, Wool, Woolfels, Fullers Earth, Leather, or raw Hides, be permitted to pass from Port to Port, but upon good Bonds given with sufficient Securities for relanding the same.

The Construction to be put upon this Proclamation is, That the King meant not to prohibit absolutely the Exportation of these

5. A Proclamation prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Cloths into Germany, or the Provinces of the Netherlands. 1634.

6. A

these Commodities, but to raise Money from Licences for exporting them. And whereas Corn, &c. appears to have born a good Price, notwithstanding there had been good and plentiful Seasons; that is to be imputed to the good Condition of the English Trade in these two last Years (as noted by Lord Clarendon, Chap. 35. §. 1. Note.) by means of Peace and Intercourse the Nation enjoyed with Spain and other foreign States.

† Except to the Mart and Staple Towns of the Fellow-ship of Merchant Adventurers, who shall admit into the Freedom of their said Trade, all such our Subjects dwelling in our City of London, and exercised in the Profession; and not Shopkeepers (except they give over their Shops) as shall desire the same, for the Fines of fifty Pounds a Piece, if they shall take their Freedom before the Feast of St. John the Baptist; and all such Subjects of the out Ports, as being exercised in the Trade of Merchandise shall desire the same, paying them five and twenty Pounds a Piece, if they shall take their said Freedoms before Michaelmas; and the Sons and Servants of such, at their Admission shall pay 20 Nobles each. And such as shall not come into the said Freedom before the Days herein prefixed, shall pay double of the Fines before limited respectively, in case they shall afterwards desire to be admitted into the said Fellowship.

And our further Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby inhibit all our Subjects, not being free of the said Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, from presuming to trade in the said Commodities of Cloth, &c. into any of the Ports or Places of Germany, or the Low Countries, upon Pain of such Punishment, as our Court of Star-Chamber (whom we especially charge with the Execution of our Royal Pleasure herein) shall think fit to inflict for such Contempts.

The Interlopers, in their Reasons against the Merchant Adventurers, 1662, urge, 'That the Company obtained this Proclamation (so contrary to the Resolutions of Parliament ten Years before) more by Strength of Purse, than Argument.' They say further, 'That in Consequence of those Votes of Parliament, 23 Jac. by which Trade was left free, the English Traders increased to above 600, and the Dutch fell off from making of Cloth; so that Anna 1632, they did

April 16. 1638. *Rymer*, vol. 20. p. 221. May 5. 1639. 6. A Proclamation that all Woolen Cloths and Stuffs made or mixed with Wool, and brought to London to be sold or transported, be first brought to Blackwell-Hall, there to be searched.

7. A Proclamation for better ordering the Transportation of Cloths, and other Woolen Manufactures into Germany and the Low Countries; and to restrain the Transportation of Wool, Woolfells, Fullers Earth and Tobacco-pipe Clay. *

CHAP.

The Merchant Adventurers, 1662.

Ch. 30, 31. Ch. 34. §. 8. Note. Page 342. §. 5.

did not make 4000 Cloths per Annum; but by reason of this Proclamation, before the Year 1640, they made 20000 per Annum, and the aforesaid 600 Traders declined to nine score. To this the Merchant Adventurers reply, That the Interlopers are much mistaken, in supposing that in 1632, the Dutch made so few as 4000 Cloths per Annum; and that in 1639, or 1640, they were run up no higher than 20,000 Cloths per Annum; for that they might with more Truth have said to 40,000 Cloths per Annum; and confessed, that from that fatal Project of Sir William Cockayne (13 Jac.^o) they never went backward in this Manufacture, and in the serious Prosecution thereof.

* Whereas his Majesty by Proclamation, Dec. 10, 1634, did inhibit, &c. His Majesty hath thought fit to declare his Royal Pleasure, that his former Proclamation touching the Premises be observed. And further, his Majesty taking notice that divers of his Subjects neglecting the Grace (beyond Example of former Times so freely offered them) do notwithstanding trade underhand into other Parts of Germany and the Low Countries, than the Mart Towns of the Merchant Adventurers, in Contempt and Neglect of his Majesty's Royal Command, and incurring the Penalties thereof, is notwithstanding pleased to give yet further Time for all such as are capable to enter and be received into the Freedom of the said Fellowship, between this and the Feast of St. Michael next, upon such Fines and Conditions as before directed. But in case Persons shall still neglect to take hold of this his Grace, and shall yet continue to trade disorderly, his Majesty shall not only have Cause for the future, utterly to exclude them his Grace, but will require a strict account of such Persons.

And whereas his Majesty is informed of much Decay in the Trade of Cloth, and other Woolen Manufactures, by secret conveying (contrary to sundry good Laws and Proclamations) of Wools, Woolen Yarn, and Fullers Earth,

CHAP. XXXVII.

King CHARLES 1640---I.

1. THE Necessity of the King's Affairs, after a long Intermission, had obliged him to call a Parliament, which met November the 3d, 1640. A few Days after, a great Number of Petitions were presented for the Redress of Grievances. Mr. Pym enumerating the same, instanced under the Head of Trade, 'divers Rapin, Clothiers having been forced away, who had set up their Manufactures abroad to the great Hurt of the Kingdom.'

2. Sir John Culpepper insisting chiefly on the particular Grievance of Monopolies, it was voted, 'that all such Members as directly or indirectly had any Share in, or Benefit from, any Project or Monopoly, should be disabled to sit in the House.' Four were expelled on that Score, and many more withdrew themselves, and new Elections were made in their room.

3. The

Earth, into the Parts beyond the Seas. His Majesty doth strictly charge and command, that no Person whatsoever presume to transport or convey out of this Kingdom any Wools, &c. nor any Sort of Tobacco-pipe Clay (which is now found to be of the same Use as Fullers Earth) any Licence or Toleration therein formerly granted notwithstanding. Given at our Court at York, the fifth Day of May, per ipsum Regem.

It is left to the Reader to make his own Reflections upon this Proclamation. Rapin tells us, that about this Time, the King did publish one to revoke sundry Monopolies, Licences and Commissions, which he had granted by his Letters Patents. But very likely this was to amuse the People, and the Proclamation was not executed, since the next Year he published another to revoke the same Monopolies which should have been abolished by this.

As to the Decay mentioned (in the Proclamation) of the Trade of Cloth, &c. at this Time, the Merchant Adventurers in their Answer to the Interlopers 1662, admit, 'That a Persecution for Conscience and Religion in 1634-5 (which had drove many Families of Manufacturers out of the Kingdom) added to the Troubles of the North in this Year, did cast a damp upon the Woolen Trade.'

3. The main Grievances, private and publick being redressed, the Parliament thought fit to grant the King *Tonnage and Poundage*. *The Statute is not printed*, but thereupon issued,

Aug. 24. 1641. 4. *A Proclamation for the true Payment of Tonnage and Poundage.* †

CHAP.

Rymer,
vol. 20.
p. 504.

† 'Whereas in and by the last Act of this present Parliament concerning Tonnage and Poundage, entitled, A Subsidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money payable upon Merchandize exported and imported; it is provided, That no Penalty or Forfeiture contained in the said Act, or in any Act made in the first Year of the Reign of his Majesties late Royal Father, entitled, A Subsidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage, Wools, &c. do or shall enſue to any Person or Persons, unless they refuse to compound for any Merchandize or Goods imported or exported, after Notice given of the last said Act, Penalty and Forfeiture by Proclamation, where the said Goods are or ought to be entered.

'His most Excellent Majesty, lest any of his loving Subjects should forbear to pay the said Tonnage, &c. hath thought fit to declare his Royal Will and Pleasure to be, That all his loving Subjects, whom it shall or may concern, do take notice of the said last Act, and accordingly pay, &c.'

N. B. *As well on Account of the Reference here made to the Statute, 1 Jac. for Tonnage, Poundage, Wools, &c. as also from the Ordinance of Parliament (1642. p) which runs exactly in the like Terms. I conceive this Statute (16 Car. c. 8.) to have been the same in Substance with the aforementioned; consequently, that Wool was now allowable to be exported by any one, paying the appointed Duty. And in the Month of August, this Year, (I have seen it under his own Hand-writing) Sir John Brownlowe of Belton in Lincolnshire, sold three Years Wool of Belton and Rippingale, in the same County, to a Bays-maker of Colchester, at 24 s. per Tod.*

P Ch. 39. §. 1.

Ch. 27. §. 1. Note.

Wool sold at 24 s. per Tod.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

England's Safety in Trade's Encrease, most humbly presented to the High Court of Parliament.

By Henry Robinson, Gent. 1641. *

1. THE *Spanish Trade* at present we have to our- selves †. And yet among other Means it is necessary, in order to perfect and preserve the Trade of *England*, to settle stricter Rules for overseeing and sealing Cloth and all Sorts of Woolen Manufacture. Page 2. Page 6.
- 2 The *Hollander* hath no Sheep to shear, and yet makes Cloth as good cheap as *England*. Page 8. Ch. 51.
3. There will be found upon due Enquiry, a Necessity of freeing broad Cloth and some other Woolen Manufactures, from all or the greatest Part of Customs, unless we can keep other Nations from making the same Sorts, or be contented the Vent of ours should continually decrease. Ch. 140. §. 2.
4. Yet

* In the last long Interval of Parliament, I have not met with any Account of so much as a single Tract upon this Subject. People who wanted to have them, had another way of obtaining their desired Ends of Monopoly, &c. by Licenses and Patents purchased with Money. And if there were any, and certainly there were several, who disapproved such Measures, yet the Power of the Crown, in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, ran too high, for any one to risk his Liberty and Fortune, for the sake of exposing them, when they knew it could only issue in their own Ruin.—But now upon the Meeting of this Parliament, they are presented by Mr. Robinson with a short System of Trading Politics; in which, as in most others of the same kind, the Woolen Trade makes one Article, and which I here give as briefly and truly as I can. If he shall appear to be not quite consistent on this Head, he is neither the only one, that is not, nor the most so, of any I shall have occasion to produce.

† Exclusive of the *Dutch*, is what I suppose is meant here. (See c. 39. §. 8.)

4. Yet for the Decay of our Woolen Staple in some Countries, we cannot remedy it by withdrawing our Customs and other Charges, unless we prevail with those States, that they not only not *impose new Duties*, but pull off such as are of later Times imposed, purposely to keep us from bringing our Cloth, &c. thither, and encreasing the Manufacture thereof among themselves; which succeeds so well with them, as if we be but a little longer contented with it, for what concerns Redress, we may for ever after hold our Peace.

5. As to the State of *Venice* and their high Duties upon Currants, which cost the Nation 70,000 l. per Ann. we have not 5000 l. worth of Trade with them in a Year, besides these Currants so damageable to ourselves; and for our Friendship, however they regard it, it is of good Consequence to them, in that the greatest part of their Wools from *Spain*, and the rest from *Constantinople*, is most commonly brought in *English* Shipping; which if they come short of, our own Cloth may find so much more Vent in *Barbary* and *Turky*.

6. However of late Ages, and even at present, we are of considerable Strength and Credit, for clothing so many of them with our Woolen Commodities; yet if we consider seriously thereof, and see we cannot at present vent in *Germany* and *the Low Countries*, one third part of what we used in former Times, being beat out of it by their Subtilty and Industry, in making the same themselves; we may perhaps deservedly have Cause to fear that our Woolen Staple, and Manufacture especially, will by degrees wheel away from us in that Vicissitude, whereto we find all other sublunary States and Things are obnoxious. And though as it were to recompence those Losses, and encourage our farther Endeavours, Divine Providence hath discovered to us, how to utter a considerable Quantity of Cloth (though not answerable to the Decay of *Germany* and *the Low Countries*) for *Turkey* and *Muscovia*; yet for the latter, we are scarce likely to enjoy it long, the *Hollanders* serving the same Market with our own Cloth carried thither from *Hamborough*, upon better Terms than we can; which might perhaps be prevented, by putting a greater Charge and Custom on such Sorts of Cloth sent for those Parts, which are not spent there, but sent for *Muscovia* or *Barbary*;

Barry, were it not that hereafter they will be like to make the Cloth themselves, and so debarr us totally. But for *Turkey*, whereas for some later Years, we have sent above 20,000 Cloths dyed and dressed, it is certain we cannot continue the Trade in the future with any Profit for above half that Quantity, especially since we must likely forbear those Country Cotton Wools, which used to furnish us, being now served with better cheap of our own Plantation in the Western Islands.

7. The Decay * of Trade is in every Bodies Mouth, Page 174
from the Sheepshearer to the Merchant. The restoring of our Woolen Staple must be, by seeking to export the greatest Quantity that we can of Woolen Goods dyed and dressed in their full Manufacture; as also by settling such a Course, as the Officers, who are only to seal the Cloth, if it hold in Length, Breadth, good Spinning, &c. may not pass it over so carelessly, more regarding their Fees than their Duty.

8. For the first, I know the Enterprize was made many Years since [* 1616] in seeking to send nothing Ch. 31;
but dyed and dressed Cloths into *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, and how prejudicial it proved to us, in teaching
N 2 ing

* This has ever been a Complaint, and in all probability ever will; so that to judge at any time of the real State of the Nation, in respect of Trade, it is necessary to look out for some more certain Test than popular Fame and Belief. The Custom-House Accounts, as often as they are to be met withal, tho' not exactly infallible, are our surest Guides in this Case. I have not met with any about this Time. But from this Writer's own Account, tho' perhaps the Trade of *England* was not then altogether so good as it had been a little before, nor then perhaps so good as by Lord *Clarendon* it has been represented to have been; yet I think it appears, that the Woolen Trade was then in no very bad Condition, so far as relates to the whole Consumption and Vent of Woolen Goods; which is what the Grower and Manufacturer do chiefly depend upon. But if (as there is Reason to suspect) our Author here, as a meer Merchant, was substituting his own particular Gain, in the Place of the general Interest of the Kingdom; and with that View advised, as we shall see (§. 12, 13.) the sending out less Cloth, to the end, (I suppose) it might be bought cheaper at Home, and sold with more Profit abroad; that is another Consideration.

Ch. 35.
§. 2. Noted

ing them to make Cloth of their own, rather than to be so stinted by us, and since, chiefly in *Holland*, by imposing daily new Taxes, and Customs upon all our Cloth spent there, both white and coloured. But if at that Time in a quiet way we had only taken the Custom and Charge off from coloured, and by degrees put it upon the white^u, still raising it insensibly, it might in all probability have done the Feat; the cheap coloured beating the dear white Cloth out of Service; and for the present, we can only make this use of it, that unless we give out Cloth both white and coloured at cheaper Rates, than they make theirs of the same Goodness, we must look quite to lose the Trade.

^u Ch. 91. §. 10, 11.

Page 18.

9. But for the Searchers of the Cloth, that it may be compleat, methinks it might be well compassed; and it is of great Consequence.

10. And for Fullers Earth, Wools, or any other Materials which conduce to Clothing, we must not only forbear to carry them ourselves, but hinder others what we can † from doing so.

11. The Encouragement of all Manufacture at present practised in *England*, and bringing in of new, is of wonderful Consequence, in regard it sets Multitudes of poor People at Work. ||

12. We must really lessen our Importation and Consumption of foreign Goods at home, nor rest there neither,

† Though I do agree with the Author that it is right to hinder others what we can in this Case, it doth not therefore certainly follow, that prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, is the best Course to be taken for that End.

|| This is very true, but in regard this same Policy was one at least of the first Causes of the *Low Countries* breaking with *England*, in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign^v, and consequently of the *English* Draperies being prohibited in those Countries, I don't see the Policy of prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, and at the same time giving into, and encouraging, as much as may be, every other Manufacture, tho' of foreign Materials, (which last nevertheless ought to be, I think, and certainly has been, done) can consist with the Interest of the *English* Wool-grower in particular, or even of the Nation in general. The Reasons of this my Opinion I shall give more at large hereafter.

^v Ch. 19. §. 4. Note.

ther, but resolve to do the like for Exportation, sending out less Cloth hereafter; and this is not all neither, but we must lade it as little as may be with Customs, if possible to give so good cheap abroad, as others might not make to live by it.

13. Since therefore the Exportation of Cloth, our most Staple Commodity, and Importation of foreign Wares must be diminished ||; to make good what I have intended towards the enlarging of our Traffick, the Remainder of our Stock, People and Labourers, which of late have been employed in making more Cloth, and bringing in more Superfluities than we could well digest, must necessarily be set on work some other Way; and this may not only have effect by practising new Fabricks, Fishing, &c., but by promoting the *East India* Trade.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Occurrences and Ordinances 1641---53.

1. ENacted by Parliament, a Subsidy of Tunnage and Poundage, Wools, &c., under such Proviso^s, *Abridg- ment of* Clauses and Limitations, as are contained in an Act of *Ordinan- ces, N^o 11.* Parliament 1 *Jacobi*; entitled, An Act for the granting of a Subsidie to the King of Tunnage and Poundage. 1641.

2. An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, in Parliq- 1643. *ment assembled, for upholding the Government † of the Rymer's Fædera, Fellowship* vol. 20. N 3

|| But here might it not have been justly asked, What was to be done with the Wool, which he would neither allow to be exported in the Fleece, nor yet in the Manufacture?

* A Proviso (1 *Jac. c. 33.*^w) was, that a Merchant De- ^w Ch. 27. nizen shipping Wools, shall pay the same Duty as Strangers, §. 1. *Note.* viz. 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Sack. From this Time therefore, upon these Terms, the Exportation of Wool continued to be quite legal, 'till inhibited by an Ordinance of Parliament, *Jan. 19. 1647.* (See §. 3.)

† For the better, &c. — the Lords and Commons do ordain, That the said Fellowship shall continue and be a Corporation, and shall have Power to levy Monies on the

Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers in England, to the better Maintenance of the Trade of Clothing and Woolen Manufacture of the Kingdom.

Abridgment of Ordinances, No 370. Jan. 19, 1647.

3. An Ordinance of Parliament, to prohibit the Exportation of Wool, Woolen Yarn, Woolfels, Fullers Earth, Tobacco-pipe Clay, &c. beyond Sea, or into Scotland. †

4. A. D.

the Members of their Corporation, and their Goods, for the necessary Charge and Maintenance of their Government; and that no Persons shall trade into those Parts limited by their Incorporation, but such as are free of that Corporation, upon Forfeiture of their Goods.

Provided that the said Fellowship shall not exclude any Person from his Freedom and Admission into the said Fellowship, who shall desire it by way of Redemption, if such Person by their Custom be capable thereof, and hath been bred a Merchant, and shall pay one hundred Pounds for the same, if he be free, and an Inhabitant of the City of London, and trade from that Port; or fifty Pounds, if he be not free of the Fellowship, and no Inhabitant of the City, and trade not from thence.

And that the said Fellowship shall have Power to imprison Members of their Company in Matters of Government, and to give such an Oath, or Oaths to them, as shall be approved by both Houses of Parliament, &c.

Interlopers Reasons, 1662.

N. B. In the long Parliament there was a general Complaint against them, [the Merchant Adventurers] as a national Grievance; yet by lending the said Parliament 30,000 l. to rebel against their King, they made a shift to have an Ordinance to continue their Charter.

But see Ch. 40. §. 1. by which their Loan to the Parliament for this exorbitant Grant seems to have been 60,000 l.

† Upon Pain of Forfeiture of the said Wools, &c. and for every Pound Weight of the said Earth or Clay 3 s. to be forfeited by the Owners thereof. — And the Owners of Ships and Vessels, knowing such Offence, to forfeit all their Interest in their Ships, &c. — A Merchant offending shall be disabled from requiring any Debt. The Owner of Land where such Clay is digged, for every Offence against this Act shall forfeit 500 l. A Justice of Peace for Neglect of his Duty on Information, 100 l. Entry shall be made from time to time of all such Clay and Earth, with some sufficient Person, a Clothier or Fuller of the County of Kent, to be appointed by the Barons of the Exchequer, to keep a Book of the Entries of the

4. A. D. 1648. As to the State of the Nation, in Coke, Reference to our foreign Neighbours; at the Death of p. 419. King Charles, we shall find the Dutch making their Advantage of the English Dissentions. It was now above 13 Years since they entertained the English fled from Laud and Wren's Injunctions, whereby they acquired the Art of making the Woolen Manufacture of Essex and Suffolk, which before, the Dutch knew not ||; and the Wars of England breaking out, the English did not so fully supply the Countries within the Sound as before; and then the Dutch were rather Interlopers than Competitors, in the Trade of Woolen Manufactures into those Countries.

Page 421.

5. This Want of Supply put the Silesians and Polanders upon a Necessity of being furnished other ways; and making a Virtue of Necessity, they got Artificers to instruct the Natives of Silesia and the Western Parts of Poland, by compounding the Wools of Poland and Silesia, to make a coarse Sort of Cloth, called Slesys*, which

N 4 clad

true Quantities of Earth and Clay measured and received from the Pits, &c. and certify such Book yearly upon Oath, and to have 6 d. for every Load of 22 Bushels.

|| Though it is true enough, that the States of Holland received and encouraged these English Refugees; it is in no wise to be imagined, that the Dutch at this Time were unacquainted with any Part of the Woolen Manufacture that was known to the English. For they were themselves a Part of the seventeen Provinces, where this Manufacture, in all its Branches, had been most conspicuous for some Centuries; and the greatest Flight of foreign Woolen Manufacturers to England, in the Time of Edward III. was directly from Zealand*, one of the seven United Provinces; and we further learn from Mr. Huet's Memoirs of the Dutch Trade, (See Ch. 92.) that in all the several Migrations of Manufacturers, &c. on the score of Persecution, from Brabant, Flanders, and France, the greater Part constantly took Sanctuary with the States General.

Ch. 5. §. 5. Note.

* I think Mr. Coke here was very ill informed; and that he writes below himself, in representing this Cloth, called Slesys, as if the Name of it denoted it to be of a very inferior Sort to any Cloth made in England; whereas by that Word, I should imagine, is to be understood, only the Cloth of a particular Country, as distinguished from that of other

clad the poorer and ordinary Sort of Inhabitants, whereby the *English* to this Day have lost the Trade of coarse Cloths to these Places, which before they † solely enjoyed. This was one Reason that the *Dutch* became Competitors with the *English* in the other Trade for Woolen Manufactures within the *Sound*.

6. For tho' the *English* Manufactures were much better, and could be sold much cheaper than the *Dutch*; yet the *Dutch* Navigation for foreign Vent was manifold cheaper, and more convenient than the *English*.

7. To this Cheapness of Shipping and Navigation is added the Advantage the *Dutch* have, above the *English*, in compounding Freights; which Advantage was increased yet more to the *Dutch* by the *English* Freights becoming less, after the *Silesians* and *Polanders* had got the Art of making *Sleys*.

* 1648. 8. This Year^x, at the Treaty of *Münster*, a Peace was made between the King of *Spain*, and the States of the

other Countries, and which, tho' not coming up to *Spanish* Cloth, *i. e.* Cloth made of fine *Spanish* Wool, nor, it may be, to the very best Cloth made of the finest *English* Wool, tho' that is far short of the finest *Spanish*, might yet be of very different Sorts, as to Beauty and Goodness; and a great deal of it, far from that mean contemptible Clothing, which Mr. *Coke*^y seems to think it; but which, if it was so, must have been more owing to a Defect in the Workmanship than of the Material, because the *Eastland* Merchants had been used to find their Account in importing some of those Wools^z to *England*; and latterly, as we shall see, the same have been sold at a better Price in *Holland*, than has been given for what we call the very best [long] Wool in *England*, in the same Year; and at about double the Price at that Time, of the common clothing Wool in *England*. But thus it is, to imagine that the *English* at any Time have had the † sole clothing of whole Kingdoms, without considering what immense Sums such a Trade must amount to, and without enquiring into the annual Amount of the *English* Woolen Exportations at any time. The want of such Consideration and Enquiry has led several Writers upon this Subject into very gross Errors; and is, in some sort, the Foundation of that greatest of all Errors upon this Subject, *viz.* That *England* once had, and therefore may regain a Monopoly in the Woolen Trade.

^y Ch. 40. P. 8.

^z Ch. 36. §. 2. Note.

the united *Netherlands*, whereby they were declared *Free States*, and so had as free a Trade with *Spain*, as the *English*; so that though the *English* had had the sole Trade to *Spain*, exclusive to the *Dutch*, for near forty five Years^{*}; now the *Dutch* were Competitors in it with the *English*, as well as in that into the *Sound*, with Woolen Manufactures.

9. To the Honourable the Council of State. The 1651. humble Petition † of the Governor, Deputy Assistants, *Thurloe's* and Fellowship of the Merchant Adventurers of *England*. State Papers, vol. 1. 10. Conf. p. 199.

* The Truce of 12 Years excepted, *viz.* from 1609 to 1621. (See Chap. 32. §. 15. Note.)

† Humbly sheweth,

That when Queen *Elizabeth* did openly declare herself against King *Philip* II. of *Spain*, Lord of the seventeen Provinces of the *Netherlands*, his Lieutenants, Governors of those Provinces, did take occasion to banish all *English* Cloth and Woolen Manufactures, and to prohibit the same to be imported. But, in time, as well to accommodate their own Merchants, as to gratify some Commanders and Churchmen, there was found a Means to dispense with the Importation of a greater or lesser Number of Cloths, under the Name of *Lycent*; which was brought by Merchants, sometimes *English*, and sometimes Strangers, as could best be agreed. And so in time this way of *Lycent* growing into Custom, and all things reconciled with King *James*, the same was made a Revenue of the Crown, and brought into the Finances of the remaining Provinces to the King of *Spain*, which hath so continued 'till of late Years; and sometimes hath not wanted Compliance from some *English*, partly changed in Religion, and there residing, and others pursuing their private Advantages, without any Care of the publick, in such manner, that no Complaint of the Injury, and Breach of the ancient Treaties of *Burgundy*, (which Charge the *English* Cloth with two Stivers^a only) could prevail. But by degrees this *Lycent* was advanced to 24 *Chap.* 17. *Gilders* upon a Cloth, which is 48 Shillings; and there-fore by way of Retaliation, when in the Beginning of the Case of this Parliament it was thought fit to compose a new Book of Rates, the *Flemish* Linens imported into *England* from *chants* of those Provinces, were thought fit to be raised to such a Height, as might make them sensible on their Parts of the

10. * Considerations of the Advantages to the Commonwealth of England, by getting all the Spanish Cloth Wools

the Burden; which had Effect accordingly; inasmuch that upon the Peace with the *States General*, they absolutely took off this Lycent; yet not without great Importance and Interest of their own Subjects, who gave Hope that in lieu thereof, the extraordinary Customs laid on their Linens here would be also reduced; which their Expectation hath by the Petitioners been represented to the Council of State, yet without Effect; of which Delay the Court of *Bruxels* taking notice, and being always intent to advance their Prince's Revenue, without any Regard to the Interposition of those of *Antwerp*, who still opposed the same, have again prohibited all *English* Cloths and other Woolen Manufactures to be imported; which is to make way again to this Course of Lycent; wherein also the Petitioners have Cause to doubt they are again, as formerly, encouraged by some *English* Merchants, trading in those Parts, for such private Views and Advantages, as have been formerly made thereof.

Wherefore the Petitioners conceiving this to be of that high Nature, in relation to the Charges of the great Staple Commodity of this City of *London*, or banishing the same out of these Lands, as ought not by them to be concealed from the State, do represent the same to your Honours; humbly praying that your Honours would consider the evil Consequences thereof, and accordingly apply such timely Remedy, as in your great Wisdom shall be found requisite.

And your Petitioners, &c.

Indorsed
1651.

* First, our getting all the *Spanish* Cloth Wools into our Hands will totally dissolve the Clothing of *Holland*, which by means of these Wools hath of late Years mightily increased, to the Destruction of the Vent of all fine Cloths of *English* making both in *Holland*, *France*, and the *East-Lands*; and hath drawn from us considerable Numbers of Weavers, Dyers, and Cloth-workers, now settled in *Leyden*, and other Towns of *Holland*; by whose Help they have considerably improved their Skill in Cloth, and have made in that one Province (*communibus annis*) 24,000 to 26,000 Cloths; of which scarcely one Cloth was made of other than *Spanish* Wool; and surely not one but by a Mixture of the most Part of it; for though they

Wools into *English* Hands, and some humble Offers at the Means to effect the same.

11. A

they have some Supplies of Wool from *Poland*, *Pomerland*, and *Luyckland*, yet they have found by costly Experience, that in making Cloth of the coarse Wools they lose their Capital; and that though our *English* Cloth be charged in their Shops with a very heavy Excise, (of which their own Manufacture is free) yet we can undersell them, and gain too; which comes to pass thus: One Pound of *English* Wool of 12 *d.* Price, is improved in a *Ordinary* mixed Cloth to 4 *s.* so as $\frac{1}{4}$ of its Value is merely made *English* out of the Labour, and that Labour of Carding, Spinning, *Wool* 12 *d.* Dying, Weaving, Fulling and Working, does not cost us above $\frac{1}{2}$ of what the *Hollander* pays, by reason of their high Rates of Houses and Victuals, to which all Labourers Wages are proportioned. But now, in fine *Spanish* Wool that costs three times as much as our *ordinary* *English* Wool, that Advantage in the Labour doth not hold for us; nor can the most judicious Eye guess so near the true Worth of fine Cloth, but that the Maker may at most times advance 10 *per Cent.* on the Fancy of the Buyer, which on coarse Cloths cannot be done; and therefore they paying no Impost or Excise on the Manufacture, from the Sheep's Back to their own; and ours paying Customs here, and Freight and Insurance thither, and a great Excise there, we cannot recover the Vent of our fine Cloth in *Holland*, (if we should be reconciled) nor in other Parts, nor get our Workmen home, but by keeping the *Hollander* from *Spanish* Wools.

Secondly, By that we shall also right ourselves upon the *French*, for their prohibiting our Cloth, by keeping them both from considerable Quantities of *Spanish* Wool, which they Yearly get from *Biscay*, and wrought into Cloth at *Roan*, and other Parts; and by totally cutting off the Supply of Cloth which they had from *Holland*, so as they must necessarily apply themselves to us.

Thirdly, We shall hereby much increase the Vent of our *English* Manufactures in *Biscay*. For whereas the *Hollanders* have of late Years bought and exported from thence $\frac{2}{3}$ Parts at least of all the Wools, and sold there proportionably of their Country Stuffs and Says, they will be now discouraged from coming to a Market, where they cannot have any Commodity to make their Return in, or relade their Ships withal, nor any Course of Exchange to make, nor Money, but Copper, not worth their exporting.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, As this would much improve the Stock of a great many Individuals; so will it make a very fair Increase of the publick Revenues of the Commonwealth, by the Excise of the Oyls, Soap, and dying Stuffs to be used in making 30,000 Cloths Yearly, more than formerly; and in the Customs of the most Part of them, when exported, with the Excise and Customs of the Commodities to be imported on the Returns of them.

For the Expedient of getting these Wools into our Hands, I do humbly conceive and offer, that it be done by the Authority of the King of Spain, who may be dealt with by our State, in the Treaty of Alliance (if any be) between our two Nations, that he undertake for us the Preemption of all the Wools of Segovia or Castile, which he will permit to be exported, and that for a certain Term of Years, and at such a Price as the Owners of the Wool, and the English Contracter may both have reasonable Content; and that the said King be obliged, that no Wools shall be exported out of any his Ports, but by the English Contracter; and that for the forming of a Stock for the Purpose, and the Management of the Work, the State will please to consider of declaring, that if a Company of Merchants of London, or any other Ports of England, will engage to make up such a Capital, they shall be empowered by a Charter, with a reasonable Authority for the Government of the Trade in one common Stock, as is the East India Company; and that they may erect several Courts in the respective Ports, for the Direction of the English Manufactures, to be exported from them, that so all Parts of the Commonwealth may share in it if they please. But more especially, that the Western Ports who do usually carry into Biscay from Newfoundland, 70,000 Quintals of Fish, besides Train Oyl, may not be deprived of Wool to make their Returns in; but that a Proportion of the fishing Ships may (if the Owners desire it) upon a reasonable Valuation, be received in, as a Part of that Stock, and the same employed to bring their Fish to Biscay for the Accompt of the Company; by which Means the Price of the Fish also will be better maintained, as being under one Direction.

And that it may not relish of a Monopoly, that the State would please to declare, that every English Subject that will underwrite for any Sum towards this Stock, shall be admitted, if he do it within a reasonable Time; and in Case the Sum underwritten shall exceed the necessary Stock, then every Sum subscribed to be reduced to the just Proportion of it, that so no Man be excluded; but that before the Publication hereof, the State would please to

to instruct such Men as they shall see fit; to make private Essay, and report how probable it may be to find Men to engage for the Stock, upon such Terms as the Wisdom of the State shall think fit to propound; that so our State may have Grounds for their Treaty with the Spaniard, and the Hollander get no Umbrage of the Design, to stir him to a Countermine.

And whereas the Merchant Adventurers are now soliciting the State to appoint an Agent to treat with the Spaniard about the Removal of their Staple from Holland into Flanders, I do humbly conceive that it may be made serviceable to the present Design. For,

First, It may be urged on the Spaniard, as an Argument for his Compliance, in granting us his Wools, because we are about to give his Subjects the Benefit of the Mart of our Cloth, which is the most compendious Means to restore the ancient Trade and Glory of those Provinces.

And it may lay a just Obligation on that Company, (if the State shall think fit to establish them) that they engage deeply towards the Stock for the Wools, because they are likely to have a liberal Share of the Profit that must come to our Nation thereby, by the Overthrow of the Holland's Clothing; for their Vent of Cloth will be thereby double as much as formerly.

And I humbly submit to the Consideration of the State, if it may not do well, in case they resolve to establish the Trade of the Merchant Adventurers under a Government, if they inordered, that no Man should have his Freedom, unless he brought in a proportionable Part of his Estate to the Stock for Wools.

And to avoid the Danger of the Companies enhancing the Price of Wools, it is a good Expedient, that they may come to Hands that must buy most of them again in Cloth.

But if the State think that not Security enough against the Company extorting an extravagant Price from the Clothiers, the Price may be regulated at a certain Rate of Profit, by Consent of the Undertakers, which they may not exceed.

Though this may be thought to have been a chimerical Project, as undoubtedly such it was, proceeding from a monopolish Imagination, in a Matter not likely to be compassed; yet I observe, that it was better founded than some others of a like Kind have been; particularly, that of the English proposing to themselves a Monopoly in any Sort of Woolen Goods, by engrossing, if it was possible, their own Wools, the like whereto, or what is in some Degree equivalent, are to be met with in many other Parts of Europe, and elsewhere; while the finest Spanish

1652. *Rymer*, vol. 10. p. 623. 11. A Petition of the *Merchant Adventurers*, concerning the removing their Company from *Rotterdam* to *Flanders* †. 12. *Thursday* the fourth of *November*, 1652, at the Council of State at *Whitehall*,

Ordered,

Page 625. That the Petition from the Company of *Merchant Adventurers*, delivered to the Council this Day, be referred to the Committee for foreign Affairs, who are to take the same into Consideration, and all other Papers formerly delivered into the Council concerning that Business, and report their Opinions thereupon.

* 13. A Chronological Deduction, concerning the *English*

Spanish Wools, for Cloth, are not to be matched in any other Part of Europe at least.

And here by the way, I note, that ordinary *English Wool* appears, from this Paper, to have been, at this Time, (1652) 12d. a Pound; whereas the best [long] *English Wool*, in these latter Times, especially in 1737, has been sold for 6d. a Pound, or less.

^b See Ch. 171.

† There being, at this Time, a Rupture between the Commonwealth of *England*, and the States General of the United Provinces, the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* thought it a proper Season to endeavour to re-establish themselves in the *Spanish Netherlands*. To this End, wanting a free Exercise of the reformed Religion, Security, on the publick Faith of Government, for Person and Estate (remembering how the *English* had been treated heretofore at *Antwerp*) a Repeal of some Placarts (by which certain Draperies of this Land stood banished from those Countries) with an Extinction of all Payments by way of *Lycent*, for such as were permitted to be brought into those Provinces; they pray that some publick Minister might be authorized to negotiate earnestly with the Archduke, and the King of *Spain's* Council at *Brussels*, for removing these Obstacles.

^c Ch. 22. §. 6.

* These were some of those Papers mentioned (§. 12.) to have been delivered into the Council; whence it appears, that according as the Princes of the House of *Burgundy*, and the Crown of *England*, happened to agree, or differ in other Respects, Commerce in general was more freely allowed or strictly prohibited; and the *Woolen Manufactures of England* particularly, from Time to Time, admitted in those

English Cloth, out of the Treaties between the House of *Burgundy* and the Crown of *England*. 14. * Articles offered by the *Merchant Adventurers* to Page 712. the Council, upon occasion of the Treaty with the 1653. *Dutch*.

CHAP.

those Dominions upon easy Terms, or totally banished, or subjected to high Impositions. Whereupon I observe, that the Subjects of that Country had most certainly other Means of being furnished both with *Wool* and *Drapery*, than from *England*; because if they had not, so often as they had either prohibited Commerce with *England*, or laid high Duties upon *English Drapery*, they would have punished themselves more than the *English* in so doing.

To confirm us in this Opinion, I need only instance in one Article of this Chronological Deduction, which says, 'By the Restriction which the Barons of the *Exchequer* of the Emperor *Maximilian* made in the Year 1511, it is allowed, that then there were yearly sold in those Parts, FRENCH CLOTHS, for 300,000 Guilders, *English*, for 200,000, *Scotish*, for 100,000; whereupon a Resolution was taken to tax all Out-landish Cloths.' So that at this Time the *SCOTISH Woolen Trade* to these Parts was half as much as the *ENGLISH*; and the *FRENCH WOOLEN TRADE* to the same Parts, was equal to BOTH THE *ENGLISH* and *SCOTISH* put together; which is to be noted against those who represent the *French Woolen Manufacture*, as a novel Business, first introduced into that Kingdom by *Mr. Colbert*, 150 Years later, and upheld merely by the Owling of *Wool* (as it is called) from *England*.

* The main Purport of these Articles was, 1st, To secure to themselves their Monopoly, under the specious Colour of Order and good Government in Trade. 2dly, To exempt, as much as might be, the *Woolen Manufacture of England*, from all Taxes, Tolls, Duties and Impositions whatsoever. How far their desired Terms in these respects were obtained, does not appear. But here it may be proper to remark in general, that it does not signify so much what Countries do, or do not, produce *Wool*, or afford *Mr. Brad-Woolen Manufacture*, (since most, if not all Countries have shaw's both, in some degree) as what Countries will by Treaty be prevailed upon to admit *English Drapery* upon the easiest of the Terms, in Point of Duty, &c. This will be eminently seen hereafter, in the Case of *Portugal*, where tho' a *Woolen burthening Manufacture* had been established, and the Country did, and the *English* does, produce *Wool* in Plenty, as good, if not better than *Commodities*.

C H A P. XL.

WHITLOCK'S MEMORIALS, 1643-50.

1643. 1. I WAS in the Chair of a Committee, to treat with the *Merchant Adventurers* (with whose Business I was well acquainted) about confirming some of their Patents, and a Loan of 60,000 *l.*

Ch. 39.
§. 2. Note.

1645. 2. Order, That the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* do send the Covenant to all their Company at home and abroad, and return the Names of such as shall refuse to take it.

3. A Petition against the Monopoly of *Merchant Adventurers* referred to a Committee.

1646.

4. The *Russia* Embassador solemnly received, and delivered his Message for Unity between the two Nations, and concerning Trade.

5. An Ordinance from the Lords to prohibit the killing of Beef, Veal and Lamb for eight Weeks, Feb. 1646.

1647.

6. The *Merchant Adventurers* lent 10,000 *l.* towards the Months Pay for the Army, November.

7. An Ordinance sent up to the Lords to prohibit the Transportation of Wool, and of Fullers Earth, and of *Irish* Wool, Jan. 8. *

1648.

8. A Petition from the Inhabitants of *Colchester*, and a Letter from the Lord *Goring* in their Behalf, was brought to the General, that Liberty might be granted to the Bay and Say Makers in that Town, to have a free Trade with *London* during the Siege. The General answered, That tho' it be without Example to a besieged Town, yet he will give Leave for their Commodities to be brought to a Heath near the Town, to be bargained

that of *England*; yet through an advantageous Treaty in 1703, negotiated by Mr. *Methuen*, (whereby the King of *Portugal* stipulated to admit for ever, upon certain Terms, the *English* Cloths, &c. which then stood prohibited there) this Nation has, ever since, enjoyed a most beneficial Trade to that Kingdom, for Woolen Goods.

* See Chap. 39. §. 3.

gained for, or returned back, as there shall be occasion, June 26.

9. The *Merchant Adventurers* Company had the Thanks of the House, for engaging for 10,000 *l.* for the Service of the Navy, October 20.

10. A Report from the Council of State, that before 1649 the House do adjourn, it will be fit that these Acts be passed, viz.

For prohibiting the Exportation of † Wool, Fullers Earth, &c. June 22.

11. The King of *France* had prohibited all Trade with *England*. The *English* Merchants took this as a Breach of the League; and thereupon addressed themselves by Petition to the Council of State, desiring them to report this Matter to the House. The Council did report the whole Matter to the House, who upon long Debate thereof, voted, 'That no Wines, Wool, or Silk, of the Growth of *France*, and usually vendd in this Nation, shall from thenceforth be imported into any Port thereof, or vendd here, upon Forfeiture of the Goods and Ship that shall import them.' Upon the Question whether *Linen* should be likewise prohibited? It was resolved in the Negative, in regard of the general and necessary Use thereof, August 23.

12. The Act past, prohibiting the importing of any Wines, Wool, or Silk, from *France*, into *England* or *Ireland*, August 28.

13. Ordered, that *Serjeant Dandy*, Serjeant at Arms to the Council, do proclaim the Act for prohibiting the Importation of Wines, Wool, and Silk, from *France*, August 31.

14. Tho' the Council of State was of this Opinion, it does not appear that the Parliament was so well agreed about the Expediency of such Prohibition; as to pass a new Act for it.

According to the common Idea which the People of *England* have of *French* Wool, this may seem to have been a very unnecessary Prohibition. But in an Account of Imports and Exports to and from *England* and *France*, from *Michaelmas* 1685, to *Michaelmas* 1686, as laid before the Parliament, An. 1713, are these Articles, viz.

Imported from <i>France</i> to <i>England</i> ,	l.	s.	d.	<i>British</i>
Sheeps Wool, 9 Bags at 10 <i>l.</i> per Bag.	90	0	0	<i>Merchant</i> ,
Lambs Wool, 2 Bags at 10 <i>l.</i>	20	0	0	vol. 1.
<i>Spanish</i> Wool, 2 Bags at 20 <i>l.</i>	40	0	0	p. 286.

- 1650. 14. The Act passed for Advancement of Trade and Manufactures, and Commissioners were appointed to be a standing Council of Trade, *August 6.*
- 15. An Act passed for regulating the making of *Norwich* Stuffs, *November 9.*
- 16. Vote that no Fullers Earth or Clay, nor Oar of Lead or Tin, be transported beyond Sea, *March 11.*
- 1651. 17. An Act committed, prohibiting the transporting of Lead Oar, Fullers Earth, and Tobacc-pipe Clay, *May 13.*
- 1652. 18. Letters, of the Forces of the Parliament about *Eniscorfy* (in *Ireland*) burning the Corn, and every Morning, the Houses they quartered in, the Night before; killed and took many *Irish*; that he was an idle Soldier who had not a Veal, Lamb, Poultry, or all of them for his Supper, † *April 6.*
- 19. Upon a Report from the Council of State, of the Abuses in Clothing, and transporting of Wool and Fullers Earth, a Day was appointed to debate * it, *April 13.*
- 20. Votes that all Wools brought into *England* shall be Excise free.
That an Act be brought in, to prevent the Exportation of *Scotch* Wools, Woolfels or Leather, *April 20.*
- 21. The Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and Queen of *Sweden*, sent hither their Ambassadors and publick Ministers,

† This spoiling of *Ireland* is to be accounted of, as one Reason why *English* Wool and Cattle bore an extraordinary Price at this Time, and Rents advanced accordingly.

* It was the excessive high Price of Wool, occasioned in some Measure by the spoiling of *Ireland*, which produced that Report from the Council, which gave Occasion to this Debate; the Result whereof was, as (See §. 20.) But tho' an Act was ordered to be brought in, it does not appear to have passed, for preventing the Exportation of *Scotch* Wools; consequently *Scotland* was at this Time, as well as all along from 1647 to 1660, a Back-door at least for the Exportation of Wool from *England*. And this seems to explain the Reason and the Intention of the several Clauses in the Stat. 12. Car. 2. c. 32, and all subsequent Statutes on that Head, to the Union, making it equally penal to export Wool to *Scotland*, as to any foreign Parts.

Ch. 58. §. 10.

- nisters, to treat for the settling of Leagues and Trade, *January.*
- 22. Letters, that Distractions were in *Holland*, and 1653. Fear of Tumults for want of Trade, *July 23.* †
- 23. A Committee appointed for Trade, &c. *Aug. 10.*
- 24. Letters, that in *Ireland* there wanted Men to till 1654. the Land there, *May 12.*
- 25. That *Ireland* was settled in as much Peace as it was before the Rebellion, *May 20.*
- 26. The Company of Merchant Adventurers of *England* residing at *Hamburgh*, sent a Letter to me, subscribed by most of them, intreating my Protection of them from the Injuries sought to be put upon them by some of their discontented Brethren, who misinformed the Lord Protector against them; and they sent me the State of their Case, and I did them some Service therein, *January 1.*
- 27. An Act for the Exportation of several Commodities of the Breed, Growths, and Manufactures of this Commonwealth, *Novemb. 27.*
- 28. I furthered the Bill for settling the Company of Merchant Adventurers, *March 13.*

P. S. *Letters of Intelligence sent by Resident Bradshaw.*

Dantz. 27 8bris 1655; S. N. *Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 4.*

Our Intelligence at present is much obstructed, and the *Breslaw's Post* not yet come. And therefore I will give you some Information concerning Trade, which is not unfit for

† When the Tyrant or Protector (as some call him) *Harleian* turned out the long Parliament, (which was done April 20, *Miscellany, vol. 1.* in this Year 1653) the Kingdom [of *England*] was arrived at the highest Pitch of Trade, Wealth and Honour, that it in any Age ever yet knew. The Trade appeared by the great Sums offered for the Customs, &c. The Riches of the Nation shewed itself in the high Value that Land and all our native Commodities bore. *Discourse of Trade,*

The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, 1668. P. 52. 4th Edit.

And possibly to the Cause of those Distractions in *Holland*, above-mentioned, it was in some degree owing, if the Trade of *England* was so particularly good at this Time, as here represented; and the Truth of which Sir *Josiah Child* and some other Accounts do seem to confirm. *Chap. 58.* §. 10. *Chap. 66.* §. 14.

for Consideration in Reference to our Nation. There are Yearly in the upper Parts of POLAND, towards the Borders of SILESIA, at FRAWSTAD and LISSA, and thereabouts, 220,000 CLOTHS made, as can be demonstrated, besides the CLOTH as is made in these Parts; and at this Town, 15000 Pieces of RASH, besides the great Quanties of WOOL exported hence for HOLLAND constantly and continually; which Manufactures will encrease, and ours be totally overthrown, if the Swede be permitted to burthen our Commodities; whereof we understand Complaint has been made by the Eastland Merchants. I doubt not but you have been pleased to signify the same formerly, and would willingly know what Reception it finds. The Duke of Brandenburg hath bespoke a Livery for his Soldiers; 100,000 Ells of all of Silesia CLOTH at Koningsbergh; and not one Ell of English, which used to be altogether in Request; but indeed our Cloth making is not well looked into in ENGLAND; the spinning and making is very bad, which ought also to be redressed.

C H A P. XLI.

The Golden Fleece, wherein is related the Riches of the English Wools in its Manufactures, together with the true Uses and Abuses of the Aulnagers, Measurers, and Searchers Offices.

By * W. S. Gent. 1656.

Page 1. 1. THERE is nothing in this flourishing Nation of England, so universally good and beneficial to the People thereof, as is the Conversion of Wool into its

* The greater Part of this Book being merely a Transcript of that intitled, *The Estate of Clothing*. By J. May. Ch. 28. 1613^b; only such Parts thereof are here selected, as were judged material for the Reader's Observation, as not being contained in the aforesaid, or in any other preceding Tract.

its several Manufactures. † Wool is the Flower and Strength, the Revenue and Blood of England. The Page 2. Wools of England have ever been of great Honour and Reception abroad, as hath been sufficiently witnessed by the constant Amity, which for many hundred Years hath been inviolably maintained between the Kings of England and the Dukes of Burgundy, only for the Benefit of Wool †; whose Subjects receiving the English Wool at 6 d. per Pound, returned it in Cloth at ten Shillings a Yard. †

2. This Intercourse of Trade between England and Burgundy, endured till Edw. III. made his mighty Conquests over France and Scotland*. From which Time forward, Wool was to be wrought in England with Prohibition, under Penalty of Life and Limb, at the King's Pleasure; that none in any Sort, without the King's especial Licence, should be transported. ††

3. For want of the Aulnager doing his Duty in a proper manner, the Trade of Clothing is almost quite lost in England, and daily increaseth in Holland by the help of English Wool and Fuller's Earth; the Prevention of whose Exportation is provided by more ancient and severe Laws than any other relating to Trade. . .

4. The whole World cannot produce such Accommodations for accomplishing the work of Clothing, as can the Nation of England. For tho' most Countries do afford Wools, and those of Spain are finer than any other Part of the World §. Yet will not those of Spain fort in Work with any other Nations, unless it be these

O 3 of

† Very true.
‡ This not the real Reason of that long Alliance. But it was their mutual Interest against the then growing Power of France.

† *Gratis dictum*: As if all Wool and Cloth had been of one Sort, and of one Price.

* Yea, and much longer. (See above, Chap. 39. §. 13. Note.)

†† See this to be false History, (Chap. 5, 6.)

. . . In regard to Wool, see the foregoing Part of these Memoirs, from Edw. III; particularly Chap. 5, 6, 7.

And as to Fuller's Earth, I don't find it mentioned till the Reign of King James. (See Chap. 33. §. 11.)

§ Europe, he should have said. Some of the Wools of Asia being still finer than the finest of Spain.

of England: a Reason whereof may peradventure be, because the *Spanish* Wools are grown originally from the *English* Sheep *, which by that Soyl resemblant to the Downs of *England* †; and by the Elevation of the Pole for Warmth, are come to that Fineness; yet keep they a natural Conjunction, and as it were Affection, with these from whom they are descended. However, the Wools of *England* are superlative to all the World for Fineness, except that of *Spanish*, which neither by itself, nor by Incorporation with the Wools of any other Nation, will be wrought into any Cloth, without the Help and Mixture of *English* Wools; which being carded together (as by the *English* Clothiers they are) they produce the richest Manufacture in Clothing, which the whole World can shew.

Page 61. 5. Again, there is another Material, without which Clothing cannot be perfected, which also in the Excellency of it is appropriated to *England*; that is, *Fullers Earth*, without which, Clothing cannot be scoured from the Scame and Oyls, wherewith they must necessarily be wrought. It is possible and probable, that other Parts of the World may produce *Fullers Earth*, but neither in such Fineness nor Abundance, as this in *England*; which Approbation is highly confirmed by the Appraisement which the *Hollanders* make of it, who spare not upon occasion, to give ten Pounds *Sterling* a Tun for it; which any Man may have in such Places as it grows, for three Shillings the same Quantity. Surely this is a great Temptation to break a Commandment or Statute of Parliament; and so they do familiarly, as presently shall appear.

6. Such as shall be pleased to peruse the Statutes made in the Beginning of King *Edw.* III. to prohibit the Transportation of raw *Wool*, white Cloths and *Fullers Earth* †, shall find that the Penalty which those did inflict upon such as should break them, did extend to Life or Limb at the King's Pleasure, which of them he would please to take.

7. True

* A mere Fable this. (See Chap. 12. §. 15. Note.)

† As if all *England* was Downs, and all *English* Wool in Kind alike.

‡ Here is a Jumble of false History. (See above, Ch. 5. §. 5, 12, 35.)

7. True it is, that after Clothing was settled, and Wools multiplied beyond the Manufactures, then (with Licence from the State) Wools were permitted to be transported; and by the like Licence they have continued to be exported. Yet for the most part, the State did strictly regard the Restraint, and in the chief Liberty of Exportation, the Grant was permitted only upon the meaner Sort of Wools, and those commonly from *Ireland* †, where Clothing might not be grieved. But the Case is otherwise now; the Practice and Trade of transporting its Materials is now become almost an open Profession; and were this Presumption but as formerly the Permissions, Grants and Licenses were; that is, upon the worst Wools only, the Faults were the less. But these Mens Trade consists of the best and finest Wools combed into Jarsies presently fit for Spinning; and these are contrived into Bales, as those of Drapery, and entered into the Custom-houses, and shipped as Clothing, and in all Points so cunningly carried, as they are seldom discovered, and never seized, as the Statutes || do strictly require.

Ch. 32. §. 18. Note.

8. Above 300 Years, these Workes of Clothing have been confined to this Nation, and until late Years have been so preserved, by the Diligence of such Officers as have been ordained and empowered, carefully to see the Manufactures kept under those Rules, which the Laws have provided for their Perfection; among which it must be concluded, that the Materials were of special Regard, which, as we have said, are *Wools* and *Fullers Earth*: and seeing this Nation is by God peculiarized in these Blessings, and through the Vigilancy of its Monarchs safe guarded by Laws, that the native Manufactures might not be undermined by the Practices of Foreigners, their ancient Providence exacts from the present Age the same Preservation, that those Particulars be not common to such as daily labour to supplant the very Being of this so important Trade; the Neglect whereof hath already brought

O 4

|| There had no Statute passed, for this End, in *England*, unless the Ordinance of Parliament, *Jan.* 19. 1647. might be called such, (See Chap. 39. §. 3.) and therefore I should think our Author meant the *Irish* Statutes 11. and 13. *Eliz.* that were thus eluded. (See Chap. 46. §. 5. Note. *Irish* Statutes.)

brought the Scales to an Equality of the Beame between *England* and *Holland*, if rather the Inclination tend not to their Advantage.

Page 67. 9. The Premises considered, let any Man be Judge, whether that Nation ought to be helped with the *Wools* and *Fuller's Earth*, without which they cannot * work, and which tho' prohibited, almost as Felony, there is nothing more daily practised.

10. Nor is the Loss in this Case all the Injury. But when honest Men do detect these Caterpillars, when they endeavour by due Course of Law to make Stoppage thereof, and to have the Offenders punished, so many are the Evasions, such Combinations and Interests in the Officers who ought to punish; such Favour have they in the Courts of Justice; and in general, such are the 68. Affronts and Discouragements, as the dearest Lover of his Country, or most interested in Trade, dares not attempt to prevent that Mischief, which his Eyes behold to fall upon his Nation. †

96. 11. In this part of our Complaint, we presume not to meddle with Licenses granted by the State to export raw *Wool*, or white Cloths, both of which have been permitted to pass the Seas, as well for the good of the People, as for the Benefit of Clothing itself; yet so as to have the same limited, and joined with the Transportation of coloured Cloths, may be found much to the Advantage of the Nations Commodity in Clothing; and likewise to observe Times in such Licenses is very requisite.

97. 12. As for raw *Wools*, there may be Advantage to the Commonwealth by their Exportation; namely, when the Cloth Trade is obstructed, and the Manufactures lye upon the Clothiers Hands; which stopping the Utterance of Cloth, leaves the *Wool* upon the Graziers Hands, and extends to the Prejudice of almost all the People of *England*. Nevertheless, such as can find a Market for *Wools*, may, if they please, find a Market for Cloths; therefore they ought to pass together, so as the *Wools* in smaller Quantity may help off the Cloths in greater measure.

13. The

* But these are false Premises. (See Chap. 34. §. 1.)

† Observe what follows, §. 12, 12, 13.

13. The Place also to which *Wool* may be licensed to pass, ought to be considered, and that may rather be any where, than the *Neiberlands*, where their whole Drift is to undermine the *English Cloth Trade*; which they cannot so profitably accomplish, if they be forced to procure the *Wools* through many Hands and several Voyages ||. By no Means therefore is the present Practice to be borne, which daily carrieth away of the finest Sorts of *Wool* ready combed into *Jarfie* for Work.

14. Lastly, for *Fullers Earth*, there is never any occasion why that should be transported; therefore to have it licensed either by its own Name, or by that of *Tobacco-pipe Clay*, or by any other Title, is clearly the greatest Injury which shall be done to Clothing: It is a Commodity which the *Dutch* cannot get in any Quantity or Worth, nearer than the *Streights**, unless from *England*, where the total Exportation being the more laden with Charge, the *English* will be better able to underfell them.

CHAP.

|| As if the *Dutch* had no Supplies of *Wool*, but from *England* or *Ireland*. (See Chap. 40. P. S. Chap. 94. §. 5, 7, 8, 10.) Or as if a Custom might not have been imposed, which would have answered the same End full as well, and indeed much better.

* But admitting they can have it from the *Streights*, and that *England* has enough, and to spare; what Madnes is ^{See} it, not to suffer the Exportation thereof, paying some pro- Ch. 173. per Duty?

As the great Drift of *J. May's* ^m *Estate of Clothing*, 1613, was to promote the Office of the *Aulnager*; so are there Passages in this Book, plainly shewing that it was calculated ^m Ch. 28. chiefly for the same End; which Part of this Book, to avoid Repetition, I have therefore omitted. And as to the false History, and Reveries of this Author, they would not have deserved Notice, but that the same appear to have been transcribed by subsequent Writers, some ⁿ of better Note; and ⁿ Ch. 114. seemingly at least are further countenanced by several Acts of ⁿ §. 5. Note. Parliament of a later Date. But what I would mainly have observed from this Book, is, that tho' the historical Part is either entirely false, or else couched in such Terms as will be apt to mislead the unwary Reader; yet there is this one Circumstance touching the Times this Author lived in, that he could not mistake, durst not misrepresent; namely, that of *Wools* being then exported by Licence (§. 11.) Which shows,

CHAP. XLII.

Extract of a Letter of Mr. Downing (at the Hague) to the President of the Council at London.

HAGUE, $\frac{1}{2}$ March, 1660.

Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 7. p. 848.

UPON Examination, I do find, that there are daily great Quantities of English Wool brought from England to this Country; and being particularly informed that one John Signey or Signam, Master of a Vessel called the Elizabeth of Lyn, had lately brought over from thence a Parcel of Wool to Dort, I desired the Deputy Governour

shows, that tho' the Exportation of Wool had been totally prohibited by an Ordinance of Parliament, Jan. 19. 1647; yet that Ordinance had not been well observed, nor yet so strictly adhered to, even by the executive Powers, but that the State thought fit to admit of at least a limited Exportation of Wool, in virtue of special Licences granted for that End. And this merits our Observation the more, because we have seen already, and shall find hereafter † this very Period of Time distinguished both for the good State of the Woolen Trade itself, and for the advanced Price of Wool, and Rents of Land, compared with the Times following of Charles II. when under the Notion of advantaging the Kingdom in all those three respects, the Exportation of Wool was fully prohibited ||, without any known avowed Dispensations to the contrary. But, on the other hand, the Transgression of Law in that Case was made Felony ‡.

Moreover, As this Writer has said nothing concerning the Price of Wool in England at this Time; his Silence on that Head is an Argument that is was such as furnished no Handle of popular Complaint, but that what others have said in relation to its selling well at this particular Period, is true. He says indeed, that the Cloth Trade was decayed; but that we shall see Reason to think was more the Case, after the Restoration, than before. (See Chap. 43. P. S.)

† Chap. 40. §. 22. Note. Chap. 45. §. 1. Chap. 51. §. 14. Chap. 58. §. 10. Chap. 66. §. 14. || 12 Car. II. c. 32. ‡ 13, 14 Car. II. c. 18.

nor of the Merchant Adventurers of England, to examine the Business; but yet so, as that the said Signey might not be at all alarmed, or have any Notice thereof; and I have here inclosed to your Lordship, a Copy of the Examination taken upon Oath, and humbly submit it to you. And truly, unless something be by Parliament very speedily done *, in Relation to the Woolen Manufacture of England; as this Country hath already in a manner wholly gotten the Manufacturing of fine Cloth, so this Country and Silesia will between them divide also the manufacturing of coarse Cloth, and England have nothing left but the Growth of its Wool, as it formerly had, being constrained to send it abroad to be manufactured.

CHAP.

* Here note, that Mr. Downing says, 'Unless something be done in relation to the Woolen Manufacture, England must send its Wool abroad to be manufactured. He does not say, Unless some further Course be taken to enforce the Execution of the Laws against exporting Wool; which he might as easily have said. But he says, Unless, &c. England must send its Wool abroad.' So that he plainly does not lay much Stress upon the Prohibition; and indeed how could he? knowing that the Hollanders made their fine Cloth of Spanish, and the Silesians, what he calls coarse, of Wool of their own Country, and of Poland. What then was that something which, in his Opinion, wanted to be done? Probably, he had an Eye to what had been before-mentioned by Resident Bradshaw, 'That the Swede bur- Ch. 40. thened our Woolen Commodities, and that our Cloth- P. 8. making was not well looked into in England, the spinning and making was very bad, and wanted to be redressed.' These were Points of such a Nature, as properly fell under the Care and Power of the State, in order to redress. But for the prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, he knew it to be a novel Device, which could not answer the Intention of promoting the Woolen Exportation Trade; nay, which could not so much as prevent the Exportation of Wool. And indeed it will be amply shewn, that it cannot answer any End at all, in regard to the Trade of England, further than as such Prohibition is a Means to take the Wool from the Grower, (whose Property it is) and give it to the Dealer, at his own Price. However, immediately upon the Restoration (now very near at hand) followed,

An Act prohibiting the Exportation of Sheep, Wool, Woolfels, Fuller's Earth, or any kind of scouring Clay. 12 Car. II. c. 32. (See Chap. 43 P. S. Note.)

C H A P. XLIII.

The Interlopers and Merchant Adventurers, commonly called the Hamburg Company, 1662.

Chambers's Dist. The Brotherhood of St. Tho. a Becket. Ch. 25.

THE *Hamburg Company* is the oldest trading Establishment in the Kingdom, though not always known by that Name. It was first called the *Company of Merchants trading to Calais*, &c. lastly, the *Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to Hamburg*. The first Charter whereby the *Hamburg Company* was established, was in 1406, under *Henry IV*. It was afterwards augmented with divers Privileges by *Henry V*. in 1413. *Henry VI*. 1422. *Henry VII*. 1493, 1505, 1506. *Henry VIII*. 1509, 1517, 1531. *Edw. VI*. 1547. *Queen Mary* 1553. *Queen Eliz.* 1564, 1586. *King James* 1605, 1617. *Car. II.* 1661. *Henry VII*. first gave them the Title of *Merchant Adventurers to Calais, Holland, &c.* The *Woolen Manufacture* being the principal Object of their Application, they met with great Opposition therein, first from the *Hanse*, who forced them frequently to change their Mart or Staple; and afterwards under *King James I.* who having erected a Corporation in 1616, in Favour of some private Persons who offered to set up a Manufacture for dying and pressing Cloths, &c. under Pretence whereof, the *Company of Merchant Adventurers* were prohibited dealing therein. But that Project not succeeding, and the Charter being revoked two Years afterwards, the *Merchant Adventurers*, who had been dissolved two Years before, were restored in 1617, to their ancient Privileges, and a new Charter was given them, confirming their exclusive Right; and allowing them to have Officers in the Customhouses, to have an Eye that they were not prejudiced in their Woolens, under Pretence of the like Merchandizes, which others were allowed to send to other Parts. This Charter of *King James*,

Ch. 26. Ch. 30, 31.

James, is the last of those confirmed by *Car. II.* in the grand Charter of 1661. *

This Renewal of their Charter, gave great Umbrage to a Number of seperate Traders (called, by way of Distinction, *Interlopers*) particularly at *Exeter*, who in this Year 1662, presented to Parliament a Petition, complaining of a supposed Grievance; which Petition produced the following Order.

2. *Veneris, 14 Feb. 14 Car. II.*
At the grand Committee for Trade (Mr. Knight in the Chair.)

ORDERED,

That on *Monday* next the *Merchant Adventurers* of *England* do deliver unto Mr. *Doncaster*; and the Petitioners and all others, who have appeared to oppose the Patent of the *Merchant Adventurers*, to Mr. *Skyner*, the Companies Agent, all their Papers relating to the Conveniencies and Inconveniencies arising to this Kingdom, as to the Liberty or Restraint of Trade, within the Limits of the said *Merchant Adventurers* Patent: And that each of them do bring in their final Answers thereunto, on this Day sevensnight; that this Committee may have the Matter before them, and thereupon proceed to a Result therein.

3. Hereupon the Traders called *Interlopers*, offered their Reasons, and the *Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers* gave in their Answers; and a Replication was made on both Sides. All which was printed in the same Folio, upon opposite Columns.

4. But

* The Revolutions which had happened in the *Low Countries* towards the End of the sixteenth Century, and which laid the Foundation of the Republick of *Holland*, having hindered the Company from continuing their Commerce with their ancient Freedom, it was obliged to turn it almost wholly to the Side of *Hamburg*, and the Cities on the *German Ocean*; from which Change some People took occasion to change its Name to that of the *Hamburg Company*, though the ancient Title of *Merchant Adventurers* is still retained in all their Writings.

4. But as this Controversy had been agitated at Times, from the Dissolution of the *Stillyard* Company in *Edw.* VI. and has since wholly ceased; so tho' I have already occasionally inserted so much of these Reasons and Answers, as is historical, *i. e.* relating to Facts at certain Times past, and shall here add some few more tending to give Light into the State of the Woolen Trade at this present Period 1662 particularly; yet I think it needless to enter further into the Arguments on either Side, of which we have seen something already in *Wheeler* of Commerce, (Ch. 25.) and in *Misselden* and *Maylines*, (Ch. 32, 33, 34.)

5. The Grievances alledged by the Petitioners, were, that by this Restraint, the Clothiers of *Exeter* particularly, had within six or eight Months past, suffered in their Trade for their Cloths and Stuffs. That the *Merchant Adventurers* did not ship from *Exon*, the tenth Part of what had been shipped by others. — That from *June* 24, 1661, till *September* 29 then following, they had bought and transported of *Serges*, broad Cloths, *Kerfies*, *Devonshire* Dozens, and *Bays*, 225 Pieces and no more. And *Mr. Butler*, and four or five more *Exeter* Merchants (not of the *Merchant Adventurers* Company) have in the same Time, transported of the same Goods into the same Provinces † 9254 Pieces. And from *September* 21, 1661, for three Months then next following, these *Merchant Adventurers* have bought and transported from our City, only 370 Pieces of the said Manufactures; and those not free of the said Company, have transported only 4721 Pieces thereof, which is 4513 Pieces less than in the former Quarter, and the Reason of this Decay, is the Power of the Company, and their Agents.

6. The *Merchant Adventurers*, in their Defence urged, that the white Clothing Trade was abated from

† Hence, and from what follows, tho' the Company of *Merchant Adventurers* had the same exclusive Powers by their Charter from King *James* in 1617, as by this last from *Car. II.* in 1661; yet it seems as if those Powers had been disused for some time, and that they were revived only with their new Charter, commencing but *Sept. 21.* 1661, altho' it was granted some Months before.

' near 100,000 Cloths Yearly, to less than 11000 a Year, a Cause why the Wool of the Kingdom lay sometimes on the Grower's Hands. — That of the last Years shipping, there are more than 14000 Stuffs lie upon the Hands of the Company at *Hamburgh*; besides all other Cloths and Woolen Manufactures, to near 30,000 Cloths.'

7. The Result was, according to a Tract published *Ann. 1689*, intituled, *Reasons humbly offered, &c.* (See Ch. 73.)

' A temporary Liberty granted to all Persons to buy and ship out our *Woolen Manufacture*; but so far was it, upon Trial made, from answering the End proposed, that the very Clothiers themselves did, in the following Year 1663, petition that the said Liberty might be revoked, and accordingly, upon their Petition, it was revoked.

P. S. Exports to all the World from England, Anno British 1662 to 1663, were	2,022	812	l.	4s.	o	Merchant,
Imports — — —	4016	019	18	o	vol. 2.	
	P. 334.					

The Imports exceed the Exports* 1,993 207 14 o See Ch. 34. §. 9.

An Act for regulating the making of Stuffs in *Norfolk* Chap. 27. and *Norwich*. 13, 14 *Car. II.* c. 5. 24 Sections. The §. 7. Note. Number of Wardens on increase of *Norwich* Stuffs, being not sufficient, and eight as by 7 *Edw. IV.* c. 1. too few, they are increased to twelve.

An Act against the exporting of *Sheep, Wool, Woolfels, Morlings, Shortlings, Yarn made of Wool, Woolflocks, Fullers Earth, Fulling Clay, and Tobacco-pipe Clay.* 13, 14 *Car. II.* c. 18.

Every Offence against this Act was made Felony; which tho' it continued in Force to the Reign of King *William*, was never executed in any one Instance.

CHAP.

* Hence, as also from what goes before (§. 5, 6, 7.) it seems as if the Statute 12 *Car. II.* c. 32. prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, had not produced those good Effects, intended by, and expected from, it. (See Chap. 44. §. 7. Chap. 46. §. 4.)

C H A P. XLIV.

England's Interest considered in the Increase of the Trade of this Kingdom. By Samuel Fortrey. First published in the Year 1663.

P. 11.

1. OUR Care should be, to increase chiefly our Stock of Cattle: First, by a Liberty for every Man to enjoy his Lands in Severalty and Inclosure, one of the greatest Improvements this Nation is capable of; for want whereof we find by daily Experience, that the Profit of a great Part of the Land and Stock of this Kingdom, as now employed, is wholly lost. And this appears, in that the Land of the common Fields almost in all Places of this Nation, with all the Advantages that belong unto them, will not let for above one third Part so much as the same Land would do inclosed, and always several.

P. 12.

Inclosures, an Improvement.

2. But it may be objected, that Inclosures would cause great Depopulations and Scarcity of Corn, as hath been conceived by former Parliaments.

P. 14.

They don't make Corn scarce, nor depopulate.

3. To this I answer, Corn would be nothing the scarcer by Inclosure, but rather more plentiful, tho' a great deal less Land were tilled: For then every ingenious Husband would only plough that Land he found most fitting for it, and that no longer than he found it able to bring him Profit. And as to Depopulations by Inclosures, granting it increaseth Plenty, as cannot well be denied; how Increase and Plenty can depopulate, cannot well be conceived: Nor surely do any imagine that the People which lived in those Towns they call depopulated; were all destroyed, because they lived no longer there, when indeed they were only removed to other Places, where they might better benefit themselves, and profit the Publick. Certainly they might as well think the Nation undone, should they observe how London is depopulated in a long Vacation, when Men are only retired into the Country, about their private and necessary Employments; and the like might they think of the Country in the Term Time, yet a Man is not thereby added or diminished to the Nation.

4. Further,

4. Further; as many, or more Families, may be maintained and employed in the Manufacture of the Wool that may arise out of one hundred Acres of Pasture, than can be employed in a far greater Quantity of Arable; who perhaps do not always find it most convenient for them to live just on the Place where the Wool groweth, by which Means Cities and great Towns are peopled, nothing to the Prejudice of the Kingdom. Page 15.

5. Wherefore then, if by Inclosure the Land itself is raised to a greater Value, and a less Quantity capable of a greater Increase; and if it really causeth no Depopulation, but at most a Removal of People thence, where without Benefit to the Public, or Profit to themselves, they laboured and toiled, to a more convenient Habitation, where they might with less Pains greatly advantage both: And if the Manufactures and other profitable Employments of the Nation are increased, by adding thereto such Numbers of People, who formerly served only to waste, not to increase, the Store of the Nation, it cannot be denied, but the Encouragement of Inclosure, where every Man's just Right may be preserved, would infinitely conduce to the Increase and Plenty of this Nation, and is a Thing very worthy the Countenance and Care of a Parliament.

6. In the next place, our Manufactures are to be considered, on which chiefly depends both the Wealth and Prosperity of this Kingdom. For by the Increase and Encouragement thereof, the Subjects are employed in honest and industrious Callings, maintained and preserved from Want, and those Mischiefs which commonly attend Idleness: the People furnished at home with all things both of Necessity and Pleasure, and by the Overplus procure from abroad, whatever for Delight or Use is wanting. Page 16.

7. The chief Manufactures amongst us at this Day, *The Manufactures are only Woolen Cloths, Woolen Stuffs of all sorts, Stockings, Ribbandings, and perhaps some few Silk Stuffs, and some other small things scarce worth naming; and these already named, so decayed and adulterated, that they are almost out of Esteem both at home and abroad. And this because foreign Commodities are grown into so great Esteem* of England; they are decayed, and why?

P

Esteem among us*, as we wholly undervalue and neglect the Use of our own; whereby that great Expence of Treasure, that is yearly wasted in Clothing, Furnitures, and the like, redounds chiefly to the Profit of Strangers, and to the Ruin of his Majesties Subjects. And this will more plainly appear, if we examine the Particulars, as not long since given in to the French King by his own People, upon a Design he had conceived of prohibiting the English Trade with France.

Page 17.

8. Velvets plain and wrought, Sattins plain and wrought, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Armoysins and other Merchandizes of Silk, which are made at Lions, and are valued to be yearly worth	£ 150,000
In Silk, Stuffs, Taffeties, Poudefoys, &c.	
Tabbies, plain and wrought Silk, Ribbands, &c. made at Tours,	£ 300,000
In Silk, Ribbands, Gallowns, Laces and Buttons of Silk made at Paris, Rouen, &c.	£ 150,000
A great Quantity of Serges made at Chalons, Chartres, Estamin, Rheims, Amiens, &c.	£ 150,000
In Bever, Demicaftor and Felt Hats of Paris, &c.	£ 120,000
In Feathers, Belts, Girdles, Hatbands, Fans, Hoods, Masks, gilt and wrought Looking-glasses, Cabinets, Watches, Pictures, Cases, Medals, Tablets, Bracelets, and other such like Mercery Wares, above	£ 150,000
In perfumed and trimmed Gloves,	£ 10,000
In all Sorts of Ironmonger Wares,	£ 40,000
In Linen Cloth made in Britany and Normandy,	£ 400,000
In Pins, Needles, Box Combs, Tortois-shell Combs, &c.	£ 20,000
In Papers of all Sorts, above	£ 100,000
In Household Stuff, Beds, Bedding, &c.	£ 100,000
In Wines, above	£ 600,000
In Aqua Vitæ, Cyder, Vinegar, Verjuice, &c.	£ 100,000
In Saffron, Castile Soap, Honey, Almonds, Prunes, &c.	£ 150,000
Besides five or six hundred Vessels of Salt.	
† Total above	£ 2,600,000

* And this we may conceive was much more the Case, since the Restoration, than before.

† By casting our Eyes upon the Particulars here mentioned,

The Commodities exported out of England into France, consisting chiefly of Woolen Cloths, Serges, Knit Stockins, Lead, Pewter, Allum, and all else, do not amount to above £ 1,000,000 a Year.

By which it appears, that our Trade with France is at least, clear Los, to this Kingdom £ 1,600,000.

Whereby the King of France finding it would prove to his Los, to forbid the Trade with England, soon laid aside the Design; however raised the Custom of some of our English Commodities, by which means, the Vent of those Commodities is very much lessened and hindered. Hereby it will appear how insensibly our Treasure will be exhausted, and the Nation beggared.

9. But most of these Evils would be easily prevented, if only his Majesty would be pleased to commend to his People, by his own Example, the Esteem and Value he hath of his own Commodities. This alone, without further Trouble, would be at least Ten hundred thousand Pounds a Year to the Advantage of his People. For the Courtiers always endeavour to imitate the Prince. And Gentry copy after the Court, and so on.

Page 20.

10. As concerning Merchants associating themselves in Companies, it is somewhat difficult to determine; at least it is proper that every one that please, may be admitted of a Company*, on fit and reasonable Terms.

P 2 C H A P.

tioned, and the Sum to which they amount, we shall perceive, that however the French, on their Part, may have increased their Woolen Manufactures since this Time, yet England has not been behind hand with them in Improvements in other respects; for that most of these Commodities, formerly imported from France, are now manufactured in England, not only for Home Use, but, several of them, for Exportation also. These things considered, we should not indulge too much our Complaints of the Decay of Trade and Manufacture amongst us; especially, when, as it will be seen, (Chap. 139, 171.) at the same time that we have gained all this and more, we have not gone back in, but rather increased, our Woolen Exportation Trade upon the whole.

* An Act for the Encouragement of Trade, 15 Car. II. c. 5.

It was enacted, 'That for every Head of great Cattle, (except such as are of the Breed of Scotland) that shall be imported,

C H A P. XLV.

England's Treasure by foreign Trade; or, the Balance of foreign Trade is the Rule of our Treasure. By Thomas Mun of London, Merchant. First printed in 1664.

Page 8.

1. **I**N our Exportations, we must not only regard our own Superfluities, but also we must consider our Neighbours Necessities, that so upon the Wares which they cannot want, nor yet be furnished thereof elsewhere, we may (besides the Vent of the Materials) gain so much of the Manufacture as we can, and also endeavour to sell them dear; so far forth as the high Price cause not a less Vent in the Quantity. But the Superfluity of our Commodities, which Strangers use, and may also have the same from other Nations, or may abate the Vent by the Use of some such like Wares from other Places, and with little

‘ imported, or brought into England after the first Day of July, and before the 20th of December; and for every Head of great Cattle, of the Breed of Scotland, imported after the 24th of August, and before the 20th of December, in every Year, there shall be paid to his Majesty the Sum of 20 s. and the Sum of 10 s. to him that shall inform or seize the same; and the Sum of 10 s. to the Poor of the Parish, where such Seizure and Information shall be made.’ *The very considerable Underbalance of the English Trade, at this Time, occasioning, as it needs must, a real Scarcity of Money, and in course, an extraordinary Cheapness of all native Commodities: It seems as if the Nation, overlooking that great and principal Cause, imputed the low Price of Flesh, to the Scotch and Irish Cattle brought into the Kingdom. And therefore this Act was so contrived, that no fleshed or fat Cattle should come from thence. But leaving still a Liberty of importing them lean, viz. from Christmas to July and August, and it not being very practicable, from Ireland especially, but in the Spring or Summer Season, the Act became partial, and turned to the Benefit of the Feeding Grasers, only, at the Expence of the English Breeder, and the common general Interest of the whole Kingdom besides. (See Chap. 46. §. 5. Note.)*

little Inconvenience, we must in this Case strive to sell as cheap as possibly we can, rather than to lose the Utterance of such Wares. For we have found of late Years by good Experience, that, being able to sell our Cloth cheap in Turkey, we have greatly increased the Vent thereof; and the Venetians have lost as much in the Utterance of theirs in those Countries, because it is dearer. And on the other side, a few Years past, when by the excessive Price of Wools, our Cloth was exceeding dear, we lost at the least half our Clothing for foreign Parts, which since is no otherwise (well near) recovered again, than by the great Fall of the Price for Wool and Cloth*.

P 3

2. We

* This Author, tho' a Merchant of Note, whose Name we often find mentioned with Approbation, as a Writer on Trade, seems to have entangled himself in a Dilemma. He sets out very much in the Language of those who maintain, that Wool or Cloth is not only what other Nations cannot want, but also what they must be furnished with from England; yet considering that since the Exportation of Wool had been prohibited by Act of Parliament 1660, the Price of Wool and Cloth both had fallen considerably in England, he stops short his Argument; and steering a direct contrary Course, ingenuously owns that other Nations wanted neither the ART nor the MATERIAL; and from thence endeavours to persuade his Readers, that tho' the Price of Wool and Cloth had fallen, yet the Nation had found its Account therein, by the Quantity of Drapery exported; which he would have believed, was greatly increased. But here we have nothing but his own bare Word for it; and which in Fact, there is Reason to think, was not true, as well from what we have seen urged by the Interlopers (Chap. 43. §. 5.) and owned by the Merchant Adventurers (Chap. 43. §. 6.) as from the Accounts of Exports in 1662 (Chap. 43. §. 1. ^a) and again in 1668 (Chap. 49. §. 2. Note.) which ^a See also are lower than at any time we can suppose them to have been since Edward VI. For, N. B. The British Merchant §. 4. computes, that in the Years 1662-3, and in 1668-9, the Exports of Woolens from England did not exceed 900,000 l. each Year. (See Chap. 86. §. 4. Note.) But we must imagine that England had some better Years in this Period, if not in regard to the Quantity of Woolens exported, yet to the general Balance of Trade; for that the Nation could not have subsisted.

The Price of both fallen 25 per Cent.

Other Nations want not the Art, nor the Materials.

Page 12.

Page 70.

2. We find that twenty-five in the Hundred less in the Price of these and some other Wares, to the Loss of private Mens Revenues, may raise above fifty in the Hundred in the Quantity vended to the Benefit of the Publick. For when Cloth is dear, other Nations do presently practise Clothing. And we know that they want neither ART nor MATERIALS to this Performance. But when by Cheapness we drive them from this Employment, and so in time obtain our dear Price again, then do they also use their former Remedy. So that by these Alterations we learn, that it is in vain to expect a greater Revenue of our Wares, than their Condition will afford; but rather it concerns us to apply our Endeavours to the Times with Care and Diligence to help ourselves the best we may, by making our Cloth and other Manufactures without Deceit, which will increase their Estimation and Use.

3. I will here remember a notable Increase in our Manufacture of winding and twisting only foreign raw Silk, which within thirty-five Years, to my Knowledge, did not employ more than three hundred People in the City and Suburbs of London; where at this present Time it doth set on Work above 14,000 Souls, as upon diligent Enquiry hath been reported unto his Majesties Commissioners for Trade.

4. To say nothing of Scotland, there is exported, *communibus annis*, of our own native Commodities, for the Value of *Twenty-two hundred thousand Pounds Sterling*, or somewhat more. †

CHAP.

list for any long Term, under such a continual Excess of Importations beyond the Value of its Exports.

Moreover, *England* exporting so little comparatively of Woolen Goods, there was so much the more Wool exported; and that being done against the Law, clandestinely, though it came not into the Account of Exports, nevertheless it contributed to keep the Nation in Cash.

†. See Chap. 43. P. S. Chap. 34. §. 9. Chap. 26. §. 4. Chap. 20. §. 6.

CHAP. XLVI.

Occurrences, and Acts of Parliament, 1664-6.

1. A. D. 1664. This Year, the Dutch War commenced, the Causes of which, tho' they were never fully known, every one understood it was a War occasioned chiefly by a Jealousy of Trade.

2. A. D. 1665. The Plague raged dreadfully in London; in less than a Year it swept away, in that single City, above 100,000 Persons.

3. The French King settled Mr. Van Moses Robay, a British foreign Protestant, at Abbeville in Picardy, and by his Letters Patents granted to him and his Workmen the free Exercise of their Religion, and several other very considerable Privileges, which their Families enjoy to this Day. This Clothier fixed the Manufacture of all Sorts of Spanish Cloth in that City; and the King lent him by Agreement 2000 Livres for every Loom he set up, until he had 40 Looms at Work; so that he received 80,000 Livres. And at last it was found he had so well established that Manufacture, that by degrees the Payment of the whole was remitted.

4. Thomas Tilham of Warwickshire prevailed upwards of 2000 Men in this Kingdom to settle in the Palatinate, where they established a Woolen Manufacture; which was greatly encouraged by that Elector. And after they were fixed, that Colony was joined by one Skep of Herefordshire, and many others.

5. A. D. 1666. In the Beginning of this Year, the King's Affairs were in an ill Situation. The King publishing a Declaration of War against France in a Sea Engagement, the English lost 23 great Ships; and soon after, a terrible Fire in London laid a great Part of the City in Ashes. No wonder, if all these together, added to the under Balance of Trade, gave an extraordinary

P 4

nary

* Hence judge of the Truth of what Mr. Mun had asserted, the last Year, touching the Increase of the Woolen Manufacture and Woolen Trade in England.

nary Damp, so as reduce the Price of things extremely low. †

CHAP.

† Hereupon followed, An Act against Importing Cattle from Ireland, 18 Car. II. c. 2. This Act prohibits absolutely the Importation from thence, at all Times, of Cattle, dead or alive, Sheep or Swine, Beef, Pork, or Bacon, upon Pain of Forfeiture of one Half to the Use of the Seizer and Informer; the other Half to the Poor of the Parish, where the same should be found or seized.

Ch. 44. §. 10. Note.

And this I take to have been as much in the Extreme, one way, as that of the 15th of this Reign, c. 7. was, another; and that the Community was hurt by both of them; and that there is a proper Medium, in this Case, that should have been observed, and which, even now, would be of great Utility.

The Act 15 Car. II. c. 7. amounting, in effect, to a Prohibition, except in the Spring Quarter, when also the English Breeders wanted to dispose of theirs to the Graefers, for Payment of Rents, and to make room for their growing Stock; the Consequence, we may easily imagine, was, that They were brought, in that same Quarter, from Scotland and Ireland both, in much larger Quantities than at the same Times heretofore; That the Spring Markets of England, by this means, were filled to such a degree as to hurt the English Breeders extremely. Consequently there is no doubt but that the mere Grafer found some Account in it, and would have had extraordinary and unreasonable Gain, had not the then calamitous Circumstances of the Nation rendered even the Price of fat Meat below Envy. But this, as well as lean Cattle, advancing afterwards, (the former, as some have said, a Half-penny per Pound) it was imputed falsely, in my Opinion, to the Prohibition of Irish Cattle, the Importation whereof this Act stigmatizes as a Nuisance. Tho' I apprehend it only to have been made so chiefly by 15 Car. II. c. 7. for the Reasons that have been mentioned; and that if the Importation of Cattle, as before allowed, had been continued, much Hurt sustained by this 18 Car. II. c. 2. had been saved, and the English Breeder nothing damnified. For those Cattle being imported at all Times of the Year, when the Season admitted, the Occupiers of those Lands, which, as the Law now stands, are most proper for breeding, might have come in for an equal Share of Advantage both with the Feeder and Consumer, by buying and keeping them for some Time, instead of breeding. For if the Lands accounted proper for breeding, i. e. because they will not feed, are depastured with young and lean Stock, and the Winter Fodder proper for such Cattle is so consumed, it does not signify where those Cattle are bred, provided they are

are bought upon fair and equal Terms. As to this Act, there is not any one in the Statute Book, which has been more universally condemned, or less defended. That it is not repealed,

Stat pro Ratione Voluntatis!

Nevertheless, if the Importation of Irish Cattle was any thing of a Nuisance, before the Statute 15 Car. II. that was the Effect of two Irish Statutes^d, as one Extreme will naturally^d 11 & 13 Eliz. produce another.

11 Eliz. Sess. 3. c. 10. 'Whoever shall put or load in- Irish Sta- to any Boat or Vessel, any Wool, Flocks, Flax, Linen tutes. Yarn, Woolen Yarn, Sheep-fell, Calf-fell, Goat-fell, red Deer-fell, or Fallow Deer-fell unwrought, Beef, Tallow, Wax or Butter, to the Intent to carry the same out of this Realm, shall pay to the Queen, her Heirs and Successors, for every such Stone of Wool and Flocks, 5 s. Ster-^e Duty for ling; every Pound of Flax, Linen and Woolen Yarn, 12 d. Wool, 5 s. every Sheep-fell, Calf-fell, and Goat-fell, 4 d.; every Red a Stone. Deer-fell, 2 s. 4 d.; and every Fallow Deer-fell, 20 d.; and for every Pound of Beef uncasked, or put into other Vessels than is contained in this Act, 1 d.; and for every Firkin of Beef, 5 s.; and for every half Barrel, 13 s. 4 d.; and every Barrel, 20 s.; every Hoghead, 40 s.; and for every Pipe of Beef, 4 l.; and for every such Stone of Tallow, 2 s.; for every such Pound of Wax, 12 d. and for every such Pound of Butter, 6 d.

'Also by way of Custom to every such City or Corporate Custom for Town, whence such Things before-mentioned are to be Wool, 4 s. transported, for every such Stone of Wool and Flocks, 4 s. current Money of England; every Pound of Flax, Linen or Woolen Yarn, 8 d.; every Sheep-fell, Calf-fell, and Goat-fell, 3 d.; every Red Deer-fell, 20 d.; every Fallow Deer-fell, 18 d.; every Pound of Beef uncasked, &c. 1 d.; every Firkin of Beef, 4 s.; every half Barrel, 6 s. 8 d.; every Barrel, 13 s. 4 d.; every Hoghead, 26 s. 8 d.; every Pipe, 3 l.; every Stone of Tallow, 18 d.; every Pound of Wax, 6 d.; and every Pound of Butter, 4 d.

'And also to forfeit the like Sum for every of the said Forfeiture Commodities as are before-mentioned payable to the for Wool, Queen, over and above the Queen's Money, and the other 5 s. Tot. Customs. 14 s. per

13 Eliz. Sess. 5. c. 4. 'The shipping any of the Goods Stone. above-mentioned, in any Port, &c. before Entry made, and Duty and Customs paid as aforesaid, shall be deemed Felony, &c.'

As these two Acts amounted to a strict Prohibition in all these several Articles of the Irish Produce; considering them as Acts of that Kingdom, 'tis difficult to say, upon what Poli- cies

cies they were founded. If it was intended by these Acts to incline the People of Ireland to Industry and Manufacture, those Acts having not sufficiently produced that Effect, the People naturally depastured their Lands chiefly with horned Cattle; and for these having no Vent but in England, 'tis no wonder that the English Markets were very much filled with the same. But how did the Prohibition mend the Matter? The People of that Country being driven from this their wonted Course, turned their Thoughts to the breeding of Sheep; which produced, what has since been accounted a double Nuisance, a foreign Trade in Wool, and Woolen Manufacture; which no Laws hitherto have been sufficient to prevent. Nor is it possible, but that the Plenty of Ireland must, in Appearance at least, rival the English Produce, in some Shape or another. And therefore, was it really the Interest of England, that Ireland should have remained without Improvement; nothing could have answered that End so effectually, as to have continued them in a State of breeding black Cattle for the English Feeders^f.

f Ch. 59.
§. 2.

But tho' another Opinion seems now to gain Ground, which, I think, is nearer to Truth and good Policy, viz. that Improvements in Ireland are no real Impoverishment to England, but the Reverse; yet as an absolute Restraint on Ireland, in any one Instance, is, in effect, either no Restraint at all, or else is only productive of the greater Excess in some other; it were better, in my Opinion, there should be no such absolute Prohibition, but that, in the main, Ireland should be considered, with Great Britain, as one and the same. By which means, Ireland not being forced particularly into any one Way of Life, rather than another, that Excess would be avoided, in any one Particular, which otherwise is apt to grow into a Nuisance, and instead thereof, a Mediocrity preserved in all things.

* An Act for burying in Woolen. 18 Car. II. c. 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

A new * Discourse of Trade, &c. By Sir Josiah Child.

1. THERE is an inseparable Affinity between *Preface*, Land and Trade. They are Twins, and have p. 19. always, and will ever waxe and wane together. It cannot be ill with Trade, but Land will fall; nor ill with Land, but Trade will feel it.

2. Trades lost to this Kingdom are, 1. The *Russia* Page 20. Trade, where the *Dutch* had, the foregoing Year, 22 Sail of great Ships, and the *English* but one. 2. The *Greenland* Trade, where the *Dutch* and *Hamburgers* have yearly at least four or five hundred Sail of Ships, and the *English*, but one, the last Year, and none, the former. 3. The great Trade of Salt from *St. Vuats* in *Portugal*, and from *France*, with Salt, Wine and Brandy to the *Eastlands*. 4. All that vast Trade of fishing for white Herrings upon our Coast. 5. The *East Country* Trade, in which we have not half so much to do as we had formerly, and the *Dutch* ten times more than they had in Times past. 6. A very great Part of our Trade for *Spanish* Wools from *Bilboa*. 7. The *East-India* Trade for Spices. 8. The Trades of *Scotland* and *Ireland* are lost to the *Dutch*. 9. The Trade to *Norway* is in great part lost. 10. A very great Part of the *French* Trade, by reason of great Impositions laid there upon our Draperies. 11. A great Part of the *Plate* Trade to *Cadiz* is lost to the *Dutch*. 12. The Trade of *Surianham* also, since the *Dutch* got Possession of that Country. 13. The Trade to *Menades*. 14. The *English* Trade to *Guinea*. Most of the forementioned are the greatest Trades in the World, for the Employment of Shipping and Seamen.

3. The

* A new Discourse, &c. i. e. new Opinions concerning Trade, as see Chap. 48. §. 6—14.

As it is the fourth Edition of this Book, from which I transcribe, I cannot exactly say when it was first printed, tho' as near as may be judged from Circumstances, it was in the Year 1667.

3. The Trades we retain are, 1. The Fish Trade of red Herrings at *Yarmouth, &c.* 2. A good Share of the *Turkey, Italian, Spanish* and *Portugal* Trades. 2. Our Trades to, and from, our own Plantations. As to the *Turkey, Italian, Spanish* and *Portugal* Trades, though our Vent for fine Cloths, and some sort of Stuffs be declined, yet we retain a considerable Part, for this Reason, among others, *viz.* because the Wool of which our middling coarse Cloths are made, is our own *, and consequently cheaper to us, than the *Dutch* can steal it from us. The Navigation Act has secured to us our Trade to our Plantations; but otherwise, with Shame to ourselves it may be truly said of us, as we proverbially say to careless Persons, they have lost all that is loose.

Discourse,
P. 3.

4. The Attempts which our Forefathers made for regulating of Manufactures, when left to the Execution of some particular Person, in a short time resolved but into a Tax upon the Commodity, without respect unto the Goodness of it, as most notoriously appears in the Business of the AULNAGE, which doubtless our Predecessors intended for a Scrutiny into the Goodness of the Commodity; and to that Purpose a Seal was invented, as a Signal that the Commodity was made according to the Statutes, which Seals, it is said, may now be bought by Thousands, and put upon what the Buyers please.

Page 110.

5. It has for many Years been a mooted Case, whether any incorporating of Merchants be for publick Good. It is questionable with me, whether any other Company of Merchants, besides those of *East-India* or *Guinea*, be for publick Good or Hurt. However, I conclude that all Restrictions of Trade are naught.

Page 125.

6. Here, by the way, give me leave to query, whether instead of the late Prohibition of *Irish* Cattle, it would not have been more for the Benefit of this Kingdom

* This Wool which is thus called *our own*, is, originally, the distinct Property of the *English* Grower only; and if he is obliged to sell it to one Person, for less than another would willingly give for it, does not such Person sell his Wool, necessarily, for less than a Market Price? I only put the Question here; if it is answered in the Affirmative, as I think it must be, the Equity and Expediency of such a Compulsion will be considered hereafter, all Circumstances alledged in this Case, being first examined and weighed.

dom of *England* to suffer the *Irish* to bring into *England*, not only their live Cattle, but also all other Commodities of the Growth or Manufacture of that Kingdom, Custom free, or on easy Terms; and to prohibit them from trading homeward or outward with the *Dutch*, or our own Plantations, or any other Places except the Kingdom of *England*? Most certainly such a Law would most wonderfully increase the Trade, Shipping, and Riches of this Nation. Would not this be a Means effectually to prevent the Exportation of *Irish* Wool, which now goes frequently into *France* and *Holland*? *

7. *France* lays an Imposition of 50 or 60 per Cent. upon our Drapery. The *Swedish* Laws amount to a Prohibition of the *English* from sending their own Manufactures to *Sweden* in *English* Shipping. As to Drapery and other *English* Goods, the King of *Denmark's* Country consumes little, and that charged with about 30 or 40 per Cent.

Page 132.
133.

CHAP.

* Sir *Josiah Child* recommends it here, to have *Ireland* put much upon the same Foot, with regard to *England*, as the *English* Colonies, or foreign Plantations, *i. e.* to make *England* the Center of all the *Irish* Commerce. This is the common Policy of all Nations, in respect to their own Colonies. Instead of which, it is remarkable, that while *England* affects to treat *Ireland* as a Colony, it pursues a direct contrary Policy, in some Instances, to what is commonly practised in that Case; by rather forcing *Ireland* into a foreign Trade, than permitting her to have a free Intercourse with *England* for a principal Part of her Produce, and some Manufacture. Now tho' all which Sir *Josiah* has here recommended, is not perhaps practicable, or what the People of *Ireland* would submit to, as not thinking themselves altogether upon the Foot of a Colony: And tho' nothing would effectually prevent the Exportation of *Irish* Wool to *France, &c.* but what would be equally effectual for the same Purpose in *England*. Yet surely it would be better to use the most likely Means to invite and attract the Trade of *Ireland* towards *England*, as the proper Center, rather than to do that which has an immediate Tendency to provoke and drive the People of that Kingdom into a foreign Trade, and into such Manufactures at Home, as they would be apt to purchase in a great measure from *England*, was the Prohibition of their Cattle taken off, and their Woollen Manufacture permitted to pass through *England* into foreign Parts, on equal Terms.

C H A P. XLVIII.

Sir Josiah Child, of Wool, and Woolen Manu-
facture.

1. **T**HAT Wool is eminently the Foundation of the English Riches*, I have not heard denied by any; and that therefore all possible Means ought to be used

* Tho' every Sentence of this great Oracle in Trade carries with it no small Authority; it does not follow, that we are to give implicitly into any of his Opinions, without weighing and considering them maturely. I think it proper then to examine, how we are to understand what he here says concerning Wool, viz. 'That it is eminently the Foundation of the English Riches,' seeing this is a Matter whereof the Generality of the People of England have not formed so just an Idea, as to reason rightly and truly about it.

The Wool of England is, in effect, a considerable Part of the Land of England; and the Land of England is, in a manner, ENGLAND ITSELF; of which the Writers of Political Arithmetic, towards the Close of this Century, made the following Estimate.

The annual Income of England, of which the whole People live and subsist, and out of which Taxes of all kinds are paid, is now about £ 43,000,000

The yearly Rent of Land	10,000,000
The Value of Wool yearly shorn	2,000,000
Of the Woolen Manufacture made here	8,000,000
Of the Woolen Manufacture exported	2,000,000

If this Estimate was near the Truth, when made, tho' the several Quantities are since increased; yet the Proportions continuing much the same, we may continue to argue from it. Hence then it appears, 1st, That the Rents of our Lands make almost one Fourth of the annual Expences of the Kingdom. 2. That the Wool of England is equal to one Fifth of the Rents of the Land, i. e. one Fifth of the whole Rents of the Land of England is paid by Wool. 3. That our Wool, with the Labour bestowed upon it in Manufacture, makes nearly one Fifth of the annual Income of England, on which the whole People live, and out of which

used to keep it within our own Kingdom, is generally confessed; and to this Purpose most of our modern

which Taxes of all kinds are paid. 4. That about one Fourth of the Woolen Manufacture is exported to foreign Markets, (of which our own Plantations are not the least) which $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Woolen Manufacture is not quite $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole annual Income of the Nation, on which the whole People live, and out of whose Expences or Consumption, Taxes of all kinds are paid for the Support of Government. And yet we shall frequently find Persons reasoning, as if 19 Parts, in 20, of the annual Expences of England, were from the exported Woolen Manufactures. I myself once asked a Person in Trade, what Proportion he thought our Home Consumption of Woolen Goods bore to our Exports of the same. To which he answered, 'That he thought we did export at least Thirty times as much in Value, as we used.' Nor was I surprized at his Answer, considering in what Terms Men have accustomed themselves to talk and write upon the Subject; as if we did, or might, clothe the whole World with Woolen Manufacture; as if the Nation subsisted almost entirely by what Woolen Manufactures we did export; that therefore the Persons employed in that Manufacture, were to be reputed as the chief Guardian Angels of the Commonwealth, and as such entitled to give Laws to the Landed Interest, and all other their Fellow-Subjects. When, lo! according to this Estimate of political Arithmeticians, three Fourths of the Woolen Manufacturers are as much employed and maintained by the Landed Interest, and others the good People of England, as all other Labourers whatsoever; and consequently a Weaver, considered merely as such, has no better Claim to the peculiar Regards of the People, than a Taylor or a Shoe-maker. (They are all serviceable in their Way.) Not only so, but we see from this, that all just Means for raising the Price of Wool are allowable, as being not only immediately beneficial to the Landed Interest, but (contrary to what many have taught) ultimately advantageous to the Bulk of Manufacturers themselves; forasmuch as $\frac{3}{4}$ of their Employment and Wages proceeds from their Customers at Home, the Land-Owners, and their Dependants.

Nevertheless, it will not be denied, that Wool and Woolen Manufacture is so far forth the Foundation of the English Riches, even by this Estimate, as to the Amount of £ 8,000,000 per Annum. And the Manufacture itself being equal to six Millions a Year, it saves four Millions or more within the Kingdom, that otherwise would be paid to foreign

dern * Parliaments have strenuously endeavoured the contriving of severe Laws to prevent its Exportation; and the last Act made it Felony. Notwithstanding which, we see that *English* and *Irish* Wool goes over so plentifully, that it is within a very small matter as cheap in *Holland* as in *England*.

2. The Means to prevent this Evil by additional penal Laws, and Alterations of some of those now in being, were long under Debate, by his Majesties Command, in the Council of Trade; who, according to their Duty, took great Pains therein; and since, I have been informed, the same things were under Consideration in Parliament; so that I doubt not but in due time, we shall see more effectual Laws enacted to this Purpose, as well in relation to *Ireland*, (from whence the greatest of this Mischief proceeds) as in *England*, than ever yet has been; yet I do utterly despair of ever seeing this Disease perfectly cured, till the Causes of it be removed; which I take to be, 1. High Interest of Money. 2. Want of Hands,

reign Labour; and the Value of *two* Millions a Year exported in Wool and Labour, is as so much Silver brought into the Kingdom, or instead of so much being carried out of it for foreign Commodities. Notwithstanding all which, according to the Rules of Policy laid down by the *British* Merchant^b, our Market at Home, as the first and best, is to be principally regarded; and therefore the Consequence Sir *Josiah* has drawn, for prohibiting absolutely (as I conceive he meant) the Exportation of Wool (*especially if that is a Means to lower the Price of it*) does not so directly follow, as (he truly says) is generally confessed; because that general Confession, or Belief, stands upon the Supposition of many things for true, which, in Fact, are not so.

^b *British Merchant*, p. 166--7.

* This is not quite ingenuously expressed. The Exportation of Wool was first forbid in seeming good earnest, but about 20 Years before, by an imperfect Legislature, viz. in 1647, which yet the Executive Power did not think fit to adhere to, in the most settled Times of the Usurpation. However, the Prohibition was legally enacted, about seven Years before this, and the Penalty very soon after made Felony. And these were all the Laws that had hitherto passed concerning that Matter.

Hands, which an Act of Naturalization would cure. 3. Compulsion in Matters of Religion.*

3. For while our Neighbours † have Money at lower Interest, and more Hands by reason of a general Liberty of Conscience, with other free Privileges both to Natives and Foreigners, there is no question but they will be able to give a better Price for our Wool, than we can afford ourselves. And they that can give the best Price for a Commodity shall never fail to have it by one means or other, notwithstanding the Opposition of any Laws by Sea or Land; of such FORCE, SUBTILTY and VIOLENCE, is the general Course of TRADE. ||

4. Obj.

* The Rate of Interest has been reduced. Strangers have been entertained in the Kingdom at several times. A Toleration is enjoyed: But the Runnage of Wool has not been discontinued; nay, if Writers are to be credited, it has increased upon us. But that I don't think to be the Case. As our Woolen Trade was never less, from before the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, than in some Part at least of this Reign; nor ever, since, so little; consequently our Exportations of raw Wool have not been greater, nor probably so great, at any time since, as in some Parts of the Reign of *Charles II.* But the Clamours and Complaints of certain Persons, on that Head, have not, for that Reason, abated in the least, but very much the contrary.

† Meaning the Dutch.

|| This is a very wise and just Observation: a Truth that will hold everlastingly, so long as Men and Things retain their Nature. Accordingly, I lay my Finger upon it, as an unvariable, infallible Rule, for trying almost every Project, which can be offered for preventing the Runnage of Wool. And hence it follows necessarily, that whatever tends to lower the Price of Wool in England, (a Registry excepted) tends at the same time to promote the Exportation of it. Now I shall be able to shew^a, that a principal Cause of Wool being, first of all, absolutely prohibited to be exported, was the then Dearness of that Commodity; that therefore the Design of the first Act of this kind (however disguised, to make it palatable) was, to lower the Price of Wool. — That the said Act had so far its intended Effect; — That the subsequent Laws of the same kind, neither do, nor can answer any other End to the Woolen Exportation Trade, but what they do effect by keeping the Price of Wool in England below its natural Value. And tho' to do this, is undoubtedly an Advantage,

^a Ch. 56, §. 12, 16.

4. *Obj.* But some may say, and take it from what I have written elsewhere, as also from their own Observations, Will not the well making our Woolen Manufactures contribute much to the keeping our Wool naturally within our own Kingdom? I answer, Doubtless, it will have a great Tendency thereto; but can never effect it, 'till the aforesaid radical Causes of this Disease be removed. Which brings me to the next Question, *viz.*

5. What will improve our Manufactures in Quality and Quantity? This is a very great Question, and requires a very deliberate and serious Consideration; but I shall write my present Thoughts concerning it; desiring those Gentlemens Pardon, from whom I may differ in Opinion; having this to say for myself, that I do it not rashly, this being a Business that I have many Years considered of; and that not solitarily, but upon conversing with the most skilful Men in our several Woolen Manufactures.

6. *First*, then, I say those three forementioned Particulars, (*Low Interest, Naturalization of Strangers, Liberty of Conscience*) which will naturally keep our Wool at Home, will as naturally increase our Woolen Manufactures. 2. Negatively, I think very few of our Laws to this Purpose (though our Statute Books are replenished with many) have any Tendency to it, nor any thing I have yet seen in Print.

7. For, *1st*, All our Laws relating to the *Aulnager's* Duty, every body knows, signify nothing to the Increase or well making of our Manufactures, but are rather prejudicial.

8. *2dly*, All our Laws that oblige our People to the making of strong, substantial (and as we call it, loyal) Cloth, of a certain Length, Breadth, and Weight, if they were duely put in Execution, would, in my Opinion, do more hurt than good, because the Humours and Fashions of the World change; and at some Times, in some Places (as now in most) slight, cheap, light Cloth, will sell more plentifully and better than that which is heavier, stronger, and truer wrought; and if we

wantage, in the Nature of a Premium, to the Exporter of Woolen Goods; yet at the same time it affords equally a Premium for the Runnage of Wool.

we intend to have the Trade of the World, we must imitate the *Dutch*, who make the worst as well as the best of all Manufactures, that we may be in a Capacity of serving all Markets, and all Humours.

9. *3dly*, I conclude all our Laws limiting the Number of Looms numbered, or kind of Servants, or Times of working, to be certainly prejudicial to the Clothing Trade of the Kingdom in general, though they may be advantageous to some particular Men or Places, who first procured those Laws of Restriction and Limitation.

10. I think all those Laws are prejudicial, that prohibit a Weaver from being a Fuller, Tucker or Dyer, or a Fuller or Tucker^b from keeping a Loom.

^b Ch. 18:

11. I conclude, that stretching a Cloth by Tenters, §. 5. *Note*, though it be sometimes prejudicial to the Cloth, is yet absolutely necessary to the Trade of *England*; and that the Excess of straining cannot be certainly limited by a Law, but must be left to the Seller's or Exporter's Discretion, who best knows what will please his Customers beyond the Seas; besides, if we should wholly prohibit the straining of Cloth, the *Dutch* (as they often have done) would buy our unstrained Cloth, and carry it into *Holland*, and there strain it to six or seven Yards *per Piece* more in Length, and make it look a little better to the Eye, and after that carry it abroad to *Turkey*, and other Markets, and there beat us out of Trade with our own Weapons.

12. But some may then ask me, Whether I think it would be for the Advantage of the Trade of *England*, to leave all Men at Liberty to make what Cloth and Stuffs they please, how they will, where, and when they will, of any Length or Sizes?

I answer, Yes, certainly in my Judgment it would be so, except such Species only, as his Majesty and the Parliament shall think fit to make Staples; as suppose, *Colchester* Bayes, *Perpetuanoes*, *Cheanyes*, and some other sorts of *Norwich* Stuffs, to be allowed the Honour of a publick Seal, by which to be bought and sold here, and beyond Seas; as if it were upon the publick Faith of *England*; and where-ever such Seal is affixed to any Commodity, I would desire the Commodity should be exactly made according to the Institution, and always kept to its certain Length, Breadth, and Goodness. But in case any shall make of the said Commodities worse than

than the Institution, I think it should be most for the publick Advantage, to impose no Penalty upon them, but only deny them the Benefit and Reputation of the publick Seal, to such Bayes or Stuffs as shall be so insufficient; which, in my Opinion, would be Punishment enough to those that should make worse than the Standard, and Advantage enough to those that should keep up to it.

13. For all Cloths and Stuffs not being made Staples, I think it would be of very great Use, that the Makers did weave in their Marks, and affix their own Seals, containing the Length and Breadth of the Pieces, (as has been provided in some Statutes) and that no Maker, under severe Penalties, shall use another Person's Mark or Seal; with such Penalty to every Maker or Seller, whose Cloth or Stuffs shall not contain the Length and Breadth set upon the Seal, as his Majesty and the Parliament shall think fit.

14. If the Makers of all Stuffs whatsoever for Exportation, whether Staples or not, (which are commonly sold by the Piece, and not by the Yard or Ell) were obliged to make them no shorter than anciently they have been made; the particular Lengths of each Sort of which might be provided for and expressed in the Act, this good Effect would follow from it, viz. at all foreign Markets, where we pay a great Custom by the Piece, according to the Book of Rates, current in the several Countries, we should pay but the same Custom abroad for a Piece of full Length, which now we do for one that is shorter; notwithstanding, I conceive it would be expedient to leave it to the Maker's Discretion, to make their Pieces as much longer as they please.

CH A P. XLIX.

Occurrences, 1667--70.

1. *British Merchant*, vol. 3. p. 279-80. *A. D. 1667, May 23.* was signed a Treaty of Commerce with *Spain*; concerning which, Sir *W. Godolphin*, who was Secretary to the *English* Embassy,

bassy, and who was the chief Contriver of that Treaty, wrote thus to my Lord *Arlington*: 'The Treaty of Commerce, I dare promise your Lordship, comprehends not only all the Privileges and Advantages, which this Crown hath ever granted to any other State or People, but likewise some Conveniences, which it hath never yet permitted to any other; for the better Security whereof, I have diligently perused all the Treaties these People have made with others, and all the royal Cedula's they have granted in Favour of any particular Factories, and have not received from our Factories any Grievance or Proposition of Advantage in their Commerce, to be either remedied or procured for them, which we think is not sufficiently provided for in this Treaty.'

In another Letter, to his Brother, *May 25.* he says, 'I will only say to you in general of the Treaty of Commerce, that besides all the Freedom and Advantages of Trade, which this Crown hath granted to any other State, we have thereby several Concessions and Conveniences, whereof we find no Example in their Articles with any other. And I think they have not made any other these hundred Years, which I have not learned as my Lesson, in order to the treating and Perfection of this.'

2. *A. D. 1668.* One *Brewer* (whose Parents were *Coke*, said to be *English*) with about fifty *Walloons*, who wrought and dyed fine *Woolen* Cloths, came into *England*; and p. 169. the King, after the Example of two of his wisest and most renowned Predecessors, entertained them; and by them were the *English* instructed to make and dye fine *Woolen* Cloths cheaper by 40 per Cent. than they could do before; not only to the Benefit of the *English* at home, but in foreign Vent abroad; which before the *Dutch* had. * Q 3 3. *A. D.*

* An additional Act against the Importation of Irish Cattle. 20 Car. II. c. 7.

A. D. 1668-9. Exports to all the World from *England* *British* were £ 2,063,274 19 0 *Merchant*, Imports the same Year £ 4,196,139 17 0 vol. 2. They exceed the Exports £ 2,132,864 18 0 P. 334.

(See Ch. 43. P. S. Ch. 27. §. 7. Note. Ch. 26. §. 4.)

1723.

3. A. D. 1670.* The Parliament meeting October 24, the Lord Keeper Bridgman spoke of the many advantageous Alliances the King had made, both for Security and Profit of Trade, with the Swede, Dane, Spaniard, and Duke of Savoy. But whatever Treaties of Commerce were made with other Princes, the Keeper finds none with France, where neither the advantageous Treaty made by Oliver was observed, nor any new one made; but the French King did use the English with all imaginable Oppressions.

CHAP. L.

England's Interest by Trade asserted, wherein is discovered, that many hundred thousand Pounds might be gained to the Kingdom by the due Improvement of the Product thereof, more particularly by Wool; and the evil Consequences of its Exportation, unmanufactured.

By W. C. a Servant to his King and Country. The Second Impression. London, 1671.

Preface.

1. SOME Letters.

LISLE, March 16. 1669.

We have a miserable Tariff lately come forth, that taxes Serges at 25 Florins per 100 Weight, Cloth at 40; Cottons, Ruffets, Kersies at 10 Florins per 100 Weight. The French shew little Respect to the King of England in this. The Misery is, the great Quantity of Wool that is stolen out from England into France; which makes them audacious; and at the Burreau, they will tell you downright, that the Woolen Fabricks of England are altogether unnecessary.

* A. D. 1670. A Levant Company was established in France.

fary in his Majesty's of France's Dominions; because, they say, they can make as good or better themselves. But if they had not our Wool, they would not say so. Thus we English have our Throats cut with our own Weapons; and I wonder there is no one in England sensible of this grand Evil, as to demonstrate it to his Majesty and Council in England. In time, Strangers will not care Two-pence for our English Woolen Manufactures. Holland draws from Ireland whole Ships Loading of Wool, besides what comes from England, being stolen from the Kentish, Essex and Suffex Coasts, into France, Holland, Zealand, and Flanders. Dover and Canterbury being the only Nest to harbour such Night Rogues.

LISLE, 26 April, 1670.

2. The French are now got into a Way of making a low priced Sort of Cloth, called Searge de Berry, which comes as cheap as our Northern Cloth, and of much better Wool; it is about five Quarters wide; they have so much, they have clothed a great Number of their Soldiers with it; and now the King of France hath lately made an Order, to enjoin the Fabrickers to make it of the same Breadth as English Broad Cloth, (so our low priced Cloth is like to come to nothing) and all made of English Wool.*

3. These things considered, it's Matter of Lamentation, that we here in England should be called upon from beyond Sea, to look to ourselves, to preserve our Trade. And whereas in the first Letter, the Gentleman wonders at the Stupidity of us in England, (and Cause there is to wonder) yet I think it requisite to insert what hath been done by remonstrating to his Majesty, and what his Majesty hath done to prevent that Evil.

4. First, there hath been before his Majesty the Matter itself, viz. 1. The Quantity of Wool exported. 2. The Manner how. 3. The evil Consequences thereof.

Q 4

5. In

* There is much depending upon the Truth of this Assertion, that these French Cloths were all made of English Wool; for which see hereafter the Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce. (Chap. 151—167)

5. In *October* 67, being in *Runney Marsh* in *Kent*, where I used to buy Wool, and missing near 1500 Packs in a short time, and was credibly informed that in one Night there were twelve Shallops loaden with Wool, I did observe the Motion of those Men, and caused a Parcel of Wool to be seized, that was going at Night to be shipped on board a *French* Shallop.

6. Next, I came up to *London*, leaving my own private Concerns, to acquaint the Parliament; which, upon the Petition I presented, ordered the Business to be considered by a Committee; whereupon ensued an * Address to his Majesty to wear, and encourage the wearing of the *English* Manufacture; also for an Impost on *French* Linen.

7. After the Adjournment of the Parliament, I petitioned his Majesty and Privy Council for a Party of Horse to be in *Kent* by the Sea-side, and some Frigots to be at Sea; which granted, I attending sometimes at Sea, sometimes at Land, did prevent near a thousand Packs of Wool from being transported that Summer.

8. In *September* 68, the Parliament not coming together to perfect a Bill depending [for an Impost on *French* Linen] several Proposals were made to his Majesty in Council, and those referred to a select Council of Trade, with these Injunctions from the King: 'You are very strictly to enquire, by what Ways and Practices the Wool of this Kingdom comes to be sent away into foreign Parts, what Places, &c. are most suspected in *England*, and elsewhere, &c.' Which Council returned their Opinion, that 'tho' there was some Defects in the Law, yet the principal Cause was, the want of Execution;' and therefore they desired that the Care of that Business should be recommended to the President and Governours of *Christ's Hospital*.

9. The 2d of *April* 69, his Majesty did order a Commission, under the great Seal, accordingly; but some Objections being in the way, principally the want of Money, they did not enter upon it. This Commission I procured upon my own Cost and Charge.

10. About

* The Result of this Consultation is well worth Notice, as pointing to the best Means of Redress for the Grievance then complained of.

10. About *August* 69, I petitioned his Majesty for something to be done in *Ireland*; and a Letter was written to the Lord Lieutenant; which had this Effect, that in six Weeks time, there was landed in *Minehead* near 1000 Packs of Wool more, than in some Years before; and the like in *Chester* and *Liverpool* proportionably, as I was credibly informed; there being such Quantities before exported beyond Sea, as was asserted in the House of Commons to be no less than *One hundred thousand Packs*.

11. Immediately after, I procured the Discovery of five Vessels that went into *Calice* in *France*, laden with Wool, and all in two Days time; by which said Discovery, following it, there hath been near 100 Persons found guilty, eight or ten Vessels taken, and about 140 Bags of Wool, (being intended for Transportation) seized and condemned: all this in *Kent*, besides some small Parcels in some other Places: And had not the Officers (at least one Man) compounded with all the famous Transporters of Wool in *Kent*, and thereby prevented me in prosecuting the said Transporters, and redelivered these Boats that were seized and condemned, I had done very much, if not altogether destroyed that evil Practice, at least in *Kent*: For about *October*, *November*, *December*, and *January* 1669, there was such a Stop put upon it by that Discovery I had made, and the Transporters were so affrighted, that there was no Wool, or very little, transported in those Months. But as soon as the said Officer, the Compounder General for *Kent* had critically got into his old Road, and compounded, as formerly, and offered Deputations to some of the grand Transporters (if they would have paid for it) the Transporters went on as furious as ever.

12. And now it is seasonable to give some Touch of what was propounded in the House of Commons, about permitting Wool to be transported from *Ireland*; taking it for granted that there was the Quantity exported, as above specified, I was informed that if Wool was suffered to be exported from *Ireland*, paying 2 d. or 3 d. per Pound Custom, it would, first, make it so dear to Foreigners, that the *English* could undersell them in Manufactory. Secondly, It would raise a great Revenue to his Majesty. Thirdly, It would be an Inducement to the Officers to look after the Custom, and so less would

c §. 10.

go. This seemed to many wise, grave Senators, at first to be very feasible, until I gave Answer to it, and that was thus.

13. As to 2d. or 3d. per Pound dearer, it signifies nothing. For if they enter ten Packs, there shall go off 100 * unentered. But grant it did all pay that Custom there in *Ireland*, it pays no Custom when imported into *Holland, Flanders, or France*; and then to consider the Custom that is paid here to his Majesty upon our Woolen Manufacture, when exported, which is about five Pounds for a Pack of worsted Stuffs, &c. and it is such Wool as is coveted; and that, as before, the *French King* laying such an Impost upon our *English Woolen Manufactures*, of 20 or 30 per Cent. this over-balanceth by ten Parts the first Reason; and besides the foreign Manufacturers working so much cheaper (as will be shewn) I humbly suppose is a sufficient Answer to the first Reason of the Motion.

14. As to his Majesties Revenue by 2d. or 3d. per Pound, the Answer is short: The Custom paid, as above, upon the Export of our Woolen Manufactures, is double that Custom. But the Custom upon the Importation of the Product thereof may amount to three times the Worth of the Pack of Wool.

15. As to the Officers Inducement, I shall answer in short, by asking this single Question, Which in reason can be the greatest Inducement †, 3d. per Pound Custom, or

* Had this Writer argued, that in this way, more Wool would be carried beyond Sea in a legal public manner, than before was exported illegally and clandestinely; tho' his Position would not have admitted of Proof, yet could it not have been certainly contradicted. But to say that more Wool would be run, if allowed to be exported legally, at a moderate Duty, than when absolutely prohibited, is to contradict all Experience, and the known Maxims of Policy in other Matters of the like Nature. It is in short, to make a low Duty a stronger Temptation to smuggling than a high one, or than a Prohibition, which is tantamount to the highest. This is so plain in itself, that I should have spared the Note, but that I remember to have met with the same Objection, on the like Occasion, from an honourable Person now living.

† The Officers Inducement was out of the Case here, as being

or 3s. per Pound Forfeiture, if shipped to be transported, which is now in Force, and recoverable? But there was more in the Bottom: For within a Day or two of the said Motion, there was a noble * Lord did affirm in

the being neither more nor less, for the Duty proposed, except as the Government might be supposed, for the sake of the Duty, to keep a stricter Hand upon the Officers, whose Business it would be to watch it. But the Thing chiefly to be considered was, whether Persons would rather chuse to pay 3d. a lib. Duty, than risk 3s. a lib. for the sake of saving that 3d. And the Answer is easy, That no Man in his Senfes would; because if he was detected once in twelve times, he could be no Gainer by his Adventures. The Odds therefore would have been eleven to one against him, besides the Chance of Disgrace, and other Inconveniences.

But, whereas it will appear^d that Wool has sometimes^d Ch. 178; been run for little more, if any thing, than 3d. a Pound, that, we shall find, was under very different Circumstances from what are here supposed. 1st, The Exportation of Wool being utterly prohibited, there was wanting an Alternative, or Choice, whether to pay 3d. or to risk 3s. 2dly, Supposing such Alternative, if in a legal Way, Wool might be exported at a Duty of 3d. a Pound, the illegal Adventurer must stand the Risk for less than 3d. as, suppose, for 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$. 3dly, This utter Prohibition having sunk the Price of *English Wool* in *England* (as we shall go near to shew) below its natural Value, viz. from 9d. to 6d. a Pound; by that means it came to pass, that 3d. a Pound was full 50 per Cent. Profit; which, tho' little in regard to the Penalties, was large in respect of the Capital employed in such illicit Trade. But whenever the Price of *English Wool* in *England*, by taking off the Prohibition, (which is in the Nature of a Monopoly) should raise the Market at Home, as, suppose, to 9d. instead of 6d. the Case would be greatly altered; insomuch that the same Risks, if at all, must be run for less than 30, as before, for 50 per Cent. which, it is conceived, is a Difference sufficient to discourage all Traffic of that kind. How far an allowed Exportation of Wool at a Duty of 3d. a Pound might be so ordered, as to comport with the Interest of the Nation in all other Regards, will be more distinctly considered hereafter; it is enough to observe in this place, that such a Duty would prevent the *Runnage of Wool*; which is more than can be said of a Prohibition, without a Registry at least.

* Here, in the first Place, it may be justly doubted, whether any Lord did make a Declaration to this Effect. 2. Whe-

the Committee for Wool, that his Lordship was offered a hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling* to pass an Act for the Transportation of Wool. And besides, there is a Petition of many Years standing, that within these few Months I had a View of, for combed Wool to go off upon the same Pretence as before, (*viz.* of a Duty *) alledging it is coarse Wool, and not fit for the Clothier. It is true, that it is not fit for Cloth, but it is for Worsted Stuffs and Stockins, in which respect it is of equal, if not greater Consequence than Clothing Wool. †

CHAP.

2. Whether the Matter of it was true, if he did. If the *French* had been disposed to give so large a Bribe for such a Purpose, they were too well acquainted at this Time with the Court and State of *England*, not to know where to apply it properly and effectually. For about this very Time it was, that the King of *England* himself became a Pensioner to the Court of *France* for not a larger Sum than 100,000*l.* yearly.

* This may suffice to shew, that the Nation had not been unanimous in preferring an absolute Prohibition in this Case, to a limited Exportation of Wool, *i. e.* a Duty on Wool exported. The former had only took place since the Restoration, but, as we have seen, without the least good Effect, and without even that, of preventing the Exportation of it.

† I must beg Leave to dissent from the Opinion of this Writer, in regard to *combed Wool*. Was it true, that *Clothing Wool* was the peculiar Growth of *England* and *Ireland*, much might be said for endeavouring to monopolize it; since that would be gaining a Monopoly of *Cloth*, which, beyond all other Manufactures, least admits of being rivalled; there being, for certain pretty general Uses, nothing equivalent to it. But the same cannot be said for *Stuffs* and *Stockins* made of *combed Wool*, which, at the best, are but in Imitation of Manufactures made from better Materials, such as, *Silk*, *Camels*, and *Goats Hair*, *Cotton*, and *fine Thread*. And therefore admitting (which I think is true) that some *English* *combing Wool* is so good, as that there is none which does exceed it; yet for the Reasons mentioned, and because it is not impossible but that there are, or may be, in other Places, *combing Wool* equally good as the best of *England*; and because *fine Spanish Wool*, we

^c Ch. 156. shall see, in some Instances ^e, answers the same End and Use as the best *English* *combed Wool*; and because the *combing*

CHAP. LI.

England's Interest, &c. By W. C. 1671.

1. *Edward III.* * having settled the Manufacture of Page 3. *Wools* within the Kingdom of *England*, confined it by a penal Statute, which at first reached not only to Goods and Chattels, and Lands, but also to Members, and Life itself; but in a short time repealed the two latter thereof; continuing the other in its full Force to remain to future Generations. Which exceeding great Advantage to the Propriety of the *English* Trade hath now continued these three hundred Years. †

2. But latterly, not only *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *Zealand*, have sucked the Sweetness of the Sinews of our Trade; but *France* is likewise learning to be too hard for us, as is manifest by the great Quantities of Wool, of late Years, transported thither from *England* and *Ireland*. How injurious it must be to us is also unquestionable, if we consider the Consequence thereof, which was (without question) much in the Eye of our Ancestors, as appears by what is above hinted in *Edw. III.* and several Reigns since.

3. Every

combing of Wool is so much a Business in several foreign Parts, and in one Place particularly, *Turcoing* ^f, there are 14 ^f Ch. 140. *Woolcomb-makers*, while there are but two, as we are told, §. 13. in the City of *London*. From all these Considerations laid together, I think it is to be concluded, that *English* *combing Wool* is not altogether of that Consequence, which this Author would have it believed to be.

* The Author, after his long Preface, begins this Tract with repeating from *W. S. Gent.* what I have transcribed from that Writer, (see Chap. 41. §. 1—6.) proceeding with this false History (§. 1.) which I have before ^g had ^g Ch. 41. Occasion to note. §. 2, 6.

† Would not any one think from this Writer, that the *Note.* Exportation of Wool had been prohibited so long, without Interruption, under the Penalty of forfeiting Goods, Chattels, and Lands. Which is so great a Falshood ^h, that it ^h See is Matter of Surprize, to think how any one came first to Chap. 5. be Fool enough to imagine, or so great and confident a ⁱ §. 12, 35. Knave as to invent and utter it. Ch. 6--27.

3. Every Pack of Wool sent to *France* doth prevent us, not only of the Benefit of the Manufacture thereof, but of two Packs* more besides itself, viz. thus: it being combed and combed Wool, for the most part, exported thither. The *French* having no *Wools* of their own, but such as is very coarseⁱ, are not able to make Cloth or fine Stuffs, without the Conjunction of ours therewithal; there being none, to my best Information, in all the World, fit for that Purpose, but ours only, except in *North Holland*, and that, a small Quantity of fine Worsted Wool; all others being likewise coarse, but *Spanish* Wool; and that much too fine, especially for Worsted Stuffs, and not in any wise fit for combing; so that without *English* and *Irish* Wools, there can be no Quantity of fine Worsted Stuffs, nor a middle Sort of Cloth, made in the WHOLE WORLD. Neither will any *Wools* be all mixed together, but *English* and *Spanish* (for Cloth only) because the *Spanish* is with the *English* of one Nature, being formerly *English* Sheep.

ⁱ Ch. 56. §. 26.

4. Where-

* *W. S.* had before told us^k, that *Spanish* Wool would not make Cloth, without a Mixture of *English* Clothing Wool; and now we are informed by this Writer, that the *French* cannot make Worsted Stuffs, nor middling Cloths, without a Mixture also of *English* combing, or clothing Wool. So that according to these two Writers, *W. S.* and *W. C.* the *English* Wool in general is a Necessary of Life to all the World, as being a *sine qua non* to every Species of Woolen Manufacture that is tolerable; and these would be fine Circumstances indeed for *England*, were they but true; the former of these, the Necessity of *English* Wool for making fine Cloth, we shall find, after some time, with good Reason given up^l; but the latter, that of Wonders to be effected by mixing *English* and *French* Wools together, (an ingenious Fiction, of which this Author gives us, so far as I can learn, the first Intimation^m) has been thought so convenient a Doctrine, that to this very Day it is diligently propagated, *i. e.* it has been repeated and echoed from one Writer to another, with some Improvements, but without one explicit Argument for, or Evidence of, its being true, especially in the Sense, in which it is commonly represented, and intended to be understood. And here note, That this supposed extraordinary Quality of *English* Wools for mixing with foreign, is what Sir *Josiah Child* has made no mention of.

^k Ch. 41. §. 4.

^l Ch. 140. §. 1.

^m §. 4.

4. Wherefore the Exportation of *English* Wools into *France* must of necessity be greatly prejudicial to this Nation, not only in the Quantity sent over, but also in the Advantage which is thereby given them to manufacture a double Portion of their Wool, which formerly was little worth, into such Commodities, as spoils us of the Advantages of our proper Trades, not only thither, but also into other Parts.

5. The Comb'd of the *English* Wool makes Woof for the Warps of the *French* Wool, without which they can only make Ruggs, and at the best, Cloth for Seamen.

6. Their Combing, or Pinions, viz. the short Wool that is combed out of the Worsted serves for their Linen Warp, to make some of their Druggets.

7. The finest short *English* Wool is mixed with the lowest *Spanish* Wool, called short Wool, for some of their best Druggets, wove upon Worsted Chains; and also for a middle Sort of Broad Cloth, about 10 or 12 s. per Yard. This is the Cause, I judge, that short *Spanish* Wool is so scarce here in *England*.

8. Now if we consider these Things together, the Page 5. Damage of exporting one Pack from *England* to *France*, at about 10 or 12 l. Sterling, preventing the manufacturing of two Packs more in *England*, which would be worth 100 l.; *England's* Loss in the whole, by the Exportation of one Pack of Wool, can be little less than 90 l.

9. Moreover, considering the Custom, when exported in Manufacture, and the Profit of the Returns, with the Custom thereof, it's much if it do not double the first Principal of 90 or 100 l. And if the Exportation of one Pack of *English* Wool be near 200 l. Damage to the King and Kingdom, what will be the Loss of exporting 10 or 15,000 Packs into *France*, besides many to other Parts? And not only so, but these further Inconveniences must arise upon us, viz. first, the spoiling of our Trade with *France* in all our Woolen Manufacture, as doth already appear by the Impost put upon the same from 20 to 40 per Cent.*

10. And

* Here lay the great Grievance, and for which the only Remedy was, Reprisals upon the *French* Product and Manufactures.

6.

10. And, secondly, in time, it will capacitate the *French*, as well as the *Dutch*, to undersell the *English* Merchants in foreign Parts, nay, possibly in our own Country. And so much indeed have we been deceived in this Matter, that whereas in Time of the late War with the *Dutch* and *French*, those *French* Druggets were thereby much prevented, many *English* striped Broad Cloths, rent through into three Parts, (about 16 s. per Yard Price) being put into the Form of *French* Druggets, were sold at 8 s. per Yard, and so in the whole came to 1 l. 4 s. per Yard. So likewise it is certainly true, that those Druggets made in *England*, do go for *French*. Such is our Love to the *French* Mode.

11. The Advantage we give them besides, in the Mixture of our Wools with theirs, is such, that, whereas their Wool of itself is not worth 4 l. per Pack; being mixed with ours, becomes so fit for Worsted Stuffs, as that it comes to be worth no less than 12 l. per Pack. Hence it is obvious, that the Exportation of Wools from *England* and *Ireland* is of a dangerous and destructive Nature. *

12. What-

nufactures. This had been attempted in 1667, (see Ch. 50. §. 6.) but was not yet perfected. As to the Exportation of Wools to *France*, if, whether for the Advantage of mixing, or through the low Price of Labour there, or for any other Reason, the *French* would afford a better Price for it, than was to be had in the *English* Markets; in that Case, Sir *Josiah Child* has told us plainly and truly, that it is not in the Power of Laws, to prevent their having it. Such (says he) is the Force, Subtilty and Violence of the Course of Trade.

Ch. 48. §. 3.

* Admit all this were literally true, according to Sir *Josiah Child*, how can it be prevented? Moreover (see Chap. 40. §. 13. Note) in the Year 1685, *French* Wool imported into *England* at 10 l. a Bag, which Bag is commonly less than the *English* Pack; the former being ordinarily but 200, the latter, for the most part, 240 Pounds. But whatever might be the Weight of those Bags, they were valued at half the Price of *Spanish* Wool imported at the same time; which has not lately been the Case of any *English* Wool in *England*. And admitting the Possibility of improving the Value of *French* Wools by the Mixture here mentioned, from

12. Whatever Objections have been made to the preventing of this, with respect to the *Grafer's* present Advantage, (whose Loss may possibly be supposed, by prohibiting Exportation) to be about * 20 s. in every Pack, I have this to say, that what is lost that way, would be gained by every other Commodity, as Corn, Flesh, &c. For it hath always been observed in former Times hitherto, that when the Clothier had the best Trade at *London*, the Farmer did not lose his Share in the Advantage thereof. †

13. If it be so, that while we have a little Trade, we can hardly live, one by another, what may be expected, if our Trade should be taken away? Which is now in more Danger, by the *French*, than it hath been this 300 Years past ||. The Consequence will be, to bring the

R Price

from 4 to 12 l. a Pack; would it not be equally advantageous, to import two Packs of *French* Wool to *England*, as to export one Pack of *English* Wool to *France*? If so, it would be twice more easy to do the former, than the latter; because in *France*, the Exportation of Wool does not appear to be prohibited. Nay, I know there are those who will laugh at the very Notion of *French* Wool being a Commodity for Traffic or Importation to *England*. But see (Ch. 40. §. 11, 12, 13.) an Act, &c. prohibiting the Importation of Wool from *France*. See also (§. 13. Note.) *French* Wool imported to *England*, and the Price of it.

* The Writers upon this Subject had not yet learned to deny currently, that prohibiting the Exportation thereof, was a Loss to the *Grafer*, in the Price of his Wool. But see some Approaches towards it (§. 13.)

† This is very true. But does not the Clothiers Trade, both at *London* and in the Country, depend also upon the Farmer being in good Plight? Hath not Sir *Josiah Child* P Ch. 47. said, 'That Trade and Land must waxe and wane together; §. 1. 'That it cannot be ill with Land, but Trade must feel it.'

|| This was very true; the Trade of *England* was never in a worse Condition than at this Period; but that, not so much by the Exportation of Wool, (tho' as less, comparatively, was never used at home, so it had never gone abroad in larger Quantities) as by continuing to import *French* Goods, Wine, Brandy, Linen, Silk, &c. without properly resenting the *French* Imposts upon the *English* Woolen Manufactures, although they amounted very near to a Prohibition.

Price of Wool to 6 d. a Pound, as it appears to have been (in a little Piece called *The Golden Fleece*, written by *W. S. Gent.* in the Year 1656.) 300 Years ago, tho' the Cloth then sold for 10 s. a Yard, when at this Day, Cloth made in *England*, of Wool at 12 d. per Pound, will hardly yield 7 s. per Yard.*

Ch. 41.

14. And though, for the present, the Price of Wool be risen by its Exportation, yet if the Quantity lately exported (being no less than 20,000 Packs) had been kept in *England*, the same Quantity, if not 10,000 Packs more, would in time have been exported in the particular Manufactures. For if the Wools was not exported to those Places beyond the Seas, there to be manufactured, they MUST of NECESSITY have our Woolen Manufacture, and could not have the Advantage of working up *French Wool*, short *Spanish Wool*, and their fine spun Linen. By all which, as there will be less Demand for *English Woolen Goods*, so the Wool of *England* will be render'd much cheaper. For as our Experience is, when the Wool was all used in *England*, or very little exported, the Wool was then at 18 d. † per Pound; and when all,

Wool at 18 d. per Pound.

* Tho' we may justly question *W. S.* as to the Price of Wool and Cloth in *Edw. III.*; this Writer, *W. C.* could not but know, if Wool was at this Time, he mentions, 12 d. per Pound, as he says, and in this, I think, must be credited; because it cannot be supposed that any Writer would venture to assert, what almost every Reader had in his Power to contradict, if not true. We may therefore note two things here, 1st, That Wool had not yet fallen generally to 6 d. per Pound, as presently we shall find it did to that, or a less Price. 2dly, That some *English Wool* was at this

Wool 12 d. a Pound, or 28 s. per Tod.

Time sold for 12 d. per Pound, or 28 s. per Tod. He intimates indeed, that there was, at this Juncture, an Advance in the Price of Wool, and mentions withal the Reason thereof, in his Opinion at least. (See §. 14.)

Ch. 58. §. 10.

† Here he speaks of Wool having been sold at 18 d. per Pound, which is 42 s. per Tod. He does not say when; but that will appear by and by. And though he says it was then all used in *England*, or however very little exported, yet I shall take Occasion to shew, that at the very Time, to which he here probably alludes, there was an Exportation of Wool, allowed by Authority. So that the Argument does not conclude, as he would have it understood, for the Advantage, even as to Price, in prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool.

all, or the greatest Part was exported, (*viz.* before 11 *Edw. III.*) it was at 6 d. per Pound.

R 2

CHAP.

To set off with more Advantage his own Opinions; he has Recourse also to that famous Letter, said to be Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, without appearing to know any thing of the mischievous Consequences that Letter produced to the *Cloth Trade of England*. But from the Estimates therein, of the Loss sustained by the Nation, in sending out Cloths undressed and undyed, argues how much worse it must be to suffer the Exportation of Wool. And here this Writer, like many others, does not make any Distinction between prohibiting, and preventing, the Exportation of Wool, altho' the former, it is well known, does not imply the latter. He does not consider, that preventing the Exportation of Wool would not certainly promote the Woolen Manufacture; whereas so far as the Woolen Manufacture is promoted, so far the Exportation of Wool is effectually prevented.

Ch. 30. § 1.

Indeed the whole Arguments of this Writer, as also of most others on the same Side of the Question, center in this, that a greater Gain arises to the Nation from exporting the Manufacture than the Material, forasmuch as the former brings more Money into the Kingdom, than the latter can do. But this amounts to nothing more than a good Argument in Favour of Manufacture in general; there are other things in this particular Case to be considered, besides the prohibiting, or even contriving how to prevent the Exportation of Wool. However, to prevent the Exportation of Wool, this Author recommends several, but principally these two things.

1. That all Persons in *England* may be accountable for Wool, 'till manufactured.

2. That there be certain Ports appointed for Wool from *Ireland*; the greatest Source, he says, of Mischief, in this Case, to *England*, and much increased since the Act against Cattle. In the latter (Wool Ports) his Measures have been pursued, (see Chap. 72. §. 3. Note. Chap. 76. §. 14. Note.) though not with very good Success. The former (a Registry) has been so far approved, that it has often been under Consideration, to find out a Scheme for the Purpose, fit to be put in Practice. But in this, many Difficulties arise.

CHAP. LII.

The Political Anatomy of Ireland, 1672. By Sir W. Petty. Reprinted 1719.

- Page 21. 1. THE Cattle and Stock [of Ireland] Anno 1641, was worth above four Millions, reckoning one Beef of 20s. Value, or the Equivalent in other Stock, to two Acres. But Anno 1652, the People of Dublin fetch'd Meat from *Wales*, there being none here, and the whole Cattle of *Ireland* not worth 500,000 l.
- 31. 2. If both Kingdoms were under one Legislative Power and Parliament, the Members whereof should be proportionable in Power and Wealth, of each Nation, there would be no Danger such a Parliament should do any thing to the Prejudice of the *English* Interest in *Ireland*; nor could the *Irish* ever complain of Partiality, when they shall be freely and proportionably represented in all Legislatures.
- 3. 3. If it be good for *England* to keep *Ireland* a distinct Kingdom, why do not the predominant Party in Parliament (suppose the Western Members) make *England*, beyond *Trent*, another Kingdom, under Commerce, and take Tolls and Customs upon the Borders? Or why was there ever Union between *England* and *Wales*, the good Effects and Fruits whereof were never questioned? And why may not the entire Kingdom of *England* be further cantonized for the Advantage of Parties?
- 54. 4. A Fleece of Wool in *Ireland* is about two Pounds Weight. The Wool which is usually exported, being
- 55. a little above two Millions* of Pounds, grows upon
- 56. 1,000,000 Sheep: And the Wool which cloaths the Nation

* However just this Calculation might be, before the Breed of Sheep was increased and improved in *Ireland*, in Consequence of the Act prohibiting the Cattle of that Kingdom in *England*, 'tis certain that the Quantity of Wool exported annually since that Time from *Ireland* to *England* only, has been, at some Periods, much larger than what is here represented to be the whole spare Wool of *Ireland*. This Calculation supposes but about 25,000 Stone, at 16 Pounds

tion being about 1100,000 Bodies, at each for Cloaths, Hats, and Stockins, requires 6,000,000 l. more, and so three Millions of Sheep: in all, four Millions.

5. *Ireland*, Anno 1664, did not export to a much greater Value^s than it imported, viz. about 62,000 l. ^{Page 69.} *Viz. in* Since which Time there hath been a Law made to prohibit the Importation of great Cattle and Sheep, alive or dead, into *England*; the Value whereof carried into *England* in that very Year 1664, was above 150,000 l. The which was said to be done, for that *Ireland* drained away the Money of *England*; whereas in that very Year, *England* sent to *Ireland* but 91,000 l. less than it received from thence; and yet this small Difference was said to be the Reason, why the Rents of *England* fell a fifth Part, i. e. 1,600,000 l. in eight Millions. Which was a strange Conceit, if they consider farther, that the Value of the Cattle, alive or dead, which went out of *Ireland* into *England*, was but 132,000 l.; the Hides, Tallow, and Freight whereof were worth about half the Money. Whereas the Owners of about one Quarter, both of all the real and personal Estates of *Ireland*, do live in *England*; all that belongs to whom, goes out, but returns not. ^{Page 70.}

6. Anno 1664, before the Cattle Statute, three fourths of the *Ireland* foreign Trade was with *England*; but now, not one fourth Part of the same. 90.

7. By Calculations it seems, that near thrice as much Wool is spent in *Ireland*, as exported; whereas, others have thought quite contrary, that is, that the exported Wool is triple in Quantity to what is spent at home. 96.

R 3 8. The Pounds to the Stone, to be produced there, more than consumed at home; whereas in 1687^t, when the *Irish* Woolen^t Ch. 126. Manufacture was at the highest, there was imported from thence to *England*, at 16 Pounds to the Stone, 292,792 Stones of Wool and Yarn; also in 1697^u, when the Woolen^u §. 9. Manufacture of that Kingdom was again considerable, the Wool and Yarn imported thence to *England* was 260,052 Stones; from 1700^w to 1703 inclusive, at a Medium, §. 10. 361,491 Stones; from 1711 to 1714, 283,795 Stones, upon a Medium; and in 1723^x, 271,291 Stones. And in^x Ch. 124. 1698, according to Mr. *Dobbs*, in his *Essay on the Trade* §. 2. and *Improvement of Ireland*^y, the *Irish* Export of Wool on^y Part 1. ly to *Britain* was 377520 ³/₄ Stones. p. 76.

8. The Clothing Trade is not arrived to what it was before the late Rebellion: And the Art of making the excellent, thick, spongy, warm Coverlets seems to be lost.

Page 112. 8. *A Report from the Council of Trade in Ireland, viz.* the Value of the Cattle, viz. live Oxen and Sheep carried out of Ireland into England, was never more than 140,000 *l.* per Annum; the Freight, Hides, Tallow, and Wool of the said Cattle were worth about 60,000 *l.* of the said 140,000 *l.*; and the Value of the Goods imported out of England into Ireland (when the Cattle Trade was free) was between treble and quadruple to the neat Value of the Ox and Sheep's Flesh transported from hence into England.

Inferences from the Premises, p. 123. 9. It is conceived, that about one third of the imported Manufactures might be made in Ireland, and one third of the Remainder might be more conveniently had from foreign Parts than out of England, and consequently that it is scarce necessary at all for Ireland to receive any Goods of England, and not convenient to receive above one fourth from thence of the whole which it needeth to import, the Value whereof is under 100,000 *l.* per Annum.

Application, p. 125. 10. Therefore it is humbly offered, that forthwith Application be made unto England to restore the Trade from the Plantations, and between the two Kingdoms, and particularly that of Cattle, as heretofore.

11. That Endeavours be used in England for the Union * of the Kingdoms under one Legislative Power, proportionably, as was heretofore done in Wales.

CHAP.

* An Union of trading Interests, at least, is very practicable. (See Chap. 46. §. 5. Note.)

CHAP. LIII.

A Letter from Sir William Temple, dated at Dublin 1673, to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1. UNTIL the Transportation of Cattle into England was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickest Trade of ready Money here was driven by the Sale of young Bullocks, which for four or five Summer Months in the Year, were carried over in very great Numbers; and this made all the Breeders in the Kingdom turn their Lands and Stock chiefly to that Sort of Cattle. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than for the Consumption within, and few Oxen for Draught. Hence the Cattle slaughtered within were young—the Hides mean—the Quantity of Tallow small—little Butter was exported—above all, the Trade of Beef for Exportation was next to nothing.

2. But after the Act in England had wholly stopp'd the Exportation of Cattle, the Trade of Ireland was forced to find out a new Channel; a great deal of Land was turned to Sheep, because Wool gave ready Money for the English Markets, and, by Stealth, for those abroad. The Breeders of English Cattle [i. e. Cattle originally of English Breed] turned much to Dairy; or else by keeping their Cattle to six or seven Years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef Trade abroad.

3. When the Passage is open, Land will be turned most to great Cattle, when shut to Sheep, as it is at present, tho' I am not of Opinion that it can last; because that Act seems to have been carried on, rather by the Interest of particular Counties in England, than by that of the whole, which, in my Opinion, must be evidently a Loser by it.

4. For, first, the Freight of all Cattle, that were brought over, being in English Vessels, was so much clear Gain to England. The Trade of Hides and Tallow, or else of Leather, was mightily advanced in England, which will be beaten down by foreign Markets in Ireland,

if they come to kill all their Cattle at home. — *Irish* Beef, which had in a manner no Part before in the Trade abroad, will share in it with *England*. The Trade of *English* Butter will be beaten down, when *Ireland* turns to the Dairy, in the way of *English* Housewifry, (as it has done a great deal, since the Restraint upon Cattle.)

5. And whereas *Ireland* had before very little Trade but with *England*, and with the Money for their Cattle bought all the Commodities there which they wanted: By this Restraint, they are forced to seek a foreign Market; and where they sell, they will be sure to buy too; and all the foreign Merchandize which they had before from *Bristol*, *Chester*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amsterdam*, *Lisbon*, and the *Streights*.

6. As for the Causes of the Decay of Rents in *England*, which was made the Occasion of that Act, they proceeded not from the Transportation of *Irish* Cattle. Besides, the Rents have been far from increasing since; and tho' that may be by other Accidents, yet, as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unless Wool be forbidden as well as Cattle; for the less Cattle comes over from thence, there comes the more Wool; which goes as far as the other in beating down the Price of Pasture Lands in *England*; and yet the Transportation of Wool cannot be forbidden, since that would force the *Irish* Wool either by Stealth into foreign Markets, or else in Cloth, by the Advance of that Manufacture. *Either** of which would bring a sudden Decay upon a principal Branch of the *English* Trade.

CHAP.

* We have lived to see both, and the *English* foreign Beef Trade likewise transferred to *Ireland* altogether.

CHAP. LIV.
A Scheme, &c.

LONDON, 29 Nov. 1674.

1. A Scheme of the Trade, as it is at present carried *British* on between *England* and *France*, in the Com-Merchant, commodities of the native Product and Manufacture of each vol. 1. Country; calculated as exactly as possible, in Obedience p. 181. to the Command of the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for the Treaty of Commerce with *France*; and humbly tendred to their Lordships, viz.

EXPORTED.

2. *Woolen and Silk Manufactures*, from Michaelmas 1668 to 1669. Total Amount — £ 84,621. 6 8
N. B. Since 1669, the Exports, we conceive, are diminished.

Lead, Tin, Allum, &c. — £ 86,400 0 0
Total Exported — — £ 171,021 6 8

Commodities Imported.

3. *Linen and Silk Manufacturies*, }
£ 807,250 4 0 &c. In all to the } £ 1,136,150 4 0
Amount of — — —

Balance gained by the *French* — £ 965,128 17 4

Besides Toys, &c.

4. By the Account above*, your Lordships may perceive, that the *Linen and Silk* Manufactures only, imported from *France*, amount to upwards of 800,000 *l.* and the Manufactures of *Wool and Silk* exported from *England* thither, do not amount to 85,000 *l.* As also all other Commodities of the Product and Manufacture of *England* exported into *France*, do not amount to 90,000 *l.* more; whereas the *Wines, Brandies, and other*

* By the Account above, it seems as if Mr. *Fortry* (Chap. 44. §. 8.) had greatly mistaken the *English* Exports particularly to *France*, in rating the same at a Million yearly.

other Commodities of the Product and Manufacture of *France*, imported into *England*, amount to upwards of 300,000*l.* besides an incredible Value of Toys, rich Apparel, Point, Lace, &c. So that it is apparent, that the Exports of our native Commodities and Manufactures to *France*, are less valuable by at least one Million* of Pounds *Sterling*, than the native Commodities and Manufactures of *France*, which we receive from thence. And if it please your Lordships to reflect thereon, your Lordships will easily discern the great Prejudice the *English* Nation hath sustained, and the great Advantage the *French* have, and do daily make, by holding this Treaty in Suspence; this Nation being upon the Matter excluded Trade thither, while in the mean time the *French* enjoy all, and as great Advantages, as they can reasonably expect by any Treaty.

Patience Ward, George Toriano, John Dubois,
Tho. Papillon, John Houblon, Benj. Godfrey,
James Houblon, John Houghe, Edm. Harrison,
William Bellamy, John Mervin, Benj. Delaune,
Michael Godfrey, Peter Paravicine,

CH A P. LV.

An Essay, to the restoring of our decayed Trade; wherein is described, the Smuglers, Officers, and Lawyers. Frauds, &c. By Joseph Trevers, 1675.

Page 1. 1. BY reason of my former Employment, as a Clothier, and afterwards in the Office of Surveyor of one of the Ports of this Kingdom at the *Custom House*, I am experimentally enabled to speak those things which follow.

Echard, vol. 3. p. 395. * A. D. 1675. The Commons examining the Trade with *France*, found that the *French* imported yearly into *England*, Commodities to the Value of a Million more than they exported; upon which a Bill was ordered to be prepared.

2. There is a miserable Decay of Trade in the Nation. But if the Wool of *England* and *Ireland* were secured from Exportation to Foreigners, doubtless *England* would be the general Market for the whole *Universe*, for the Matter of Clothing.

3. It is sufficiently known*, that the *French Wool* particularly is very coarse, fit only to make a Sort of Cloth for Seamen and Fishermen. But by having our good Wool, mixing one Part of it with two of theirs, they make their Cloths and Stuffs pass very acceptably. Yea, the *English* buy the *French* Druggets so made; when we do, or at least may, make better † of our own. And if this Affair was carefully looked after by the Officers of the Customs in our Out-Ports especially, there might be speedily a good Stop put to this their Trade, which is the Foundation of our Poverty, which now is become so general. For the Clothing Trade failing, many other Trades, as they necessarily must do, fail also.

4. It is well known, that the Smuglers are none of the meanest Persons in the Places, where they dwell; but have oftentimes great Interest with the Magistrates, and being Purse proud, do not value what they spend, to ingratiate themselves with Persons of Authority, to destroy all such as discover their fraudulent Dealings, or else by Bribes † to stop their Mouths.

5. I have

* That is, it hath been so said by *W. C.* (Chap. 51. §. 3.)

† Does not this last Expression bespeak something more in the *French Art*, than in the *English Material*? But we shall find Reason to think, that these *French* Druggets, of which the *English*, it seems, were so enamoured, were made of better than *English* Materials, viz. fine *Spanish Wool*. (See Chap. 156. §. 9.)

‡ Some Officers finding a peculiar and present Profit, by being invested with a golden Livery, do rather chuse that, than to do their King and Country faithful Service. Or if there should chance to be a Discovery or Seizure, there shall be all present Help at hand, if need require; even false Witnesses, malicious Prosecutions, joined with odious Appellations of *Informing Knave*, &c. The Smuglers are not only well acquainted with some Attorneys and Clerks, but they make good Interest with the Under-Sheriffs,

5. I have had Discourse with some Persons, who have had the Thoughts of getting a *Patent* to put the Laws in Execution, that are against the Transportation of Wool, &c. But I can hardly think they would be careful and diligent in their Employment; and it is generally believed, that there would be more smuggling, if this Affair were once committed to *Patentees*, the Love of Money is so natural.*

C H A P. LVI.

Reasons for a limited Exportation of Wool, 1677.

age 3. 1. **R**Eflecting, with great Resentment, on the just Complaints of the Landlords and Tenants of this Nation, who attribute one of the greatest Originals of their Misery to the Cheapness of Wool; I began to think of some Remedy to this Disease; which tho' 'tis not in my Power to cure, yet to propose the Means to such as can, I am not forbid. But finding my Design opposed by several Pamphlets under the Name of W. C. and chiefly by one he calls ^a England's Interest, I have here endeavoured to winnow his Handful of Corn from the abundance of Chaff; and reducing his whole Discourse to a few Propositions, with some Objections and Answers; I do willingly grant him those which follow.

^a See Ch. 50, 51.

^b Chap. 4. §. 16. Note. 2. Since the Time of Edward III. (the ^b Founder of the Woolen Manufacture) the Trade of Wool hath been one of the chiefest Riches of this Nation, it employs many Persons, brings many profitable Returns, increases Shipping, &c.

^c Chap. 5. §. 1. Note.

3. On riffs, in the Countries where they drive their Trade. And these have strange Tricks and Delays in their Returns, in which some of them will take Part with the Offenders, instead of executing the Law against them.

* N. B. This Writer transcribes much from W. S. Gent. (See Ch. 41. §. 1--6.) and also lays great Stress upon the Opinions said to have been Sir Walter Raleigh's. (See Chap. 30.)

3. On the contrary, the Diminution of this Manufacture is disadvantageous to many Families, and to the Nation, by not making the greatest Advantage of the Superfluity of a native Commodity, &c. and tho' this be granted, yet I cannot acknowledge that a Manufacture maketh fewer Poor; but rather the contrary.* For tho' it sets the Poor on Work where it finds them, yet it draws still more to the Place; and their Masters allow Wages so mean, that they are only preserved from starving whilst they can work; when Age, Sickness, or Death comes, themselves, their Wives, or their Children, are most commonly left upon the Parish. Which is the Reason why those Towns (as in the *Weald* of Kent) whence the Clothing is departed, have fewer Poor than they had before.

Page 4.

4. The Profit arising by the Transportation of a Manufacture is much greater (supposing equal Vent) than that of unwrought Materials; Art increasing the Value so much as the Thing wrought is more useful, and the working laborious.

5. The Transportation of Wool is a Benefit to others, (as all things vented to Foreigners are, who else would not buy them) particularly it much profits the French, helping them to work their own coarse Wool, &c.

6. It were to be wished, and all Endeavours ought to be used, that our superfluous Wool, which we spend not ourselves, might be vented in Manufacture, and not in the crude Material; tho' I cannot be informed this was ever yet done in England, yet I wish honest industrious Workmen would bring it pass.

7. But all these being granted, the Question still remains, whether, since the Manufacture of our superfluous Wool cannot be vended abroad, it were not better to permit the Wool unwrought to be transported, with such Limitations as may be least detrimental to the Kingdom?

8. And this we affirm, 1. Because, otherwise a profitable Commodity will be utterly wasted; and so not the Manufacturer only, but the Farmer and Landlord also will be so very much damnified, that the one cannot pay his Rent, nor the other sustain the Taxes. And is not this the chief, if not the sole, Reason of sinking our Rents,

* See §. 25.

Rents, throwing up Farms, and the Misery of the whole Country?

Page 5. 9. Now that it is the greatest Concern and Interest of the Nation, to preserve the Nobility, Gentry, and those to whom the Land of this Country belongs; at least, much greater than a few Artificers employed in working the Superfluity of our Wool, or the Merchants who gain by the Exportation of our Manufacture, is manifest: 1. Because they are Masters and Proprietaries of the Foundation of all the Wealth in this Nation, all Profit arising out of the Ground which is theirs. 2. Because they bear all the Taxes and publick Burdens; which, in truth, are only born by those who buy, and sell not; all Sellers raising the Price of their Commodities, or abating of their Goodness, according to their Taxes. 3. Because they maintain great Families, which conduce much to the Consumption of our Manufactures; many People relying upon them: and perhaps as many as upon Cloth-working. 4. Because they must of Necessity bear all Magistracies, and publick Employments, (how burdensome soever) and are the only Hindrances of the Confusion which would follow upon Equality. Whereas, ordinary working Persons may, if one Employment fail, presently undertake another, without any great Inconvenience or Detriment.

10. Now then suppose Wool fall to 3d. per Pound, (as it must in a short time, if not prevented) the Price of all Land in England must likewise fall; there being not one Acre which produceth not Wool, (ploughed Lands at least, from Harvest to Seed-time, and longer when they lie fallow) consequently the Taxes, which are now generally on Land, and ever proportioned to the Rent, will be lessened; yet the constant Charges of the Kingdom not lessening, our Taxes must be oftener renewed, and the Landlords Charge yet more increased, but his Means of discharging diminished; and he must pay the more, the more he is disabled. A hard Case! yet inevitable, unless the King and Parliament please to apply a speedy Remedy. Thus must our Nobility and Gentry be forced to live at a meaner Rate, (who live, alas! too meanly in their Countries already) break up House-keeping, maintain fewer Servants, less Hospitality, &c. Which has already somewhat, and will in time, as eminently lessen the Kingdom, as any one thing can do.

Page 6.

11. By

11. By * hindering Exportation of Wool, pray y' consider the great Loss this poor Nation sustains. I shall instance in Romney, and its neighbouring Levels, which contain about 44000 Acres; each Acre, one with another, in Romney Marsh, feeds three Sheep (besides other Stock) at the least: Suppose then we rate the whole Level thus, there will be found 132,000 Sheep; whereof 300 Fleeces will at the least make four Packs of good Wool (240 Pound to the Pack); so then there are yearly shorn 1760 Packs, each of which were formerly sold for 12l.

Wool per Pack 12l.

12. In the Year 1647 †, (when Exportation of Wool was first prohibited) it was sold for 15l.; the Year after

15l. ter

* This Writer does not always distinguish rightly between *forbidding*, and *hindering*, the Exportation of Wool.

† It were to be wished, that our Author had related this by some Circumstance, which might have convinced us, that he did not mistake one Year for another. However, taking his own Representation, as to the Facts, it is possible that Wool might advance 20s. a Pack in the Year 1648, though not so much on Account of the Rot he mentions, as for another Reason, viz. the Bill for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, which passed in January 1647, was not only some time depending in Parliament, being near a Fortnight in the House of Lords^z, after it had passed the Commons; but also (tho' that does not appear from the A-§. 3. bridgment of the Ordinance, yet, like most other Acts) it might commence from some particular Day; before which Day, (*in that Case*) it is not to be doubted, that a great Share of the Stock of Wool in Hand would be bought up, and actually exported; and this, added to that other Circumstance of a Rot, makes it not improbable that Wool^a might be something dearer in 1648, the Year immediately following the Prohibition, than in 1647, the Year before it. Nevertheless, (however that was) it is very observable, that a Dearth of Wool^a appears to have been the very Reason for which the Exportation of it was, at this Time, prohibited; and tho' we are not sure that it was then intended to be other than a temporary Expedient, the same Influence which then prevailed, perceiving it to answer well its original Intention, of lowering the Price of Wool, found Means, at another like Conjuncture^b, to have the Prohibition renewed; since which, it has put some or other of the same Party to the Expence of many false Assertions, to conceal this

^z See C. 39. §. 3. Chap. 40. §. 7. ^a Dearness of Wool, the Reason why it was prohibited ^b Ch. 60. §. 5. Note.

Wool per Pack 161. ter (by reason of the great Rot, added to the mighty Destruction of Sheep in the Wars) for 16*l.* per Pack. But the Mortality of Sheep being recovered, yet the Prohibition continuing, Wool has, almost every Year since, abated of its Price; and now there are divers Persons, who have four, and some, five Years Wool upon their Hands, not being able to get above 4*d.* or 5*d.* per Pound, that is, four or five Pounds a Pack for it; and I hear it has been sold, this very Year, in some Places, but for 3*l.* 10*s.* per Pack.

4 or 5*l.*
Some at
3*l.* 10*s.*

13. Thus by the most modest Computation, and such as no Man can gainsay, there is lost upon every Pack of Wool 7*l.*; which, supposing all the Wool of that Level sold, it is evident 12,320*l.* is quite lost, every Year, in that little Place only: which is very near 6*s.* per Acre through the whole Level lost in the Rent. By which, pray y' judge, how many Millions are yearly lost through all *England* by this Want of a limited Exportation. Who then can shew so much Cruelty, as to blame poor People, who to prevent some of this Damage, do adventure to help themselves by Exportation? tho' they had much rather be content with a moderate Price in their own Country.

Page 7.

Chap. 50,
51.

14. And truly 'tis no wonder, that *W. C.* complains of the Difficulty and Impossibility of hindering Exportation, yet glories of his Diligence in ruining so many poor and industrious Persons, for doing what he confesseth impossible to hinder. But our Superiors may conclude, since 'tis either impossible, or extreme difficult, to hinder Exportation, and that there may arise Troubles (as some have been kill'd) for endeavouring it, it is much better, and more natural, to permit Exportation under the most advantageous Terms their Wisdom shall think fit. For, in truth, is it not very absurd to imagine, that because we cannot make so much of our Wool, as possibly may be made, that therefore we must make nothing of it? Like some perverse and obstinate Land-

lords, this their principal Motive for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, and other Policies of the like Tendency; as being sufficiently conscious, that tho' they have been frequently able to carry their Point in different Shapes, yet it is not tenable, in that View, against the *Landed Interest*.

lords, who chose rather to lose all their Rent, than abate the least Part of it.

15. A limited Exportation of Wool will be more for the Advantage of our own Woolen Trade, and less for that beyond Sea, than the * hindering of it has been. For if Strangers came hither to buy the Wool, though they bought greater Quantities, yet should they pay dearer for it than they do at present: and the dearer their Commodities are, the dearer must they sell their Manufactures, consequently the more easily we may beat them out of their Trade. For were the Trade laid open, Page 8. *Englishmen* might still buy their Wool at reasonable Prices; but Strangers must pay the dearer for it: as much as the Custom, Officers Fees, Freight, Factorage, and other Charges amount unto; which will perhaps be equal to the first Penny paid for the Wool itself. Thus Strangers shall pay twice as much for our Wool as the *English* Clothier, who therefore may undersell them, and make more Advantage in the Price of his Cloth by the Exportation of Wool, than ever he did by the Prohibition of it.

16. My next Reason against hindering Exportation of Wool is, because by our Forefathers it never was prohibited, unless upon some great Occasion, and for some small Time †, 'till *Anno* 1647^a; and then also upon^a See Pretence, that there was not Wool enough to furnish Chap. 66. our own Necessities: which, if true, might be because §. 17. Note. of the great Destruction of Sheep by the Wars. Yet there seems to be another Ground for that Act: The Government of that Time, having been assisted in the Civil Wars by great Numbers of the Wool-workmen (who liked much better to rob and plunder for Half-a-Crown a Day, than toil at a melancholy Work for Sixpence a Day) to encourage and reward them, I say, and to weaken the Gentry, they made this Prohibition. But to make this Reason good, let us run over the whole History, or as much as we can find, concerning this Wool Business, either in our Acts of Parliament or creditable Historians, with all convenient Brevity. † —

S 17. Out

* Prohibiting of it, he should have said.

† See Chap. 5. §. 12. Note. §. 35, 36. Note.

‡ Here he gives an Abstract from the Statute Books, &c. all which, and much more, see in the foregoing Chapters of these Memoirs.

Page 12. 17. Out of which Collections you may observe, that no absolute Prohibition of exporting it was ever enacted till the Reign of Charles I. nor then till 1647^b, at which Time neither could he be said to reign. Temporary ones indeed there have been; but those of ill Consequence to the Nation.

18. It was thought sufficient Advantage to the Manufacturers, that they might buy Wool when, and where, they pleased; but whatsoever Wool was sold (to Strangers especially) was not sold till after a certain Time fixed^c; that it was not to be bought by Brokers; that what was bought by Foreigners to be exported, paid greater Duties than what was bought by the Natives*; which Cautions alone, if well regulated, would render the Exportation, at this Day, very advantageous; certainly much more, than to let it putrify and moth-eat in our Store-houses.

Page 13. 19. My next Reason for the Permission of Exportation is, because it will better his Majesties Customs. If it be answered, the Customs would advance much more, if the Wool were exported in Manufacture; we confess and seriously desire, that our Wool were manufactured, and so exported and sold: tho' this was never yet done in England, nor do I think can be. But our Question here is concerning our superfluous Wool; which remains after we have here made, or vended what we can.

20. The Reason of the Decay of Clothing is not Exportation of Wool, as W. C. supposes, but the contrary. For the Decay, if any be, is since this Prohibition: so that by hindering this, we apply a wrong Remedy to the Disease.

* Our Author seems to mistake the ancient Laws in this Case, in supposing (as I conceive he meant) that Natives paid a Duty for Wool consumed at home, tho' less than what was paid by Foreigners for Exportation. And some Words, particularly of the Statute 1 Jac. c. 33. and of the Ordinance of Parliament (1641, N^o 11.) countenance such an Opinion. But whoever shall take the Pains to search narrowly into this Affair, will find no Traces of a Duty on Wool consumed within the Kingdom; on the contrary, only on Wool, as on other Staple Commodities, exported; for which Merchant Strangers paid constantly more than Denizens, and generally double Duties. (See Chap. 18. §. 1. Note.)

Disease. But it proceeds from divers other Causes; as first, because other Nations have of late improved their Manufactures: the Dutch ever since 1616*: the French now lately; both of them working very accurately, if not more so than ourselves, as well as more honestly, by the Confession of those of our own Nation. Secondly, Cloth is not so much worn in these Parts of the World, as formerly. To second which Humour of the Times, Page 14. Silks and Stuffs are imported in greater Abundance, sold at easier Rates than formerly, and Manufactures of them set up in our own Nation. Thirdly, We have more Sheep in England than formerly †. Fourthly, Irish || Cattle being prohibited, they breed more Sheep, and bring in more Wool into England ‡, besides what they send beyond Sea. Fifthly, I omit the many Deceits in Cloth-making, which W. C. confesseth to have been of late so very much practised, that our Cloths lose greatly of their ancient Reputation beyond Sea. Sixthly, The Sword, Plague, foreign Colonies, and repeopling Ireland, have of late Years much diminished our Stock of People: therefore the Consumption of the Commodities is less. For if we do not vend our Wool Manufactures, the

S 2 Reason

* See Chap. 30, 31.

† Because of the draining of the Fens and other Grounds, and the laying down of Tillage, occasioned by the Cheapness of Corn, till these two late Years.

|| And undoubtedly the forbidding of Irish Cattle has been of vast Inconvenience, not only to the best of England, the feeding Lands; but to it all in general. By lessening the Value of our Wool, in which even the breeding Lands receive more Loss, by the low Price of their Wool, than they reap Advantage by this Act in the Price of their Cattle. Which Act is also injurious to the Nation, by sending our own and foreign Merchant Ships to victual in Ireland; by the want of Returns from thence; by Loss of our Trade for Hops, Hides, Butter, Cheese, &c.; by discouraging Navigation, for it is said 100^o of our Ships were employed in this Traffick of lean Cattle. Thus this Act, which in its Preface designs the advancing our Rents, and enriching England, has lessened and impoverished both; has compelled Ireland to seek a Way to live without us; has made it almost independent of England; has, in fine, almost ruined both Nations.

‡ See Chap. 53.

Reason must be, either because we make more of them, or because there is less of them used than formerly. If we make more, (as some, with good Reason, think we do) the Trade increaseth; and tho' it being in many Hands, particular Persons grow not so rich, yet the Clothing in general flourisheth, and the greater Numbers are set on Work. But the contrary to this *W. C.* seems to affirm. He must therefore grant we want Vent for our Cloth when made.

Page 16. 21. But will the prohibiting Exportation cause more Vent? If the *Dutch* can work cheaper, better, and more honestly, will they not undersell us, and steal away our Trade? If the *French* can make Stuffs of their own (as both they and the *Dutch* do) without our *Wool*, and prohibit our Cloth to be sold amongst them, shall we force them to buy of us? If the *Italians* and *French* make Multitudes of fine and gaudy Silks at a cheap Rate, can we persuade People not to prefer them? But if we want either Hands to work the vast Stocks of our own *Wool*, and that which daily overwhelms us from *Ireland*, or Vent to dispose of it, what must become of the Superfluity of our *Wool*? Must the Farmer and *Grazier* bear all the Loss? No, the Landlord must abate of his Rent, or have the Farm thrown into his Hands; the Tenant being poor, his Landlord takes the Farm, and at length having, to his Tenants Misfortunes, added those Inconveniences of entrusting Servants, &c. &c. must split on the same Rock; his *Wool* lies on his Hands till he comes into Debt; and in fine, the Farm must be sold, since the *Wool* bears no Price. But the yearly Value is so much fallen, and there is so much Land to be sold on the same Score, that he despairs of a *Chapman*, &c. And this is our present Condition.

Page 17. 22. To some of these Reasons *W. C.* pretends to answer, tho' in such a manner as 'tis hard to conceive what the Man would say. He says, the principal Commodity, out of which Farmers raise their Rent, is not *Wool*, but the Carcase and Corn; and that the more Men are set on Work, the more Corn and Flesh is spent; so the Farmers and *Graziers* Mouths are made up that way. To which it is easily replied, that a Farmer makes not up his Rent out of his principal, but all his Commodities: and it is an ill Argument, this is not the principal Advan-

Advantage or Profit, therefore you may part from it. Besides, Farmers have Families also, which must be maintained, their Widows must not be starved, nor their Daughters married without some Portions. Suppose the smaller Profits be laid aside for these; yet let me tell you, that a *Grazier*, whose Stock does not consist more than usually of Beasts, must pay, at least, half, and in some Counties all, his Rent with the Price of his *Wool*; or he will live very uncomfortably. But in that great Rot which happened about five Years ago, in most Parts of *England*, (and the like may happen again) I beseech you, which was the principal Commodity? What was the Carcase worth? And for Corn; the low Price of *Wool* hath made so many apply to Husbandry, that usually Corn doth hardly bear any Price to pay his Rent.*

23. But four *Fifths* of the Nation, saith *W. C.* are maintained by the *Woolen* Manufacture, which, except he take in the *Farmers* and *Graziers*, is an extravagant Proportion. But this Objection is wholly impertinent; the proper Consideration is, how many more would be maintained by working up the superfluous *Wool*, that, I mean, which either perishes, or is clandestinely exported. And these are not so many, as that their Maintenance ought, in any wise, to be put in Balance either with the *Farmers* and *Graziers*, or *Gentry* and *Landlords* of this Nation.

24. The Cloth for our own Use we still spend, and Page 19. the Merchants transport more to some Countries than formerly: Our present Loss is only in our Trade to *France* and *Holland*. Let there be strict Laws, and severely

S 3

* This is a Circumstance, which merits the Regard of such of the *English* Land-owners, who, because their Estates consist more in Arable than Pasture, in Corn than Sheep-Lands, are apt to treat the Interest of the *Wool-Grower*, as such, in a subordinate View, as a Matter of less Consequence; not considering how much their own Interest is involved with his, and how liable to be affected with the low Price of *Wool*, in the manner here instanced. Consequently, it is a matter also, in which the *Universities* are somewhat concerned, how little soever those *Learned Bodies* may think about it, or how meanly of those that do.

A low
Price for
Wool is a
Means to
render
Corn
cheap also.

verely executed, for the Use of Wool in our own Nation. Let the *Irish* Act be repealed, that we may be no more oppressed with Wool from thence; and it will be found, neither the Number of Workmen, nor of People, will be lessened by exporting our superfluous Wool. Nay, I make a great Question, whether the Number of Workmen be lessened, since the Woolen Trade sicken'd, unless by some Accident. He that considers the great Number of Silk Workers now in the Nation, will either be of my Opinion, or suspend his Assent to the contrary.

§. 4. 25. But concerning maintaining the Poor, I have said before^d, that where there is most Manufacture, there is, either always, or for the most part, more Poor†: the

† This Allegation has much Truth in it, and deserves some Consideration. For tho' Manufacture, as an undoubted Source of National Wealth and Power, ought by all proper Means to be supported and encouraged; yet it is to be considered that *improper* Means can do no real public Service. But he who goes about to form his Notions of the Prosperity of any of the *English* Manufactures, merely from the Numbers of the Poor, and the general State of the poor Rates, in those particular Places, where such Manufactures are chiefly followed; and he, who from the Increase of the Poor Rates there, (an Argument sometimes urged^e) will conclude a Decay of Trade and Manufacture in those Places, governs his Opinion by a Rule that may, and very often will, deceive him; and by which he may incline to Measures that are perhaps improper.

^e See
Chap. 76.
§. 1.
Ch. 145.
§. 7.

Thus, if the Land-owner, for Example, is required to submit his particular Interest, in any Shape, to certain Dealers in Manufacture, in pretended Consideration of the Poor employed therein; the *more* such Manufacture shall increase and flourish in any one Place, to the great Emolument of those Dealers; the *larger* Demands, by the same Reason, may be made upon the Land-owner, under Colour of supporting those very Poor, by whom these Dealers become rich; the Numbers of such Poor always increasing, proportionably, as the Trade and Riches of the Place increases, where they are employed. But then, as it is possible for the Land-owner to make Concessions injurious to himself and Dependants; so there is no Advantage to the Public, in so doing. At the most, it is only impoverishing and depopulating one Part of a Kingdom, to enrich and replenish another Part.

Now

The Reasons are plain: it is true indeed, that the first introducing a Manufacture employs many Poor, but they cease

S 4

Now to illustrate what is here advanced, concerning the Numbers of Poor increasing most, in those particular Places where Trade and Manufacture most increases, take an Example from *Bristol*, the second City of *England*, and which, next to *London*, has made the largest Improvements (since the *Revolution*) of any one Place in the Kingdom, unless *Manchester* shall be thought an Exception to this.

Votes of the House of Commons.

Martis 22. die Januarii 1744.

A Petition of the Corporation, Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants and Guardians of the Poor in the City of *Bristol*, under their common Seal, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, 'That in the seventh and eighth Years of King *William* the Third, an Act of Parliament passed, for erecting of Hospitals and Work-houses within the City of *Bristol*, for the better employing and maintaining of the Poor thereof; by which Act, the said Corporation had, and still hath, the whole Care of all the Poor in the said City committed to them; and thereby Power was given them to raise, for the Maintenance of the Poor, any Sum not exceeding what had then been paid in the said City, towards the Maintenance of the Poor, in any of the then three last Years; which Sum amounted to, and was then agreed to be, the yearly Sum of Two thousand three hundred seventy-six Pounds sixteen Shillings and five Pence; that several Years the said Corporation proceeded on such Foot, till they found that such Sum proved insufficient; that they therefore petitioned this House for a larger annual Supply; which was granted them by an Act of Parliament, passed in the twelfth Year of Queen *Anne*: By which Act, Power was given to the said Corporation to raise such further Sum of Money, as should not, together with the before-mentioned Sum of Two thousand three hundred seventy-six Pounds sixteen Shillings and five Pence, exceed the Sum of Three thousand five hundred Pounds; that of late Years, notwithstanding the utmost Diligence and Care of the said Corporation, by reason of the great Decay of Trade and Manufactures, and also the Loss of many Masters and Fathers of Families in the War by Sea and Land against *France* and *Spain*, leaving numerous poor Families behind them, the great Increase of Buildings and Inhabitants in

this

cease not to be so; and the Continuance of it makes many: and the departing of it to another Place, carries most

' *this City*, and otherwise, the Poor hath greatly increased; ' whereby the said Sum hath proved insufficient, and the ' Corporation is brought about two thousand Pounds in ' Debt; that for continuing the Provision for the Poor in ' the same Method that now is, and which the said Corpo- ' ration humbly conceives to be; far, the most beneficial ' and easy for this City, there will be wanting an Addition ' of about *seven hundred Pounds per Ann.* to the said annual ' Sum this Corporation is already impowered to receive, ' and also the further Sum of *two thousand Pounds* to dis- ' charge the Debts already contracted, and still owing and ' increasing.'

* See App. to Cary on Trade, 1745.

Here then we see, that notwithstanding the most truly commendable, as well as husbandly Method of providing for the Poor of this Place; notwithstanding the notorious Increase of Trade and Wealth there, yet the Expence of maintaining their Poor, in the Space of about fifty Years, is become near twice as much as it was before that Period. And this (not regarding what is alledged, *Decay of Trade and Manufacture*, Words of course) arises out of the Nature of the Thing, their Increase of Buildings and Inhabitants, the Consequence of the Increase of Trade there. It arises out of the Nature of Society; for where there are many rich, there will in course, there must inevitably, be also many poor.

And therefore, to apply this to the Business of *Wool*. If the Grower is not to receive the natural Price of that Commodity, so long as there is an Appearance of Poverty among the Manufacturers of it, he must trust for that, *ad Græcas Calendas*. In short, this Argument, *The Consideration of the poor Manufacturers, or even of the general Interest of the Kingdom by foreign Trade*, as commonly urged for the Grower's receding from his natural Right of not being subjected to a Monopoly in this Case, proves too much; and if pursued, will take his Wool from him, without paying any Price at all for it; and after that, the Carcase too. And therefore they argue more subtilly, who contend, that the more the Wool of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* is confined by prohibitory Laws, the better Market has the Grower for the same, and the greater are the Demands for *English* Woolen Manufacture, consequently the Poor are more fully employed: But as I am clearly convinced that the former is not true, so I much doubt the latter; but rather think that in Consequence of such Policy, *the Woolen Manufacture is*
not

most of them with it. But the Decay of it being insensible, the Poor by degrees are otherwise provided for, and rather mend their Fortunes, than make them worse by the Loss of their Trade. But for the whole Nation, why is it not better to set up such a Trade, as will employ all our working People, increase our Shipping, and enrich our Men, than to endeavour a thing impossible, hindering Exportation of Wool? force Nature? tye up the Sea and Winds? to strive against the Stream and Current of the Times? I mean the Herring-fishing.

25. It has been demanded by some, since our Clo- Page 21. thiers cannot work out our Wools, what is become of the Wool which lay on the Grasers Hands in *An. 1666*; at which Time, say they, there was as great a Quantity unfold, as at present. Tho' this I might in part deny; yet I will grant, that Quantities did then lie upon our Hands; because, during the War and the Plague, there was little of it wrought in our own, and less exported into foreign Countries; the King of *France* at that Time commanded all the *English* Wool which came into his Dominions (which was no small Quantity) to be burnt for fear of Infection. And therefore the War and Plague ceasing, our Wool was again transported to Foreigners in greater Measure than before. It cannot therefore be concluded, that our Clothiers can manufacture all the Wool of *England*, because at this Juncture we had more, and afterwards less Wool upon our Hands. But we still lose the Point, which is concerning superfluous Wool only. If the Clothiers can work it all, let them do it; we shall all rejoice at it: if they cannot, I hope they will acknowledge themselves unreasonable, if they oppose what we request.

26. Lastly, They urge that the *French* cannot make any, except very coarse Cloth, without our Wool: which I deny, and appeal to them, who know any thing of the South Parts of *France*, whether they make not good Cloth at, and about, *Carcassone, Bourge en Berry*, and divers other Places, without the Help of our Wools? Some *Turky* Merchants know also, that their
Carcassone

not increased, nor the Poor more fully employed; of which more hereafter.

Carcassone Cloths find good Prices, and many Buyers in the *Levant*. I would fain know, if those who are so unwilling to have Wool exported, will give Security to take off all the Wool yearly growing in the Nation, at a reasonable Rate, suppose 10*l.* a Pack *: but if they refuse, let them not think it reasonable, the poor Grafter, and Farmer, or indeed the Landlord, must bear all the Loss and Damage. 'Tis too great a Burthen on them, who already bear the chief, and almost only Burthen of the Nation.

Page 23. 27. For Remedy, I propose

That no Merchant Stranger shall be suffered to buy any Wool 'till *All Saints*, or *St. Martin's Day*; but then, that any may buy and export what they please.

That every Sack of Wool, that is exported, shall pay such Customs to the King, as the Parliament, in their Wisdom, shall think meet. †

CHAP.

* No! that would not comport with the End proposed, in these Days at least, by prohibiting the Exportation of Wool; which is, not to prevent it, (for that is found to be impossible) but (which succeeds most effectually) to keep down the Price of it. I am so firmly persuaded of the Truth of this, that, let Men pretend what they please about the Matter, I will venture to say, if the more knowing of the Manufacturers and Dealers in Wool and Cloth believed, that giving a Liberty for the Exportation of Wool would be any Means of lowering the Price of it, they would be the first to petition for that Liberty. If this should seem an harsh Judgment, I shall have frequent Opportunities of confirming it, before I come to the Conclusion of these Memoirs.

† I might here, in Imitation of *Sir Josiah Child*, (who having published Reasons for reducing the Rate of Interest, rejoiced to find afterwards, that *Sir Thomas Culpepper*, in a Tract (1621) had been before hand with him in the same Sentiments) felicitate myself also upon finding this one Author much in what is known to be my Way of thinking about this Subject, *Wool*; an Opinion taken up by me, I can with great Truth say it, before I had read, or heard of this Tract; and which, at the Time when this Author wrote, was so far from being the single Opinion of one Person, that we shall see Reason to think, that many Gentlemen then came fully into it, so as to entertain serious Thoughts of carrying it into Execution.

‡ Ch. 57.
§. 3.

CHAP. LVII.

A Discourse, shewing that the Exportation of Wool is destructive to this Kingdom; where-in is also shewed the absolute Necessity of promoting our Woolen Manufacture, and moderating the Importation of some Commodities, and prohibiting others.

Licensed March 8. 1676. Printed 1677.

By Thomas Manly, Esq; *

READER,

1. *Altho' the Opinion debated in the following Papers, be frequently found among worthy Men, and such who truly love their Country, yet I shrewdly suspect 'tis of foreign Original †, cunningly introduced and trimmed up like*

Yet am I not sanguine enough to imagine that any thing I can say in Defence of it, will be sufficient to induce such a Change of Measures in this Case; since all Revolutions of Consequence depend upon a Coincidence of Passions and particular Interests, more than upon the true Reason of Things. But this I think I shall be able to effect, viz. to overturn the main Arguments, both from Facts and Reason, which have been hitherto raised, and commonly used, against limiting the Exportation of Wool, by a Duty, rather than by an absolute Prohibition; which, the Experience of near 100 Years tells us, amounts, at the best, to nothing more than a Limitation. And therefore, I think, had this Author intitled his Tract, *Reasons for limiting the Exportation of Wool by a Duty, &c.* (which was the Thing intended by him) and changed the Terms of some of his Arguments accordingly, it had been liable to few or no Exceptions.

* This Writer had a Controversy with *Sir Josiah Child*, some Years before this, about the Rate of Interest for Money, in which *Sir Josiah* speaks of him as a Lawyer. That he was addicted to Sophisms, is pretty apparent from his Manner of treating upon this Subject.

† See his Reason for this Suspicion at the next Section.

Yet

like a Native; the easier, in such a Disguise, to cajole Men of no ordinary Circumspection, and who, in truth, aiming only at the common Welfare of their Country, would abhor (whatever other Men may do) to betray it to the Interest of a Stranger.

2. That 'tis of foreign Production, may modestly be presumed, from the Necessity* the Foreigner hath for our Wool to mix with theirs, and without which they can scarce make a tolerable Piece of Drapery; from their subtle Contrivances to purloyn it from us, even at any Expence and Hazard, and from the superlative Advantages they may gain by Commerce, and employing their People, if once our Laws were repealed, which render it † hazardous, scarce, and chargeable to them: So that you see whatever gaudy Disguizes, for our Advantage, forsooth, the Adjutors † have clapt on the Design, do but snatch off the Vizard, and presently a Foreigner appears in Masquerade; who (kind Man!) designing our Good equal to the rest of his Neighbours, and fearing other Operations may work too slowly, prescribes us this infallible Dose; from which, good Lord, deliver us.

3. Having

* Was the Necessity, here alledged, as the Reason for this unkind Suspicion, a real Truth, yet would it not be conclusive. But what if that supposed Necessity be a vulgar Error?

† If, as seems to be here confessed, and which I verily believe is the whole Truth, we reap no further Advantage, from prohibiting by Law the Exportation of Wool, than as it is thereby rendered dearer to Foreign than to English Manufacturers, it is very plain that a proper Duty would do the Business, full as well, or rather, far better. So that, notwithstanding all that is contained in this Preface to the contrary, and which is only a Copy from *W. C.* (see Chap. 50, 51.) the Opinion, he thus stigmatizes, may be the genuine Thoughts of a very good Englishman, as himself would be taken to be.

‡ *Adjutors*, a Name then fresh in the Memory of the People, and odious throughout the whole Kingdom, for Reasons quite foreign to this Business; but which Badge of Ignominy this Author (rightly judging how many don't distinguish between *Names* and *Things*) does therefore, at all adventures, endeavour to fix upon those who should appear to favour the Sentiments, which he had undertook to explode.

3. Having lately, in Discourse with some Persons of Quality, observed an Opinion favouring the Repeal of the Laws now in Force, restraining the Exportation of Wool, (a Discourse of harsh Sound to my old English Understanding*) I could not then refrain from offering such Reasons, as then occurred, against a Matter of such pernicious Consequence, however the contrary may be understood by Gentlemen who truly love their Country; what through Incogitancy, or Want of Time, I then omitted, I now, in Love to my Country, offer to Consideration.

4. I will, to proceed clearly, set down in the first place, the Reasons alledged for repealing those Laws.

1. (say they) *Our Store of Wool is so great, that we have sufficient for ourselves, and Neighbours.* 2. *Its free and unrestrained Exportation will occasion a great Increase in its Price, which will sustain our drooping Rents, and draw considerable Sums of Money from abroad, for so desirable a Commodity.* 3. *That tho' we use all Care imaginable to prevent its Exportation, yet our Neighbours, by means of our own People, draw great Quantities from us.*

4. *'Tis to small purpose to keep our Wool at home, for that Ireland supplies our Neighbours therewith to a great Degree.*

5. *This Prohibition of Wool is a new Practice, unknown to us, 'till within these 20 Years; and yet before that Time, both Wool and Drapery yielded the best Rates, for above 60 Years last past.*

5. To the first I answer, That I conceive our yearly Increase of Wool is now no greater than when the Rates were double, nay treble, to what they now are; and if so, the Fall and Meanness of the Price proceeds purely from the Loss of foreign Markets for our Drapery, and from our own forsaking the Wear of it, and not from the Quantity above what we had thirty or forty Years ago.

6. 'Tis very manifest how the Rates of Wool, these Page 2. last

* Would not any one imagine, from this Expression, that the Author had been opposing some Attempt of a strange Innovation, instead of only talking against the Repeal of a Law, which had its first imperfect Existence but in the Year 1647, and which was diametrically contrary to the Policy and Practice of several hundred Years preceding?

last * fifteen or sixteen Years, have gradually fallen from bad to worse; and how, as by degrees we have increased in the wearing of Silk, Camlets, and frowſie French Druggets, and as our Neighbours, eſpecially the French, have enlarged their Woolen Manufacture, by means of our Wool, which they mix with theirs, juſt ſo have the Rates of this Commodity, with us, funk almoſt beyond Belief.

7. Seeing we have a Multitude of People, who for want of Employment, want Bread, and that the Price of Wool here is ſo low, as to tempt us to let out that Commodity, which the Wiſdom of this trading † Age hath hitherto ſecured under publick Prohibitions, as being the prime Fund of our Trade and Navigation, and which is ſo neceſſary to our active Neighbours, that no Laws, how penal ſoever, have yet totally debarred them from it; what do we elſe, by ſuch a Deſign, but declare, that henceforth, being not able to manage that Manufacture, we abandon all Thoughts of an advantageous Commerce, neceſſitate our People to live on us, or dye at our Doors, and ſurrender to our Neighbours that Manufacture, for which we were once ſo notorious? Is not this, at once, to caſt the Childrens Bread to Strangers; and to remain for ever without Hopes to maintain, after ſuch a Dereliction, any Manufacture which our Neighbours have a mind to ſnatch from us?

8. If our Neighbours could have Wool, as good to all Intents and Purpoſes, and as plentiful and cheap †, from other

* 'Tis juſt ſo long, from the writing of this Tract (which was licensed an. 1676) ſince the Reſtoration; when Wool was firſt legally prohibited to be exported, and no avowed License granted to the contrary, as by Oliver Cromwell. (See Chap. 41. §. 11, 12, 13.)

† He might as truly have ſaid, this Age of Sobriety and ſound Politics, as thus have inſinuated, that this Age, in which paſſed the Act againſt Iriſh Cattle, &c. was remarkable, in England, for any wiſe Laws reſpecting Trade, except the Act of Navigation; about which alſo Doctors differ.

‡ Plentiful and cheap. If that was a good Reaſon for an abſolute Prohibition, preferable to all other Meaſures, Engliſh Wool was undoubtedly plentiful, at this Time, in England. It was cheap alſo. But why was it any thing conſiderably cheaper

other Countries, it might perhaps be adviſable, how far we ought to keep ours at home; but the Caſe being otherwiſe, and they (our Rivals) being not able to carry on that Manufacture effectually without * it, it ſeems a great Miſtake, and dangerous, to ſpare it on any Terms.

9. To the ſecond Reaſon, That it will occaſion the Rates of Wool to riſe, and thereby ſuſtain our drooping Rents; I anſwer, 1. The Wear and Uſe of Silk, Camlets, &c. have ſo far ſupplanted that of Drapery in Europe, that we muſt never rationally expect thoſe Rates for Wool, which were given thirty or forty Years ago.

10. If we find bad Markets for Drapery, now Wool is cheap, 'tis very improbable our Neighbours will take ſo much Wool from us, as to raiſe the Price thereof to that Degree, as may ſuſtain our falling Rents; for the dearer we ſell them our Wool, the dearer they muſt ſell their Drapery, and conſequently ſell ſo much leſs; or elſe it will be our Shame, or ill Fortune, that they ſhall vent much Drapery made of dear Wool, and we vent little or none, now Wool is cheap.

11. The more Markets our Neighbours ſupply with Drapery, by means of our Wool, the leſs Drapery we muſt export; the Reaſon is, becauſe there is a certain and † determined Quantity of Cloth conſumed by the trading

cheaper there, than in other Countries? Only becauſe of its being ſubjected to a Monopoly; which was not the Caſe of any other Wools. The Wool of all foreign Countries had all the World for a Market, while the Engliſh Wools were confined to England only; which nevertheleſs was a Market for all foreign Wools whatſoever. And, in truth, was it not hard upon the Engliſh Landlords and Tenants, thus to deprive them of a Part of their Properties, by depressing the Price of that their native Commodity below its natural Value, and then to make ſuch unnatural Cheapneſs of Engliſh Wool, a Reaſon for entailing the Hardſhip upon their Heirs and Succeſſors for ever?

* See Chap. 45. §. 2. where it is ſaid, 'that other Nations want neither Art, nor Materials, for this Performance.' See alſo Chap. 105. §. 12, 14.

† This, I venture to ſay, is certain Nonſenſe; the Argument holds equally againſt the Exportation of Leathers, againſt Cloths undyed, nay unmade up into Cloaks, Coats, &c.

trading World; whence it must necessarily follow, that so much Wool as they receive from us, so much less Drapery we ourselves shall export, and consequently the Price of Wool remain the same it was before those Laws were repealed.

12. Upon repealing those Laws, we may bid adieu to the Exportation of Drapery; the Reason is, because our Neighbours live, work, and navigate, cheaper than we; and having once our Wool in common, must necessarily undersell, and beat us out of Trade: It being a great Mistake to imagine, that the Exportation of our Wool and Drapery may consist together*; and as great a Mistake to suppose, that the pretended † Increase of the Rates of Wool occasioned by an Allowance of its Exportation, may balance the Mischiefs accruing thereby; because a *Pound of Wool manufactured and exported, is of more Worth to us, by employing our People, than ten Pounds exported raw, at || double the present Rate; unless, which*

* How did they consist together, from *Edw. III.* to 1647; and particularly in *Edw. VI. Philip and Mary*, and *Queen Elizabeth*, when, though Wool was allowed to be exported, yet the Exportation of Drapery was probably twice as much as at this Period? Consequently there was *then*, when Wool was allowed to be exported, *more Cloth*, and *less Wool* carried out; and *now*, that the same was prohibited, *more Wool*, and *less Cloth*.

† It may be observed, that this Writer does not deny, but that to allow of the Exportation of Wool, is a Means to increase the Price of it; consequently, prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, is lowering the Price of it. Add to this, what *Sir Josiah Child* has said (Chap. 48. §. 3.) and then let it be considered, whether a Duty on Wool exported may not be so contrived, as to answer more good Purposes, than an absolute Prohibition can possibly do.

British Merchant, vol. 2. p. 400.

|| Wool manufactured, upon an Average^h, is reckoned at four times the prime Cost of the Wool. Suppose the Pack of Wool 5*l.*; this exported in Manufacture, is 20*l.* But ten Packs exported at double the Value, is 100*l.*; so that, in this last Case, is gained 50*l.*; in the former, at the most, but 15*l.* I mention thus much, to shew the Extravagancy of the Author's Proposition, not to depreciate the Benefits of Manufacture, which are too great in themselves to want to be set off by any false Colours.

is not reasonable to imagine, we could introduce some other better Employment for them.

13. If our Neighbours tread on our Heels in this Manufacture, begin to supply us with their Drapery at home, and to supplant us therewith abroad, having only their coarse Wool, which they mix with ours obtained at dear Rates, (by reason of Secrecy, and many chargeable Contrivances always attending a prohibited Traffick*) there is no doubt, when once the Prohibition is removed, and they by that Means plentifully supplied therewith, (which in an open and allowed Commerce is always cheapest) but that they will soon beat us wholly out of Trade, and by Consequence, e're long, out of all other Commerce and Navigation to boot.

T 14. Every

* This Writer, as well as the foregoing Author of *Reasons for a limited Exportation*, &c. are equally mistaken in one Respect, *viz.* the one, in supposing Wool, at this Time, was not exported in such Quantities as heretofore, and to that imputing the then low Price of that Commodity. The other, in imagining also the Prohibition on Wool to have had its intended Effect, of restraining it in a great Degree, and that what Foreigners, at this Time, did get, was out of the Fire, *i. e.* at a much dearer Price than formerly: Whereas, tho' they certainly paid dearer for what they got, than the *English* Manufacturer did; yet they never obtained it in greater Plenty, nor at so cheap a Rate. There were, at this Time, several Reasons (chiefly the great Underbalance of the *English* Trade in general, and with *France* in particular) for a Scarcity of Money in the Kingdom, and a consequential Cheapness of all its native Commodities. But besides all these, an absolute Prohibition on Wool had created a sort of Monopoly against the Grower; and tho' more in Quantity was now transported, yet the whole Trade, for buying, being in fewer Hands, and the Number of Sellers remaining the same, or rather, by Inclosures, increasing, the former had the latter more under their Power. And tho' the Author of *Reasons, &c.* represents several to have had, at this Time, Stocks of old Wool upon their Hands, that was not, because it could not be exported; (for, ^q Ch. 48. by *Sir Josiah Child's* Rule ^q, when it has not Vent for ^q §. 3. Home-use, it will transpire beyond Sea) but because some particular Persons would not submit to the low Price set upon it, as well by clandestine Traders, as Home-Manufacturers.

14. Every Pound of our Wool now worth five Pence, (and which makes about a Yard of Broad Cloth worth 8 or 9 s. †) being exported, and mixt with our Neighbour's coarse Wool, helps to make three or four Yards of Cloth, which probably hinders us of all that Advantage.

Page 5.

Page 6.

15. To the third Reason for repealing our Laws, *That our Neighbours, with the Help of our People, get great Quantities of our Wool daily from us, notwithstanding those Laws to the contrary.* I answer, 1. That such Practices are shrewd Evidences * of what Esteem that Commodity is among them, and that what is thus purloyned costs the Receiver dear. 2. It is better particular Persons do Acts hurtful to the Public, against Law, than for want of a Law, because this latter would reflect on the Wisdom of the Government.

16. To the fourth Reason, *That 'tis to small Purpose to keep our Wool at home, for that Ireland supplies our Neighbours therewith, &c.* I answer: If this be true, it is to small purpose to permit its Exportation, in hopes to put a better Value upon it; which is the most avowed Reason for the Repeal.

Page 7.

17. To the last Reason, *That the Prohibition of Wool is a new Practice, unknown to us 'till within these twenty Years; and yet before that, both Wool and Drapery yielded the best Rates for above sixty Years last past.* I answer, That 'tis very true; but it does not follow that the Prohibition was therefore unnecessary, or that the same brought a Prejudice upon either; but that other Reasons, already given, must be assigned for the Fall and Meanness of the Rates of those Commodities; it being no ways questionable, but that the Exportation of our Drapery had long since expired, had not the Prohibition of Wool interposed. †

18. We

† An extravagant Computation this, which I leave to the Manufacturers to correct.

* They are certain Signs, that the Price of Wool, in England, was below its natural Value.

† Observe here, Mr. MANLY admits that, for 60 Years before the Prohibition, Wool and Drapery had both sold well; and that for several Years since, both had been declining: yet, says he, not by reason of such Prohibition, but for different Causes; insomuch that if the Prohibition had

had not taken Place as it did, the English had long since lost all foreign Trade for Woolen Goods.

But note: Tho' he says, this Prohibition was necessary, yet, in the next Section he dates that Necessity no higher than the Peace of Munster, which was the Year after the Prohibition was enacted. Consequently, the Peace of Munster, tho' made an after Reason for, could not be the original Cause of, the Prohibition: That was plainly (as observed before) the high Price of Wool in 1647. But tho' this high Price of Wool in 1647 was a Cause, yet not being the Reason, according to Mr. Manley; it follows, that the Prohibition was enacted without Reason, i. e. without Need, therefore, the more probably, without Use. See §. 18; Chap. 56; §. 12. Note.

For Mr. Manly expressly owning (§. 18.) that the Prohibition was not wanted before it was enacted, nor (by Implication) 'till after the Peace of Munster (1648) does, in effect, confess, that this Law of Prohibition (1647) was enacted, before it was wanted; yet does he insist, that there has been, since, a Necessity for the same, wholly new, such as in former Times was out of the Case; namely, the Dutch and French becoming Rivals to the English in the Woolen Trade. And 'tis true, that the Dutch and French had both, at this Time, become Rivals to the English. But the Question is, how far that Circumstance was new, and whether England had been heretofore without Rivals in the Woolen Trade; and if not, whether those were less dangerous than these. Now in truth, they were either the very same People, under different Names, or different People, under equal Circumstances.

The Places, where the Woolen Manufacture prevailed most, before, in, and for Ages after, the Reign of Edw. III. (when I conceive the English first became Exporters of Woolen Goods) were, the Netherlands, (of which the Dutch, at this Time, were a Part; the French possessed another Part) the Southern Provinces of France, and Spain (Catalonia) and the Republics of Italy. The former, the Netherlands, had the Trade of Germany, and the North of Europe; the rest, the South, Mediterranean, and Levant Trade. Nor could any People be more expert in Manufacture, or better situated for their Purposes, respectively, than all these were: And yet, from very small Beginnings in Ed. III. the English swelled their Woolen Trade gradually, 'till in Edw. IV. having restrained the Importation of foreign Cloths, they supplied themselves wholly; and in Edw. VI. Queen Mary, Philip and Mary, and the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth, exported Woolen Goods, to a Pitch, far exceeding what was done at this Time; and not inferior, comparatively, to what has been at any other Time since; and this, without prohibiting the Exportation of Wool; only charging the same with a competent Duty; which is a shrewd Sign of its having

18. We had no Need of such restraining Laws, before they were enacted *; for 'till the Peace of Munster, England alone enjoyed almost the † whole Manufacture

of
ving been the better Policy, tho' not so pleasing to monopolish Imaginations. At least, it does not appear that there could have been any Danger (as Mr. Manly suggests) of England's losing the Woolen Trade, by those Means, under which it had been acquired, against the most expert and well situated, the Flemish and Italians. But by our Author's own Confession, under, and only after, a Change of Measures, viz. from a Duty to an absolute Prohibition in this Case, both the Price of Wool, and the Demand for Drapery in England, had decreased considerably.

* Nor then, nor any Benefit from them, since they have been enacted.

† In short, this Writer's Ignorance of History, both civil and natural, in this Case, betrays him, as the same Cause has done many others, into Mistakes: 1st, In imagining that before the Peace of Munster, England furnished Europe with almost all its Woolen Manufacture; when it does not appear that England had ever yet exported to the Value of three Millions annually, in Cloth, and other Drapery; probably not two, or at the most not more than two Millions; and that also, while Wool was allowed to be exported. But can it be thought that Europe was chiefly clothed even for three Millions, when England alone has been

Ch. 48. accounted to expend twice the Sum, viz. six Millions a Year in Woolen Drapery? 2dly, He and others mistake the Matter, in believing, that France, since that Time, first began to set up Woolen Manufacture, altho' they had been used to receive Drapery from England. No, they then began, for Reasons of State and Policy, to load the English Draperies with Duties extraordinary, as had the Dutch, from the Year 1616. These Duties, in France, had by degrees been extended, 'till at last they amounted very near to a Prohibition. But this the French would not have done, merely in Dependance upon Wool to be clandestinely imported to them from England and Ireland. Reason tells us, that would have been a Foundation too precarious to

build upon; which must have turned those Duties, intended as a Prohibition upon England, into a Tax upon themselves only. As they had confessedly the Art, so neither were they without the Material, Wool, within themselves; nor were they then, any more than at present, as will be shewn abundantly, void of the Means and Opportunity of procuring

" See particularly Ch. 105. §. 12, 14. Ch. 151—167.

of Europe: But France (who then also received Woolen Drapery from us) agitated, since that Peace, by a most sagacious Council, and filled with an active and enterprising People, has unhappily added that Manufacture to the many other Advantages they enjoy for Commerce, above most other Nations; and hath all things propitious for the Management thereof, except fine Wool, such as ours is, to mix with their own: Must our Ancestors Proceedings then, who were governed by Reasons far different from ours, be Precedents to us? Or is it not rather high time to employ our utmost Skill to retain so necessary a Commodity at home?

19. I have lately met with one Merchant, of no small Pretences to the Intrigues of Trade, who, altho' he will not allow that the Rates of Wool may increase, upon the Repeal of our Laws, (which is the prime Reason alledged for the Repeal of the Prohibition) yet affirms, that if the Prohibition were removed, and due Imposts charged upon Wool, it might thereby, better than by the Prohibition, be either retained at home, or rendered so chargeable to our Neighbours, that we might have sufficient Advantages over them in that Manufacture*. To which I answer,

20. That he which affirms all this, must maintain, that either his Majesties Officers of the Customs will be

procuring the same from divers other Parts. And as for the Story of the possible Advantages, in mixing English Wool particularly with theirs, though that Story has been much propagated, it is to be esteemed a mere Fable, as it is commonly represented, and believed.

* I differ in Opinion, from this supposed Merchant, only in one particular Circumstance. He says, 'the Rates of Wool will not be increased by the Policy, of repealing the Prohibition.' I think they would infallibly; and as it would so far abate the Temptation, on the Part of the English, to export Wool; so would it be one Step towards checking an immoderate Desire, to the Exportation of it: superadding to which Repeal of Prohibition, a proper Duty, in case of Exportation, with some other convenient Measures, and the Runnage of it would be stopped effectually, and at the same time, the English would have all the Advantage over their Neighbours and Rivals in that Trade, which from English and Irish Wool they are capable of receiving.

more industrious to collect the Duties and Imposts so to be charged on this Commodity, than they were to make Seizures of it, by virtue of the Prohibition, tho' they had a Moiety of the Seizure; or that the Exporters will be more conscientious in paying his Majesties Imposts, than they were in obeying his Laws, which prohibited the Exportation, tho' they ventured their Necks into the Bargain; or that Foreigners may be less desirous of it, after the Repeal, than before.

21. The Imposts must be either much*, or little; if much, it may be worth venturing, to save the Payment; as is too frequently practis'd in Payments of like Nature; but if they be little, the Payment of them will be easily balanced by the Advantages our Neighbours have over us, in cheap Dyet, Labour, &c.

23. *If, to what has been said, it be reply'd, that it is better to export Wool, than neither Wool nor Drapery, I rejoin, That it is so, were it true, that we exported no Drapery, and remained without Hopes of ever sharing again in foreign Markets: but, Thanks be to God, Matters are not yet arrived to so ill Terms, and probably never will.*

Page 9.

24. If we do yet more effectually provide to keep our Wool, 'tis a thousand to one but our Drapery will off; but if once we export our Wool by a Law, (charge it with what Impost, and confine it to what Ports and Seasons you please, as some vainly or sily propose) we may bid an eternal Adieu to the Exportation of our Woolen Manufacture. To export our Wool, because at present we want Vent for our Drapery, is a Choice, like pulling down my House, for fear it may be burnt; or like hanging myself, lest another kill me.

25. *If it be ask'd, What shall we do with our Wool, seeing its Exportation is of such dreadful Consequence, and our Drapery so neglected at home? I answer, That tho' we cannot impose our Drapery on our Neighbours, yet we might easily nick some of them in their Wines, Brandies, and Bawbles, which are as necessary for them to vent, as Drapery is for us, and are as unprofitable for us to receive. And surely we might also provide yet better to keep our Wool at home.*

26. And

* As if there was no Medium to be observed in this Case.

26. And seeing the Generality of Mankind pursues rather vain Examples than Rules of Reason, and wants Judgment to discern things hurtful; so the publick Authority hath frequently prescribed to the Subject in point of Clothes: and he that considers the Habit of the People at this Day, might suppose Silk, and not Wool, the native Commodity of this Kingdom. *I therefore humbly propose,*

27. That the Laws against the Exportation of Wool be consulted, and if upon Enquiry they appear too short to reach all the Tricks and Contrivances of the enormous Exporters, to provide yet further Remedies against them: proposing especially large Rewards and Characters of Esteem to those, who shall at any time discover the Managers of so ruinous a Commerce; punishing rather the Estates, than the Persons of Delinquents; and where the Criminals have no Estate, and are not apprehended, the Division or Hundred*, as in Cases of Robbrey, to be fined, &c. †

Page 10.

* 7, 8 Will. III. c. 28. Chap. 76. §. 14. Note.

T 4.

CHAP.

† The above Tract, by T. Manly, appearing to have been licensed *an.* 1676, cannot be considered as a direct Answer to that preceding it, *viz.* *Reasons for a limited Exportation of Wool*; which was not published 'till 1677. Ch. 56.

This therefore, with other Circumstances, to be gathered from Mr. Manly^z himself, proves the Project, for a *Duty on Wool exported, instead of an absolute Prohibition*, not to have been the casual Thought of a single Person; but that Gentlemen in general, finding themselves extremely aggrieved with the very low Price of Wool, and casting about for some Help in that Case, as also to prevent the Runnage of it, had bethought themselves of this, as the ancient Method, and the proper and likely Remedy; and accordingly, were not a little intent upon it. §. 1, 2, 3.

That a Scheme of this kind was thus entertained, is one Argument of its being *no irrational Device*; and that this very Measure had been practis'd successfully enough, for more than 300 Years together, without any material Interruption, is *another Circumstance in its Favour*; but that the Design was not effectually prosecuted, is true; and I thus account for it.

As (which has been observed before^a) prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, is a sure Means of lowering its Price, *Note.* even altho' it should not prevent, but rather promote, its being

being exported; so, in Fact, the prohibitory Laws, in this Case, at this Time, did not avail, for preventing the Exportation of Wool. But as there never had been less used comparatively within the Kingdom; so, though Wool had never been cheaper, yet there was never more of it exported, in Comparison, than at this Period; I mean, since the Days of *Edw. VI.* and perhaps, for some Time before, altho' it was then allowed, by the Laws of the Land, to be exported.

And, by the way, lest this should seem a Paradox, let it be remember'd for a Certainty (according to that infallible Rule^b of Sir *Josiah Child*) that what is not wanted at home, will make its way beyond Sea at *some Price*, provided the Owners will (and the Generality must) submit to that Price.

Wool then, at this Time, besides those general Reasons that govern the Price thereof in *Europe*, and the World at large, was cheap, in *England* particularly, as *one Cause*, by reason of its being *prohibited to be exported*; not because of the *Non-Exportation* thereof: for that was not the Case. Another Cause of the Cheapness of Wool, at this Time, and of all other Commodities of the Kingdom, was, the disadvantageous^c Commerce drove between *England* and *France*; which had greatly exhausted the Stock of current Money of the Kingdom; but which injurious Commerce receiving a considerable Check, by an Act of Parliament, in the next Year^d 1678, the general Trade of *England* revived; and Wool, tho' continuing to be prohibited, yet still continuing to be exported, clandestinely; and the Market of *Europe* for Wool, as we shall find Reason to believe, advancing; that, as well as every other Commodity of the Kingdom, advanced considerably in *England*. By which Advance, an entire Stop, so far as we can be informed, was put to all Disquisitions about the Reasonableness and Utility of *limiting the Exportation of Wool by a Duty, i. e.* of substituting a *Duty on Wool exported*, instead of an *absolute Prohibition*.

And tho' there have been frequent Occasions, since, to reconsider that Point, yet the Gentlemen of *England* have either abandoned all Thoughts upon the Subject, or else they have employed them wholly about the Means of compassing an Impossibility. For such I account the Project of confining absolutely the Wool of *England* within these Kingdoms, by prohibitory Laws, without a Registry. And such, I think, Experience has shewn it be; and the Reasons I have already given for the same, and shall hereafter give, will fully confirm it.

C H A P.

^b Ch. 48.
§. 3.

^c Ch. 54.

^d Ch. 72.
§. 1. Note.
British Merchant,
vol. 1.
p. 183.

C H A P. LVIII.

A full and clear Answer to a Paper, intituled, Reasons for a limited Exportation of Wool.

By W. C.* 1677.

1. I Shall endeavour to treat the Author with all that Civility, which a Person of Quality doth deserve, (as I suppose he is.) I must needs say, I had no Thoughts of appearing in publick any more. But my Zeal to the Commerce of the Nation (which is at present solely maintained by the Woolen Manufacture of it) raised my Fears so far, as to believe a Ruin is coming upon us, and so far as to doubt also that we may be hastening of it, by those very Means we would endeavour to prevent it.

2. And therefore I cannot now but, like the dumb Page^{2.} Child, speak, when he saw a Knife at his Father's Throat; I mean, when we consider the Extremity we are like to be in, from the *French King's* Vigilancy, and the great Endeavours he hath of late used to acquire the making of Woolen Manufacture † in his own Kingdom, and what vast Expence he doth use to effect his said Design,

* Tho' *T. Manly* did not, in the last foregoing Chapter, professedly answer the Treatise of, *Reasons for a limited Exportation of Wool*; yet this Writer, we see, does take upon him that Task. The Title Page indeed is wanting; but the Tract itself acknowledges it to be the Work of *W. C.*; and I have ventured to date it in the Year 1677. Ch. 56.

† Because the *French King* had now, within ten or 5^{1.} twelve Years, given Patents, with other Encouragements, for certain Woolen Manufacturies of particular fine Cloths, made chiefly of *Spanish* Wool, (which Cloths his Subjects had been used to be supplied with, in a great measure, from *Holland* and *England*) this our Author *W. C.* calls *acquiring the making of Woolen Manufacture*, as if the manufacturing of Wool had been altogether a new Work in *France*; and which could not be carried on without *English* or *Irish* Wool; which is a double Mistake.

Ch. 50.

sign, both in *France*, and by his Agents here in *England*, even at this very Day; and if he doth this in the midst of his Distractions by Wars, what will he not do, when he is at Peace with all his Neighbours, especially having already gotten such Quantities of our Wool as he hath?

3. And to encourage the Manufacture thereof, the said *French King* (for his Interest it is we are about to promote) hath even very lately, *viz.* within these few Months, issued forth his *Edict* (which is their Law) for the erecting Hospitals in many Towns in *France*, both for the setting all sorts of Persons at Work (that are able) in the Woolen Manufacture, and for the Maintenance of all indigent Persons, and not to suffer a Beggar there.

4. And if the *French King*, how far soever he pretends a Friendship to us, be designing, by all manner of Ways and Means, to undermine our Commerce, and by it to ruin us consequently in our Trade, and in our Shipping, and in our Strength by Sea, I may, I hope, be pardoned, if I am more than indifferently concerned, or more than ordinarily warm, to think that we ourselves should endeavour to perfect the *French King's* Design, by delivering up the Foundation of so rich a Manufacture into his Hands; and by this means delivering up all our Forts, Castles, and strong Holds: For that which is moved, is moved principally, if not solely, for the *French King's* Advantage; and that which is desired, if granted, tends only to our own inevitable Ruin.

5. Seeing the Thing desired is, that after the *French King* hath laid all this Method in a Readiness to rob us of our Clothing Trade; we, to the end we may shew ourselves not only his good Friends, but his obedient Servants and Vassals, desire that what Wool our Clothiers cannot work out in Cloth, by reason of the *French King's* late Imposition upon it, (to the Breach of Commerce, and consequently, as much as in him lieth, to the Breach of the Peace with us) may be sold to his Subjects, that we may not hereafter think of so vain and idle a thing, as to preserve, or recover, our Woolen Manufacture any more, or to preserve the King's Customs, of the Strength and Shipping of this great Kingdom.

6. Upon all which Considerations, I cannot but humbly entreat our Gentry, (and more especially such as have the Honour to serve their Country in Parliament) seriously

seriously to reflect upon the Wisdom of that great Prince *Edward III.** and upon the Method which he in his Reign used, now so long since, to gain the Woolen Manufacture out of *Flanders* into this Country, and impartially to compare this with the present Practice of the *French King* before-mentioned.

7. This General being premised, I shall now enter upon the Discourse itself, the main Aim or Scope of which seems to divide itself into two Parts; the one tends to prove, that there ought to be a limited Transportation of Wool; the other, that by such limited Exportation, the Price of it may be raised; and by raising of this, the Rents of Lands may, and will be increased, and his Majesties Customs greatly advanced. And if these Things were really practicable, I should not only be so just to myself, and just to my Opponents, but so just to the Nation, as not to put Pen to Paper to trouble my Reader, and much less to expose myself to a Stage of Contention, as I am now like possibly to do. But forasmuch as the quite contrary will (if I mistake not) appear, I shall therefore examine and weigh those Reasons and Grounds, which my Opponent hath brought for those Assertions.

8. And first, whereas my Opponent doth endeavour to alarm the Nation, that for want of vending our superfluous Wool abroad, the Farmer and the Landlord are so much damnified, that the one cannot pay his Rent, nor the other sustain his Taxes; and that this is the chiefest, if not the sole Reason of sinking our Rents, and throwing up Farms, and the Misery of the whole Country. This Consequence is not allowed; that being assigned for a general Cause, which is but one among many, and that a very small one. The true Cause of the abating the Price of Land, and lessening the Rents, being to be taken from the Proportion that the said Price always holds to the Rate of Interest, as is generally given for Money; which Rate depends, whether we will or no, upon the Plenty of Bullion; and that our Bullion is decayed, and the Decay of this is the main and principal Cause of the Fall of our Lands, will easily appear to any that shall consider,

* See Chap. 5. §. 12. Note. §. 34. Note. §. 35. Note. N. B. Chap. 51. §. 1. Note.

consider, First, The great Loss that this Kingdom did receive by the two last *Dutch Wars*. Secondly, The further sad and almost incomputable Loss which it sustained by the firing of the City of *London*, and by firing of a great Part of the *Suburbs* since. And, Thirdly, By the vast Expence that this Nation hath been put to for the rebuilding of the said City and *Suburbs* *. Fourthly, By the Overbalance of the Trade of *France*, to the Loss of near *One Million of Pounds Sterling* by the Year †. Which four Causes of the Decay of our Bullion, as they are no way to be denied, so neither can it be doubted, that we have, by all these Means, lost near, if not above, the one Half of the Bullion of this Nation, (as it was before the said Accidents did happen) and are daily losing. And if the Bullion be thus decreased, no marvel if the Landlord find it in his Rents, and the Shopkeeper in his Trade, and the Farmer in his Market; and no marvel, if all Degrees of Persons whatever do make a Complaint, how hard Money is to be got.

Page 6. 9. And whereas my Opponent's next Pretence is, *That it is much more the Concern of the Nation to preserve the Nobility, Gentry, &c. rather than regard a few Artificers, and the Merchant.* And whereas he gives many Reasons, why the Nobility and Gentry should be preferred to the Merchant, and Mariner, and Artificer, I humbly crave Leave to say, that the said Argument doth wholly depend upon a Supposition, which is no way fit to be granted, *viz.* as if their Interests were separate, whereas they are one and the same.

Page 9. † Ch. 56. §. 12. 10. My Opponent's third Argument is, *That Wool was 15 l. per Pack in the Year 1647^e, when it was prohibited,*

* This was Money chiefly spent within the Kingdom; as such, was no Occasion of the then Scarcity, but rather of a quicker Circulation of Money.

† And by which, Money must have been yet scarcer in the Kingdom, had not the Abundance of Wool, then exported, which is not brought to Account by the Reckonings of those Times, stood the Nation in some stead. For otherwise it is difficult to conceive how there should have been any current Cash left in the Kingdom, when the *French* were supposed to get a Million yearly, and the general Underbalance of the *English* Trade was, some Years^s, found to be upwards of *Two Millions*, or near that Sum.

‡ Ch. 49. §. 2. Note. Chap. 43. P. 5.

hibited, and that in the following Year it was sold for 16 l. per Pack; but that Wool hath ever since, by reason of the said Prohibition, abated, as is pretended, of the Price of it, and is now not worth above 4 or 5 Pounds per Pack.

In which Argument there seems to be a Failure in two Respects; one, as if the Wool of the Nation hath never bore any Price since the Time of the Prohibition; whereas it may be made appear, that after the Year 1650, Wool bore a very considerable Price, from * 10 l. per Pack to 24 l. per Pack, according to the Goodness of the said Wool, and continued so for some time; which shews us another Mistake in his Arguments, as if the Fall of the Price of Wool were wholly to be ascribed to the Prohibition of it; whereas indeed there are two other Causes that are very evident.

Wool from 10 to 24 l. per Pack. Page 10.

11. First, the Discouragement that hath been put upon the *Clothier*, and upon the Vent of our *Woolen Manufacture* by the *French King's* Impositions upon it, to the almost utter Prohibition of it, whereby there cannot now be so much of it wrought as formerly. Secondly, The clandestine Exportations of Wool from *Canterbury*, and Places adjacent, have occasioned both the Loss of our Manufacture, and the present low Price of Wool †.

12. Another Cause of the low Price of Wool, especially of late Years, hath been the necessitating of *Ireland* to stock their *Pasture Grounds* with *Sheep*, instead of great Cattle, and those of the best Breed of *England*; by which means, as Wool hath of late Years been more increased than ever, at any Time before, within his Majesty's Dominions; so the Consequence of this extraordinary Increase (and not any Fault in the *Clothier* or *Manufacturer*) is that which hath not only brought down the Price, but hath occasioned so great a Quantity of

* I should imagine an Error of the Press here, and that the Author meant to say, from 20 l. to 24 l. per Pack, or else, from 10 l. to 14 l.; but more probably the former; in which altho' he might speak somewhat too largely, yet are there Reasons to believe, that about the Year 1652, Wool, in *England*, was at a very considerable high Price. (See Chap. 40. §. 18, 19, 20.)

† In this latter Instance, there is a small Mistake, in putting the *Effect* for the *Cause*.

of it to be sent abroad into foreign Parts, as it bears almost as small a Price beyond Sea as here; and therefore, that in this Argument my Opponent hath assigned that for a Cause, which is no Cause * at all, may clearly appear, because it is Matter of Fact †, that Wool bore as good

* He had before admitted it to be one Cause (§. 8.)

† There is no Argument equal to Matter of Fact; and therefore it is highly proper to examine, in this Place, the Fact which is here alledged, with some Care.

The low Price of Wool, in this present Year 1677, viz. about 5 l. per Pack, is a Point confessed by this and the two foregoing Writers ^h, as also that in some former Period it had been considerably higher.

^h Ch. 56, 57.

The Author of *Reasons for a limited Exportation of Wool* imputes this Fall to its having been prohibited to be exported. Mr. Manly ^k admits the Plea, but does not allow it to be a good Reason for repealing the Prohibition. W. C. will not acknowledge such Prohibition to have contributed to this Fall in the Price of Wool; and particularly urges it, as a Matter of Fact, in Defence of his Opinion, *That Wool had bore as good a Price, and better, since the Prohibition, than before.*

ⁱ Ch. 56. §. 20.
^k Ch. 57. §. 12. Note.

The Prohibition on Wool, by Parliament, was, first, in 1647, when the Author of *Reasons, &c.* || says (§. 12.) it was 15 l. and the Year following (occasioned by a Rot and the Wars) 16 l. per Pack; that the Pretence for then prohibiting the Exportation of Wool was, (§. 16.) that *England* had not sufficient for its own Use.

|| Ch. 56.

W. C. in this Answer, (§. 10.) seems to admit the high Price of Wool, at the Time mentioned by the above Author of *Reasons for, &c.*; but to take off his Objection to the prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, for the Reason of its having fallen, as he says, continually, from the Time of such Prohibition, he denies that to be true; affirming, that since that Prohibition, viz. after the Year 1650, it rose, still higher, to 24 l. per Pack. And Mr. Manly (Chap. 57. §. 6.) which may be considered as a collateral Testimony on the same Side, says it had been falling 15 or 16 Years only.

^l See Ch. 174.

From all which Accounts (having learned by Experience, in another similar Instance of a later Date ^l, that it is ill trusting to those Persons who undertake to relate Matters of this Nature minutely and exactly, at such a Distance of Time, as 20 or 30 Years, merely upon the Strength of their own Memories, or the Credit of Tradition, without reciting

good a Price, if not a better, after the said Prohibition, as it did before, for many Years, 'till that Breach of Commerce was put upon us by the *French King*, which we before mentioned, and until that unfortunate Act (for so I must humbly crave Leave to call it) was made against the importing the *Irish Cattle*, upon Supposition that it would raise the Price of Land here in *England*; whereas the quite contrary Effect hath been too much experienced, viz. that it hath laid such a Foundation for

reciting some Circumstances, as the Ground of their own Belief, by which it may appear to others, that they are not deceived themselves) I can only conclude with any Certainty, that about the Year 1647, Wool was at a very high Price, such as the Manufacturers did not approve of; that therefore, under the Pretence of *England's* wanting Wool for home Use, the Exportation of it was prohibited by an Ordinance of Parliament ^m: But, whether Wool ever rose ^m See to 24 l. per Pack, is not so certain, because there is only Chap. 39. W. C.'s Word for it. But if it did, it was as likely to be §. 3. after the Year 1650, as at any other Period; because we have the positive Testimony of Sir *Josiah Child*, (*Discourse of Trade*, p. 52. 4th Edit.) that Rents were considerably advanced in *England*, about the Year ⁿ 1652. And History ⁿ See furnishes us with one good certain Account to be given for Chap. 40. it, viz. a Return of more pacific Times, after much Con- §. 22. Note. fusion, great Spoil and Havock made by civil War in the three Kingdoms, and by which *Ireland* particularly had been so far wasted, that, far from rivalling *England* with its ^o Ch. 40. usual Plenty ^o, it wanted Stores and Provisions of all Kinds §. 18. Note. from thence; which was a Means to raise the Markets of §. 19. Note. *England* considerably. But whereas this Author W. C. §. 20. would make the advanced Price of Wool, in this Period, an Chap. 52. Argument in his Favour, he is not aware of what we learn §. 1. from W. S. ^p concerning Licences then commonly granted, ^p Ch. 41. for exporting Wool. So that Wool is to be considered as §. 11. not, in effect, prohibited absolutely, 'till 1660, viz. 12 Car. II. And that coincides exactly with the Time Mr. Manly ^q has fixed for the Price of Wool beginning to de- ^q Ch. 57. cline, which this Author would date six Years later, viz. §. 6. from the *Irish Act*. But here I must interpose against him Mr. *Mun's* Evidence in 1664 ^r, who speaks of Wool being ^r Ch. 45- at an excessive Price a few Years before, and then lately §. 1. much fallen; whence it is further credible, that the Fall of Wool did commence with the Prohibition in 1660, and consequently that, in truth, the Fact is against my Author W. C. in this Case.

for the impoverishing *England*, as will not quickly (I fear) be recovered.

13. The next Thing alledged by my Opponent, is, That a limited Exportation of Wool will be more for the Advantage of our Woolen Trade, and less for that beyond Sea, than the hindering of it hath been.

* Prohibit-
ing, it
should
have been
said.

Which Assertion, If my Opponent had really, and sufficiently, and effectually made good, he might justly have merited the Name, for being the greatest Master of Reason in *England*.

And indeed, seeing a Paradox more strange, and more hard to be conceived, could not easily be stated, I could not but expect that some Arguments more remarkable than ordinary would immediately have followed it; but finding (contrary to my Expectations) nothing beyond a bare Affirmation, that if Strangers had a Liberty to buy what Wool soever they please, they would pay the dearer for it, by much than now they do, and that our *Clothiers* would therefore have it the cheaper, and by this Advantage would be able to undersell the Strangers in their Manufacture.

I say, finding little or nothing more to be brought, either by way of Reason or Argument, to maintain this Paradox, I was soon convinced, that it remained as incapable to be proved, as it was before. And a little to evidence the Improbability of the said Consequence, we shall here offer some few Reasons to the contrary. And first I crave Leave to say, that it is no way likely that the Grower, in any Part of *England*, should not be willing to get the utmost Price for his Wool that he can; and therefore, admitting it should be made unlawful for any Stranger to buy up Wool, 'till such a Time or Season of the Year, to the end that our *Clothiers* might first provide themselves; yet that would not prevent their bargaining sooner by Agents and Factors.*

14. But

* The Author of *Reasons, &c.* did not suppose that the Natives, in this Case, would be able to purchase their Wool any thing considerably cheaper from the Growers than Foreigners would do; but that the Difference of Duty, Factorage, Freight, &c. might make it near, if not full, twice as dear to the Foreigner, as to the native Manufacturer. And this, I think, I shall be able to shew, viz. that

14. But, because my Opponent seems to put his chief-est Stress in this, viz. That a large Custom may be put upon all Wool exported; and that at least by this means, they may come to pay double the Price of what our *Clothiers* do; and not only so, but by this means also his Majesty may receive an Advantage by the Custom that is imposed upon it. Page 12.

To try the Weight and Strength of this Expedient, or rather shew the Vanity of it. Let us suppose that 3 *d.* or 4 *d.* per Pound shall by Law be imposed upon all Wool that shall be shipped out by Strangers, or others, it will not follow, that the said Custom should be paid to his Majesty for the one half of the Wool, that shall be so shipped out, seeing under the Colour of 100 Packs, many hundred * may be exported.

15. But admitting, for Argument sake, that 4 *l.* was imposed upon every Pack of Wool to be exported, and the Custom regularly paid; yet I see not the least ground for the Opponent's Confidence, that we shall, for this Cause, be able to undersell the *French* in the Woolen Manufacture. For besides that the Nature of their Manufacture being but slight, which takes up much less Wool than ours doth; and a great Part of their Warps being made of their fine-spun Linen, and their own coarse Wool; I say, besides this, the Impositions that have been of late arbitrarily put upon all our Woolen Manufacture in *France*, and considering also there is no Custom at all put upon Wool there when imported, both † these will

Page 13.

that a proper Duty is such a Difference, as (with a little further Assistance, that in a very easy and equitable Way, may be afforded to the *English* Exporter of Woolen Goods) would turn the Scales effectually against the Rivals of the *English* Manufacture, so far as to prevent any Injury from our own Weapons, *English* or *Irish* Wool. (See Chap. 179. N^o 3. §. 1. Chap. 180.)

* See Chap. 50. §. 13. Note. §. 14, 15. Note.

† As to selling much *English* Woolen Manufacture in *France*, that was not now to be expected, in this Way. The *French* had resolved against it. So that if the Duty already imposed by them, had not answered their Purpose, of prohibiting the *English* Drapery there, in a sufficient Measure, they would still have increased those Duties. And,

will utterly prevent our selling the said Manufacture there cheaper than the *French* can make it, though they shall

^a Ch. 57. §. 18. Note. as observed before ², it was no way rational to believe, that the *French*, in this, presumed upon their being supplied, clandestinely, with what Wool they should want, from *England* and *Ireland*. It is to be imagined, and will be proved ^b, that they had other Resources, more certainly to be depended upon.

^b Ch. 151. 167. The Point here to have been considered, was, how the *English* might best prevent the Runnage of Wool, and how to regulate that Branch of Trade, so as that the *French* might make least Advantage from that *English* and *Irish* Commodity, and be least able therewith to rival the *English* Draperies, in foreign Markets. To which end, a Duty of, suppose, 4*l.* per Pack, with all the concomitant Expences of Factorage and Freight, were not Chimera's, but Realities, which might have made *English* Wool, certainly, near, if not full, twice as dear to the *French*, as to the *English* Manufacturer. And if this Difference would not, as I am inclined to think it would, have enabled the *English* to undersell the *French*; the latter would have been, for that Duty, less able to have underfold the *English*, than at this Time, by the Author's own Confession, they were. For he tells you, (§. 12.) they now had it in such Plenty, that it bore almost as small a Price there, as in *England*. If that almost was a Difference of 60 or 70*l.* per Cent. it shews that a Duty proportioned to that Difference, would have availed something; if the Difference was less, this Remedy was still more practicable, and would have been of greater Efficacy, to all the Purposes wanted. But then, to avoid all this, he insinuates that the *French* could afford treble as much for *English* Wool, as the *English* themselves could. This was true, or it was not. If it was not true, that Part of his Argument stands for nothing. If it was true, Sir *Josiah Child's* Rule ^c holds good infallibly against the Possibility of keeping it absolutely from them; without a Registry at least; and if so, the Legislature had nothing to do, but to establish a Registry of Wool, or to adhere to the Policy of a Duty; only increasing that Duty along with the Penalties of clandestine illegal Exportation; observing a due Proportion between the one and the other; yet so as to make the former more eligible than that of risking the Transgression of the Law.

^c Ch. 48. §. 3.

BUT we are the more free to think that the *French* could not afford any such extravagant Price, as here mentioned, BECAUSE we believe the Reason assigned by this Writer for their

shall give not only double, but treble the Price that we ourselves do give for Wool.

16. The next Thing alledged by my Opponent is, That our Forefathers did never prohibit the Transportation of Wool, unless upon some great Occasion, and for a certain Season, 'till of late Years *; for making good of which, a Summary of several Statutes is brought, from the Time of *Edw. III.* downwards to our own Times.

For Answer to all which Statutes, I shall make use of no other Argument than what my Opponent himself hath put into my Mouth; which is, that Wool was for many Ages, by the Wisdom of the Government, at least very often prohibited; and that whensoever the Government itself saw there was a greater Occasion than ordinary for it, they did always prohibit it †; and consequently if the Interest of the Nation at present be such, and the Circumstances relating to our Neighbours about us, not only so great, but so instant and importune,

U 2 that,

their being able so to do, (namely, the Virtue of *English* Wools for mixing with *French* particularly) has no Foundation in Truth. And this we more readily believe, BECAUSE this same Writer *W. C.* appears to have been the Author of this Opinion, about seven Years ^d before (by a small Improvement upon *W. S.* who had said ^e that 'Spanish Wool alone ^f would not make Cloth, nor, for that Use, mix with any ^g other than *English* Wools.') And tho' *W. C.* is followed ^h by a Number of subsequent Writers, yet we impute that, not to the Truth, but to the Conveniency of his Doctrine, for certain Purposes. And we think that Sir *Josiah Child*, (who wrote so lately before him a Discourse on Trade, and therein gave a Chapter ⁱ purely upon the Subject of Wool, and ^j See Woolen Manufacture, and was equally an Advocate for ^k prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, as *W. C.*) could not have been ignorant of this grand Reason for that Policy, had it been true; and if it had, would not have concealed it. His Silence therefore in this Particular; we presume, is a stronger Negative Testimony in this Case, than all which *W. C.* and his large Tribe of Followers, have said for it.

Ch. 51.

§. 3, 4.

Ch. 41.

§. 4.

See Chap. 48.

* *W. C.* is guilty of a very material Omission in this Citation from the Author of *Reasons for, &c.* who adds ^l, ^m See 'Temporary Prohibitions there have been, but those of ill ⁿ Consequence to the Nation.' Chap. 56. §. 17.

† This is not only a very unfair Perverſion of his Opponent's Words, but a gross Misrepresentation of History in this Case.

that, these two considered, there will be much more Reason, and much more Necessity for the prohibiting of it now than formerly; then, all that my Opponent labours at in producing Instances of other Kinds, and where the Circumstances are not the same, falls wholly to the Ground.

17. For the clearing of which, let us consider that the Circumstances peculiar to this present Time is, that we have not only been possessed for many Ages of the manufacturing of our Wool, but have of late so improved* our Trade and Commerce by it, that we have exported it by Shipping of our own, not only into *France, Portugal, and Spain*, but into *Italy, Turkey*, and to the most remote Parts of the World †.

Page 16.

18. The next Thing alledged by my Opponent, is, *That the Cause of the Decay of our Clothing doth not lye in the Exportation of our Wool, but on the contrary, viz. || because our Wool is no more freely exported, than it is.* And that we may be sure not to mistake his Sense herein, he further adds, † *That inasmuch as the Decay and Fall of our Manufacture comes properly from the Prohibition of our Wool; the stopping or hindering therefore of our Wool to go out, is but the applying to our Disease a wrong Remedy.*

Which Argument, if it had been brought by a Stranger, we should immediately have turned it into Merriment; for nothing can be more contrary to Truth than what is here alledged.

For

* Improved! from exporting Drapery, to the Value of near *Two Millions* per Ann. as in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, to the Exportation of the Value of Nine hundred thousand Pounds, or less, within the Compas of a Year^k, now in *Car. II.*

† The Question here, so far as the Business of Wool is concerned, is not, to what Parts it has been exported, but in what Quantity?

|| The latter Part of this Sentence, *viz. Because, &c.* are not the Words of his Opponent, (see Chap. 56. §. 20.) but instead of them he says, *'For the Decay (if any be) is since this Prohibition.'*

‡ Not what *W. C.* has inserted, but as follows, *viz. 'So that by hindering this, we apply a wrong Remedy to the Disease.'* Here, by the word hindering, is evidently meant prohibiting.

For if it be true which my Opponent saith, that the Decay of our Clothing Trade is not from our Exportation of Wool, but rather the contrary, because no more of our Wool is carried out raw; it must follow then, that by how much the more our Wool is thus exported, by so much the more our Manufacture will not only be preserved, but encouraged*; and the Reason for this must needs be, that if we are once rid of our Wool, and have got a good Price for it, we need not trouble our Heads so far as to imagine, that they who buy it, will do any thing with it, but only will lay it up to look upon it.

U 3

19. As

* The Matter in Dispute, was, the Expediency of a limited Exportation of Wool; in short, of a Duty on Wool exported, instead of a *Prohibition*. The Advocate for which Measure had pleaded for it, upon several Considerations, chiefly that of Benefit to the Grower; the Price of Wool having fallen by degrees, since the Prohibition, *two Thirds*; at least, seven Parts in twelve; and which Prohibition had no way profited the Clothier; on the contrary (he says) whatever Decay there was in that Trade, had come since the Prohibition, if not also in some measure by it. And I think he was chiefly mistaken, in imagining the Prohibition on Wool to have prevented the Exportation of it, (which at this Time certainly it neither did, nor ever will, for a Continuance; I mean, without a Registry.) His Adversary *W. C.* is equally mistaken, in admitting the same thing, *viz.* that the Exportation of Wool was any way considerably prevented by the Prohibition, altho' such Quantities of it were then, by his own Confession, exported (§. 12.) that *English Wool* was almost as cheap in *France*, as in *England*. And further, the said *W. C.* not distinguishing between a Permission, barely to export Wool upon certain unequal Terms to the Foreigner, and that of actually exporting it at pleasure, upon quite equal Terms, would represent his Opponent as childishly endeavouring to cram this Absurdity he here mentions, upon his Readers. Whereas, (abating for the single Mistake, in supposing Wool, then, to be low (as one Cause) for want of a larger Exportation, instead of its being so (as was the Case in a great measure) for want of a freer Market, *i. e.* because of its being subject to a kind of Monopoly of clandestine Traders, who nevertheless exported largely.) I think he is by far a more considerable Writer than *W. C.* and has much the Advantage of the Argument; altho' this latter is disposed to make him, if he could, appear quite weak and ridiculous.

Chap. 56. §. 11, 12.

Page 19. 19. As it is clear then, my Opponent hath wholly mistaken himself in the Cause of our Manufactures Decay; so to evidence yet farther the Palpableness of this Mistake, we affirm that it is Matter of Fact, that our *Woolen Manufacture did increase greatly*, after the said Prohibition of Wool in the Year 1647, for at least 16 or 18 * Years together; and not only increased, but bore

* This Writer has again recourse to Facts. — Eighteen Years, from 1647, brings us to 1665, the Year before the *Irish Act*. And so long, he would have it believed, the Trade of *England* in general, and the *Woolen Trade* in particular, had flourished. For Proof of this, he appeals to the Custom-House Books, and to the Rents of *England, &c.* Now granting what he advances, to the Year 1660; yet it has been shewn before, from *W. S.*¹ that Wool, in this Period, was not, in effect, prohibited, but exported by *Licences*. And for the intermediate Space, *viz.* from 1660 to 1665, 1st, The Custom-House Books are against him. They tell us^m, that in 1662, the whole Exports from *England* to all the World, were not more than £ 2,022,812 04 00
The Imports ————— 4,016,019 18 00

So that the Imports not only exceeded the Exports } 1,993,207 14 00

but the whole Exports very little exceeded what the Value of *Woolen Manufacture* alone, annually exported from *England*, had, in some former Periods, probably amounted to, during the allowed *Exportation of Wool*.

Further, Mr. *Fortry* in the Year 1663 saysⁿ, ‘ the Clothing Trade in *England* was so decay’d and adulterated, as to be almost out of Esteem both at home and abroad.’
2dly, With regard to the Rents of *England*, though we have proper Testimonies || of their being much advanced between the Years 1652 and 1660, they had certainly fallen again very much, before the *Irish Act* in 1666; forasmuch as Sir *William Temple* particularly relates^o, that the Decay of Rents was precisely the Occasion of that Act. And therefore, as the Truth of Facts was against this Author (§. 12. Note) in his attempting to prove that *Wool* had not fallen, but rather given a better Price, for some time after the *Prohibition*, than before; so they are equally against this his second Assertion, that the *Woolen Manufacture* did increase in *England*, after, and by means of, the *Prohibition*.

And

¹ Ch. 41. §. 11.
^m See Ch. 43. P. S.

bore a good Price. To justify what I say, I appeal for the Truth of it, not only to the Custom-House Books, and to the Quantity of *Woolen Manufacture* there entered, but to the Gentry themselves; and to the Price that Land bore, and *Victuals* bore for many Years together after the said Prohibition, and to the Plenty of Money that was then in the Land.

20. Yea, as our *Manufacture* did increase for many Years together, after the said Prohibition of the *Exportation of Wool*; so it had to this Day still increased, had not those Accidents happened, that laid so effectual a Foundation for the Ruin of it, as it was neither in the Power of the *Clothier*, nor in the Power of the *Grower*, to prevent; I mean, those new and immoderate Taxes, which were laid upon our *Manufacture* by the *French King*, on purpose to encourage his Workmen to gain the said *Manufacture* from us; and on purpose to prevent our Cloths and Stuffs from being brought into his Country, although we yearly take of his Commodities to the Value of above a Million of Pounds *Sterling*. And I mean, in the second place, the making of that unfortunate Act against the *Importation of Irish Cattle*, which hath not only tended to the Ruin of the *Grower*, but to the Ruin of the *Clothier*, and to the Ruin of the very Trade of *England* itself; and which, if it should continue

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And here note, That it was not sufficient, to assign other Causes for the Decay of the *English* Exportations of *Woolen Manufacture*, which were not to be supposed to have suffered by the Policy, of prohibiting the *Exportation of Wool*. But as the Price of *Wool* had been sensibly lowered by the *Prohibition*, abstracted from all other Causes; and as lowering the Price of *Wool* was undoubtedly the End thereby proposed, as an Encouragement to the *Woolen Manufacture* in general; it was therefore incumbent upon the Advocates for that Policy, to shew that tho’ the *Wool-Growers* had suffered in their particular Interest, yet the Nation in general had found its Account therein, *viz.* by an extraordinary Increase of the *Woolen Manufacture*, on the score of such *Prohibition*. But this plainly was not the Case, at the Time now under Consideration; neither, I think, at any Time since, although the *English* Exportations, and particularly of *Woolen Manufacture*, have been since considerably increased, as will be shewn in its proper Place.

tinue to stand unrepealed, must necessarily and inevitably ruin, more and more, both the *Gentry, Merchant,* and *Clothier* every Day.

21. And therefore as a further Proof to what I say, I shall give one Instance instead of many, and leave the Truth of it to be strictly examined and judged accordingly; which is, that since the said Accidents have befallen us, (I mean the *French King's* Impositions, and that Act against the Importation of *Irish* Cattle) *Exeter* alone hath lost of what it did formerly vend, near, if not above, three hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling* every Year: and if we shall reckon proportionably all other Cities and Counties, we shall then easily see there is a just Ground for the Decay of our Woolen Manufacture, and for the Fall of the Price of our Wool by it, and for the Fall and Ruin of our Rents; not, as my Opponent alledgeth, by reason of the Prohibition of transporting our Wool, but truly and really by reason of the Increase and Multiplication of our Wool to that Degree, that the Exportation of it hath almost been necessary*.

22. But here my Opponent may perhaps say, That, after all, I cannot deny but there is a Surplus of Wool, which cannot be wrought up by the *Clothiers*, and that I offer not one word how it should for the future be disposed of.

To which I answer, First, That it appeareth not by any thing which my Opponent hitherto hath proved, that the *Clothier* either cannot, or doth not, work up the Wool of the proper Growth of *England* to the Full of it. But if a far greater Quantity of Wool be brought into *England* from *Ireland*, than ever before was brought, until of late Years, as the *Clothier* cannot be responsible for his not buying up all the Wool which is sent into *England*;

^p Ch. 46.
^s. 5. Note.
⁴ Ch. 66.
^s. 23.
² Ch. 43.
^{p. s.} Note. Exports in 1662^r, the Trade of *England* appears to have
^s Ch. 44. been greatly decayed; and by Mr. *Fortry* in 1663^s, the
^s. 7. Woolen Manufacture particularly; and by Mr. *Mun*^c in
^r Ch. 45. 1664, the Price of Wool had then lately fallen considerably;
^s. 2. and by Sir *William Temple*^u, the Rents of *England*
^u Ch. 53. had sunk greatly, in Consequence of all this, before the
^s. 6. Year 1666.

* I must here remind the Reader, that the *Irish Act* was passed in 1666^p, and that the *French* last great Imposition on *English* Drapery was in 1667^q. But from the *English* Exports in 1662^r, the Trade of *England* appears to have been greatly decayed; and by Mr. *Fortry* in 1663^s, the Woolen Manufacture particularly; and by Mr. *Mun*^c in 1664, the Price of Wool had then lately fallen considerably; and by Sir *William Temple*^u, the Rents of *England* had sunk greatly, in Consequence of all this, before the Year 1666.

England; so neither can he, or ought he, to be responsible for the Glut proceeding from the Importation of it, or for the Cheapness of the said Wool, by reason of the said Glut.

23. If then the proper and only Way for removing all evil Effects, be to remove their respective Causes, the proper Remedy for removing the Cheapness of Wool on the one hand, and recovering our Trade on the other hand, must necessarily be the stopping the excessive Growth of it in *Ireland*, and as strictly stopping and restraining the Export of it from *Ireland*, and from hence.

C H A P. LIX.

A Letter from a Gentleman in Ireland to his Brother in England, relating to the Concerns of Ireland in matter of Trade, 1677.

1. *Honoured Brother,*

I Have lately received yours, wherein you give me Account of the Fall of your Rents, the Cheapness of your Wools, the Decay of your Manufacture in *England*; and you ascribe the Cause of it principally to *Ireland*; which is a double Melancholy to me, that you, first, who are the Head of our Family, should find yourself so straitened, that you cannot support its Dignity with the Ease and Plenty that you did formerly: but that I, then, who have for you all the Affection and Tenderness of so dear a Relation, should be engaged in a Country and Interest opposite, as it seems, to yours, and accessory to your Ruin; there is nothing worse could happen to me, than that it were real. And yet, did I find myself in a more happy Condition, I could better relish your Complaints; and my Opportunity of serving you, would extinguish in me all other Sense of your Misfortunes. I should take an innocent Pride out of a younger Brother's Fortunes to supply the Elder: For as
in

in Timber, the Sap descends in Winter; so it is but natural and reasonable, that in hard Times, the Branches should pinch, to succour the Root of the Family. But alas, the Case with us is far otherwise; so destitute of affording you Help, that we can scarce find ourselves a Subsistence: but so absurd is our Calamity, that we labour under abundance of Want in a most plentiful Country. And what aggravates it the more, is, that you, in *England*, concur to it; not by Accident only, but upon Judgment and Deliberation; as if you had entertained a Maxim of destroying us for your own Preservation, and pulling off that Twig, which at one time or other might save you from sinking. Your Head akes, your Heart trembles, your Liver ulcerates; yet all your Diseases and Distempers must be attributed to *Ireland*; which lies and swells, you think, like the Spleen, upon the Side of *England*. Whereas, if you could cut it off, you would find yourselves, by the Loss of such a Receptacle, much impaired, but no Advantage either in your Health or good Humour. It is you in *England* only, that have been the Cause both of your own and our Sufferings, and have a mind, I doubt, to continue so. But that I may not spend your Time in Recriminations, (which is the Solace of the Desperate) I shall strive to convince you of it by Reason, (which is the Remedy of the Curable.) And therefore I shall discourse it with you with that Freedom, which the Necessity of the Case requires, and which is most suitable to the Intimacy of our fraternal Relation; the best Emblem of that Correspondence, which were to be wished between the two Nations for their mutual Happiness.

2. And because what is freshest in Memory, doth most affect the Understanding, I shall date this Argument no further back than the King's blessed Restauration: that *Caroline* Period, from which, as a second Creation of our lesser World, it were proper to reckon a new Stile; and, were it of the same Labour, to have reformed both the Times and the Calendar. That seasonable Return had filled all Minds with so general a Satisfaction, that it seemed no Man had Cause, or Leisure, or Inclination, to wish worse to others, or themselves better. And as the rest, so we in *Ireland* (happy because contented) lived in a Condition tolerable to ourselves,
and

and serviceable to *England*. For without busie Prospects of greater Advantage, we gave ourselves in a manner wholly to that harmless and primitive Course of breeding Cattle; which we transported to you, and sold at easy Rates in your Markets: wherein we had but that single, you a manifold Profit; both in the Gross, by stocking your Grounds therewith to feed them; and in the Retail, by those several Commodities that arise in the Slaughter; the Tallow, the Victual, the Hides, and the Fleeces; all which turned to Account of the respective Trades therein concerned. And which is yet more weighty to consider, we did not hereby drain away your Money to hoard it up; but very simply and honestly, as soon as we had received it with one hand, we laid it out again with the other, with you for your Manufactures, or for the foreign Commodities, of which you were our Merchants; or else it went to furnish such of our Nobility, as resided in your Court, for their Expences. And it requires much Subtilty to invent what more you could have desired of us, and how either in Commerce we could be more subservient, or in Policy we could be more dependent upon you, than by this means we were rendered, without attempting or dreaming on our side of any further Intercourse: all the Benefit of *Ireland* redounding to you, while to us there remained no more but a bare Livelihood. And yet after some Years that Things had continued on this Tenour, all on a sudden, and if we were rightly informed, not without some Repugnance at first in his Majesty, the Importation of our *Irish* Cattle is by Act of Parliament prohibited. And (to clench it the faster, and to set (if I may so say) a Spell upon his Majesties Power and Prudence, lest he might upon Occasion redress it for the future) it is in a magical and severe Term of Law declared to be a publick Nuisance. What could be the Reason, it is not for me to conjecture, much less to determine. But whatsoever less and invisible Spring might, as is usual in other great Affairs, animate this Motion, it cannot be otherwise in so numerous and prudent an Assembly, so involved in the Interest of their Country, and sensible of their own, but it must have been represented under the most specious, colourable, and necessary Arguments; That by this Importation, your own Breed of Cattle decayed, your
Markets

Markets were glutted, and your Rents starved. Wherein give me Leave to say, that it happened to you, as with Men who having run themselves out, do set up late for Frugality; they entertain themselves with every Project that first presents itself, and what is next does always seem most reasonable. For admitting that some of your Counties might be prejudiced by the Importation of our Cattle, yet whatsoever Profit accrued to others by it, did, upon the mutual Necessities of all, circle into the common Stock of your Nation. And it seems to me, that whatsoever private Obligation a Parliament-Man hath to the Place where he is elected; yet when once he comes to sit, his Trust and his Mind is enlarged, and he does no more consider himself as the Politician of a *Shire*, or the Patriot of a *Borough*, but as a Representer of the Univerfality. Whereas otherwise, if any County, one, or more, chance to be more fertile than others in Members of Parliament, and they act by such narrow Measures, the Decision would be by Multitude, not by Reason; Arithmetick would be Logick, and the greater Herd, as among Cattle, would carry it. You best know how that Matter went, who are one of them; and however your Opinion stands in other things as to us in *Ireland*, yet I need not divine your Thoughts on this Question, serving as you do for ———, and so the Bias of your Interest there corroborating the general Rectitude of your Judgment. And if the Business were now to tell Counties, I have been lately assured by some from *England*, that those Counties that find themselves not benefited, and those that are really aggrieved by this Act, do by this time, upon Experiment and second Thoughts, make up the greatest Party. For, if we account, like Merchants, by Profit and Loss, all the Profit that can be made by this Act, returns only to such Counties which are proper for breeding, or the deeper feeding of Cattle of your own Growth; whereby they do but raise the Price upon their Neighbours, and monopolize the rest of your Nation. These other, in the mean time, have their Grounds thrown up into their own Hands, which used to be stocked with our lesser Cattle, that served them, as small Money does poor People, for Change at the Market. And your whole Nation hath hereby lost, in great measure, the Vent of their home and foreign Commo-

Commodities to *Ireland*, and wholly the increasing Product to you, of our Cattle in *Specie*. But as to the political Point, you did herein, as much as in you then was, cut off all that stronger, as more natural Dependance of that Kingdom upon yours, and necessitate yourselves to govern it rather by the Force of Authority, than by the influential Benignity of Interest. It were too tragical to describe to you the Surprize and Astonishment with which the first News of that Act seized and affected us. Our Condition did contrarily resemble his in the Fable, who saw every thing turned into Gold that he should have fed upon; but we could only feed upon that, which before we converted into Money. It may best be compared and conceived by the decrying of Coin, whereby he that was one Day Master, as he imagined, of great Wealth, finds, the next Morning, nothing but an invaluable Lump, wherein to contemplate his Poverty. What was to be done in this Exigent? when we were reduced to the perfect State of Buccaneers, to kill Cows, and surfeit ourselves on the Carcases, that we might sell the Hides to the next charitable Foreigner that chanced to visit us.

3. Being thus to begin the World again, and constrained to look out for a new Way to sustain Nature, we took Counsel of Necessity. Our Commodities, out of which we could subsist, were either our Corn, our greater Cattle, or our Sheep. For the *Irish* Corn, it could only serve us to market with among ourselves; being, by reason of the Climate, not so large, firm, and dry a Grain, that it should be proper for Transportation. And consequently we ploughed no more than might serve us yearly from Hand to Mouth for our own spending. For our Cattle, we continued the breeding of them, and employed Part of our Grounds to feed them: Finding, for the Proportion, more Advantage by victualling it out to Foreigners, than what we had formerly by their Wholesale in *England*. But that Vent was nothing equal to what those Tracts of Land, that lay idle before us, would have furnished; and therefore we betook ourselves more generally to the grazing of *Sheep*; in which you know, how numerous Flocks, and wide Pastures, are managed by one Shepherd. So that this Course did best suit with our Purse, that could not answer any more expensive

expensive Profit; and with our Dispositions, that are not made for laborious Improvements; and with your Jealousy, who interpret our Industry as Theft, and that we defraud you, as oft as we make the least Attempt to work out an honest Living. So that the *Wool* now was the only Thing that we had to rest upon; and you were provided with sufficient Acts of Parliament to be the only Mart for it: It being made Felony to transport it into foreign Parts; and Confiscation to import it to you, otherwise than crude and unmanufactured. And yet, having thus again patched up a slender Subsistence, and Method of being, we had recomposed ourselves, enjoying Poverty and Ease, and leading an *Arcadian* Life, so placed among the Sheep with our Pastorals. We had left muttering any more at your Act against *Irish* Cattle, and only smiled, as in a Triumph, not of Malice, but of Reason, to see that you were now the Persons aggrieved; and if not yet convinced of the Cause, yet labouring under the Effects of it. For, whereas some Counties only could complain of our Cattle, the *Cheapness of Wools* was become a general Incommodity to your whole Nation. For, I believe, as you were ready enough to imagine, that by importing upon you *all the Wools* of this Kingdom, yours were partly choaked; having more of your own upon your Hands already, than, in the present State of Trade through the World, your own Manufacturers could work, or your Merchants vend beyond Sea, although, we paying the King's and Lieutenant's Duty, which is at least two Shillings for every Stone, besides the Fraught of the Ships that bring it over, and the other Charges of Factorage and Market, are competently guarded from the Danger of underselling you. For, by this means it is easy to compute, that in respect to your Wools, ours are sold at that which Merchants call *Fifty per Cent.* Disadvantage; yet, as the Trade of our Cattle injured you before, so now *our Wools* grow toward a *Nuisance*: what was lawful for us, and profitable to you, you prohibited; what you constrain us to, you accuse: you are neither well full nor fasting; I know not what you would have, unless you could furnish us with a Breed of Sheep that bore no Fleeces. Is it not the same, that those Fleeces bear no Price? But though those Gentlemen among you, whose Rents depend much upon that

Cheapness of Wool a general Incommodity to England.

Product,

Product, do doubtless find their Estates, by the late *Cheapness of Wool*, much reduced; yet I shall, ere I close this Letter, shew you, that our *Irish* Wool is the least accessory to it. And however, your Kingdom doth so abound with native Commodities, (which were you not so in Love with the foreign, would multiply to you in Treasure and Bullion) that you might well, or much better than we, dispense with the common Calamity upon that Trade, who have so many more to trust to: whereas this is in a manner the only one that is left us, and that too fails us. For it is not to be presumed, that, while your *own Wool* sells not, you will, out of good Nature, prefer ours at a Market; nor that you are so new-fangled, as much Strangers as you make us, that you will enquire out for *la Laine d'Irlande*, and make it your Mode to wear it. But it remains a mere Drug, although you are those that will be the Ingrossers. In this Condition, miserable to ourselves, and yet subject to your Envy, what can be propounded for our Relief, or toward your Satisfaction? Shall we steal our Wool beyond Sea? which yet were but to steal our own Goods; that you will say would be a greater Prejudice to you. Shall we manufacture it at home? That, although a double Benefit to us, would seem to you a double Inconvenience. And yet there is no third Way left, unless, like your Spiders, to weave out our own Bowels.

4. And here it may not be amiss to inform you, something better than I perceive you are at present, concerning the State of our Manufacture in *Ireland*: not so much because it is in itself grown so considerable, that it deserves mention, (for of all Virtues, Industry is the last of which you will have Cause to accuse us) as by reason it hath of late made a great Noise with you, as things usually do that are most empty. About ten or twelve Years ago, (before your Act against the *Irish* Cattle) some Western Clothiers finding, so early, and upon other Reasons than are now suborned, that Trade decaying, and many of them reduced to extreme Poverty, removed themselves and their Families over into *Ireland*; invited by the Cheapness there of Wool, and of Livelihood. These erected then a Manufactory (great in respect to *Ireland*) at *Dublin*, which hath been carried on ever since, and increases daily. There came also over,

Woolen Manufacturers came and settled in Ireland, when, from England, and much Holland.

much about the same time, sixty Families from *Holland*, setting up another at *Lymrick*; which, by Occasion of the succeeding Wars, decayed. But, after these, more of the *English* Clothiers came and fixed about *Corke* and *Kinsale*, where they continue, and are grown not inconsiderable. Some *French* have since resorted to *Waterford*, to make *Druggets* there, and other Commodities of their Fashion. And about a Year or two ago, some Merchants of *London* raised another Manufacture at *Clonmel*, managing it by their Agents. Some small Attempts of the like nature, may be met with here and there in the Countries, but not worth speaking of. These are the Crimes of which we are guilty, before any Law prohibit us: it were more allowable to plant Poison than Manufacture with us, and we lie, it seems, under such an Obloquy and Clamour, (which, as far as I can judge by your Letter, you also listen to) that, as to import our Cattle to you is a Nuisance, and to export our Wools is Felony; so, by Gradation, to erect here a Manufacture ought to be no less than Treason. And yet there is more Cry than Wool in all this Matter: For I dare, and do assure you, that, modestly speaking, the whole Quantity of what we work up in *Ireland*, amounts not to the Half of what any one Clothing-County in *England* does. Of what Importance Manufacture is to us, appears more than sufficiently by this Jealousy of it that you have conceived, and by that Life which so small, but active a Particle, insinuates into this poor and idle Body of a Nation. If it were promoted, as carefully as it is discouraged, it would make his Majesties Revenue here rise with more Ease to the Subject, and proportionably increase it for the future. It would replenish the Country with People, raise the Price of our Lands, and wear off the Barbarity of the common *Irish*, when once they were inured to Labour: For Industry is the first Step to Civility, and the securest Pledge to Government; those that will take pains for their own Living, being the least inclined to invade another's Property. If those that are the Heads of such Undertakings reside with you in *England*, all the Product they shall make here, would return to you into the common Stock of the Nation: If they do not, but reside with us, we indeed receive the Advantages above-mentioned; but to you there is no other

More from England.

Some French.

Some Merchants of London have set up a Wool-en Manufacture at Clonmel.

other Difference, than that you are rich on this Side the Water.

5. All that can be objected reasonably (for none, I hope, do officiously malign us) is, that you are, however, the nearest Neighbours to yourselves, and whatever becomes of us, sink or swim, you must provide that you suffer not by us, either in exhausting your People; whereof you are already not too numerous; or by diminishing your Trade, which is already much decayed. As to the Danger of depopulating you, which is the first; it is a Thing you can only presuppose and imagine, but which we, were it a thing to be wished, could never hope for. God forbid, (if it be lawful to make so unnecessary and vain a Request) that any Accident; or Extremity; should cause you to exchange *Middlesex* for *Leinster*, and prefer *Dublin* before *London*, to be the Imperial Seat and Chamber of the Monarchy. It is indeed; as the Profit of an Husbandman, to have his Land full stocked with Cattle; so of a Prince, to have his Dominions manned with a proportionable Complement of People. And one of our Countrymen interested in both Nations, hath therefore well calculated how much the Publick misses, or gains, in the Person of every Individual. The Bodies of Men are not only estimable while living, but when dead: And were it not to play the Coqueten in Trade, I could demonstrate what Prejudice the Nation receives by the burying of every *Englishman* beyond Sea. ——— But, how can we think you serious in so speculative and remote a Consideration; that, as to us, it is rather a Case put, than what can ever be presumed to fall out in Practice? For while herein you represent the Weaver, *who overshooting his Shuttle into the Wall, although a Batchelour, wet his Cheeks and his Manufacture to think, how if his only Son had received that Blow, his Majesty had lost a Subject, and himself the Stay of his Family*; you nevertheless, at the same time, and while at Peace, transport yearly many thousands to be killed in the Wars; and are become the Magazine of Men to your Neighbours. You do not only send out yearly Swarms of Men to your old Colonies, but, wanting, it seems; Hives for your Multitude, you do every Day increase your new Buildings at home, and abroad design new Plantations. And even your Merchants

chants incorporated with others, whose greater Quality may suppose them to be Statesmen in that Particular, instead of bringing over more Gold from *Guinea*, do, as I am told, so inhance their sole Trade of *Negroes*, that your Planters, not able to go to the Price, are forced to load their Ships continually with *English Servants*. And, if there were this Penury of People with you, it is probable that you would find out Employment for so many idle Persons, that, as I observed when I came last over, notwithstanding those constant Draughts beyond Sea, do, both Natives and Foreigners, pester you still at home, and so incumber your Streets and your Highways, that a Man of Business can scarce pass without jostling. Therefore it is time for you to quit this Notion, which you so many ways slight in effect, and contradict in Practice, and in our Case is so singular: unless you will affix your Inhabitants, like Trees, to the Soil, and lay as severe an Injunction against your *English Mens* going abroad, as that wherewith you have impounded our Cattle at home in *Ireland*.

6. That which may afford more Appearance in Reality is, that our Woolen Manufactures interrupt the Vent of yours. But I have already shewn you how slender a Quantity is wrought up with us; so small a Pittance, that it cannot affect even your *Norwich*, much less your whole Kingdom: nor is there yet any Law (I hope will not) to interdict us what, if real, were so necessary. The *Dutch*, the *French*, any Foreigner, have Liberty, and make use of it, to work with us; and shall the *Irish* or *English* of both Countries be rather debarred, whether rich, from planting Manufacture; or whether poor, from labouring it in *Ireland*? I know not that it ever entred into your Minds to forbid your *English* the purchasing of Land among us; and what Reason is there greater, to hinder them from employing their Money with us upon any other Occasion, to private and publick Advantage? But what do I instance in Land, a Thing the most improbable; and to which, as it stands with us, the *English* can at present have no Temptation? when, besides the Novelty, Weakness, and Mutability of Titles, every thing from which the Profit might result, is render'd so incommodious to us, and unpracticable, that, as the Tenant hath only his Labour for his Pains, so the

Purchaser,

Purchaser, instead of Rent, can have only his Land for his Money. Therefore I submit it to you, to chuse any more particular and proper Instance, (if such there be) where *English Mens* Estates lie under such a perpetual Tuition, and others may administer to him that is yet living. But this Clamour hath so little of a publick Spirit in it, that it favours rather of that Envy which is among little Artificers, or meaner Merchants, that trade or factor in the same Commodity: For there is indeed no Man but doth, in some sort, prejudice another; no Trade, but is to the Detriment of another Trade in some measure: yet these are all reconciled in the publick Convenience, or Necessity; otherwise every Country, every Company, every Member, would stand in another's way, and there should be no End of Divisibility. But, if you were in earnest, methinks it would better require your good Husbandry and Inspection, to rectify those, whether Trades or Persons, that suck out your very Blood, transfusing foreign Juices into your Veins; and that, while they export your Treasure and Bullion, prey upon your Vitals. And to discover such others, who, under the Quality of *English Merchants*, are, as is said, but Factors for Aliens, and daily spirit away the Wealth and Strength of your Nation beyond Sea. But however you judge and dispose of your domestick Affairs, suffer not yourselves, in regard of us, to be imposed on by false Suggestions against your own, and our Interest.

7. For the Deadness of your Manufactures, as well as ours, proceeds not from their interfering with one another, but from differing Causes; wherein it may besit you, first, to consider (for I will not, to the Disreputation of so many worthy Merchants, affirm what is reported at this Distance) whether several of those Companies that are entrusted, and impowered, with the sole Trade of your home-bred Commodities in remote Regions, do not, for their more excessive Advantage, forbear to buy up that Quantity, which so great a Part of the World, as lies stretch'd out in their Patents, but unvisited in their Traffick, would take off, at a more moderate Profit. And whether they do not, for what Quantity they do utter, methodize their buying so artificially, to such Times, Conditions, and restrictive Regulations, practising upon the Manufacturer's Necessity, that the poor

X 2

Men

Men lie at the Merchant's Mercy, and their Goods lie so long upon their Hands, 'till they are forced to receive any Rate from the *single Chapman's* Discretion. For, whether it be so or no in this particular, there is that general Malignity in Commerce, that the rich Buyer does set the Dice always upon the necessitous Seller: as in the most plentiful Years of Corn, the Ingrosser never thinks the Market low enough. But a more evident and certain Reason of yours and our consuming for want of Consumption, is the Wars, with which formerly, and of later Years, *Europe* has generally been infested. So that in most Parts thereof, which were usually supplied from you, the People have been much impoverished, and thereby necessitated to be their own Clothiers first, and from thence enabled, Industry increasing, some of them, to furnish their Neighbours. And to this several of your own Subjects have concurred, who either not finding themselves well and easy at home^b, or enticed over by greater Profit, have instructed Foreigners in the whole Mystery of Cloathing, 'till they now have made it a Staple Commodity, and outdo yours for Perfection; and what between their finer and coarser Manufactures, can both oversell and undersell you at any Market; where you too, that were the sole Merchants, do often condescend to be their Chapmen. Thus, by the Reciprocity of human Affairs, that Trade which the Wars, upon the Foreigners Refuge with you, first introduced, is, upon Occasion of the Wars, revolved back again, and the Drapery restored to them in great measure, even by means of your own Subjects.

^b Ch. 46.
§. 4.

Woolen Cloth a Staple Commodity of Foreigners, in which they both oversell and undersell the English.

^c Ch. 94.
§. 15--21.

8. But the grand Spring of this whole Matter lies in *France*. That King is a most vigilant and potent Prince, strong in Arms, in Council, in Treasure, and in People; who measures Justice by his Interest. And accordingly, ever since he manifested himself, and assumed the whole Direction of his own Affairs, he hath made War to all *Europe*: with his Sword, against his Enemies; but against his Friends (and Enemies also) by Traffique^c; which is indeed, as the more just, so the most effectual Way of destroying them. But, among all, none hath, on this latter Account, more suffered than the Subjects of *England*. For besides the Wines, which we purchase at most excessive Rates, and for the most part with pure Money,

Money, (although if it pleased the King and Parliament, there might be more generous Wines, and upon better Terms, imported from *Italy*, and the *Mediterranean*;) and besides those Trinkets, of which we are so fond, and to the making of which the *French* Genius was formerly most adapted; he hath now, for many Years, applied his People to the more solid Trades of Cloth, Silk, and Stuffs; indeed of all things valuable. To this, he hath either wholly prohibited, or, which is tantamount, laid so excessive Impositions upon all *English* Manufactures, that they are in a manner wholly excluded. Well may you in *England* complain of the Death, rather than Deadness of your Manufacture, when from this Cause it receives such an Obstruction, even to Suffocation; when you are not only deprived of that general and gainful Vent you had formerly in *France* itself, but in all other Places where you traffique, you meet the *French* now at every turn; and the foreign Post brings News from all Parts, that they are before you, and have underfold you in the same Commodities*.

France not only prohibits, in effect, English Drapery, but rivals it with their own in all foreign Markets.

9. And to this Disease so mortal, and which it is beyond any private Man to remedy, yourselves do more particularly contribute, by those vast Quantities of Wool which, they tell us here, are daily, and now more than ever transported for *France*, (*a Thing that you always prohibit, but it seems you always tolerate*;) so that, in effect, *Calis* is still no less your Staple, than while it was formerly under the *English* Dominion. I will not excuse ourselves in *Ireland* from the same Crime, although in less Proportion: For wheresoever any Commodity is so pent up, as with us, it will force a Vent one way or other. But you have, as I hear, a *Militia*, that in Defiance of all Authority, convey their Caravans of Wool to the Shallop with such a Strength, that your Officers dare not offend them: while whatsoever we do of that kind, is more modest; and wheresoever it loses its way at Sea, it is first entred for *England*, and pays, as I told you

X 3

* This is to be observed, against what we shall hereafter^d see offered for History on this Head, viz. 'Before the^d Ch. 133: Peace of *Utrecht* we had no Rival in the *Woolen* Manufacture Trade, but the *DUTCH*. §. 1.

you before, both the King's Duty, and that to the Lord Lieutenant for License: so that, as we cannot trade, so neither can we steal with you on equal Terms.

10. Nature has been kind to us, were you so likewise. But you prohibit our Cattle, you restrain our Wool; our Manufacture is intolerable; you forbid our trading with any foreign Commodities in your own Plantations: What we buy there, we must enter in *England*; and before we land it, must make a second and more dangerous Voyage, to pay you double Customs. We are in all things indeed treated by you like, or worse than, Aliens. In the mean time, we pay Quit-Rents, Chimney-Money, Excise, Customs, &c.

11. It would require an exquisite Memory, to tell you of any late Act of State relating to *Ireland*, that hath not, one way or other, turn'd to our Prejudice. And yet, though unhappy, we are constant; nor hath it ever been in your Power to disoblige our Affection, much less our Loyalty.

12. In Conclusion, the same Aspect that *Sicily* has to *Italy*, that, in all Parallels, hath *Ireland* to *England*. Therefore I would humbly advise you, *Brother*, in particular, no more to look upon us (which is the common Error) as a distinct, but as a conjunct, Interest and People; and to do your Part, what we are now rather in Shew, to consolidate us really into your own Substance.

12. Whether you will think fit to reverse your Act against our Cattle, I know not; nor can I answer for the Effect that it would produce. But I have often observed, how gladly Waters that have been diverted, return and fall again into their old Course.

13. That you should make any Act to encourage Manufacture with us, is what can scarce be expected; but I hope you will make none to discourage it. For, as it requires no Physician to tell, that to keep a Man warm is good against a Cold; so I, though no Politician, dare say in general, that it concerns you to use us kindly, and to indulge us in all things that tend to civilize, cultivate, and people this Nation; whereby you will, or may, have, within ten Hours Sail of you, a Plantation worth all those other that weaken you at so great a Distance, while we should always be at hand, and within Call, not more ready to defend ourselves than you, upon the

the first Insult of an Enemy. By how much you have used us to expect less, the less will oblige us. We will allow you easily to make, what we are, younger Brothers of us; only use us as Brethren, not as Slaves. For it is an equal Oppression, to command Men to make Brick without Straw; and where there is both Brick and Straw, to countermand it.

C H A P. LX.

A Treatise of Wool and Cattle, in a Letter written to a Friend, occasioned upon a Discourse concerning the great Abatement of Rents, and low Value of Lands, &c. 1677.

1. **T**HAT our Rents are abated, and that the Value of our Lands are greatly fallen, most Mens Experience sufficiently tells them. For from 20 Years Purchase, the usual Rate, not many Years since, they are now sunk to 18 at the highest; and in some Places, to 16 or 17; and these Estates too, at a low Undervalue. So that if we sum up what 100 Pounds a Year was worth, 30 or 40 Years ago, we shall find that the real Value of our Estates is a third Part less now, than they were then. A hundred Pounds a Year then, would have yielded, viz. at 20 Years Purchase, 2000*l.* Now, there is 20 Pounds a Year at the least, and in many Places 30, Abatement out of 100. To say the least Abatement, 20, there remains but 80; which at the highest Purchase, of 18 Years, comes to 1440*l.* so that here is more than a third Part of the Value lost. This being the Case, let us proceed to examine the Causes.

2. First, the low Price our Wool now bears, which is not worth above 7*d.* * a Pound. The same, a few Years since, was worth 12*d.*; and in the very Height
X 4 of

* The foregoing Writers speak of 5*d.*; which nevertheless might be true, tho' of a different Wool to which they confined their Ideas.

of our War † was worth 16 d. and 18 d. And as the Price of this one Staple Commodity did abate, so we may easily satisfy ourselves, that our Rents did accordingly fall.

3. Secondly, The Irish Act, the Consequences whereof we are something sensible of, tho' not so much as another Age perhaps may be.

Page 7.

4. The Reasons of the low Price of Wool are, 1. The great Quantity of Spanish Wool sold here at very low Rates, made into Cloth, and much worn by ourselves. 2. Consequently not using the Cloth made of our own Wool at home, and in our Plantations. 3. The decaying of the Merchant Adventurers and Hamborough Company. 4. The not making our Cloth of statutable Size and Substance. 5. Lastly, The great Abuses and Cheats put upon our Clothiers by the Brokers and Factors at Blackwell-Hall.

Page 8.

5. If we look back no farther than 1660, the Year of his Majesties Restoration, we shall find that superfine Spanish Wool was sold for 4 s. and 4 s. 4 d. per Pound, and the other Sorts at 3 s. and 3 s. 6 d. And our Wool, at that Time, was sold for 16 d. and 18 d. Now this present Year 1676 *, the superfine Spanish Wool is not worth above 2 s. or 2 s. 2 d. and ours not above 7 d. † or 8 d. So that in 16 Years Time, our Wool is fallen the

† I suppose he means the Civil Wars; but as it is easy to mistake, at such a Distance of Time, a few Years, I rather suppose it to have been, a little after the Height of the Civil Wars, viz. in 1647, or between 1650, and the Restoration, as according to other Accounts we have met with, in reference to the Price of Wool in those two Periods. (See also §. 5.)

* This Tract was licensed March 28. 1677.

† The Reader will be pleased to observe here, as a Fact, That when English Wool in England sold at a high Price, Spanish Wool was dear; and that when English Wool, in England, was cheap, that of Spain was cheap also. The Inference to be made from it, is what I shall mention presently; in the mean while, N. B. (for it is very material to be observed) English Wool, in England, sold, in the Year (1660) for 16 d. and 18 d. per Pound. So that the very same Reason (a Dearth of Wool) which had induced † the Ordinance

† Ch. 56. §. 12. Note. of Parliament (1647) against exporting Wool; and which occasioned

the one half, or more. And so long as Spanish Wool is sold at this low Rate, it is not likely that ours can advance.

6. If

occasioned an Attempt in Parliament to prevent the Exportation of Scotch & Woods (anno 1652) concurred also to the procuring of the Act (12 Car. II. c. 32.) against exporting Wool, &c. Ch. 40. §. 19. Note.

Now, in regard to what this Writer has mentioned, concerning the Price, in England, of both Spanish and English Wools, at different Periods; it is a Key to let us into the true principal Reason of the Rise and Fall of English Wools, in England, from Time to Time; by which the same may be accounted for in a manner more uniform, and, I am persuaded, nearer to the real Truth of Things, than what has commonly been observed on this Head.

The Price of English Wool, in England, and the foreign Vent or Demand for English Woolen Manufacture, as the two most generally interesting and important Articles, have always been the great Topics of Discourse in this kind. And we have been apt, from the Price that English Wool has at any time bore in England, to measure the State, at that Time, of the Trade (as it is commonly expressed) in plain Words, of the English Exportation of Woolen Goods. But this, I shall shew^h, is a very uncertain, fallacious Way^h of judging, as the Law stands, and has stood from the Restoration. Nor is the Quantity of Wool clandestinely exported, a more certain Gage to the Price of English Wool in England. It has been very cheap, under an Excess of this kind, as, particularly, at this very Period (1677.) And it has been at a much higher Price, under much the same Circumstances of clandestine Exportation (as will be shewn) in the Reign of King William¹, and in the Beginning of Queen Anne^k, and in the Year 1717^l, and probably in 1743^m. The Case being so; if it be asked, How then are we to account for the different Prices of the same English Wools, in England, under the same Circumstances, only at different Periods? I answer: There may be many lesser collateral Causes for its being somewhat dearer, or cheaper, at one Period, than at another: And prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, is one constant general Cause of its being ALWAYS below its natural intrinsic Worth, according to the general Mart of Europe.

This is but agreeable to that unerring Rule of Mr. Lockeⁿ, n Locke, ' All things that are bought and sold, raise and fall their Price, in proportion as there are more Buyers and Sellers. ' When there are a great many Sellers to a few Buyers, there,

Ch. 176. P. S.

Ch. 142. N° 1.

N° 2. §. 1, 7.

Ch. 113. §. 3. Note.

Ch. 171. N° 6, 7.

vol. 2. p. 20.

6. If some Duty, or Custom, were laid upon it, his Majesty, by this means, would receive a good Addition to his Revenue, and our own Wool be brought to a considerable Price. *For Prohibitions do not so well answer their Intention, as the laying on of Duties, more or less, according*

‘ there, use what Art you will, the Thing will be cheap. ‘ On the other side, turn the Tables, and raise up a great ‘ many Buyers for a few Sellers, and the same thing will ‘ immediately grow dear.’

Thus is the Prohibition plainly a dead Weight upon the Price of *English* Wool, in *England*, beyond what lies upon any other Wool, or even upon any natural Produce of the Universe besides (the Spice Islands excepted.) Nevertheless, as, at any Time, the Market rises for other Wools, in all other Parts, they do buoy up the Price of *English* Wool, in *England*; and as they fall, it subsides; only *English* Wool, in *England*, being heavier loaded than the rest, and more entangled with prohibitory Laws, it is, *cæteris paribus*, first on ground, and floats last. In this, and only in this way, it may be accounted for (which, I find, to be the Case as often as I have had an Opportunity of observing) that *English* and *Spanish* Wool, in *England*, are in some Proportion dearer, or cheaper, at the same time. Nor is, what has here been said concerning the Price of *English* Wool, in *England*, being constantly below its natural Value in all other Markets, any way unconsonant to Reason. We may easily represent to ourselves the Truth thereof, by supposing (which would be a parallel Case) that the Wools of *Lincolnshire* (of which there is great Store, and which, above all other *English* Wools, are most fit for what is called the *Norwich Trade*) might only be purchased by *Norwich* Combers, who, nevertheless, should have the Liberty of purchasing *combing* Wools likewise from any other Parts of the Kingdom besides. In such Case, tho’ the *Lincolnshire* Wools would rise and fall, in some degree, with the Rise, and Fall, of all the other *English* Markets for Wool in general; yet, would not the *Lincolnshire* Price of the Wool of that County, be less, think we, comparatively, than of all other *English* Wools in *England*? And would not the *Lincolnshire* *Grasiers* think themselves very hardly dealt with? And would not the Land-owners of that County be Sufferers by such a Measure? And would not the Tenants, for the sake of a better Price; or, which comes to the same thing, some Jobbers, or Merchants; in short, Smuglers, Owlars, for uncommon Gain, risk the *stealing* a Share of this Wool, to some other Market than that of *Norwich*?

according to the Case*. To instance in the *Irish Act*: If a Duty had been laid, so much a Head for a Bullock, and so much for a Sheep, instead of prohibiting them, we had not only continued still our Trade and Commerce with them, but his Majesty had received, ere this, many a thousand Pounds for his Custom.

7. But here it is objected, that the *Dutch*, and others, would undersell us where *Spanish* Cloth is a Commodity; and besides, the *Spaniard* would take it ill. The *Dutch* indeed lose no Advantages. But they do already make as much Cloth, as their Number of Hands will permit. The Sorts they make are mostly black, and many of them sold here, which I hope may be remedied; but for the *Medlies* †, I suppose they make but few. Page 10. Page 11.

For

* This Observation is right in the general, and deserves especial Notice, although I think our Author is not quite happy in the Choice of his Instance, *viz.* *Spanish* Wool. But applying it to the Case of *English* Wool: A Distinction is to be made, between the Thing pretended, and designed. In prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of *English* Wool, it is pretended to prevent its being exported. But long Experience tells us, that the Means are incompetent to the End; and a very little Consideration, I think, will inform us, that the laying on of a Duty will answer that End much more effectually. The more acute Part of the Traders, would they speak sincerely, are, I doubt not, fully apprized of this. But there is another End designed by them, in prohibiting the Exportation of Wool absolutely, which the laying on of a Duty would not answer; that is, the bringing down, and keeping low, the Price of Wool. The Reader is pretty well informed by this Time, that it was the Dearness of Wool, which was the original Cause of the Prohibition; and therefore no doubt but it was designed, by such Prohibition, to abate the Price of it; and accordingly the Price of Wool was thereby abated. And the more Opportunities we shall have of making our Observations critically, the more we shall be convinced of this Truth, That prohibiting the Exportation of Wool will not prevent its being exported; but it will abate the Price of it.

§ 5. Note.

† These Cloths differ nothing from others, as to the Materials, which are finer, or coarser. But whereas Cloths of one Colour are dyed in the Piece; these being of different Colours, the Wool is first dyed, some of one Colour, some of another; and are then mixed; whence they have the Name of *Medlies*.

For the *French*, and others with whom we trade for them, cannot be furnished by any other Nation in the World, but by us. So that if we raise the Price of them, we shall not be underfold by the *Dutch*.

8. The *Spaniard* can receive no Damage. For if we buy it not, and the *Dutch* do, we only lose our Trade: But if we only make this Cloth, and the *French*, and others, cannot buy it but of us, then they must pay the Duty laid upon *Spanish* Wool.

Page 12. 9. But a second Cause of this great Abatement of the Price of *English* Wool is, our wearing so much *Spanish* Cloth ourselves, and a great Part of that not manufactured by ourselves, as *Dutch* Blacks, &c. So that if any object to a Duty on *Spanish* Wool, I hope they will give us Leave to enjoin our own People to wear our own Manufacture, made of our own Wool. And if this Consumption at home be added to that Trade, we have yet left abroad, we shall soon find an Increase in the Price of our Wool.

Page 16. 10. A third Cause of the great Abatement in the Price of our Wool may be this, viz. the decaying Condition of the *Merchant Adventurers*, and the *Hamborough Companies*. And upon Enquiry it may possibly appear, that a great deal of this proceeds from ourselves, and admits of Regulation; as also from Abuses, in not making Cloth of that Size and Substance which the Law directs; and more particularly from the Cheats and Abuses of the *Blackwell-Hall Factors*, a Sort of People not heard of before the Beginning of the late Rebellion; from low Circumstances at first, now come to be worth

Page 17. 5 and 10,000*l.* a Man; while many of the lower Rank of Clothiers daily break, and run away; those Men by their Wiles and Tricks creeping into their Estates. For they have brought the Trade to that pass, there shall not be a Cloth sold in a Market-Day at *Blackwell-Hall* by many of our Clothiers, if these Men have not the selling of it; and it would grieve a Man's Heart, to see how harmlessly the poor Clothier waits at the Heels of the Factor, all the Day long, whither he pleases to lead him.

Page 18. 11. So that as the Manufacture of our Cloth is now managed wholly by private Interests and Designs, were our Trade abroad never so good, it is not probable (lying

ing in such Hands) it should be restored to its ancient Credit and Esteem, and therefore begs to be freed from this great *Monopoly*; that what honest Profit can be made thereof, may redound to him who only deserves it; to the Encouragement of that Manufacture, which must help the Price of our Wool, which must help the Advancement of our Rents, &c. and not the lazy Factor, who sucks the Gains from the honest Clothier through the Heart of himself, his Family, and all the Poor therein employed.

12. The *Woolen* Manufacture, by this means, being Page 19. once more retrieved, let the *Aulnage Office* have a Whet, and be strictly look'd into, that they should not only receive their Fees, but do their Duty, that we may rightly know, how far short our *English* Cloth will come to the *Spanish*, when well and truly made.

13. Suppose there was a Company of Merchants, by Page 21. Patent or Charter, to buy up in *Spain* every Year's Growth of the *Spanish* Wool, and thence transport as *See* much of it as should be thought proper, subject to a Duty, Ch. 39. ty, Where would the Inconvenience be? The *Spaniard* §.10. Note. could receive no Prejudice by it; we should, by this Page 22. Means, rather advance the Price of their Wool than abate it. For the *Hollanders*, I suppose we should make no Scruple of getting the Trade from them. For this Cloth Trade is our ancient Right, and did always ^a be-^a *See* long to our Nation; and no other People in the World Vol. I. could in reason pretend to the Manufacture, the Staple p. 184. growing upon our own Soil. And since there is now ^{Note.} another Sort of Wool started up within these few Years, which proves to the Prejudice of ours, I see no Reason why we should not, if we can, compass to make both our own, and that too*.

C H A P.

* I shall not pursue this Writer further, having given, I conceive, a sufficient Specimen, in this last Section, of his little Knowledge in History, upon this Subject, and of his wild and weak Way of reasoning about it.

C H A P. LXI.

Extract from a Dialogue between a Clothier, a Woolen Draper, and a Country Yeoman, at Supper upon the Road; taken out of a Book, intituled, England's Improvement, &c.

By Andrew Yarranton, *Gent.* 1677.

- i. **D**R. What News from London, old Friend?
 2. **Cl.** No News, but the old News; a bad Trade still.
 3. **Dr.** It is impossible it should be otherwise; for you Clothiers, and we Drapers, are both betwixt one and the same Pair of Mill-stones.
 4. **Cl.** What do you mean by that, Friend?
 5. **Dr.** Why, do you not know? I mean, the *Factors, Drawers, and Packers* are now turned Merchants, and the Trade is ruined by them. Formerly it was you *Clothiers*, and we *Drapers*; and now it is another thing.
 6. **Cl.** Indeed, Sir, you say true; it is so, and I have been often thinking of it, and speaking too, as loud as I durst, to my Neighbour *Smith* concerning it.
 7. **Dr.** What do you mean by saying you speak as loud as you durst? Are you afraid of them?
 8. **Cl.** Indeed, Sir, they are now become to us, as the Lawyer is to his Client; we dare not say what we know.
 9. **Dr.** Why? I know you are a rich Man, and need not fear; and by telling the Truth you may relieve many a Man, and do good to the Trade.
 10. **Cl.** I would be willing to do what Good lieth in my Power; but Men of our Trade are so much divided, and the poorer Sort are so afraid of the Factors, if they should offer to relieve themselves, and seek out any other Way, the Factors would join Stock together, and set up our Trade in some other Place, and so undo our Town.

11. **Dr.**

11. **Dr.** No, that's impossible; surely no Men will be so base; especially those that have been your Servants.

12. **Cl.** But what I say, is true; it has been done at *Kidderminster* in *Worcestershire*.

13. **Dr.** Well, old Friend, I do believe you; for *Kidderminster* Factors have spoiled the Weavers and the Upholsters Trade; as our *Blackwell-Hall* Factors have spoiled your Trade, and ours.

14. **Countryman.** Gentlemen, I understand you are discoursing of your Trade of making Cloth, and selling Cloth; as I have clubbed with you for Supper, so, I pray, let me club a little with you in Discourse; for I am as highly concerned in the Thing you discourse of, as you are. And I heard at the *Rainbow-Coffee-House*, that the People in and near *London*, have of late Years lent about 100,000*l.* without Interest, for four Years, to be employed in the Woolen Manufacture near *Clonmell* in *Ireland*; and by the Strength of that Money to carry away our People out of the *West* of *England* to *Ireland*, and there make Cloth and Stuffs; and when made, then carried to *Spain, France, Holland, Germany*.

15. **Dr.** There are a certain Number of Persons, who, they say, have employed some such Sum, as is spoken of, to set up the Woolen Manufacture in *Ireland*; and indeed I remember, now 'tis mentioned, to have heard of their taking over many People (out of the *West* of *England*) and sending Cloth and Stuffs, when made, to *Holland* and *Germany*, and also Wool and Beef therewith.

C H A P. LXII.

The ancient Trades decayed, repaired again, &c. By a Country Tradesman, 1678.

- i. **I** Begin with the Clothing Trade, or Woolen Manufacture, as the chief, and which therefore ought to be encouraged in the first place. For if it be so, as doubtless it is, that God hath given to every Country some

Page 2.

Page 3. some particular Commodity, that is not to be had any where else; so that none may boast, but that every Country must be beholden unto another for something that they have not; then certainly it must be this that is the Commodity of *England*; because God hath not only given us Wool in abundance that makes Cloth, but also another necessary Material^s, viz. *Fuller's Earth*; without which this Commodity is not to be made, and (as they say) is not to be found any where else, but in this Land; which is a clear Demonstration, that it is the Use of our Wool that is the special Talent, which God hath put into our Hands to improve. And for want of such Improvement it is, that God hath in a great measure taken this Trade from us, and given it to a People more industrious than we are.

Ch. 84.
§. 15.

2. Now 'tis granted by all Men; that the Transportation of Wool is one Hinderance to the Clothing Trade; for hereby there is not only Cloth made of our Wool, which might have been made by our own People, but by mixing our Wool with the Wool of other Countries; there is almost twice as much Cloth^t made, as otherwise there could be; for without the Help of our Wool, there could be no ordinary low-priced Cloth made, which is the Affortment that is mostly used, there being a far greater Number who wear this, than there are who wear any finer Sort; and by this means it is, that our *English* Cloth is so great a Drug in all Places, as now it is. And unless we can keep our Wool and Fuller's Earth from being transported, that so it may be wrought up by our own People, the Trade can never be good again in *England*. Indeed there have been many Ways thought of to prevent this Mischiefe; all which having proved ineffectual, I shall therefore suggest what may be thought profitable in this Case.

See
Ch. 58.
§. 15. Note.

3. 1st, That all Persons that live within six Miles of the Sea, round from Newcastle to Bristol, should be enjoined by a Law, to sell all their Wool at a Market; and in Default thereof, should be liable to a Penalty.

2d, That these Markets be six or seven Miles from the Sea side.

3d, That all Persons that are allowed to buy at these Markets, should be enjoined to give Security, viz. their own Bond and Oath, that they will either use it themselves,
or

or not sell it again within six or seven Miles of the Sea. That every one taking this Oath shall have a Certificate of the same. And he that shall buy at any of these Markets, before he hath this Certificate, shall be liable to a Penalty.

4. Because the Law is a little short in this, therefore it is proposed, 1. If any Wool should be taken in any Creek, or Corner, by the Sea side ready to be shipped. 2. If any Wool should be taken within six Miles of the Sea, driving towards the same, after such an Hour in the Evening, or before such an Hour in the Morning. 3. If any Wool shall be at any time driving towards the Sea side in the Day-time, and within six or seven Miles of the same, it shall be lawful for any one to cause the Person that doth drive it, to be examined by a Justice of the Peace, &c. 4. If any Person, or Persons, shall see any of our *English* Wools unloading out of any Ship beyond the Sea, or can by any means get the Knowledge thereof, so as to testify it upon Oath; that in this Case, if ever the said Ship, or Ship-Master, should return to *England*, they should be liable, &c. 5. That all Merchants that shall traffick beyond Sea, and all Captains of Men of War, and all Ship-Masters, with their Matès and Pursers, and every common Sailor, do take this Oath, and give this Security, and do receive a Certificate hereof; and in Default thereof to be liable, &c. Likewise all Merchants that are Strangers, and all Ship-Masters that are Strangers, before they break Bulk, or take in fresh Water, &c. 6. It would be necessary to add also, that all Persons living within six or seven Miles of the Sea should take this Oath. 7. That a very good Part of the Forfeiture should be given to him; that shall discover the same. 8. That it may be lawful for the Clothiers, in several Places of the Kingdom, to hire any one to see that these Laws are put in Execution in all the Parts of this Realm.

5. Now if every one of these Particulars was made into a Law, I cannot understand but that they might be easily executed, and that they would effect the thing desired, were it not for two *English* Islands, viz. *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, that do live upon the Trade of knitting *Worsted* Stockins, &c. And for this Reason, the Law tolerateth several hundred Tods of Wool to be transported thither; under which Pretence, it is to be feared, that many hundred Tods are transported into *France*. And what

what to do in this Particular more than hath been suggested, and what is already done, by the Law, I cannot tell. Therefore it would be happy for this Kingdom, if they could be put upon some other Employment, viz. in Silk and Flax, which might not be improper for them.

Page 10.

6. [But suppose all this, and more, to be done in favour of the English Woolen Manufacture,] and that the Clothier hath taken all the Care and Pains that possibly he can, to make his Cloth both cheap and good; yet when he cometh to sell it, he cannot do it himself, the Factor having got this Business wholly into his Hands*. Now by this means the Cloth is not only sold for less many times than can be afforded, (that so the Factor might have his Salary) but they are also put to unnecessary Charge. Instead of being sold in the Market at Blackwell-Hall, the Cloths are sent home to the Buyer. And the Factor will, at any time, send as many more Cloths as he hath Occasion to buy, and under Pretence they are disheartened †, will force the Clothier to pay three or four Shillings a Piece for new pressing.

Page 11.

7. And so likewise they will sell for what Time they please, detaining the Clothiers Money as long as they please †. And hence it is, there can be no poor Clothiers follow the Trade, that hath not a Stock to lie in the Factor's Hands, which hath occasioned very great Confusion in many other Trades, as well as this.

8. Now

* ' For formerly, when the Clothiers left the Cloth with them to sell, allotting to them a certain Price; yet notwithstanding, they would many times abate Two-pence or Three-pence in a Yard, which the Clothier would not have done, had he sold it himself. Now so soon as the Buyers perceived this, they would buy of none but the Factor. And hence it is, they have usurped the sole Power of selling the Clothiers Cloth, both for what Price, and for what Time, and to whom they please; in neither of which Particulars they will be limited.'

† Disordered by Drapers opening them for View.

† ' For he shall not know to whom it is sold; or if he does, he is no better; for without the Factor's Consent, they will not pay the Clothier one Farthing, saying, they have had nothing to do with him.'

8. Now to redress this great Mischief to the Clothing Trade, these following Particulars would be necessary to be offered*.

9. And then there is another Inconvenience, that the Clothier doth meet with, which is this, viz. that many times after the Buyer hath bought the Cloth at a Price, and caused it to be sent out of the Hall, to his own House, he hath pretended some Fault to be in the Cloth, and unless the Clothier will yield to abate what he would have him, he must have his Cloth again, which hath often been a great Vexation to a Clothier †.

Y 2

10. Now

* ' That no Clothier or Serge-maker, or any one that makes any Commodity of English Wool, be allowed, either they themselves, or their Factors, to sell the same any where in London, but in Blackwell-Hall only. Ch. 78. §. 1. Note.

2. ' That when the Factor doth sell any Clothier's Cloth, that he be obliged to give the Buyer a Bill, of the Name of the Person, and of the Place where he liveth, whose Cloth he hath sold.

3. ' That notwithstanding the Factor's selling of the Clothier's Cloth, yet the Buyer should be Debtor to the Clothier, whose Cloth it is, and not to the Factor, who sold the Cloth; and in Default of Payment, should be liable to be sued by the said Clothier.

4. ' That if the Factor do sell the Cloth for less Money than was set him by the Clothier, or should trust any Person without the Clothier's particular Consent to the trusting of that particular Person, that, in that Case, the Factor should be Debtor to the Clothier for the full Value of the Cloth, in the same manner as if it was his proper Debt.

5. ' To the end that the Clothier might always know the Time when his Cloth is sold, and to whom, it would be necessary that there were a Register in the Hall, wherein might be entered the Time when the Cloth was sold, the Factor's Name that sold it, the Clothier's Name and Place of abode, whose Cloth it is which is sold, and also the Buyer's Name, and Place of abode, that hath bought it. And in this, and all other Charges, they observe a Mediocrity.'

† ' Others there are, who have very much abused the Clothier, by exacting unreasonable Measure; and to this end, many have used indirect Ways, as the having that Abomination of, a Yard, and a Yard. Nay, sometimes they have put the Cloth into a Tub of Water, and after this they have griped the Clothier exceedingly in the Measure.'

Page 13. 10. Now it may be supposed, that if this Order † were observed, it would prevent this Inconvenience to the Clothier for the future.

Page 14. 11. After all this, the Exportation of Cloth will want to be promoted; for herein we are very much hindered by the *Dutch* *, and much more by the *French* †.

12. This

† *Viz.* 1. That his Cloth being sealed with the Town Seal where it is made, the sworn Aulnager should also measure every Man's Cloth as it cometh out of the Mill, which Measure might be expressed upon the Seal. Now the Cloth having this Seal annexed to it, and being bought in the Market, and sent out of the same, at a Price agreed upon; that in this Case, the Buyer should be obliged to have this Cloth so bought. 2. That if the Cloth thus sealed, should in reality be faulty, the Clothier should not abate, but the Aulnager be punished.

Ch. 34. §. 1. Chap. 84. §. 15.

* 'Who do make Cloth themselves, and sell it in those Places, where we should sell ours. But could we keep our Wool and Fuller's Earth from them, we should speedily prevent them. And it would be necessary that there should be an high Impost upon all fine Cloth that shall be imported.'

† 'The *French* do far more unkindly with us than the *Dutch*, because of the latter we take little, but of the other, as is related by Mr. *Fortrey*, we do take so much of their Wines, Linens and Silks, that the Excess of these Commodities imported to us, is as much as cometh to 1600,000 *l.* more than our Commodities re-exported unto them; for which we do pay them ready Money. And had not the *French* King found it to be true upon Examination, he would have prohibited all our Commodities to have been brought into his Kingdom. Wherefore he only laid a great Impost upon the same; which is a *French* Crown upon an Ell and Nail.

Ch. 44.

'It being then a manifest Truth, that we do take off so much of their Commodities to the great Wrong and Prejudice of our own Weavers and Tradesmen in *London* and *Canterbury*; it is very hard Measure that they will take little or nothing of ours, especially seeing that this they have done formerly, and should they wear our Woolen Manufacture as they have done heretofore, that Country would be sufficient to take off almost as much as could be made in *England*.

'Therefore it would be necessary to take the same Measures to beat them out of their Trade with us, as they have done to beat us out of our Trade with them.'

12. This Trade is very much hindered by our own People, in wearing many foreign Commodities instead of our own, as might be instanced in many Particulars. To remedy this, it would be necessary to lay a very high Impost upon all such Commodities *.

13. The *Irish* Act that prohibits the Importation of their lean Cattle doth greatly hinder Trade, in that the
Y 3 Money

* *An Act for raising Money by a Poll, 20, 30 Car. II. c. 1.* To this a Clause was tacked, for prohibiting the Importation of any *French* Commodities, for three Years. *And this Clause will be found to have given quite a new Turn, with much Advantage, to the Trade of England; so that*

THIS YEAR, MDCLXXVIII, is to be looked upon as a remarkable *ÆRA* of the *English* Commerce.

As the Woolen Trade of *England* had been in a progressive State, from *Edw. III.* to *Queen Eliz.*; and from the End of the Reign of *Queen Eliz.* to this Time, had suffered a *DECLENSION*, though not without some intermediate Fluctuations: so, from this *Prohibition of Commerce* with *FRANCE*, are we to date its *REVOLUTION*; and, allowing for some temporary, less discernible Ebbings and Flowings, its Progress and gradual Increase, even to this Time.

And as the far greatest Decay in the *English* Woolen Trade had happened between the Restoration (1660), and this Year (1678); and that by means of the *French* Impositions on the *English* Drapery; (which amounted to a Prohibition), and through the great Infatuation of the *English* Court at the same time, and of the People of *England*, after their Example, in giving into the Use and Wearing of all *French* Product and Manufacture whatsoever, even to their *Woolens* (*Druggets* || especially) which was so much to || Ch. 55. §. 3. the Discouragement of the Home-Consumption of Home- Manufactures, (which is their principal Market) and to the Chap. 51. Trade with other Nations, willing to deal with *England* for §. 10. their *Woolens*, upon the Foot of Exchange; but, upon other Terms, neither willing, nor able: so it is to the Reverse of these Measures, commencing *ann.* 1678, that we are to ascribe an happy Revival of *English* Manufacture and Commerce; but which Measures did not begin to have their full Effect, till *England* was wholly emancipated from *FRANCE*, by the Accession of King *WILLIAM* of *Immortal Memory*, in all respects, under *GOD*, the *Great and Glorious Deliverer* of this *NATION*. (See Chap. 72. §. 1. Note. Chap. 100. §. 13. Chap. 103. §. 6. Note.)

Money that was made of them was returned in Commodities. All, both Gentlemen, Tradesmen, and Countrymen, are injured by it.

C H A P. LXIII.

Commune Concilium tentum in Camera Guild-Hall Civitatis London die Jovis, viceffimo Die Junii Anno Domini 1678, Annoq; Regni Domini nostri CAROLI Secundi, nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. Tricesfimo, *Francisco Chaplin* Militæ, Majore Civitatis London, *Jobanne Frederick* Milit', *Willielmo Turner* Milit', *Georgio Waterman* Milit', *Jofepbo Sheldon* Milit', *Thomas Davis* Milit', *Jacobo Edwards* Milit', *Patientia Ward* Milit', *Joanne Moore* Milit', *Henrico Tulfè* Milit', *Jacobo Smith* Milit', *Nathaniel Herne* Milit', *Roberto Geffrey* Milit', & *Thoma Gold* Milit' Aldermannis, nec non majore Parte Communiariorum de communi Concilio ejusdem Civitatis tunc & ibidem Affemblat.

An Act for Regulation of Blackwell-Hall, Leaden-Hall, and the Welch-Hall, and for preventing of foreign buying and selling.*

1. **W**Hereas by ancient Customs and Usages within this City, all Woolen Broad Cloths, &c. made, or wrought within this Kingdom of England, or Dominions

* By Foreigners, are here to be understood Persons not free of the City of London.

Dominions of the fame, and brought to this City and Liberties (for the greater discouraging the making Sale of unlawful Wares, and for avoiding all corrupt, undue, and clandestine Bargains and Contracts concerning the Commodities aforementioned) have been, or ought to have been brought to *Blackwell-Hall*, *Leaden-Hall*, or the *Welch-Hall*, or to such other common Market-Place, or Places, as for that Purpose were, or should, from Time to Time, be appointed, and thither brought, and there only, and not elsewhere, searched and sold, (the Owners thereof paying for such Liberty and Privilege of Hallage, and other Duties for the Relief of the poor Children of *Christ's* Hospital*.)

2. And whereas to obviate all Evasions, the various Acts and Ordinances heretofore made, have not attained their End: Be it therefore enacted, That all such by this Act be repealed. And be it further enacted, That all *Essex* Cloths, *Suffolk* Cloths, &c. except *Norwich* and *Canterbury* Stuffs, be brought unto, pitched and harboured in, *Leaden-Hall*; there to remain 'till they be entered, and the Duties of Hallage, herein after mentioned, paid, or agreed and secured to be paid for the same; which Entry of the said Cloths, or other Woolen Manufactures, brought or to be brought, as aforesaid, to the said Hall, shall be immediately made after such bringing the said Commodities to the said Hall, upon Pain that every Person that shall offend herein shall forfeit, &c. Which Cloth, &c. or any of them, shall not thence be removed to any other Place out of this City or Liberties thereof, 'till after the three first Market Days of their being brought to the said Market, unless sold in the mean time, or removed and carried to be sold in any other Market, without the Liberties of this City.

Y 4

3. And

* "The *Flemings* were the first [in the Northern Parts of Europe] that became Traders in Manufactures, 'till the many prejudicial or hurtful *Laws* of the *Halls*, which at first were framed on the Pretence of preventing Deceit, and the debasing of Commodities, but were, in truth, intended to fix [a Monopoly of] those Manufactures to the Cities."

De Witt's Maxims, &c. Chap. 11.

3. And it is hereby enacted and declared, That all other Sorts of Broad Cloths, and all other, &c. &c. made or mix'd with Wool, or with Cotton Wool, which shall be brought to the City of London, be brought unto, pitched and harboured in, Blackwell-Hall, and the Welch-Hall, or one of them, there to remain 'till they be enter'd, and their Duties of Hallage herein after mentioned, paid, or agreed and secured to be paid for the same, &c. not to be removed 'till after three Market Days, unless sold in the mean while, or bought before by some Draper, or other Freeman of the City (not a Factor) by Pre-contract with the Clothier, or in small Quantity by such Pre-contract of private Persons for their own particular Use, or except having received Damage by Wet, or otherwise, they shall require new Dying, &c. in order to Sale.

4. Further, That no Person, free or not free of this City, shall buy or sell, or barter any of the aforesaid, within the City or Liberties thereof, except in Blackwell-Hall, Leaden-Hall, or Welch-Hall respectively.

5. Further, That no Factor or Broker of Blackwell-Hall, although a Freeman of the City, so long as he is in the Capacity of a Broker or Factor, shall buy any of the said Cloths, &c. at the Markets aforesaid, unless they be Cloths which he himself doth not sell, and unless they be transported beyond Sea upon his own Account.

6. And be it further enacted, That the Hall-Keepers of every the Halls aforesaid, for the Time being, shall every Market Day, during Market-time, attend in their respective Markets, in their Gowns, and hinder all Foreigners and Aliens from coming into the said Markets; and if any such Foreigner, or Alien, shall presume to come into the said Markets, or any of them, to buy or inspect into any Commodities aforesaid, then the said Hall-Keepers respectively shall turn such Foreigner, or Alien, out of the said Markets, and shall not suffer him again to enter thereinto, during Market-time aforesaid, upon Pain that every Hall-Keeper that shall fail in his Duty, shall forfeit, &c.

7. And be it further enacted, That every Freeman of this City that shall introduce any Foreigner, or Stranger, into any of the aforesaid Markets, to buy, or make Inspection into the aforesaid Commodities, shall, for his first

first Offence, forfeit 5 l. for his second 10 l. for his third 20 l. And if he, after that, be convicted of offending in like manner, he shall be utterly disfranchised, and not re-admitted, but by Order and Consent of Common-Council.

8. And for further preventing the colouring of Foreigners Goods, by Factors selling of the aforesaid Commodities within the said Markets, to Foreigners, or for their Use; be it enacted, That every Factor who shall, after the Publication of this Act, sell any of the Commodities aforesaid to any Foreigner, or Foreigners, or for his or their Use, (except to such Persons as by Act of Parliament are allowed) that every such Factor so selling the same, shall forfeit, &c.

9. And whereas it is found by Experience, that thro' Neglect of Clerks, &c. great Quantities are bought frequently up in those Markets, by Foreigners, foreign Merchants and their Agents; be it therefore, &c.

C H A P.

P. S. I think the Text of this extraordinary Act of Common-Council is too plain, to need any Comment. I d Ch. 9. shall therefore only subjoin here an ancient Imperial Decree, §. 14. Note. which is not altogether foreign to the Case.

De Monopoliis & Conventu Negotiatorum illicito.

Si quis Monopolium ausus fuerit exercere, bonis pro-Codicis priis exspoliatus perpetuitate damnetur exilii. Ceterarum Justinian. præterea professionum Primates, si in posterum, aut super lib. 4. taxandis rerum pretiis, aut super quibuslibet illicitis placit. 59. citis ausi fuerint convenientes hujusmodi sese pactis constringere, quadraginta librarum auri solutione percelli decernimus.

C H A P. LXIV.

An Account of the French Usurpation upon the Trade of England, &c. In a Letter. By J. B. 1679.

Page 3.

1. **T**HE most Christian King hath set up the *East* and *West-Indian* Trades, and hath engaged in them most of the rich Gentry and Nobility of that Kingdom, and hath armed them with ample Privileges, Powers and Immunities; and hath erected several other trading Companies: and certainly he hath hereby laid a Foundation of a greater Empire than ever was in *Charlemaine*.

2. By his Moneys and Privileges he draweth most of the best Workmen and Artifts out of the other Parts of *Europe* into *France*, and the Materials too; when they are there manufactured, they make a *Mittimus*, and send them into the Countries from whence they came. But if any from thence be imported into *France*, they are seized upon, being forbidden Goods, as they pretend; or else so incumbered with Duties by them, that *Europe* can have no Profit or Encouragement to trade with *France*.

Page 4.

3. How the Balance of Trade stands between *England* and *France*, is worthy of your grave Consideration. ^e Ch. 62. The Parliament^e, with great Wisdom and Judgment, §. 12. *Note*. hath prohibited *England* all Trade or Commerce with *France*.

Page 11.

The Woolen Drapery, which formerly was our Glory, and brought much Riches to us, and employed not fewer than 700,000 Hands, must be encouraged. It's to be feared, that of late, not one third Part of the Wool, which is growing in this Nation, is consumed in that Manufacture; but it is sent over to our Neighbours; and they buying most of the Wool growing in *Ireland*, they have almost gotten the Manufacture from us, and we undone; the Prices of Wool being so low (the Manufacture failing) that if People did not send it beyond Seas, they would not, in many Places, be able to pay half their Rents, Wool falling in Value, as much as Land.

4. It

4. It was an Observation of the Lord^e *Burleigh*, that^e *See* if Wool fell *One Shilling* in the Stone, it's a *Million a* Chap. 65. *Year Loss* to this Nation. If this Observation be true, I pray consider how much this Nation hath lost, and how much we may suffer, ere we can recover our Manufacture and Trade again.

5. The late Statute || for burying in Woolen, if duly put in Execution, will consume much of our Wool, and || 18 *Car. 2.* preserve the Linen Cloth for making of Paper, which c. 4. will save this Nation some hundred thousand Pounds a Year.

6. For want of Employment, many of our Weavers Page 12. go over into *France*, to whom that King gives great Privilege and Countenance; their Friends here send them over Wool; and the Manufacture, in a little time, will follow after.

7. All Commodities to be manufactured here in *Eng-* Page 21. *land*, are to be made without Deceit, which will give a Value to them; and they are so to be ordered, that they may be sold as cheap as possibly we can; for it's found by Experience, that we being able to sell our Cloth in *Turky* cheaper than the *Venetians*, we have thereby yearly increased the Vent thereof; and the *Venetians* have lost as much of their Utterance in those Countries, because it's dearer.

8. The manufacturing of any Commodity doth re- Page 22. dound more to the Profit of the Commonwealth, than the Commodity itself, therefore it ought to be favoured. There is five * times more Profit by the manufacturing of Wool, than by the Wool itself; compare the Wool of *England* with its Cloth.

9. [*Could the Power of France be retrenched,*] In the Page 23. Woolen Drapery, so many Persons will be employed, that we shall not only consume the Wool growing in *England*, but that of *Ireland* too; and so by Consequence we must drive the Trade of the World, as to that Manufacture, and have *our own Prices* for it; and our Neighbours being not supplied with any Wool from us, their Manufacture will fail; the greatest Part of those Persons

* The *British Merchant* (Vol. 2. p: 400.) computes the Medium of the Labour at three times the Value of the Wool.

Persons employed by them, will, for want of Employment, come over into *England*. All our Ports and Sea Towns will be full of Ships and Men. Our Fishery and Woolen Drapery will fully freight us out, and in Return bring us the Riches of the World. *London* will be the *Emporium* and great Mart of *Europe* for all Commodities whatsoever.

C H A P. LXV.

A Dissertation upon a supposed Saying of Lord BURLEIGH.

^b Ch. 64. §. 4.

1. THE foregoing Writer tells us^h, *It was an Observation of the Lord Burleigh, 'That if Wool fell one Shilling in the Stone, it's a MILLION a Year Loss to this Nation.'* This perhaps will be rejected, as mere Tradition, not to be depended upon for Truth, nor greatly to be regarded, altho' it could be proved that he said it.

2. That *Lord Burleigh* had a proper Regard to the *Price of Wool*, is the more credible, from his being a Native of *Lincolnshire*, a large and opulent County, producing vast Quantities of Wool, and bordering upon *Leicestershire*, and other Counties, abounding in the same Commodity.

3. And possibly to the Wisdom and Influence of this great Minister and Statesman it may be imputed, (which is pretty remarkable) that the Manufacturers or Dealers in Wool, who had, for Ages before, been constantly grasping at some monopolish Advantage or another from the *English Wool*, if they did make any Attempts of that sort, during the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, never once succeeded; there being no Appearance thereof in the Statute Books, or in the public Acts.

4. It is not indeed unlikely, but that some Overtures of that nature, at one time or other, from the Manufacturers, or Staplers, might draw from *Lord Burghley* some Expression much to the same Purport with what is here

here reported of him. And taking it with some little Latitude, it was the Speech of (what undoubtedly he was) a *wise Man*, and a *Patriot*, as may be thus made out.

5. Let us suppose, for Argument sake, (upon the Foot of a formerⁱ Computation by Arithmetical Politicians) the whole annual Expence of the Nation to be ————— £ 43,000,000 ^{See Chap. 48. §. 1. Note.}
The Rent of the Land ————— £ 10,000,000

which is so much towards the whole annual Expence. The rest then is chiefly supplied by Labourers, of one kind or another; whose Wages, when earned and received, are, to all the Purposes of national Expence and Consumption, equal to so much Rent. Only it is to be considered, that it is the Rent of *England*, first issued, and giving the Spring to Labour and Expences, which undulates to such a Degree, as the whole Expence and Consumption besides amounts to, beyond what is the Result of the clear Profit gained by Merchants (inhabiting here) buying in one foreign Country, and transporting the same to another foreign Country. For all intermediate Persons between that particular Species of Merchants, and Landowners, are but Labourers and Brokers, whose Employment and Wages have their first Rise from Land, as from the Fountain Head.

6. Things being considered in this View; and a Rent from Land of 10,000,000*l.* a Year, thus creating, in its last Result, a yearly Expence fourfold at least. And Wool making, suppose, one fifth of that Rent; admitting one Shilling *per Stone*, Weight, to be equal to two Shillings *per Pound*, in the Price, or 10*l. per Cent.* In that Case, a Fall of one Shilling *per Stone* is, in the first Instance, *i. e.* to the Land-owner, a Loss of 200,000*l.* and ultimately, if not made up to him in some other Shape, a Loss to the Nation of 800,000*l. per Ann.*

7. This is undoubtedly true reasoning, unless by any sort of Logic it can be made to appear, that 18*s.* to one Man, or Class of Men, is equal, in all its Uses, to 20*s.* of another. And I will venture to say, that the Argument which will so prove 18*s.* of one Man's, as good as 20*s.* of another's, will take even the 18*s.* from that Man, and leave him, and his Dependents, in a thriving Condition, 8. I know

8. I know that some Persons are in a different way of thinking from me, however, of talking upon this Subject; and would even persuade the *Land-owners*, that if they should give the Manufacturers their Wool for nothing, they would find their Account in it, by the Advantage thence accruing to the Public, from the Exportation of Woolen Goods; which creating so much more Employment for the Poor, they consequently would be able to purchase so much more of the other Product of the Land of the Kingdom, instead of receiving the same, in Alms, from the Landed Interest.

9. But this is only a partial View of the Case, it is stating the Account but on one Side. They who reason thus, do not consider, that by how much less the Landholder receives, in the first Instance, for his Wool, so much more, in a *fourfold* Proportion at least, must home Employment, of one kind or another, and Wages, abate; and consequently the Consumption of home Produce and Manufacture, except at the Expence of the *Landed Interest*, in the Shape of Alms. Neither is it considered, that so great a Share as THREE FOURTHS^k of our

^k Ch. 48. Woolen Manufacture is supposed to be ordinarily consumed at home by Persons who do subsist on Rent, or Labour; which *Rent* arises partly from *Wool*; and which *Labour* is procured and paid for by *Rent*.

10. But some, figuring to themselves a Circle of Commerce, which takes in the several Interests of the Community, fix upon *foreign Trade*, as the first Point; as if there was any such thing as first, or last, in a Circle, or that by striking out any one Point, the Circle would not be destroyed. But figurative Expressions, it may be said, are not to be taken strictly; which tho' it be true, and a Circle is no improper Emblem in this Case; yet to consider the Body Politic of the Nation under the Similitude of a Plant, or a Tree, is at least as proper; and then the Land will undoubtedly be acknowledged as the Root and the Stem. Or again, if we speak of the Community, as a Fabric, (which may be done with equal Propriety) the Land will be allowed to be the Foundation and chief Corner-stone. And therefore, to think of enriching the Community with Trade, by exposing the *Land-owners* particularly to Hardship and Loss, is, as in *Planting*, to fix the Branches in the Earth, instead of the

the Root; in *Building*, to attempt the upper Story first. It is in short, to think of thriving by Trade, *without Customers*, or by Customers, who are *without Money*. In which Situation, the Traders would soon be reduced to wish themselves in the Circumstance mentioned in the *Spectator*^l, of *Jeremy Comfit a Grocer* *.

^l N° 534.

C H A P. LXVI.

Britannia languens; or, *A Discourse of Trade* †, 1680.

1. OUR neat annual Gain, by foreign Trade, did Page 22. never bring in above 250,000 l. or 300,000 l. per Ann. Increase of Treasure, one Year with another; taking any Number of twenty Years together.
2. It is more advantageous to export Manufacture than the Materials.
3. It is most dangerous to transport the Materials of Page 24. Manufacture, since it may transfer the Manufacture itself.
4. But

* Who hoped to grow rich by *losing his Customers*. N. B. It has been thought proper to say thus much, because we shall hereafter find it laid down as a recondite Maxim, that *Cheapness of Wool* is very much for the Benefit of the Nation; not only such a Cheapness as is a natural Effect of Plenty, but even an artificial Cheapness, compassed by other, indirect Means. But because this is a Doctrine and Policy too refined for vulgar Understandings, therefore it will be found, tho' constantly pursued, yet but very sparingly mentioned. Mr. *Mun*^m only, and someⁿ Ch. 45. few besides, having adventured to avow it in so many §. 1, 2. Words. Chap. 73. §. 4.

† This Book is one middling Volume in *Osavo*, treats (like some others) of Trade in almost all its Branches; and is frequently quoted with Respect. I have selected from it what has any Reference to my Subject. Chap. 79. §. 23, 25.

4. But if Foreigners will vend their raw Materials of Manufacture, it is necessary, or highly convenient, for a Nation to import them.

Page 48. 5. If the Manufacturer cannot sell his Manufacture, he hath laboured to his great Loss*.

6. 'Tis true, that if a Nation hath some rich and necessary Material and Manufacture within itself, exclusive to other Nations, it hath a Monopoly of this Manufacture to the rest of the World, and therefore cannot be underfold, but may vend it so as to pay all extraordinary Charges with sufficient Gain to the Manufacturer and Merchant; which was heretofore the Case of England in the Woolen Manufacture †.

Page 56. 7. The Dutch taking Advantage of our Mismanagement of our Cloth Trade, found Ways of getting our fine Wool; which mixing with fine Spanish, and by that

Page 57. Mixture making a cheaper, and more serviceable fine Cloth than with all Spanish, have been long high Competitors in the Trade of fine Cloth, and have actually beaten us out in the Northern, Eastland, and German Trades; and share with us in the Turkey Trade; both Dutch and French getting what Quantities they please of our long and middling Wool out of England and Ireland, (which they now have cheaper than the English Clothiers from Ireland) do mix it with French, Polonia, or other foreign Wools, (which are two Thirds † cheaper than ours) and therewith make vast Quantities of coarse Cloths, Druggets and Stuffs, which being acceptable and

* This is quite as applicable to the Wool-Grower. If after his Care, and Cost, and Hazard, in breeding his Lambs, and feeding his Flock, for twelve Months, he cannot sell his Wool, he hath laboured to his great Loss. Thus far the Parallel holds. But there is yet a Difference, which is this; the Manufacturer will not labour long in the same way, unless he can sell his Manufacture, but will turn his Hand to something else, which he can sell: the Wool-Grower is, for the most part, necessarily such.

† See how this Writer builds upon the Supposition, that England once had a Monopoly in the Woolen Manufacture, and that it may possibly have it again; neither of which are true.

Ch. 172. † We shall see these^a Wools sold near one Third dearer than English Wools.

and merchandizable, they export to Spain, Portugal, Germany, and most other Parts.

8. Their Competition in the Clothing Trade, joined with some Polonian, Silesian, German, and other later Manufactures of coarse Wools, have already sunk our foreign Market and Vent; this hath sunk the Price of our raw Wool, as necessarily it must; and as their Manufactures increase, and ours does expire, the French and Dutch must have our Wool for what they please; and if they cannot have it at their own Rate, at one of our Ports, they will go to another; and our necessitous People, having their Wool in their Hands, will sell almost at any Rate; which is so far the Case in Ireland already, that there it is openly exported at six or seven Shillings the Todd; and then if we compute what a Todd of Wool may stand the French or Dutch in, considering their cheap Mixtures of French, Polonish, and other coarse Wools, we may very suddenly expect to have our English Wools at about four Shillings per Todd; for if the English Clothier gives more for his Materials than the French or Dutch, he cannot live: It is now in most Parts of England at twelve and thirteen Shillings the Todd, where, of late* Years, it was thirty and forty Shillings the Todd.

Page 58.

Wool is at 12 s. and 13 s. per Todd; of late Years, was at 30 and 40 s.

9. The French and Dutch have long maligned this English Manufacture, and have now made a mighty Progress towards its Extirpation, and therein, of the great Support of our English Nation, (doubtless the Wool Sacks † were placed in the House of Parliament to

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* Not since the Restoration: We have heard but once of Wool at 12 d. a Pound, since 1660; and that, ^a W. C. ^a Ch. 51. hath informed us, was occasioned by an extraordinary Run-^b §. 13, 14. nage of Wool, to the Amount, as was supposed, of 20,000 Packs.

† That the Wool Sacks were placed in the House of Lords anciently, as a Precaution or Memorial of some kind, I do believe; and perhaps I could offer a rational Conjecture touching the original Intention thereof, but not having a sufficient Authority for the same, I shall only remind the Reader, that they appear to have been there, immemorially, so long ago as in the Year 1613^b; which was some^b See Years before the Parliament had Thoughts of prohibiting Chap. 28. absolutely the Exportation of Wool. §. 1.

give us a Precaution of it.) The Dutch of late have been somewhat checked in the Turkey Trade by the War; but the French are more vigilant and vigorous in the Increase and Vent of their Woolen Manufacture than ever; and the Dutch are now at Peace again.

10. I know some alledge, that these Nations may support their present Woolen Manufacture without our Wool, which our own English Clothiers*, on their own Experience, deny. They say that a Mixture of fine English, and fine Spanish, makes Cloth so much cheaper and more serviceable than of all fine Spanish, that it must needs beat out any foreign Manufacture made of all fine Spanish, (which is always near twice as dear as our finest English Wool;) and therefore have the English and Dutch near subverted the Venetian Cloth Trade in Turkey. On the other side, they say that the German, Polonia, Silesian, and French Wools † are so coarse of themselves, that altho' they may be wrought into an ill sort of Composition, perhaps fit for Sails, or such like, yet not merchandizable; but in Mixture with English, and Irish, good dressing and dying, will make very vendible and serviceable Stuffs, Druggets, and coarse Cloths.

c See Ch. 151.

11. Nor is there any Shadow of Reason to believe otherwise, considering how ravenous the French and Dutch have been after our Wool, since they set up their Woolen Manufactures ‡. Why have they and their Agents

* So then the Clothiers are here quoted, as competent Evidences, affording a Proof irrefragable, in their own Case. But see Chap. 69. §. 1. where Sir Josiah Child lays it down for a Maxim, 'That Merchants, Shopkeepers, Artificers, Clothiers, and other Manufacturers, are not to be believed implicitly, until, having left off their Trades, they become of the same common Interest with most of their Countrymen.' And, besides what Mr. Mun has said, we shall find hereafter Sir Josiah's general Observation verified, in this particular Instance at least, of the Clothiers Assertions touching English Wool.

a Ch. 45. §. 1, 2.

† See Chap. 40. §. 11, 12, 13. (Note.) French Wool imported to England at 10 l. a Bag, i. e. 12 d. a Pound.

‡ This Writer had been nearer the Mark, if he had said, since the Exportation of Wool was prohibited in 1660, the French and Dutch have been willing to carry on a smuggling Trade, with certain English, for Wool; who have been very

Agents been lurking on our Coasts, and in our Creeks, to filch it away for so many Years? Why have they given treble as much for it, as for *Polonia or French? Shall we think the Dutch and French such Fools and Madmen, as to make so laborious and dear a Purchase of an unnecessary Commodity?

12. We are told of some fine Slavonian Wools which Page 60, the Dutch make use of, but withal that they are not comparable to ours; nor of any considerable Bulk; and are assured by those who should best understand it, that no Nation but England hath a sufficient Store of Wool to drive a foreign Trade of any Consequence. §. 10. Note.

13. There is no question, but that if we did manufacture all our Wool, we might again near monopolize the Merchandize and foreign Trade of Woolen Clothing.

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14. 'Tis

very eager and industrious to convey it to them; and for what Reason? for the Profit that is to be made by it. The Prohibition has sunk the Price of English Wool so much below its natural Value, and what Wool of inferior Worth bears in the common Markets of Europe, that Englishmen, in certain convenient Situations, will risk great Dangers for the sake of such Gains by this illicit Practice, as are not to be had in the ordinary Course of Traffic. But this, in itself, is no kind of Proof, that Foreigners cannot carry on their Manufactures without English Wool. Nor can that Position be supported by Proof of any other kind.

* This Fact should have been more circumstantially related, and better attested, in order to its being of any Weight, as an Argument for confining absolutely the Wool of England to one Market. It is very possible that some English Wool is three times as good as some Polish and French Wool; (there is a great Difference between some English Wools, and others.) But, as observed before, we shall see Polish, as well as French Wools, sold for more Money in a foreign Market, than the very best long English Wools at home, in the same Year; whence I infer, or rather shall demonstrate in its due place, that English Wool, by the Prohibition, is depressed considerably below its natural Value. This, in a word, is the main Spring of the Owling Trade, which nothing can cure (a Register excepted) without contriving that it may be raised somewhat nearer to its natural Value.^b Ch. 172. Ch. 162. §. 7. Note. Ch. 133. §. 8. Note.

Page 134. 14. 'Tis affirmed, that during our Trade in 54 and 55, we exported more Commodities, Cloth, and other things, than since^h we have done.

^h Ch. 40. §. 22. Note. 15. Before *Edward* the III^d's Time, the *Flemings* manufactured our Wool, and had the Merchandize of it. *Edward* III. brought over some *Flemish* Manufacturers, who by degrees taught the Manufacture of Cloths of all Sorts; and as the *English* more applied themselves to it, so did that of the *Flemings* decay*.

16. For, first, the *English* had the Materials cheaper than the *Flemings*, not only by the Odds in the Carriage out of *England*, but because the raw Wools afterwards exported, were charged with great Customs and Duties to the King. Secondly, Because the Manufacture was continually encouraged, and taken care of by Laws for that purpose.

17. I do not find there was any absolute Prohibition of exporting Wool, 'till the Statute of the 12th of his now Majesty, Chap. 32. †; yet the Examples of our cunning

* Supposing this to be true, it is worth observing by what Means the *English* thus were able to gain upon a People ever the most expert at Manufactureⁱ, and best situated for Trade of any in *Europe*. Because the very same Means are likely to be the best Preservative, or even Restorative, if wanted, in this Case. And these our Author gives us, with a good deal of Judgment and Truth, in the next Section.

ⁱ Ch. 92. §. 4.

† Our Author knowing little or nothing more of History, in this Case, than what was to be found in the printed Statute Books, the Proclamations of *James* and ^k *Charles* I. with the Ordinance of the Long Parliament, &c. are not mentioned by him. And indeed tho' some Writers have mentioned the Ordinance (1647) for that End, I do not find any since *Malynes* and *Misselden*, in the Years 1622 and 1623, (when King *James*'s Proclamation first issued for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool) that takes the least Notice of that Proclamation, or of the subsequent Proclamations, of the same Tenour, of *Car.* I. Whence I conceive that those Proclamations were not, in effect, Prohibitions, nor ever look'd upon as such; otherwise I should think that there would have remained some, at least traditional, Remembrance of them, as of Prohibitions in this Case.

^k See Chap. 33. §. 11. Chap. 36. §. 3, 4, 7. Chap. 39. §. 3. ⁱ Ch. 32. 33, 34.

cunning Neighbours now tells us, that *Prohibitions*, accompanied with a due Improvement of Trade at home, are not to be condemned*.

18. The *Flemish* Cloth Trade was long since so far reduced, that we had the sole Merchandize of it; yet they kept up a Manufacture of Stuffs and Says, the Make whereof the *English* had not been taught 'till the Duke of *Alva*'s Persecution drove away their Manufacturers, whom Queen *Elizabeth* received, seating them at *Norwich*, *Colchester*, and *Canterbury*.

19. Before this, the *English* exported great Quantities of our Manufacture into *Flanders*; but doubtless more afterwards^m, for which we kept a rich Staple at *Antwerp*. The *Dutch*, long after they became *States*, were ignorant of this Manufactureⁿ, whom we therefore supplied, and by them the *Southern* and *South-East* Countries of *Germany*, and many other Nations. We had also the sole Trade up the *Elbe*, and thereby, to the North Parts of *Germany*, *Futland*, and *Holfteyne*. We had the sole Trade into *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Swedeland*, and *Liefeland*; to the great Territory of *Poland*, and to the vast Empire of *Muscovy*. All which Trades are sunk to a small Matter, the *Dutch* having set up mighty Woolen Manufactures of all Sorts, and the *Flemings* renewed, or enlarged theirs.

^m See Chap. 26. §. 4. ⁿ Ch. 92, 93, 94.

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20. We had also the sole Trade for Woolen Clothing into *France* †, *Turky*, and *Spain*, *Portugal* ‡, and *Italy*, and

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* This is not quite consistent with what is said afterwards, more truly by this Writer, viz. 'That meer prohibitory Laws never did, nor can, answer the Ends they were intended for.' Then, to shew how the Wool-grower must, in course, be affected with such a Prohibition, take his own Words again as follows.

'The confining of the Market, and Choice of Chapmen, in any degree, is dangerous and prejudicial to Trade, and in a larger Sense may be called a Monopoly.'

^o In a literal Sense, he

† Of which we vend there the Value of 600,000 l. yearly.

‡ Which Trade hath been decaying several Years, but of late worse than ever; by reason that the Government of *Portugal*, since the Year 1660, hath prohibited the wearing of *English* Cloth, having set up this Manufacture of their own Wools.

and 'till of later Years to *Ireland*; but since the late *Irish Acts*, the *Irish* have set up a considerable Woolen Manufacture. Our whole Woolen Manufacture, heretofore exported, hath been generally agreed to yield near two Millions*. But *English Cloth* is sold for near a third

less,

* Admit this to have been true; yet the Reader will, if he reflects at all, easily judge that Woolen Drapery exported from *England*, to the annual Value of no more than *Two Millions*, must have come very short of supplying fully all those Kingdoms mentioned by this Writer (§. 19, 20.) whence is to be concluded, that *England* never was possessed of any thing like the Monopoly he mentions, and is pleading for again; consequently that the Wool of other Countries is not so bad, nor the Manufacture thereof so lately begun to be put in Practice in those Countries, as he and many others represent. And yet this Nonsense has passed too currently in *England*, for some Generations. And what this Author hath said in another place, must, I think, be assigned as the chief Reason why it has done so, viz. 'Our Youth [of liberal Education] never reading any thing of Manufacture, &c. in *Homer* or *Virgil*, or their College Notes; and being from thence carried to other Studies, our *Men of Learning* are either generally silent in this Matter, or do speak of it with Contempt; by whom most others being influenced, we are still pretending to be more accurate in Logic and Philosophy, (which, however otherwise useful, do not add two Pence a Year to the Riches of the Nation) we prize ourselves in fruitless Curiosities, which are voted Ingenuities, while the Notions of Trade are turned into Ridicule, or much out of fashion.'

And so much is true; viz. that this Subject, not being in the Rank of polite Knowledge, has not enjoyed the Benefits of Criticism, to any degree; but having been chiefly treated of by Persons under the Bias of Interest and Prepossession, on one side of the question; and those not the best qualified in other respects, as Authors: hence it has come to pass, that, like a fruitful Field ill cultivated, it has produced more Weeds than Corn. This indeed fixes no Blame upon Individuals, as Scholars, or even upon any Class of lettered Men. 'Tis not a Fault, but a Misfortune, arising out of the Nature of the Subject. And yet, if any there are, who, indulging themselves in more delicious Studies, or more profitable Pursuits, treat with Disdain, an Attempt to rescue the Nation from Ignorance and Abuse herein; let it be considered, whether such are not *supercilious* and *pedantic*.

less, in foreign Markets, than thirty or forty Years ago; to which must be added what we fail of the former Quantity. All which is verified in the present Condition of our *English Towns* and *Clothiers*; of which take an Instance from *Reading*, where the Number of *Clothiers* are reduced from 160 to about 12. I may Page 164. add, that our Wool is sunk to about a Third of its Price.

21. And whereas before the said *Irish Acts*, foreign Ships did victual in *England*, the *Irish* being since forced to fat their own Cattle, have got that Trade from us. Nay, the very *English Ships* do ordinarily victual from *Ireland*. And as if the Mischiefs of these Acts would never have an End, they were the Occasion of the Increase of *Sheep*, and thereby of a vast Increase of *Wool* in *Ireland*; by which the *French* and *Dutch Manufactures* are now more plentifully supplied, and rather cheaper than the *English*.

22. While we kept the Monopoly of Cloth, our Merchants had many advantageous Opportunities: It gave the *English* an extraordinary Reputation. Page 171.

23. The *French Policies* have been industrious to suppress our *English Trade*. In the Year 1632, the Duty on an *English Broad Cloth* imported into *France* was six Livres. In 1644, it was raised to nine Livres. In 1654, to thirty Livres. In 1664, to forty Livres; and yet did the *English* continue to export considerable Quantities of our Woolen Cloths into *France*. But in 1667, it was raised to about eighty Livres, which is about fifty per Cent. Serges in the same Proportion; which was equal to a Prohibition. Page 194.

24. The Woolen Manufacture being our chief Jewel, we kept the Monopoly of it during the Reign of King *James**, and for the greatest Part of the Reign of King *Charles* the 1st; by all which, and for that our Imports were less than of late they have been, the Balance of our Trade was kept up. Page 203.

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C H A P.

* This Writer plainly knew little of what the Woolen Trade was, during the Reigns of King *James* and *Car. I.* (See particularly Chap. 32, 33, 34.)

C H A P. LXVII.

A Plea for the bringing in of Irish Cattle, &c.
By John Collins*, *Accomptant to the Royal Fishery Company.* E Reg. Soc. Philomath. 1680.

To the READER,

Preface. 1. **T**HIS *Act* being under Consideration in Parliament, whether to be renewed, or not, there is an able Pen both now undertook to defend the Importation of Irish Cattle. But hearing his Book is large; and fearing it may come out too late, when the Debate is over, have took the Opportunity to offer some sudden Thoughts about the same, to prevent, if it may be, the fatal Subversion to the Trade of England, which will thence ensue, as herein is shewed by a Well-wisher to its Prosperity.

JOHN COLLINS.

Page 3. 2. The Right Honourable the Lord Brereton, lately deceased, lent me a Paper to peruse, that was a Copy of a Report of the Irish Council of Trade, intended to be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Council

* Collins John, a Person of considerable Note among the Learned, in the seventeenth Century. His Education was such, as disposed his Mind to the full Pursuit of Truth, and formed and directed his Thoughts to distinguish rightly, and to reason justly. — He composed several Treatises upon practical Subjects, which were published, and highly esteemed. — While Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury was Lord Chancellor, he nominated Mr. Collins in divers References concerning Suits depending in Chancery, about intricate Accounts, to assist in the stating thereof; which was some Emolument to him, and to the shortening of the Charge of the Parties concerned; from which Time especially, his Assistance was often used in other Places, and by other Persons; whereby he not only obtained some Wealth, but a great Name.

General Dictionary, &c.

Council of Ireland, dated March 26. 1673, in Obedience to an Order of Council of Jan. 20. 1672, concerning the Trade and State of that Kingdom, what were its Aggrievances, and the Remedies. Amongst other Articles, I find divers relating to England, viz. in Art. 15, it is alledged, that Ireland pays a yearly Debt to England of about 200,000 *l.* In Art. 16. (See Ch. 52. §. 8.)

3. The Case being thus, it is highly our Interest to admit not only *Irish Cattle*, but all their Commodities, to keep them by Agreement on equitable Terms (hereafter to be propounded) from furnishing Foreigners; their Hides were formerly wrought into Shoes, and exported to the Plantations; as also Tallow. And as to their *Wool*, if they are permitted to export it, either manufactured, or unmanufactured, it will in time ruin all the *Wool* and *Cloth Trade* in England; for now they feed on their lean Cattle, export their Fat, and increase their *Flocks of Sheep*. In sum, Ireland doth, and can, sell to Foreigners, *Wool*, *Hides*, *Tallow*, *Flesh* and *Fish*, at about one Moiety of what England can afford them at.

4. Query, Have we, or is it fit we should have a Power over Ireland, to hinder them from selling their Commodities in foreign Parts, when we will not have them ourselves? If we have, it is not well observed; of which take the following Narrative.

5. Mr. Euclid Speidell, a *Custom-House Officer*, informs, that in the Year 1678, there were 40 Ships lading of *Wool* shipped off from Ireland, that, according to Cockets, ought to have been unladed in England; but none of it arrived here; the Contents he knew not.

6. Secondly, Suppose that *Act* pass, and *Irish Cattle* are barred out; and this, in Favour to the Western and Northern Parts, or breeding Grounds. I say, his Majesty, and the Eastern and Southern Parts are, for the present, the Losers. 1. His Majesty loseth most of the Customs of 32,000 *l.* a Year, and also much by the Over-deariness of Provisions for his Navy. 2. The Kingdom loseth the Navigation between England and Ireland, and consequently the Employment of 3 or 400 Sail of Ships, and the Breeding of Mariners accordingly.

3. The Eastern and Southern Ports have lost the victual-ling Page 7.

ling of the Dutch, and our own Merchantmen, as may be plentifully proved from the Searchers Office at the Custom-House; and 'tis already asserted in Print, that our Ships, for the most Part, Westerly or Southerly bound, victual but for six Weeks, and take in the rest of their Provisions in Ireland, or Irish Provisions in Spain, according to contract made for the same; whereupon I put this Query:

7. Shall English Ships be permitted to victual in Ireland, or not? If yea, then our Provisions are not spent at Home, contrary to the Policy in keeping Cattle out; and our Money must be returned to purchase them there. If the English shall not be allowed to victual there, I further enquire, shall the Irish be permitted to carry their Provisions abroad, or sell them to Strangers at home, or both? Have we Power to impose upon them? If they shall be permitted to carry them abroad, our Provisions cannot obtain foreign Vent, as being much dearer than theirs. And when they export their Provisions, they will also export their Commodities, and furnish their Returns. Of this take the following Instance, viz. A Sea Commander, Captain Swaine, informs, that, for 5 Years past, there were seldom less than 20 Irish Ships frequently at Dunkirk, laden with Beef, Tallow, Hides, and Leather, much Butter, and some Wool; and that all the Capers or Privateers, for that time, were furnished with these Provisions. That divers other Irish Ships furnish'd Ostend, and many of them he hath seen at Nantz, Burnes, Rochel.

8. Hence we must either allow Ireland a free Trade with others, to the Subversion of the Cloth Trade of England, &c. or by Agreement with them on equitable Terms, get so high a Duty laid on their Commodities, as may, if exported by Foreigners, or by themselves, unless to England, render them of equal, rather higher Value, than the like Commodities in England, and then take off as many of them as we can, and furnish them to others (after Improvement here) at the second Hand. The latter, if we would avoid our own Destruction, is the Choice to be made. Hence their Cattle, &c. ought not to be refused.

9. The prime Reason for barring foreign Commodities, holds not in this Case. The Irish Cattle in question, with

with their Hides, Tallow, and Wool, are not so much imported for our Expence; as to ship off, to furnish foreign Markets withal.

10. As to that Straw, that unless Provision be dear, Page 10. the People will be lazy, and will not work. 'Tis granted, Necessity begets Industry; yet notwithstanding, if some will be idle, it follows not, that all, or the major Part will be so. Moreover Goodness, and Cheapness, are the main Inducement to put off any Commodity: And it cannot be well apprehended how Labour should be cheap, and Work plenty, where Provisions are dear; where one riseth, the other doth so likewise: As at London, and in other Places, where Provisions are dearest, Labour is dearest. And to make Provisions dear as a Means to make the Poor work, is the ready way to drive Page 11. them into foreign Plantations.

11. Some Observations made by W. P. upon the Trade of Irish Cattle. The Owners of breeding Lands have, Page 32. since the Prohibition, not gotten above 10 s. per Head more for their Cattle than before it; which the Owners of the feeding Lands have paid them, and lost. Moreover the Mariners of England have lost the getting of 9 s. 6 d. per Head for Freight and Primage. And the People of England have lost 4 s. 6 d. per Head more for driving and grazing; the King hath lost 3 s. 6 d. per Head Custom on both sides, besides Officers Fees; and the Traders in Hides and Tallow have lost what they might have gained out of 14 s. per Head; and the Merchants and Artizans of England have lost what they might have gained by 140,000 l. Worth of English Manufactures; the Wool-growers of England have lost as much as their Wool is fallen, by reason of the extraordinary Sheep-walks now in Ireland; the Landlords of Ireland, resident in England, have lost 5 per Cent. extraordinary for Exchange of Money. Lastly, The Bulk of the People of England have lost one Halpenny for every Pound of Flesh Meat they have spent, amounting, for all England, to about 2,000,000 l. per An.; of which great Sum, the Owners, even of breeding Lands, have paid three times more in the Enhancement of Wages and Manufactures, than they got by the raised Price of their Cattle above-mentioned.

Page 33. 12. Here it is not improper to acquaint the Reader, that *Ireland*, before the Rebellion, was planted with native *Irish*, and the Lands were in their Possession; but now after so great a Desolation and Destruction as the Wars made, most of the Lands were planted and peopled by the *Scotch* and *English*, who adventured their Lives and Fortunes in reducing it, who carried over with them the best Cattle, Horses, and Sheep, *England* could afford, where they have raised such a Breed, as will compare with the best in *England* for Largeness and Fatness; and the Wool, Butter, and Cheese, there raised, is not inferior to what is produced in *England*.

13. The Laws there are made by a Parliament, consisting of most *English* and *Scotch*, which aim especially to encourage the making of Cloth and Woolen Manufactures, to the End they may supply foreign Markets. And they do by their Laws discourage the bringing of Wool into *England*; and have laid a great Custom upon all Cloth, Stuffs, Stockings, and Hats, that shall be imported out of *England*. This they do acknowledge in Print, and that they have furnished *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*, plentifully with Provisions.

14. Against this whole Discourse may be raised the following grand Objection, that the Admission of *Irish* Cattle causeth Rents of breeding Grounds exceedingly to fall, contrary to the Interests of the Owners and Farmers thereof; and this is the Reason why Cattle, in themselves, a Blessing, are called a Nufance. The Objection is granted*. But on the other side, the Owners of

¶ 18 Car. II. c. 2.

* But if, as before asserted, (§. 11.) the Owners even of breeding Lands, have paid three times more in the Enhancement of Wages, &c. than they got by the supposed advanced Price of their Cattle, why is this Objection so readily granted? Or rather why is it made an Objection? For what, if the Admission of *Irish* Cattle would cause the Rents of breeding Lands to fall? Would not the Owners, upon the foregoing Supposition, be so far compensated another Way, as to have it in their Power to make their Tenants easy, and yet be Gainers themselves? But whatever Effects this Alteration was judged to have produced, at first, in the Price of Flesh and lean Cattle, I cannot think it to have been a subsisting Difference. For if instead of a
foreign

of feeding Grounds, the merchandizing and trading Part of the Nation, or Corporations, who bear above two third Parts of the Charge of the Government, sustain the greater Wrong, which in the Event will be very préjudicial, if not ruinous to the whole.

15. I myself have my Life in Lands, in *Marshland*, Page 35. in the County of *Norfolk*, which fell from 32*l.* to 17*l.* a Year, but is of late risen to 21*l.* a Year. I know some Gentlemen, Owners of feeding Grounds in our *Midland* Counties, whose Rents are fallen above one Quarter of what they usually made before the *Irish Act* had a Being. They know not to what other Cause to impute it; and I have not Liberty to mention Particulars. Also there is a *London* Minister who hath Lands in *Gloucestershire*, which fell from 60*l.* to 30*l.* a Year; and both He and some Gentlemen aforesaid, are forced to stock their Grounds, and keep them in their own Hands, committing the Management to Bailiffs.

16. So that I hope, if the *Irish Act* do pass, it will not

foreign Beef Trade, and the Benefit of *victualling* altogether the *English* Shipping, the former, by this Policy, has been wholly lost from *England*, and, together with a Share of the latter, transferred to *Ireland*; in that Case, though the Stock of Cattle to be fed and consumed in *England* be less, yet the Vent for Flesh in *England* is less also; consequently not dearer on the Score of this Act (however it might be so, for other Reasons) not to mention, that if it really was, the Kingdom could not possibly be a Gainer by the advanced Price of a Commodity consumed entirely at Home. As little can I imagine even the breeding Lands, in particular, to have received any Advantage from the Exclusion of *Irish* Cattle, in the long run, whatever they might do at the first. For it is to be considered, that in consequence of this Alteration, many Lands have been turned to the breeding of Cattle, which used to be employed another Way. The Case, in short, between Breeders and Feeders of Cattle, being just like that of *Grafsing*, and *Ploughing*. There are, who are necessarily Breeders and *Ploughmen*. And there is Land, which is most suitable for feeding. But there is also a sufficient Quantity of Land, which being of a middle Nature, is proper for either, and which the Occupiers convert from one to the other, as they see best, *i. e.* according as the Prospect of a Price, for Wool, or Corn, or Cattle, urges them.

See §. 7.
See §. 9.
10.

not be perpetual*, and that in the Interim our Grandees will propose, and receive Terms of Accommodation; of which, these must be the Consequences. 1. The Poor will obtain Employment. 2. Navigation and Strength will encrease. 3. The Merchants and trading Part of the Nation will be encouraged.

C H A P. LXVIII.

Debates in Parliament: 1680.

1. The 9th of November, 1680.

A Petition from the Bailiffs, Wardens, and Assistants of the Company of Silk Weavers was read †.

2. Mr.

Coke, vol. 2. p. 314. * But here (says Mr. *Coke*) is a greater Wonder yet to be told of this Parliament. 'For notwithstanding all these Discords between the Lords and Commons, and between the King and the Lords and Commons, they agreed in making the Act against the Importation of *Irish Cattle*, &c. perpetual, thereby to perpetuate the Discords between the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*, as much as those between Whig and Tory.'

† This Petition, we shall see, took its Rise from a Bill depending in Parliament, at this Time, for the wearing of Woolen, as an Expedient (and a most reasonable one, as the Law then stood, and yet stands, provided it was practicable) to promote the Interest of the Wool Grower. To which not only at this Time, but as often as any Thing of that Nature has been moved in Parliament, the Silk Weavers have immediately raised an Opposition with Success. Yet, methinks, it is not difficult to shew, either the Impropriety of indulging such Opposition, or else, of prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool. But that is not the only seeming Impropriety we meet with in this Kind. Almost every other Interest that can be mentioned, is let loose upon the *English* Wool Grower; and He alone has his Hands tied behind him. This is engaging him in Society upon very unequal Terms. And the Case being so, we need not wonder at some Appearances to his Disadvantage which will occur, before I come to the Conclusion of these Memoirs.

See Ch. 74. §. 1. Note.

See Ch. 176. P. 8.

2. Mr. *Speaker*, Sir, This Petition branches itself, Mr. *John First*, Against the Bill that is here a Foot, for wearing *Basset*. Woolen. Secondly, Against the Importation of foreign Silks from *France**: And Thirdly, Against the *East-India* Company. As to the two first Particulars, I shall desire leave to speak my Mind, when the Business comes to be debated in the Committee to which you may think good to refer it. But as to the third Branch, against the *East-India* Company, I desire to be heard a little at this Time; for, Sir, it will be in vain for you to spend your Time in endeavouring to raise the Price of Wool, or to advantage the Trade of the Nation any Way, unless you do, in the first Place, make some Regulations for the *East-India* Trade. For not only the Silk Weavers, but most other Trades of this Nation, are prejudiced by the Consumption of Goods manufactured in the *East-India*, and brought hither. For a great many of them are not only spent here, instead of our own Manufactures, but abroad in other Parts, to which we send them. They do us such Prejudice, as must, in the End, be the Destruction of our Manufactory Trade, both at home and abroad, if not looked after; and the more likely, because the People in *India* are such Slaves, as to work for less than a Penny a Day; whereas ours here will not work under a Shilling; and they have all Materials also very reasonable, and are thereby enabled to make their Goods so cheap, as it will be impossible for our People here to contend with them. And therefore, because the said Trade hath abundantly increased of late Years, that we may not enrich the *Indians*, and impoverish our own People, I humbly move you, that this Petition may be referred to some Committee that may take particular Care of it.

3. Mr. *Speaker*, Sir, The Navigation to the *East-India*, being by the Industry and long Experience of our *Parkhurst* Seamen, rendered as safe and secure, as to any Country adjacent, and the Trade increased to a great Proportion, by such a dangerous Way, as the Exportation of our Bullion,

* See (Ch. 103. §. 6. Note.) An Estimate of the Advantage gained to *England* in this single Article, in Consequence of the Prohibition of Trade with *France*, An. 1678. See also Ch. 119. §. 9.

Bullion, and Importation of Abundance of manufactured Goods, and superfluous Commodities, and carried on by a few Men incorporated, who have made it their Business, by all Ways imaginable, to secure the Advantages thereof to themselves, and their Posterities; not permitting the People in general to come in for any Share: I humbly conceive it may not be unseasonable to give you a short Scheme of that Trade; and to make some Remarks, as well on the Trade, as the present Management thereof; it being settled in a Company, by Virtue of a Charter granted 1657, and confirmed by his Majesty, soon after the Restoration.

Ch. 29.

Sir, It is well known what Advantage redounds to the Nation, by the Consumption of our Manufactures Abroad and at Home; and how our Forefathers have always discouraged such Trades, as tended to the Hindrance thereof. By the best Computation that can be made, we now spend in this Kingdom, *per Annum*, to the Value of 2 or 300,000 *l.* Worth of Goods manufactured in the *East-India*: What Part thereof are spent instead of our Stuff, Serges, Cheneyes, and other Goods, I leave to every Man's Judgment, that hath observed how their *Persian Silks, Bengals*, printed and painted Callicoes, and other Sorts, are used for Beds, hanging of Rooms, and Vestments of all Sorts. And those Goods from *India*, do not only hinder the Expence of our Woolen Goods, by serving instead of them here; but also by hindering the Consumption of them in other Parts too, to which we export them; and by obstructing the Expence of Linen and Silks, which we formerly purchased, from our Neighbour Nations, in return of our Manufactures. For when that mutual Conveniency, of taking off their Goods in return of ours, failed, it is found, by Experience, that our Trade in our Manufactures is failed also. And Sir, this is not only at present, a great, but a growing Hindrance to the Expence of our Woolen Goods; for as it hath been observed to you, being the *Indians* do work for less than a Penny a Day, and are not without Materials at cheap Rates, we may rather tremble to think, than easily calculate, what this Trade may in Time amount to; and may conclude, that it must certainly end in employing and enriching the People in *India*, and impoverishing our own.

See Ch. 87.

P.S. Note.

But,

But, Sir, this is not all. This Trade is carried on by the Exportation of 5 or 600,000 *l.* *per ann.* in Bullion; which is so useful a Commodity, as ought not to be exported in so great a Quantity; especially seeing the Exportation thereof hath increased in some Years from 200,000 *l.* *per ann.* to 600,000 *l.* *per ann.* For it may increase to Millions, to the Discouragement of the Exportation of the Products of our Country; upon which the Maintenance of our Poor, and Rent of Land depends. Whereas by the Exportation of so much Bullion, no immediate Advantage redounds to the Nation; and though it is usually affirmed, that the Trade brings back as much Money as it exports, yet, upon an Inquiry, it will be found a Mistake. And I think every Nation, but especially this, (which is so well stored with other Commodities for Trade) ought to be very jealous of a Trade, carried on by the Exportation of our Gold and Silver, and to be very careful how to allow it; it being dangerous to make that which is the Standard of Trade, Merchandize itself.

Chap. 70. §. 4.

And as *

4. Mr. *Speaker*. Sir, by the Account which hath been given you of the *East India* Trade, I doubt not but you are sensible, how that it will in time ruin a great Part of the Trade of our Manufactures, if not prevented. The *East India Company* have been very industrious to promote their own Trade; but therein have given a great Blow to the Trade of the Nation.

The *Indians* knew little of dying Goods, or ordering them, so as to be fit for our *European Markets*, until the Company sent from hence *Englishmen* to teach them; which I am afraid this Nation will have Reason to repent hereafter. For the Cheapness of Wages and Materials in the *Indies* must enable the *Indians* to afford their manufactured Goods cheaper than any we can make here; and therefore it is probable the Trade will increase prodigiously; which may be a good Motive for you to take into your Consideration that Part of it, in which

A a the

* What remains of this Speech, relates to the then Management of the *East India Company*, in their corporate Capacity, which, as more foreign to my Subject, I therefore omit.

the Consumption of our Manufactures is concerned. They have already spoiled the *Italian* and *Flanders* Trade, with their Silks and Calicoes; now they will endeavour to spoil the *Turkish* Trade, by bringing abundance of raw Silk from the *Indies*. So that ere long we shall have no need of having Silk from Turkey; and if not, I am sure we shall not be able to send any Cloths, or other Goods there. And it cannot be expected that the *Indians* should grow weary of exchanging their manufactured Goods for our Gold and Silver, nor the Company, of the great Gains they make by their Trade; and therefore unless prevented by your Care, the Trade will go on to your Prejudice, the Company having been industrious to secure themselves against all other Attempts, by New-Year's Gifts, employing of some Mens Money at Interest, and getting others into the Company, then chusing them of the Committee, though they understand no more of Trade, than I do of Physick; also naming of Ships by great Mens Names is made use of for the said Purpose, and Oaths which they impose on all Persons they employ in any Business of Importance, so that there is no ordinary Way left to reach them. Therefore, Sir, I hope that you will refer the Business to some Committee that may make you a speedy Report.

Chap. 70. §. 10.

§. 1.

5. Resolved, That the said Petition^w be referred to the grand Committee for Trade, and they are to proceed upon the same in the first place; and they are then likewise to consider of the present State of the East India Company, and to report, &c.*

CHAP.

* This Resolution, and perhaps a Report of the Committee, gave Occasion to the Tract wrote by Sir *Josiah Child*, which is contained in the next, and the following Chapter; which Tract may be considered as an Answer to all the Arguments of the foregoing Speeches, *i. e.* so far as he thought it proper to answer them; for it may be observed, that he wisely declined taking any Notice of what *Mr. Love* (§. 4.) had objected to the Company about their carrying over Dyers, &c. to instruct the *Indians* how to suit their Manufactures to the *European* Taste. And, N. B. This whole Affair is to be considered chiefly, as a Controversy and Matter of Strife between the two great Trading Companies of England, *viz.* to Turkey, and the East Indies; the

CHAP. LXIX.

A Treatise, wherein is demonstrated, That the East-India Trade is the most national of all Trades, &c.

By *Philopates* *, 1681.

General Opinions.

i. Merchants, while they are in the busy and eager Prosecution of their particular Trades, although they be very wise and good Men, are not always the best Judges of Trade, as it relates to the Profit and Power of a Kingdom. The Reason may be, because their Eyes are so continually fixed, and their Minds intent upon what makes for their peculiar Gain or Loss, that they have not Leisure to expatiate or turn their Thoughts to what is most advantageous to the Kingdom in general. This, I am told, was the Opinion anciently of *M.*

A a 2 T. Cicero,

the former being rivalled by the latter, more especially in the Importation of raw Silks. Not but the East India Company importing wrought Silks also, and other Manufactures of the East Indies, for home Consumption, was a real, and, at this Time*, a growing Grievance. However, we are to look upon the four Gentlemen who have spoke in this Debate, as Advocates for the Turkey Company; and Sir *Josiah Child*, in the two following Chapters, as pleading for the East India Company; and who not only represents the Turkey Company as their open Enemies, but the Dutch also: as at the Bottom of that Opposition, which was now raised against them. But whether this Suggestion had more in it of Truth, or Artifice^y, does not so clearly appear.

Ch. 87. §. 3.

Ch. 79. §. 17.

* The *British Merchant* (Vol. I. p. 182.) says, this Pamphlet was wrote by Sir *Josiah Child*, or at least by his Direction, and approved of by the Court of Committee of the East India Company. And whoever compares it with several Passages in his Discourse of Trade, will easily be convinced that it was of his penning altogether.

T. Cicero, and also *Boden*, that learned *French* Author, and lately of the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, who was a principal Engineer in the Act of Navigation. But whether it was their Opinion or not, I am sure it's true, by manifold Experience; of which I could give pregnant Instances in the Age we live in, and former Councils of Trade, since his Majesty's happy Restauration, but that I design Brevity, and to avoid all personal Reflexions. The like may be said of all Shopkeepers, Artificers, Clothiers, and other Manufacturers, until they leave off their Trades, and being rich, by the Purchase of Lands, become of the same common Interest with most of their Countrymen.

2. And upon the same Reason, I am of Opinion, and have found by Experience, that a mixed Assembly of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, are the best Constitution that can be established for the making of Rules, Orders, and By-Laws, for the carrying on any Trade for the publick Utility of the Kingdom.

3. That all Domestick or foreign Trade, to any Place or Country, that doth not in the Result and Consequence of it, increase the Value of our *English* Lands (the good Plight whereof is the main Basis of our Wealth, Freedom, and Safety) ought not only to be discouraged, but totally rejected.

4. That all Monopolies of what Nature and Kind soever, are destructive to Trade, and consequently, obstructive to the Increase of the Value of our Lands.

5. That those narrow Clauses in the *Turkey* Company, and other Charters, which limit the Traders to be Freemen of *London*, &c. are to the Prejudice of the Nation in general, though they may be for the Advantage of particular Traders, for which I suppose they were calculated.

6. I am of Opinion, the *Dutch*, nationally Speaking, are the wisest People now extant, for the contriving and carrying on their Trades for the publick Advantage of their Country. If any shall here object, that if it be so, I am mistaken in my former Notion^z, that Merchants are not always the best Judges of Trade; for the *Dutch* have most Merchants in their Councils: The Honourable Sir *W. Temple*, hath already answered for me, that their Councils are made up of very few or no trading Merchants,

* §. 1.

Merchants, but of Civilians, or Sons of Merchants, that have long since left off their active Trades, and have only now Stock in their *East* and *West-India* Companies, or in their *Banks* and *Cantores*, or any other publick Fonds.

7. That though the Dominion of the Sea may be maintained by Arms, and fortunate Battles at Sea, it can never be retained, preserved, and maintained, but by the Excess and Predominancy of foreign Trade.

8. That Domestick and foreign Trade do (as we vulgarly say of Twins, but more truly of Trade) wax and wain together; and if it were not an Improprity of Speech, Land might be coupled with them.

9. I am of Opinion, that Silver and Gold, coined or uncoined^z, though they are used for a Measure of all^a Ch. 68. other Things, are no less a Commodity than Wine, §. 3. Cloth, or Stuff, &c. and may in many Cases be exported, as much to national Advantage, as any other Commodity.

10. That no Nation ever was, or will be, considerable in Trade, that prohibits the Exportation of Bullion.

11. That though it may be best to be left free and indifferent, it is more for the publick Advantage to export Gold or Silver coined, than uncoined: By the former, we gain the Manufacture, and something of Honour and Magnificence it is to have his Majesty's Royal Stamp pass current in all Parts of the World.

C H A P. LXX.

The East-India Trade the most National: By Sir Josiah Child, 1681.

1. *THAT* the East India Trade is the most national of Page 6. all foreign Trades, is thus proved, viz. What the *Dutch*, *French*, *Danes*, *Portugals*, and which not long since, the *Swedes*, and now the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, have with so great Charge and Expence attempted, and hedged about with Laws and Encouragements, must
A a 3 certainly

certainly be a Matter of the greatest national Consequence.

2. This Trade employs more great warlike Ships, than all the Trades of the World, from *England*, besides,

3. This Trade alone furnishes us with Salt-Petre.

4. Above four Fifths of the Commodities imported by this Trade, are re-exported into foreign Parts; by the Returns of which, more than treble the Bullion^b is imported, that was first exported to *India*, and the Wealth of this Kingdom as greatly increased, as by the direct Trade to, and from, the *East Indies*.

^b Ch. 68. §. 3.

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5. Most of the *East India* Commodities are of so small Bulk, that if the Trade were not in *English* Hands, the Commodities would nevertheless come in from *Holland*, (as the *French*^c Silks now do) then we should pay

^c Ch. 68. §. 2. Note. as much for Pepper, which we now sell for 8 *d.* a Pound, as we do for Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace, Cinnamon,

which is from 6 *s.* to 14 *s.* per Pound. Tho' the two last are cheaper at the Places of their Growth, than Pepper is at *Bantam*; but enhaunced to that Price, by the *Dutch* having the sole Trade for them. By which I conclude this Company saves the Kingdom in that respect only 500,000 *l.* per ann.

6. All Riches and Power in Nations is comparative; consequently whatever weakens or depopulates our neighbour Nations, *French, Dutch, &c.* enricheth and strengtheneth *England*. And most certain it is, that no foreign Trade doth so work upon the Manufactures of our neighbour Nations, as this Trade of the *East Indies*; for the Staple Countries for Silks and fine Linen are, *Italy, France, Holland, Flanders, &c.* infomuch as it is reasonably computed, those Countries, by the Importation of *East India* Silks and Callicoes, not only into *England*, but from *England* into their own Countries, are abated in those fine Manufactures, above a Million of Pounds *Sterling* per ann.

Page 8.

7. And which is a Consideration of great Weight, and may be of immense Advantage, *England* hath already the principal Trade of Woolen Manufactures, and now a quicker Vent and Export for them, than ever it had in the Memory of any Man living. But throughout *Christianity*, I have ever been of Opinion that, generally speaking, there are more Men and Women employed in

Silks

Silk Manufactures than in Woolen; of which likewise *England* hath obtained a considerable Part, considering the short Time since our Silk Broad-weaving began; which was but since Mr. *Burtinach* brought in Silk-Dyers and Throwsters, towards the latter End of the late King *James*, or Beginning of King *Charles* the First. And I am credibly informed, the Number of Families, employed therein already, doth amount to above 40,000. Now what should hinder, but that in a few Years more, this Nation may treble that Number in such Manufactures; since the *East India* Company have of late Years found out a Way of bringing Raw Silk of all sorts into this Kingdom, cheaper than it can be afforded in *Turky, France, Spain, Italy*, or any other Place where it is made. Infomuch as with *East India* Silks we serve *Holland, Flanders*, and some other Markets, from *England*.

8. This Trade pays his Majesty about 60,000 *l.* per ann. Custom; and carries out of this Kingdom yearly 60 or 70,000 *l.* in Lead, Tin, Cloth, Stuffs, &c. Which is not so considerable with respect to the Quantity, as in this, that what we send to the *East Indies* of our own Manufactures, would not be sent at all, if the *English* Nation were deprived of this Trade; because neither *Dutch* nor *French* would enure the *East Indians* to our *English* Manufactures. Of which we have a clear Instance in the *Dutch* Trade to *Japan*, where they industriously avoid introducing our *English* Cloth. Which Country being exceeding large, rich and populous, and lying in such a Northern Latitude, might vent as much of our *English* Manufactures as *Spain* and *Portugal*, if we could gain a Footing in that Trade. In the Endeavour whereof, the Company hath already lost above 50,000 *l.* *Sterling*.

9. Though the Company have lost so much in the Attempt of the Trade of *Japan*, they have lately got an Entrance into the Trade of *Cochin China* and *China*; and have, for a few Years past, settled Factories in the three Ports thereof, viz. *Tywan, Tonqueen, and Amoy*, to their great Charge and Expence, without reaping any Profit thereby to this Time, but a certain constant Loss; which they did, and do continue notwithstanding, out of a Zeal they have to promote the Consumption of our

Woolen

Woolen Manufactures, in a Climate not altogether so hot as most Parts of *India* are, which probably may, in some Time, turn to the publick Advantage of this Kingdom, when those raging and bloody Wars between the *Chinese* and the *Tartars* are ended.

Page 12.

10. But, say the *Turkey* Merchants, the bringing in of so much *Silk*, and so cheap, is a publick Nuisance, and destroys our Trade, which depends wholly upon the Woolen Manufacture; whereas the *East-India* Company send out little Manufacture; and much Bullion.

To which I answer, strange it is, if making a Material cheap, that is to be manufactured at home, or re-exported to foreign Countries, should be the publick Damage of any Country. 2. The *Turkey* Merchants do indeed ship out much Cloth; and more, since the great Increase of the *East-India* Trade, and since themselves have made this Complaint, than they did in former Years. So that in Fact, it doth not follow, that the Increase of the *East-India* Trade, and particularly of their Importation of *Silk*, doth hinder or diminish the Exportation of Cloth to *Turkey*, but rather the contrary.

3. The Question is not now, which Company sends out most Woolen Manufactures, but which is the most profitable to the Nation. Which I hope I have proved the *East-India* Trade to be; especially, if the aforementioned Consideration be taken in, that what *English* Commodities the *East-India* Company exports, would not be exported at all, if the *English* had no Trade thither: Because other Nations that trade thither, are under Joint Stocks and Political Councils, and consequently would send none of our Manufactures. But as long as there is a Market for our *English* Cloth in *Turkey*, if the *English* did not send it thither, the *Dutch* would; because in *Holland*, there is no *Turkey* Company; but any Man, Native, or Foreigner, may send what Commodities, and when they please, for *Turkey*, except they be staid for Convoy by some Act of State. And where all Men have Liberty to trade at Discretion, they would naturally deal in those Commodities they can get most by, be they foreign or domestick. 4. If Bullion be exported, and that hinder not the Exportation of our *English* Manufactures, as, in Fact, doth appear. And if for every 10s. Value sent out, 30s. be brought in Bullion in the long

long run, which is most evident in the Course of the *East-India* Trade; who can doubt but the Exportation of Bullion in such a Trade, is a real and great Advantage to the Kingdom? 5. Besides their Cloth, the *Turkey* Merchants do send out a great deal of Bullion themselves; as appears by their Entries at the *Custom-House*: In which they do well for themselves and their Country, but not well in complaining of others at the same Time, for the same Thing. 6. The Truth of the Case, at the Bottom, is but this. The Importation of better and cheaper raw *Silk* from *India*, may probably touch some *Turkey* Merchants Profit at present; though it doth benefit the Kingdom, and not hinder the Exportation of Cloth. What then? must one Trade be interrupted because it works upon another? At that rate, there would be nothing but Confusion *ad infinitum*. The *Italian* Merchants may quarrel with the *Portugal* Merchants, because they do now in a plentiful Year import from *Portugal* 4000 Pipes of Oil, when formerly they did not use to import above 100. With much more Probability of Truth, might the *Portugal* Merchants pretend that our Plantation Sugars spoil their Trade, and the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures to *Portugal*. Our Plantation Sugars have brought down their *Lisbon* Sugars from 8l. 10s. per Cent. to 2l. 10s. within my Memory; and yet the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures to *Portugal*, is now greater than ever it was since *England* was a trading Nation*. Just as it is, and will

Ch. 68.

The Price of Sugars from Portugal abated.

* But see what the Author of *Britannia languens* says, Chap. 66. §. 20. Note. See also the *British Merchant*, Vol. 3. p. 82. which says, that in this very Year 1681, See one *Courteen*, an *Irishman*, a Servant in the Family of the then Queen of *England*, afterwards Queen *Dowager*, carried over several Clothiers and Bays-makers into *Portugal*, where they presently set up the Manufactures both of Cloth and Bays, particularly at Port *Alegre* and *Cavilhan*. See the Consequences hereof, (Chap. 107.) Which shews, that though we should admit Sir *Josiah* to have represented these Things truly for the present, (which is somewhat difficult to believe) yet was he much out in his Expectations for the future. But having undertook to be an Advocate for the *East India* Company, he has stuck at nothing, to defend it.

Ch. 106.

will prove in the *Turkey Trade*. The Simile holds, and will hold throughout.

Page 18. 11. It is further objected to the *East India Trade*, That besides raw Silk, the Company imports wrought Silk, to the Prejudice of the Silk Manufacture in England.

Page 19. *Answ.* This Objection lies as much or more against all other wrought Silks imported into England, from Italy, Holland, or any other Part of the World. 2. The Silks which the Company commonly bring in, are, the main Part of them, Taffaties, and other plain or striped Silks, and Pelongs, such as are not usually made in England, but imported from France, Italy, and Holland; where lately when Pelongs were scarce, many were made and imitated at Harlem, and from thence imported into England. So this Importation works upon our Neighbours, preserves the Balance of our Trade, and consequently increaseth the Capital of our Nation. 3. And which is beyond all Contradiction, as will appear by the Entries at the Custom-House, a great Part of the wrought Silks, imported by the East-India Company, are again shipped out to France, Holland, and other foreign Parts.

12. Some Clothiers complain, that the East-India Company hinders the Vent of Cloth.

Answ. This indeed is a fine Practice, and deserves a thorow Inspection. 1. Who they are that complained. 2. When and how they began to complain. 3. Why they complain. 1. For the Time when; it was in the Year 1674 or 1675, as I remember: Then they had the Confidence to tell the Parliament, the Company would spoil the Trade of Cloth, and bring the Price of Wool to nothing. But, in Fact, the Company has now stood 5 or 6 Years, since that Time, and much augmented their Trade for India; but Wool is advanced, in Price, above 50 per Cent.; and such a Trade there is, and hath been, for Woolen Manufactures, as England never saw in any former * Age. 2. Who they were that

* I am here to reconcile a seeming Difference between the Author of *Britannia languens*, a Work published ann. 1680, and this Tract of 1681. The former has said, that English Wool in England, was then at 12 s. and 13 s. per Todd; and Sir *Josiah*, that it was now (1681) risen 50 l. per Cent. These are Facts, in which the respective Authors could

that complained; not the poor *Kentish* Clothiers, who have lost their Trade; nor the *Suffolk* Men that have lost their Manufacture of blue Cloth; but the *Worcestershire*,

could not be mistaken, would not venture to misrepresent very much. And tho' such a Difference might happen in a short Space; and we have known the like Instances, particularly in the Years 1717 and 1743^h; yet, whereas Sir *Josiah* says further of this Time, 'Such a Trade there is, and hath been for Woolen Manufacture, as England never knew in any former Age.' This is a Point, in which possibly he might be mistaken; and as he has not said, neither has it any where occurred to me, what was the Amount of the English Woolen Exportations, at this Time, I therefore suspend my Belief somewhat as to that Particular. But, that there was an Advance in the Price of Woolen Goods, and probably an Increase in the Quantity exported, we know from a collateral Testimony of the *British Merchant*, (Vol. 1. p. 184.) who says, 'Colchester Bays were worth about Michaelmas 1676 but 17 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ per Ell.

1677	—	16 d. $\frac{1}{2}$
1679	—	18 d. $\frac{1}{2}$
1680	—	23 d. $\frac{1}{2}$
1681	—	24 d. $\frac{1}{2}$

And (says he) I refer to the Books and Accounts of all our Merchants, whether, in general, the Value of all our Woolen Manufactures did not increase in Proportion, from the Year 1678; also our principal dying Wares.'

N. B. In 1678, the Parliament prohibited the *French* Trade; and to this Prohibition the *British Merchant* ascribes this Revolution in the Trade of England. But, as he pitches afterwards, as we shall see; upon the Year 1699, for the highest Year of Woolen Exports, within his Cognizance, to the Time of his writing, viz. 1713. In which Year, 1699, they did not amount to Three Millions; and as Mr. *King*, and Dr. *Davenant*, calculated the whole Woolen Exports, upon a Medium, before the Year 1700, at but Two Millions per ann.; which I take to be less, all things considered, than what we have Reason to conclude of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, from ^l *Camden* and ^m *Wheeler*; therefore I am inclined to think, that tho' the Woolen Trade of England was considerably amended in this Period; from what it had been a few Years before, and all along from the *Restoration*, (and this, for Reasons mentioned by the *British Merchant*, without any Thanks due for the same to the then *East India* Company, but the Reverse) yet was it

Ch. 171.

Ch. 62.

§. 12. Note.

Ch. 72.

§. 1. Note.

Ch. 20.

Ch. 25.

shire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire Men, that do now make and vend above twenty times the Quantity of Cloth, which they did before this Company was erected.

3. How they began to complain; which, as I have been informed, was thus: Their first Petition was drawn only against the *Turkey Company*, for making but one Cloth Shipping in a Year; but entertaining a certain Council (since famous for other Matters) he told them, for some Reasons best known to himself, they should draw their Petition against the *East-India Company* likewise; which accordingly they did; but whether they were *Dutch* or *English* that paid the best Fees, that I could never discover.

4. Why they complained. That I believe few of them understood: It could not be because their Trade

it not (what Sir *Josiah* says) such as never had been known in any former Age.

However, we are sufficiently informed, that Wool had risen from 12 and 13, to 18 or 19 s. per Tod. But between what Times? Sir *Josiah* published his Tract early in 1681. *Britannia languens* is dated 1680. But this latter being a Book of some Size, was probably set to the Press in 1679; and being certainly some time in preparing for the Press, might be wrote before the Price of Wool had advanced.

Here note further: The *British Merchant* says, 'Spanish Wool in 1678 was 20 and 21 d. per Pound; in 1680, 26 and 28 d.' But how the Price of Spanish Wool should depend much upon the State of the *English Trade* only, is not so easily conceived; since that must be governed also by the Markets of *Spain*, viz. the whole Quantity there, and the whole Demands from thence, to *France, Holland, Germany, Italy, &c.* as well as *England*.

^m Ch. 60. This confirms me in an Opinion I have elsewhere ^m delivered, viz. That the Price even of English Wool, in England, is more governed by the general Market of Europe, and the World at large, for that Commodity, Wool, than by any Circumstance relating to the English Trade in particular. And it makes me think, that although the *English Woolen Trade* was certainly amended at this Period; yet if the Price of Wool had not advanced abroad also at the same time, the *English Wool-grower* would have received no great Advantage in the Price of his Wool, from such Amendment of the Woolen Trade. The State of the English Woolen Trade,

ⁿ Ch. 176. and the Price of English Wool in England, ann. ⁿ 1737-8, P. 5. will justify this Observation and Opinion.

Trade sunk; for that was manifestly and wonderfully increased. It could not be because the *East-India Company*, as a Company, sent out less Cloth than was sent for *India* in the open Trade: For the Entries at the *Custom-House* will evidence, that the Company, since their last Incorporation have sent out, in some one Year, above ten times as much Cloth, as was ever sent out in the Time of open Trade. But why then did they complain? Really I cannot tell; but peradventure their Council aforesaid, or some *Turkey Merchants*, their Customers, might inform them, that if the Trade of *India* were open, there would be a new World for Cloth, that would vent as much as the old World. And if they had any *Dutch* or *French* Customers, no Question they would not be backward to encourage so good a Work.

13. The *East-India Trade* is more profitable and necessary to the Kingdom of England, than to any other Kingdom or Nation in Europe.

The Trade of *India* is to *England*, not only a great, but an unmixed Advantage. Whereas to all our Neighbours, tho' the Trade of the *East-Indies* be a great Advantage, and accordingly courted and coveted by them; yet they cannot have it without some Mixture of Loss in other Respects; because some of them have the Growth and Production of Silk among themselves. They have likewise the sole Manufacture of plain Silk, such as *Tafeties, Sarcanetts, &c.* which are brought from *India* cheaper than they can make them at home. Whereas in *England*, our Silk Manufacture consists in flowered Silks and Fancies, still changed as often as the Fashion alters. *Holland, Flanders,* (and *France*, in some Measure) have their principal Manufactures in fine Linens, Cambricks, Lawns, and Hollands, which only Callicoe works upon. Whereas the Linen we make in *England*, is of the strong coarse Sorts, generally used by meaner People; which Callicoe doth not prejudice to any sensible Degree. Neither is the Linen Manufacture in *England* a Matter worth taking Notice of (whatever a few Gentlemens Opinion is.) But in *Holland, Flanders, France,* and some Parts of *Germany*, it is their main Concern; being the Subsistence of the Majority of the People, as the Woolen Manufacture is in *England*.

14. The

Page 40.

14. The *Dutch* have a standing Contract with the King of *Persia* for all his Silk, which may amount to 600 Bales yearly. Now in regard, *Bengal* Silk in the *East-Indies*, can be brought cheaper to *Europe* than *Persia* Silk: The *Dutch*, by bringing Silk from *Bengal*, must of Necessity, in some Kind, prejudice that Contract, in the Price of Silk, although it be the *Dutch* Companies own Contract, as well as the *Turkey* Merchants. Whereas we having no such Contract in *Persia*, do not work upon ourselves as they must of Necessity: And yet they are wiser than to slight the Trade of *Bengal* for that Cause. This Argument concerning the *Dutch* Contract in *Persia*, is so fully confirmed by the Companies Advices, lately received from *Persia*, that the *Dutch* there did lately desire to be excused from receiving their Quota of Silk, which is 600 Bales yearly, upon Pretence of their Want of Money to pay for it; which notwithstanding was forced on them by *Sheeke Ally Cawne* the Emperor's Governor there.

15. If it be here asked me, why the *English East-India* Company, seeing *Persia* is within their Charter, are not as wise as the *Dutch*, to make a Contract likewise with the King of *Persia*? I answer, the *Dutch* got the Start of us in that, long before this Company was constituted, and we cannot possibly retrieve it yet: The *Persians* being a People most difficult to be removed from what they have once determined.

16. If it be further retorted upon me, that by my own Confession, the Importation of Silk from *India*, doth prejudice the *English Turkey* Merchants in the Price of their Silk here, I grant it: But what is that to *England* in general? It's the Interest of *England*, that we should have Silk here (being a Material to be manufactured) cheaper than in any other Part of *Europe* where it grows; and so we shall infallibly, if the Company stand. But at the same Time, I do expressly deny that the making of Silk cheap in *England*, doth hinder the Exportation of our Woolen Manufacture to *Turkey*: The contrary being as evident as the Sun at Noon Day, as before is demonstrated in these two pregnant Instances experienced and unanswerable, viz. That as the Price of *Portugal* Sugars hath abated (in which formerly almost all our Returns from that Country, were made) we have

have increased exceedingly in the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures to that Country; and even in our Trade to *Turkey* itself for many Years: And to this very Time, as the Price of *Turkey* Silk hath abated, the Exportation of our Woolen Manufacture hath increased; and so it will still, though Silk should come to half the Price it bears now in *England*. Upon the Proof whereof, by ^a Ch. 122. Time, I dare hazard all that little I have in the World ^a. §. 3, 4. Besides, when all is done; and if the *Turkey* Merchants Ch. 101. might have their Will, to the irreparable Damage of their §. 3. common Country, what would they be better? except Ch. 102. by an Act of Parliament we could as well hinder the §. 5. Note. *French, Dutch*, and other Neighbours, from trading in Ch. 103. *East-India* Silk, as we can the *East-India* Company. §. 5. Note. Is not this dealing our Childrens Bread to Strangers? weakening ourselves, and strengthening our Enemies, whilst they laugh and stand amazed at our Indiscretion.

17. If notwithstanding all that hath been said, the Company must be destroyed. God's Will be done. To write what I have, I thought my Duty to my Country; which having satisfied myself in the Performance of, I am not careful for Events; being always confident, that whatever the Parliament does, they will do it justly; and so wisely as to make the best of a bad Bargain. I am persuaded the *Dutch*, to have this Feat done, would ease our Lands a while, by giving us a Million of Pounds Sterling, if they knew where to find Chapmen (which God grant they never may) and I am sure if they did pay two Millions ^r, they would have too good a Bargain ^r Ch. 79. of it. §. 17.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXI.

A Representation of the Advantages from erecting and improving of Manufactories; more especially that of Woolen Cloth; with an Answer to the Objections against this last; and an Account of the present State and Success of the Manufactory at New Milnes for Woolen Cloth, Serges, Silk and Worsted Stockins, and of the Rules and Methods observed by the Undertakers in the managing of it; with Proposals to such as shall be willing to join in that Work. Edinburgh printed, 1683.

1. HOW great Inclinations our Kings have had, ever since the Year 1581, to encourage Manufactories in this Kingdom, may appear by the several Acts of Parliament, and Council, since that Time; some whereof are narrated in the 40th Act of the first Parliament, Sess. 1. Charles II. And in no Age did the Zeal of the Nation appear more for erecting of Manufactories and Societies, than since his Majesties happy Restauration: As is evident by the foresaid * 40th and 42d;

* ' That no Native or Stranger export Wool, nor Skins with Wool upon them, until made in Work, under the Pain, &c. That none forestall the Mercat of Wool, nor keep up the same to a Dearth, under the Pain against Regraters; — declaring always, that the Exchequer may license the Export of Wool and Skins, as they shall see Cause. Car. II. Parl. 1. Sess. 1. c. 40. The Act is, ' Act for erecting of Manufactories.' Abridgment of the Scottish Acts. By Sir James Stewart, 1702.

Scottish Acts from James I. to 1702 inclusive.

I shall here insert the rest of the Scottish Acts on this same Head. ' That no Wool be transported out of the Kingdom, under the Pain of Confiscation thereof, and of the whole remanent Goods of the Owners and Transporters; and that

42d, 43d, 45th, 46th, 47th, and 48th, Acts of that Session of his Majesties first Parliament, and by the 20th Act of the 3d Sess. of the same Parliament.

2. But the effectual and serious Prosecution of these former Laws, was reserved for the Years * of his Royal Highnesses Commission.

3. We

' that no Licence be granted contrary to this Act; but that the Purchasers and Users thereof incur the same Pains. ' James VI. Parl. 7. c. 113.' N. B. This Act is against the Excess of costly Cleithing, &c.

This Prohibition is subjoined to the Regulation then made of Mens Apparel.

' That Wool be not transported to England, nor sold to any Englishman in Scotland or England, who transports the same to England, under the Pain of Escheat thereof, and of all the Moveables of the actual Transporters, as also of the Causes and Sellers thereof to be transported, Half to the King, and Half to the Apprehender, and Warding for six Months, and otherwise at the King's Will, annulling all Licences either granted, or to be granted. James VI. Parl. 12. c. 151.

' These Acts ratified, and all Licences in the contrary discharged; and the King promises to grant no such Licences for hereafter. James VI. Parl. 15. c. 250.'

All these (in the Time of James VI. during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth) to oblige the Scots to wear their own Manufacture, of their own Produce. (See above N. B.)

' Act ratifying all former Acts against the Exportation of Wool, and Skins with Wool on them, Scots or foreign, or Worsted, or Woollen Yearn, under most strict Pains: And the Act is full and particular as to the Execution: But only to endure for five Years, and to the End of the next Session of Parliament thereafter inclusive.'

' Item. The Importation of English or Irish Wool is forbidden under the like Penalties, till the first of January 1702; but the Prohibition of the Export of English or Irish Wool is only to indure to the End of the next Session of Parliament inclusive.' Will. Parl. 1. Sess. 9. c. 9.

* The Duke of York went first to Scotland, October 27, Rapin, 1679. He was in England, Feb. 24, 1679-80; departed again for Scotland, Oct. 20, 1680. As the King's High Commissioner, opened a Parliament there, July 28, 1681. vol. 2. p. 711-25.

3. We need not insist upon the Advantages arising to a Nation from Manufactories. But being by his *Royal Highness* invited and encouraged to enter ourselves in a Companie and Society of Clothiers, that Posterity may reap Benefit and Profit by our Example, we conceive it our Duty, in Point of Gratitude, to give this Account of our Undertaking, and our Success therein hitherto.

4. What is made of Wool, is either made use of in the Kingdom, or exported: and is either made of our own Country Wool, or *foreign*. If made use of within the Kingdom, and that it be of our own Wool; every Pound, suppose of the coarsest Wool, which is not worth 5 *d.* the Pound (reckoning 16 Ounces to the Pound) comes to yield, when made in Fingrams, (the coarsest of our Product) dy'd and dressed, 12 *d.* the Eln, and affords a Maintenance to Carders, Spinners, Weavers, Dyers, and Dressers.

5. And whereas, within these twenty or twenty four Years, several thousand Pounds Sterling have been exported to *England* yearly, and bestowed upon such Serges, as are now sold for 12 *d.* or 13 *d.* the Eln here, but then cost 16 or 18 *d.* the Yard at *London*; there is not only none imported, but many thousand Pounds Sterling worth sent yearly to *Holland*, and Money brought here in *Specie* for them: Many sent to the Plantations abroad; yea, many carried into *England* itself by Stealth (whence we were formerly furnished) and sold there to good Profit. And though this Sort is made of the coarsest of Wool, and is almost the coarsest of Woolen Stuffs made in the Kingdom; yet much Benefit arises from the same, not only by saving the Export of so much Money, formerly bestowed on such; but also by occasioning the Import of so much Money to the Kingdom.

6. And the Benefit and Advantage will be much more, when Time is employed in making finer Stuffs or Serges, as can be made appear by the making of that sort of Serges, called *Stirling Serges*, where one Pound of our own Wool (not worth 8 *s.* Scots * the Troy Pound) shall

* In *Scotland*, before the Union, the Scots had their Pounds, Shillings, and Pence; but their Pound was but 20 Pence *English*, and the others in Proportion, *v. g.* the Scotch Shilling was but 1 Penny Sterling. (See *Chambers's Dict. Coins.*)

shall yield two Elms of Serge, or thereabouts; which when dyed and dress'd in Cloth Colours, is sold here in Retail with Profit for 24 *s.* the Eln: And within these eight Years were wholly imported from *England*, and cost there, albeit, not finer than this, always 2 *s.* 2 *d.* and 2 *s.* 4 *d.* Sterling the Yard.

7. And as more People are employed in making these Serges, requiring more Time in spinning and weaving; so when made, being double the Value and Price of the former, they do now not only save a great Sum of Money, which was yearly exported, and bestowed on the like in *England*, but within these three Years, good Quantities have been exported to *Holland, Hamburgh, Spain*, and the *West-Indies*, and other Places (as can be made appear); and it is but eight or ten Years at most, since any Quantities of them were begun to be made here.

8. To ascend yet higher, to mixt Searges, Cloth Searges, and those called in *France*, *Searge de Nismes*, which can be made of the same Wool with the former, or not two Shillings Scots the Pound dearer, and yet do yield double or triple the Price; within these two Years, our People are come to a great Perfection in them, infomuch, that several Pieces are made as fine, as any ordinarily made in *France* or *England*, whereby, also in a short Time, a great Sum of Money formerly exported for buying these Goods, will be saved in the Country, and Money gained by Export.

9. But the most artificial and beneficial Commodity made of Wool is Cloth^a; and the finer the Cloth be, ^{See} the more Persons are employed about it, and the Benefit ^{Chap. 4.} of it the greater. This Manufactory of Cloth enricheth ^{§. 16. Note.} *England* and *Holland*. Nay, there are many more People employed, and much more Profit made, and Money imported by this Manufactory alone, than by all the other Manufactories in *England* joined together; it being almost incredible what vast Quantities of Cloths they make, what vast Sums of Money (besides Goods) the Returns of the Cloths they yearly export to *Turkey*, the *Straits, Spain, Holland, Portugal, France, Hamburgh*, the *West-Indies*, and many other Places, produce; and it is evident how immensely beneficial it is: for were it not so, it had not continued so long amongst them, nor

had such Endeavours been used, to monopolize it to their Nation.

10. But although their Example alone may sufficiently demonstrate the great Profit, that may arise to this Kingdom, from making of Cloth, above all other Woolen Manufactures, it is evident of itself. For First, That it would save the greatest Export of Money of any Manufactory, can be demonstrated from the Custom-House Books. Secondly, That it may, and will, occasion the greatest Import of Money, is evident from the Example of our Neighbour Nation: And that even Scotland living and working, at least as cheap, may send abroad and sell as cheap as England. Thirdly, Because the Labour is most considerable in the Price, of superfine Spanish Cloth, for Instance, which is 17, 18, or 19 s. per Yard, when the prime Cost of the Materials is not above 5 s. 4 d. So that the rest is so much clear Gain for Labour.

11. We have already 726 constantly employed, besides Wrights, Reedmakers, &c.; and the Premises considered, it is hoped that all well Wishers to the Country will not only observe the Laws made for the encouraging thereof, but also promote, and contribute to erect Cloth Manufactories themselves.

12. But some object to this Design, the Novelty of it. Secondly, That we shall never be able to bring it to that Perfection as it is in England. Thirdly, That we shall never make it so cheap. Fourthly, That we shall never be able to furnish the Country. Fifthly, That in the mean Time People cannot get Cloth. Sixthly, That it can never be hindered to be imported, and that the Laws * against its Import will not be put in Execution.

Ch. 128. §. 13.

13. Answ. 1. If Novelty be a good Argument against a good

Abridgment of Scottish Statutes. By Sir James Stuart.

* That none import into this Kingdom (Scotland) any Thread-Lace, Fringes, &c. of Gold and Silver, &c. — and the wearing of any of the Premises after the first of April 1682, is prohibited under the Pain of — That none import to this Kingdom any foreign Stuff or Cloth made of Linen or Cotton, Wool or Lint, any foreign Silk or Woollen Stockins. — And the Act contains most strict Orders to Customers and Searchers, and appoints Informers and Judges for Execution. And it is declared to be in Place of any former sumptuary Law, anent Apparel, Chap. 2. Part 3. c. 12. The Act is for encouraging of Trade and Manufactories.

a good Work, there is an End of all Reformation, Invention, Improvement, &c. But, 2. It cannot be imagined, what should, or can, hinder our coming to Perfection in making Cloth, except the private Interest of some (in vending foreign Cloth) obstruct or retard it. Perfection comes by Time and Application. In the Space of two Years, our People have arrived to the making of Cloth, that would cost 16 s. Sterling the Ell in England; and are now upon making the finest Kinds; the Spinners who received the former Year 5 d. receive now 9 d. and 12 d.; and Weavers, who received, the last Year, but 30, have now 45 and 50 s. Sterling the Piece, by Reason of the Improvement of both. So that to affirm we shall never come to Perfection, is against Experience in other Arts, and what a little Time will demonstrate to be false in Respect of this.

14. The Undertakers at New Milnes, doubt not but, in two Years more, to be able to sell as cheap as any formerly made in England. But when all Prentices and work People, now learning and working there, shall come to disperse themselves through the Country, and work by themselves, and the Knowledge of it become more general; these doing then for themselves, will work cheaper than any publick Work can, and will be able to sell cheaper than our Neighbours. And as to the Disadvantage the Country hath by the Restraint, that what Cloth is sold, is extravagantly dear: We answer, That this Complaint is either concerning foreign Cloth imported through Stealth, or of the Cloth made in the Kingdom. In the former Case, it is too small a Punishment to the Buyers, whose Pride, &c. prompts them to transgress the Laws, and thwart the publick Good. In the latter, it is a Calumny in the main; yet, in a few Years, we will undertake to sell it cheaper than ever it was sold in Scotland. But this cannot be in the Beginning, when we have all Provisions to make of Looms, &c. great Salaries to pay to foreign Servants to instruct our People, good Fees and Wages to give them also, to draw them from their former Employments, and incline them to this, whereunto they were, at the Beginning, averse.

15. Fourthly, Whereas it is pretended, that the Work at New Milnes will never be able to furnish the Country:

That is most true; yet to that Length are they come in two Years, that from two Looms set up in *October* 1681, they have now 25 at Work for Cloth, and two for Searges, and have ordered ten more to be set up for Cloth, and will undertake to make of coarse, middle, and fine, and superfine Cloths, eight Pieces every Week of the Year; each Piece containing 27, 28, or 29 Ells of dressed Cloth, will amount to above 12,000 Ells in the Year; and some few more such, with private Industry, would furnish the Kingdom. Nor was it ever intended by the Undertakers to serve the whole Kingdom, but principally to be a good Example to others in so good and profitable a Work to the Nation. And the Act of Parliament, and Act of Council, intended not the Restriction upon foreign Cloth for the Advantage of any one Manufactory; but to encourage the upsetting of many. And it is exceedingly to be regretted, as a Disgrace to our Nation, that so great Encouragement being given, so few publick Spirits should be found to promote so good a Work.

16. And *Fifthly*, Whereas it is alledged, that in the mean time people generally want Cloth, and cannot be supplied. We answer, That although by the publick Restraint some may want Cloth, and some cannot presently get such fine Cloth, as formerly they have used; yet there is not any that need want Clothing, even of Woolen Stuff, Cloth or Searge, and that finer (although we want *English* Cloth) than the Generality of People in most Places do wear.

17. The sixth Objection is, That the Import of foreign Cloth will never be fully obstructed; and that the Laws against Importers will never be fully executed. To which we answer, 1st, Let every Objector conform himself, and there will be few Transgressors. 2dly, The first Motion for this Undertaking proceeded from his *Royal Highness*; it was at his Desire, that twenty-four of us have ventured a considerable Part of our Stocks upon it, trusting to, and relying upon, the Execution of these Laws. And having now brought our Undertaking to a considerable Length, his Majesty will not suffer such good Laws to pass unexecute, or to run into Desuetude, to the Loss and Disadvantage of the Kingdom, the Disappointment of his *Royal Highnesses* good Intentions, and the Ruin of the Undertakers.

18. It

18. It may be yet objected, that former Works of this Nature were erected, as at *New Milnes, Aire*, and *Bonington*, which were all left off, and given over.

But, 1. None of the Undertakers of these Works were Retailers of Cloth themselves; and so although they could make Cloth, seeing they could not sell it, they could not furnish Money to carry on the Work. 2. Their Stock was too small. 3. The same Methods were not taken, in those, as in this. For Example; they had their Servants on Days Wages, whereby they were cheated, and exacted upon; whereas we have Servants upon Certainty, conforme to their Work, the Scriblers and Spinners conforme to the Pound, and the Weavers and Dressers, so much upon the Ell and Piece. 4. All the Undertakers were wholly unacquainted in the Affair; and lastly, they wanted the great Encouragement of the Prohibition of foreign Cloth; which clearly shews the great Difference betwixt these erected then, and now; and yet, that at *New Milnes*, before 1650, was in a thriving Condition, 'till *Dundee* was stormed; when their Cloth was taken, and the Troubles forced it to cease.

There cannot be suggested any other Objection † against Manufactories in general, or the Woollen Manufactories in particular. It remains therefore, that we give Account how great a Length we have brought the Work set up by us at *New Milnes*, and upon what rational Grounds we proceed.

19. When his *Royal Highness*, out of a Love to the Kingdom's Advantage, did consider how many Improvements this Nation could make, that were neglected; he appointed a Committee of Trade, where himself presided; in which it was enacted, that all expensive, superfluous Goods, should be discharged to be worn, and that all Goods made of Wool or Flax, which might be made

B b 4 in

† I observe here, that among the several Objections made to the manufacturing of Woolen Cloth in *Scotland*, a Want of proper Wool for the Purpose is not mentioned, as making any Part of the natural or legal Impediments in the way of this new Undertaking there, notwithstanding that it was, at this Time, equally penal to export Wool thither, from *England* or *Ireland*, as even to *France*. (See the Statutes.)

in this Kingdom, as cheap as any where else, should be discharged to be imported. His Royal Highness was not only pleased to endeavour and procure the making of this Law, but called some of us privately, and with the Force of Reason, and Consideration of the publick Good, persuaded us (although considerable to our private Loss) to contribute to the upsetting of this Cloth Manufactory, which we have made our Business since to prosecute.

20. Whereupon, having received from Sir *James Standfield*, the generous and noble Offer of his Walk-Mills, and all his Office-Houses, which are many, great and spacious; and that not only at a small Rent; but which Rent is not to be paid him, but out of the free Profit arising from our Stocks, after the Rent of our Money is paid to us. We did, upon the 10th of *May* 1681, each subscribe for the Sums we are to advance. In *July* 1681, we wrote for a Master to the Work, and six Servants only, who came here in *August* 1681. When he came, he altered the former Method of paying Servants by Dayes Wages, to a certain Price, conform to their Work; and doth, indeed, manage all to the utmost Advantage. We begun at first with two Loomes only; thereafter, in *March* 1682, eight Loomes; in *October* 1682, 14 Loomes; and now we have constantly 25 Loomes employed, and have ordered the setting up 10 more. As we begun with few, and proceeded to more, so, having all People to instruct, except the Master and five or six Sheermen, we began to make the coarsest of white Cloths at first, wherein we continued to *October* 1682; and then we turned Part of our People to coarse mix'd Cloth, and so gradually on to finer; and now we are upon superfine Cloths, and have brought the Spinners and the rest of the Work-People that Length, that we hope against *May* next, to have superfine Cloths, as good as generally are made in *England*. We have entred into a mutual Contract, whereby we have bound ourselves to such Rules and Methods, as in all probability the Undertaking cannot fail, except in case of publick Calamity*. To give a full Account of all would be too tedious.

C H A P.

* This Undertaking, we shall find, did fail, but for what particular Reasons, or at what Time, does not appear.

It

C H A P. LXXII.

Acts and Occurrences, 1685--9.

1. *AN Act for repealing certain Clauses in an Act of Parliament made in the twenty-ninth, and thirtieth Years of the Reign of his late Majesty, for prohibiting French Commodities.* 1 James II. c. 6.*

2. *A. D.*

It is spoke of by a *Scotch Writer*^u, as having existed before^a Ch. 128. the Union (1707); and one might have suspected that the §. 13. Union itself, by superseding the *Scotch Statute* (§. 13. *Note*.) against importing Woolen Manufacture to *Scotland*, had put an End to it. But as another *Scotch Writer* (*J. Spruel*^w) Ch. 89. in the Year 1705, touching upon the same Subject, the Woolen Manufacture of *Scotland*, does not mention this of §. 14--16. *New Mills*, I therefore conclude it had been demolished some time before, and, not improbably, at the Revolution (1688.) For as this particular Manufactory appears (§. 19.) to have been set up at the Instance of King *James*, when Duke of *York*, and High Commissioner for *Scotland*, so it is not unlikely that the Undertakers were Persons much attached to his Interest; as such, had followed his Fortunes, and consequently became Bankrupts, or Persons attainted, &c.

* By this Act it appears, that the above Prohibition of *French Commodities* was for the Term of three Years, from the 20th of *March* 1677-8, and to the End of the next Session of Parliament, after the Expiration of the said three Years. By which Means, *i. e.* for want of such Session of Parliament, it happened to be continued, to the Accession of King *James*. When, as Mr. *Coke* expresses himself, *Coke*, vol. 2. 'That there might be a nearer Conjunction between King ' *James* and his dear Brother of *France*, for carrying on p. 412. ' their great and important Affairs' [*of settling Popery and arbitrary Power in England*]; tho' the King was otherwise sufficiently apprized of the Nature and Interests of Trade, yet did he induce the Parliament to lay open again the Commerce with *France*; by which the Nation relapsed into that Underbalance of Trade, and all the Miseries consequent thereupon, under which it had before laboured, and sunk so much, during a great Part of the Reign of *Car. II.* But as an Interest of a higher Consideration, than even that of

2. A. D. 1688. This Year the French Monarch, by an Arret, granted, to Noel de Varennes, divers Immunities, to encourage him to carry on the Manufacture of Drap de Londres (or Cloth in Imitation of what is sent from London to Turkey) in the Province of Languedoc.

3. An Act for the better preventing the Exportation of Wool, and for encouraging the Woolen Manufactures of this Kingdom. 1 William and Mary, c. 32 *

CHAP.

^x See Ch. 112. §. 7-11.

British Merchant, vol. 1.

p. 183.

Ch. 62.

§. 12. Note.

Ch. 100.

§. 13.

Ch. 103.

§. 6. Note.

British Merchant, page 186.

of Trade, employed the Thoughts of the People, for the remaining Part of this short Reign; so I have not met with any thing published upon the Subject, within that Period.

Before the Year 1678, the Nation was uneasy; Rents fell in most Parts of the Kingdom, and great Complaints were made upon the visible Decay of Trade, and the great Want of Money. On the other hand, France had her Engineers at work; and if we may believe Histories of those Times, she found great Advocates for her Trade, and for a long time corrupted otherwise a brave Nation. But at last it was generally confessed and acknowledged, that the French Trade had ruined our own; and our Legislators came heartily into the Prohibition in 1678, notwithstanding the Court, for some time, opposed it. Murmurs and Complaints then ceased at once. Rents soon advanced; and Industry being encouraged, new Manufactures were daily set up.

But notwithstanding our Trade had been thus happily retrieved in 1678, and the Advantages England enjoyed by the Prohibition were so visible; yet in 1685, a new Parliament, in Complaisance to King James the Second, and to gratify his good Ally the French King, repealed this Prohibition. And yet such were the Apprehensions and Convictions which that House of Commons entertained of the pernicious Consequences thereof, that about the same Time, they appointed a Committee to consider of the Means to keep up the Price of Wool; and, to that End, resolved that all Persons should wear the Woolen Manufactures, six Months in the Year. But the French (ever vigilant to improve the Opportunities we gave them) immediately stocked us with their Manufactures and Products; and, in three Years time, imported upon us, to the Value of four Millions, besides what they brought in clandestinely, which amounted to an incredible Sum.

* Reciting, 'That former Laws in this Case had not been duly observed; but that great Quantities of Wool had

CHAP. LXXIII.

Reasons humbly offered by the Governour, Assistants, and Fellowship of Eastland Merchants, against the giving a general Liberty to all Persons whatsoever, to export the English Woolen Manufacture whither they please. 1689 *.

1. THAT they are under a Misapprehension, who do assert, that a general Liberty to all Persons, to export our Woolen Manufacture where they please, will conduce much to the Interest of the Nation, under a Sup-

had been exported, through Neglect of Officers, and by means of some doubtful Expressions in the Statute of 12 Car. II. on this Head: It ordains, That Wool carried to the Sea Coast, to be shipped to some other Part of the Kingdom, shall be duly entered, registered, and cocketed: That no Wool shall be shipped from Ireland, but at certain Ports there, for certain Ports in England: Commissioners are appointed to execute the Act, they or any appointed. five of them. Which Act to continue for three Years, and from thence to the End of the next Session of Parliament.

And for the better Encouragement of the Woolen Manufacture, and the Growth of Wool, any Person or Persons may buy and export Woolen Manufacture into any foreign Parts whatsoever; saving to the Levant Company, the Eastland Company, to the Russian and the African Companies, their Charters and Grants: with a Proviso, for exporting, from Southampton only, for the only Use and Behoof of the following Islands, and of the Woolen Manufactures there, viz. 1000 Tods of uncombed Wool for Guernsey, 2000 Tods for Jersey, 200 Tods for Alderney, 100 Tods for Sarke, more than by the Act of 12 Car. II. c. 32. is provided.

* This Tract appears to have been wrote while the last foregoing Act was depending; as it bears the Name, and conveys the Sense and Arguments, of a considerable trading Company, it is, for that Reason, the more to be regarded.

a Supposition, that it will increase the Vent thereof; we humbly apprehend will be clearly evident, upon these following Considerations; which (as in Duty bound) we submit to the Judgment of our Superiors.

2. *First*, We affirm, that a general Permission of Exportation will be a Means to debase the Reputation of our *English* Manufactures, and consequently render them less desirable abroad.

Page 4. 3. *Secondly*, It will overthrow all the incorporated Companies of all the Merchants in *England*; the Mischiefs whereof will be as follows; 1. The Trade of *England* will thereby be lost, as to the *English*, and come to be all, or the greatest Part, in the Hands of Foreigners, as before the Erection of the said Companies². 2. All

² See Chap. 75. §. 2, 3.

Privileges obtained by the said Companies from foreign Princes and States will be entirely lost. 3. The Navigation of *England*, by Degrees, will be impaired. Lastly, So far from answering the End proposed, of vending a greater Quantity of Woolen Manufacture, it will be the Occasion of vending a great deal less. The proving of which several Particulars, we shall undertake in Order*.

Page 14. 4. And if it now be objected to us, that after all our Endeavours to prove that a general Permission will not increase the Vent of our *Manufacture*, we have in the mean time no where affirmed what will; we must declare, that at present, we know but one of these two Means; either to put a Stop to its making in other Parts; OR, to make it so cheap here, that we may be able to undersell our Neighbours. The first of which we know to be IMPOSSIBLE; the latter, we have Reason to believe, might give Offence to the SELLERS of its MATERIALS†; though it is sufficiently evident to any common

^a Ch. 25. * Here follows an historical Detail of what we have had before, from *Wheeler*^a, *Miffelden*^b; and in the Answers of the Fellowship of *Merchant Adventurers*^c to the *Interlopers*, ann. 1662.

^b Ch. 32, 34. ^c Ch. 36. † Hence may be inferred, that the Price of Wool was at this Time, more than the Merchants and Manufacturers thought well of. That this, in *England*, was not owing to the Non-Exportation of Wool, the last foregoing Act^d does

^d Ch. 72. sufficiently witness; on the contrary, it says, 'that great Quantities of Wool had been exported;'

mon Understanding, that the CHEAPNESS of the MATERIALS is the most proper Means of increasing the Vent of the MANUFACTURE †.

C H A P. LXXIV.

Acts and Occurrences, 1689-91.

- 1. AN * Act for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with France. 1. W. M. c. 34. || † 2. Though

Quantities of Wool had been exported; but neither was this the sole Reason of the advanced Price of Wool in *England* at this Time; the Market of *Europe* ran high for Wool at this Period. (See the Commerce of *Marseilles* in Ch. 154. §. 2. 1688: By *Sieur Gaspar Carfeuil*^e.)

† So that this Tract concludes with a Couple of ANECDOTES, which the Generality of Writers on this Head have been somewhat careful to conceal from the GENTLEMEN of ENGLAND, namely, 1. THAT THE MAKING OF CLOTH, and all Sorts of DRAPERY, in other Parts, is NOT TO BE PREVENTED. 2. That, to have ENGLISH WOOL CHEAP, is the best Means of promoting the WOOLEN TRADE of ENGLAND. These coming from a great Trading Company; and the last of them being a Policy which some others have appeared to favour, and which accordingly has been strictly pursued, although in an oblique Manner, and under false Colours, it deserves especial Notice; I shall take Occasion, before I conclude, to examine the Argument thoroughly^f. † Ch. 177.

* Reciting, 'that War was now declared against *France*, 178. 'that the Importation of *French* Commodities hath much exhausted the Treasure of the Nation, and lessened greatly the Value of the Native Commodities and Manufactures thereof, and therefore prohibiting such Importation as a Nonsense.'

|| Upon the Resolution of a War with *France*, 'The King published a Proclamation for the encouraging French Protestants to transport themselves into the Kingdom,' which was both a Christian and a Politic Act, as it delivered several from Persecution, and at the same Time, derived the Benefit of many gainful Arts and Manufactures upon this Kingdom.

† A Bill

Coke, vol. 2. p. 480.

2. Though England embraced their Deliverance by King Willsam, Ireland did not; for why should the Irish join with the English, who would have no Trade with them, against the French, upon whom the Irish depended by their Trade and Commerce*.

3. An

Page 98.

† A Bill was brought into the House of Lords, 'for the enjoining the wearing of the Woolen Manufactures of this Kingdom at certain Times of the Year.' Upon which the Silk Weavers of London and Canterbury, presented a Petition to their Lordships in a tumultuous Manner, praying to be heard before the said Bill should be passed into a Law. Whereupon the House ordered their Speaker to tell the Petitioners, 'That the Lords did not then think fit to give an Answer, because they observed there was an unusual Manner of Application, and that the Bailiffs, Wardens, and Assistants of the Company, should have directed their Members better: That the Lords did first require, that those Crouds should go home; and when that was done, neither they, nor other People of this Nation, needed to doubt, but that their Lordships would do Justice, and hear the Objections of Parties concerned in this, or any other Bill that should come before them.' Upon this, due Care being taken to prevent the Return of such unruly Multitudes, the Bill was unanimously rejected by the Lords.

Ch. 68.

§. 1. Note.

Coke, vol. 2. p. 480.

* Mr. Coke observes, upon the Irish Act, which is what he here points to, That 'Ireland is a Kingdom depending upon England; and Trade and Commerce create a mutual Correspondence and Interest between Countries, so as this Law makes the Correspondence and Interest of Ireland to depend upon other Countries; whereas it is the Interest of England to have been the Mart or Store-House of all the Wools, Hides, and Tallow, &c. renewed in Ireland, as England is the Store House of the Product of the Plantations, or as Holland is of the Spice Trade. I may safely say, this Law has lessened the Value of Lands in the Eastern and Southern Parts of this Kingdom 30 per Cent.' He adds to what he has said above, 'That though the French assisted the Irish above three Years in their Wars against the English; yet it may be a Question, whether the French did not gain more by their Trade with Ireland for Wools, Tallow, raw Hides and Provisions for their Fleet, than their Expence for carrying on the War against the English did amount to.'

Ch. 76.

§. 2.

☞ This at least, with the Hawock and Spoil committed during three Years of War in Ireland (which must have had much the

3. An Act for the Encouragement of the breeding and feeding of Cattle*. 3, 4 W. & M. c. 8.
4. An Act for continuing the Acts for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with France. 4, 5 W. & M. c. 25. †

CHAP. LXXV.

The Linen and Woolen Manufactory discoursed, with the Nature of Companies and Trade in general, and particularly that of the Companies for the Linen Manufactory of England and Ireland; with some Reflections how the Trade of Ireland hath formerly, and may now affect England.

Printed at the Request of a Peer of this Realm. London, 1691.

S I R,

1. YOU have here my Opinion of Companies in Trade, by Authority of the great Seal in general. 2. Of the present Company in England for the Linen

the same Effect, with the like Cause, in the Time of King Charles and the Usurpation) may be esteemed as the principal, though not the sole Reasons of the high Price of Wool and Catle in the Beginning of King William's Reign; also what follows, (§. 3.)

* By which Beef, Pork, Butter, Cheefe, might be exported Custom free. (See Ch. 36. §. 4. Note.)

† This Act recites the Continuance of the War, as the Reason of discontinuing still longer all Trade, &c. with France; which Prohibition was therefore re-enacted for three Years, in case the War should so long continue; and it enacts further, that if a private Man of War take a Ship or other Vessel laden with Wool to be transported, a Moiety of such Ship and Lading shall be to the Use of the Captor.

0232

Linen Manufactory. 3. Of that for the same in *Ireland*.

2. I begin with that of Companies in general. These I take to have been very common in the early Days of Trade, when Navigation was judged a Myſtery, equal to that of the black Art. But as Trade and Commerce became familiar in the World, the Wiſdom of Government made the Privileges of Trade univerſal to their Subjects; and ſo, by Degrees, Companies were abated.

3. By this you will believe me no Friend to Companies; and I muſt confeſs my Judgment and Experience, as far as it reaches, is againſt them; but ſtill with a Reſerve to ſuch, as by a long Deſcent from their Predeceſſors, that purchaſed it by ſignal Service to the Nation, have in a Manner a Freehold, as that of the *Turkey*, *Hamborough*, and ſome others in Being.

4. Were it poſſible to introduce it in this Kingdom, yet it would not be for the Intereſt of the Nation, to have a *Linen Manufactory* ſet up as a Trade in the Kingdom.

5. Divine Providence, that appoints to every Nation and Country a particular Portion, ſeems to allot that to *England*, which was the firſt acceptable Sacrifice to his Omnipotency, that of the Flock; the Produce of which is the moſt univerſal Covering of all the civilized Countries of the World. Our Woolen Manufactory, a Talent which no Nation hath to that Perfection as we have; hath been for many Ages the Support of the Nation, employing the Poor at home, our Men and Ships at Sea. Now to decline this, and ſet up another Manufactory, looks like an extravagant Mechanick, who by his Impudence hath loſt his own Art, and thinks to retrieve his Miſfortune by taking up that of another Man's. This is condemned in particular Perſons, and to be feared in a Community.

6. But it will be ſaid, there is not Employment for the Hands of the Nation in the Woolen Manufactory; and ſince Linen carries away ſo much of our Money, it ſeems the Intereſt of the Nation to employ idle Hands in that which will keep Money in the Kingdom. Now though both theſe Aſſertions have too much Truth in them, yet neither of them have Weight enough to enforce the Conclusion, *that the Linen Manufactory is the only Remedy.* 7. It

7. It is not becauſe there is leſs Woolen Manufactory uſed in the World than formerly, that our Trade declines, nor yet becauſe we make more than formerly; for it is demonſtrable, that from the Year 1673, to the Year 1680, there was * much more Wool wrought up in *England* than in eleven Years ſince. Nor is it altogether to be aſſigned to the preſent War; for that our Trade decayed in the latter Part of King *Charles II*, and all the Reign of the late King.

8. The Reaſons then of the Decay of the Woolen Trade ſeem to be theſe. 1. The Growth of the coarſe Woolen Manufactory in *Germany*, with which the *Venetians* trade to *Turky*. 2. The Prohibition of our Woolen Manufactory in *France*. 3. The Increaſe of the Woolen Manufactory by our Neighbours with the Help of our Wool, ſo that in ſome Things they do outſell us in the Price they can ſell at. 4. By the great Wear of *East-India*, and other, Silks, and the Uſe of Callicoes, which was formerly ſupplied by our Tammies and Says. 5. The Want of the Conſumption of *Ireland*, which abated all the Reign of the late King. There is yet a Cauſe as valid as any of the former, which, for ſome Reaſons, I forbear to mention.

9. Now to me it ſeems poſſible to counterpoize all theſe, and to retrieve our Manufactory, and that by two Ways. 1. By preventing the transporting of Wool, which if done, the *French* and others that now furniſh Markets abroad, would not be able to ſupply their own Expenſe. It may be thought a vain Aſſertion, after all Attempts that have been made to prevent the Exportation of our Wool, to ſay, there is yet a Way that may effectually do it. Yet I am morally ſure it may be done, both in *England* and *Ireland*; and if this were done, there is another Thing that might oblige the *French*, when there is a Peace, to take off their Prohibitions on our

* This Writer had done well to have ſupported his Aſſertion by ſome kind of Proof.

† As to the latter Part of King *Charles II*. viz. from 1680, he ſeems to be altogether a Stranger to what Sir *Jofiah Child* had averred, and which the *British Merchant* pretty well confirms. (See Chap. 70. §. 12. Note.)

our Manufactory. 2. The other Way to bring our Woolen Manufactories into Esteem abroad, is, to make them so cheap as to underfell the *German* coarse Manufactories; and that may be done with Ease; which I can make out upon Occasion*. These two Things, if practicable, as I persuade myself they are, will set the Woolen Manufactory on so good a Foot, as together with a Consumption not yet practised in *England*, will find Employment for the meanest Hand in *England*. So that there will be rather Want than Superfluity of Hands in the Woolen Manufactory.

10. Now if there be any thing in all I have said, it seems reasonable to consider well, before the Nation gives up the Staple and long continued Trade for a Shadow, as I take the Linen Manufactory to be; for although I believe it can never come to Effect, yet so far it may go, as to injure that of the Woolen, by diverting some that are now in it, and so raise the Price of *Spinning*, than which Nothing can be more prejudicial; for as I mentioned before, nothing can retrieve our lost Trade abroad, but underselling our Competitors: So then we must labour to make ours as cheap as we can, and not set up another Manufactory, to bid who gives most for Spinners; a ready Way to ruin the clothing Trade of *England*, but not to set up the Linen, which whenever it thrives, must have a better Way than the Methods the Company takes.

11. For the Company of the Linen Manufactory in *Ireland*; I have the same Value, as for this of *England*, but for different Causes. 1. Though it must be allowed, that *Ireland* is the aptest Part of the World for a Linen Manufactory, yet a Company seems the readiest Way to blast it now in the Beginning. There are already some Undertakers this Way there, intending to settle themselves where they may find most Spinners, and to spend their Time in riding the Country to encourage them, and buy up the Linen Yarn. These have their Correspondents in *England*, who for their Linen, return To-

Continuation of Rapin, p. 192. * About this Time, several Affairs amused the House of Commons to little purpose. A Bill for the better Improvement of the Woolen Manufactory of this Kingdom, was thrown out before a second reading.

bacco, (which they must have only from *England*) Hops and *English* Manufactories. This is a growing Trade that *England* may gain by, to which the Broad Seal will be an invincible Enemy. The Company will tell you the contrary. But they are the first Men I ever heard of, that were at the Charge of a Patent, only to tell us they intended to do no body wrong.

12. Not only the Time is most improper for setting up a Linen Manufactory in *Ireland*; but the Methods and Constitutions of Companies in *Ireland* are destructive to both Kingdoms. They are a Bar to the peopling that Kingdom with foreign Protestants; and *Ireland* can never be safe, whilst the *Irish* so over-balance the *English*.

13. *Ireland*, considered as a foreign Plantation to *England*, by an Account I have seen, exceeds all the *West-India* Plantations in its Consumption of the Product of *England*, as Corn, Hops, Salt, &c. But what hinders the Increase of People there, will hinder that Consumption. Then for their Produce, in that we use them as foreign Plantations, prescribing them Rules and Methods, and Prohibitions in some of their Commodities, as Wool, Linen, Yarn, &c. which we oblige them to send no where but to *England*; and if they be kept to it, as I am sure they may, *England* would find it wants, not abunds in Wool; for the seeming Excess of Wool in *England*, is not because we have too much from *Ireland*, but because we have not all; for one Pound of their Wool works up ten of foreign*; and that enables them in

C c 2 their

* So then, *Irish* Wool has all the Virtues of *Lord Peter's brown Loaf*. But was it in any degree true, what is here said, and 'that our seeming Excess of Wool in *England*, at any Time, is not because we have too much from *Ireland*, but because we have not all?' In that Case, tho', according to *Sir Josiah Child's* wife Observation¹, it would be vain to expect either all, or any considerable Part of the *Irish* Wool; yet would it follow, that the more of it *England* should obtain at any Time, the less, for that Time, would be the seeming Excess of Wool in *England*, i. e. Wool, in *England*, would be actually so much dearer, by how much more of that Commodity was imported from *Ireland*. But Experience, the surest Test in this Case, tells us just the contrary, as often as there has been any Opportunity

Ch. 48. §. 3.

their Manufactories abroad to furnish the Trade we formerly had to ourselves.

14. We never see Companies set up in our foreign Plantations; every Man is Master of his own Invention, Labour, and Designs; so it seems the Interest of *England*, as well as *Ireland*, to have the like Freedom there, in Order to the better peopling of that Kingdom. For if the Generality of Men see not the hidden Mysteries and Influences Companies have in Trade; yet Merchants and Handicrafts do. Besides, a particular Company for a Linen Manufactory in *Ireland*, will prejudice the Manufactories of Fustian, Tapes, and *Manchester* Ware; much of which are made by the Linen Yarn of *Ireland* †.

CHAP.

tunity for making the Observation. The Stock of *Ireland*, for Instance, had been greatly wasted * by the Rebellion there in *Charles* the 1st, and the Wars during the Usurpation. When, we have seen †, Wool rose to a very high Price in *England*; of which that must be accounted of as one Cause. The same may be observed of this Period (1691.) The War of three Years had occasioned great Spoil of the Herds and Flocks in *Ireland*, and furnished the *French* with uncommon Opportunities of carrying off the Wool ^m of that Kingdom, which were Reasons, among others, why Wool was now, and for some time after (as we shall see) dear in *England*.

Again, we shall find (Chap. 171.) after the Year 1720, when by reason of the Plague in *France*, *Irish* Wool found little or no Vent there, tho' the Trade of *England* received some Increase from that Incident; yet such was the extraordinary Influx of *Irish* Wool ⁿ to *England*, at that Time; and the Exportation of *English* Wool was to such a degree stopped, that the Price thereof (far from being advanced by that temporary Spring of Trade) was, in Fact, abated, and the Foundation laid of its being reduced, soon after, to the lowest Ebb that had been known, from before the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, lower than even in the worst Times of *Charles* the Second.

British Merchant, † (A. D. 1692,) the * Province of *Languedoc* in *France* was obliged, by an Arret of *October* 2. this Year, to furnish the *Sieur Magi* and his Partners with 30,000 Livres to carry on the same Manufacture, as *Noel de Varennes* had set up some few Years before †, of *Drap de Londres*, at *Clermont*.

CHAP. LXXVI.

An Abstract of the Grievances of Trade which oppress our Poor, humbly offered to Parliament. London, Printed 1694.

1. I Need no farther Proof of our Calamity and Decay of Trade †, than the Poor Rates ° in all Places of ° See our vol. 1. p. 262.

Clermont and *Sette*; and they having voluntarily engaged themselves to transport 2000 Pieces of that Cloth to the *Levant*, they are permitted to carry the Goods they import from thence at *Marselia*, by Transfers from *Lyons* into all Parts of that Kingdom, (that is, without paying the Duties of particular Provinces); nevertheless, upon this express Condition, that they export annually 2000 *Drap de Londres*.

* The *French* had this Year (1692) a very bad Harvest, and no Vintage in the Northern Parts. *England* also had likewise great Apprehensions from a very cold and Rapin, wet Summer; Deluges of Rain continuing to the very Time of Harvest. But when the Nation was threatened with a Famine, the Season changed in so extraordinary a manner, as to produce a very plentiful Harvest.

All Persons of Observation and Experience will conclude, that the Season here described, must have occasioned a great Rot of Sheep in *England*; which further accounts for the high Price of Wool at this Period.

About this Time several *French Refugees*, in Conjunction with some *English Merchants*, termed *The Royal Lute-string Company*, obtained the King's Patent for the sole Privilege of making *Lute-strings* and *Alamodes* in *England*; which was a new Manufacture acquired. Page 219.

† Complaints, in general Terms, of the bad State of Trade, or even (which is more rare) Boastings, occasionally, of a good one, are so uncertainly issued, just as it suits the Views and Inclinations of particular Persons or Parties; that, without some proper Vouchers, such as the *Custom-House-Accounts*, or other Testimony of a like Nature, they are not to be depended upon for Truths. Neither are the Poor Rates, tho' often appealed to, any certain Rule to judge by. As Towns increase their Trade, so will their Number

our Woolen Manufacture in *England*. And to excuse † the present Juncture of Affairs, refer to the Pressures of the Farmer, fifteen or twenty Years past, during which Time, his Wool, Corn, Beef, Mutton, &c. did not yield so much by a third Part, as it did in former Days, although in Peace with all *Europe*. Notwithstanding which Charge, could I here set forth the Hardships that many Weavers and Spinners have undergone these two last Years †, it could not but move the Pity of this great Council; since it evidently springs not so much from the Badness of Trade itself, as the prevailing Power of foreign and private Interest in the Management thereof.

2. The first Grievance I humbly offer to Consideration, is the Exportation of our Wool into *France* and *Holland*; which Practice is so well known, that I need not spend Time in making any Discovery; whilst of 3,000 Packs of long Wool, that grows annually in *Romney Marsh*, it is credibly believed, that 2,000 are carried into *France*. Neither can I think it needful to set forth the Loss, when with one Pack of ours they work up two of their own, and so rival us at foreign Markets. How to prevent this great Mischiefe, is the proper Subject of this Council; which being effectually done, would more affect *France* than a Million of Money

^p See Chap. 56. §. 25. Note.

Number of Poor, and consequently their Parish Rates, increase ^p. Moreover, such is the Manner of Life (from Hand to Mouth) and the particular Improvidence, of labouring Manufacturers and Mechanics, beyond those in plain simple Husbandry, that as often as there happens either an epidemical Sickness, or a Scarcity and Dearth of Provisions, or a rigorous Season, to put a Stop to their Work and their Wages, so often, be the general State of Trade and Manufacture never so good, will there be great Occasion of Complaint among that Class of People; and Numbers of them will become the Objects of Relief.

† What this Writer meant to excuse, was, I presume, the high Price of Corn, Cattle, and Wool at this Period, which was, in his Opinion, but a reasonable Amends to the Landed Interest for what had been endured in the bad Times of *Charles II.*

‡ Corn and other Provisions had been very dear from the Year 1692.

ney expended in the best Method that could be contrived, and likewise enable us to pay a Million more to carry on the War, and have the same good Effect, as in the Days of *Edward III.* ^q, to bring back a Multitude of our Manufactures that we have lost. We have Wool enough growing in *England*, with the Help of *Spanish*, to employ more Poor than we have; and was our Trade but duly encouraged, our Work People would be sought after. And it's remarkable, that whilst we give Money freely, upon one hand, to carry on the War against *France* with Vigour, we should support them, upon the other, with our Wool, which hath been no small Kindness. When the *French* parted with *Ireland*, they carried off a great Quantity of Wool and Yarn; which ^r they put them upon a Manufacture for *Turkey*. They have since been supplied with great Quantities of Wool from us; the *Streights* hath been open to them; and to help them to a good Market, our *Turkey* Merchants bound up their own Hands from sending; which hath impoverished our Poor.

Ch. 58. §. 6. Note.

Ch. 74. §. 2. Note.

3. The next Grievance is, the Loss of the Reputation of our Woolen Manufactures abroad, by our slight making and overstraining them; in which particular I think we are arrived at Perfection. This hath evidently prevailed upon us, as the foreign Merchants of *Holland*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, &c. have made themselves Principals in our Markets. These Factors being obliged to buy such Price-Goods as their Principals abroad direct; the Makers observing no Rule, as Prices were beat down, have still made the Commodity worse. The foreign Merchants, especially the *Dutch*, having a nearer Interest of their own in the Woolen Manufactures, have always been a beating down the Prices of ours, without due Respect to the Goodness, knowing well enough, that it was the intrinsic Goodness of our Cloth in former Days, that always kept a Check upon them. Our late Government hath likewise been so kind to forward this Practice ever since ²⁵ *Charles II.*, by taking off Aliens Duties from all our Woolen Manufactures, and putting the foreign Merchant upon an equal Foot with the *English*; it hath prevailed so far, that nine Parts in ten of our Woolen Manufactures that are vended in *Holland*, *Flanders*, and great part of *Germany*, are carried

Ch. 48. §. 11.

Cap. 6.

over upon the foreign Merchants Accounts. as likewise in their Bottoms *. It is impossible to prevent this Loss to the Nation, *without incorporating our Woolen Manufacture in English Hands to be exported.*

4. To this debasing of our Woolen Manufactures, being added in the next Place, the unnecessary Charge of ten † *per Cent.* we need not wonder at our Want of Consumption abroad, or Complaint in our Streets at home, which is fully compleated by the Profits of the Wool Jobber, Salary of the Factor, and his Profit out of the Wool, the attendant Charges of new pressing, &c. These are sorry Bulwarks in Trade, to cope with the frugal industrious Contrivance, and exact Making of the *Dutch* in all their Woolen Manufacture, and the cheap Workmanship of *France*, whilst both are manufacturing of our own Wool.

5. This dead Weight upon the Master Wheel of our Trade hath been fixed by the Loss of the publick Market of *Blackwel-Hall* in *London*. Where, in former Days †, the Clothier met the *English* Merchant, that was a FREEMAN, who was thereby ALONE empowered to buy in this Market, who sold him his Cloth, afterwards received his Money, and bought his Wool of the Grower, which was a straight Current of Trade, which now by the Power of private Interest, is drawn into a Meander, and its Course so much retarded through the great City, that the Country is starved.

6. This Alteration of the Sale of Cloth, from the publick Market, into private Houses, and the Management by Factors and Packers, hath introduced a Swarm of Inconveniences; as long Credit, with a farther Profit to

* Our Author mistakes his Statute: By 25 *Car. II. c. 6.* Aliens Duties were taken off from all native Commodities of the Kingdom, *except Coals, or Manufactures wrought within the Kingdom.* By 25 *Car. II. c. 7.* a general Liberty was given of trading to *Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.* And by the same Statute, any Person might be free of the *Eastland Company*, on Payment of 40*s.* But by 1 *W. & M. cap. 32.* any Person might buy and export Woolen Manufacture into any foreign Parts whatsoever; saving (as see *Chap. 72. §. 3. Note.*)

† See §. 8. *Note.*

Ch. 63.
Chap. 78.
§. 1. *Note.*
Ch. 138.
§. 13--21.

to the Factor by furnishing the Maker with Wool; lower Wages ill paid; by which the Poor are driven to deal with Badgers for Wheat and other Neccessaries; which Badgers are also Sellers of Brandy and hot Liquors.

7. This long Credit * hath drawn over abundance of foreign Factors from *Holland, the Hanse Towns of Germany, France, Flanders, Sweden, &c.* which are readily courted by their Brethren their Factors in *London.*

8. How far our Nation is concerned in throwing open all the Mysteries of our Trade to any Part of the World, and in letting in *Persians* and *Grecians* to be acquainted with the Prices of our Goods in a low Time of Trade, I am not of Ability to determine, but cannot but take Notice of the Occasion † of their coming over, and how that Part of our Trade falls under Consideration in my present Subject of Credit.

9. I wish

* Or rather the Stat. of 1 *W. & M. c. 32.* (See *Ch. 72. §. 3. Note.*) Whereby, 'for the better Encouragement of the Woolen Manufacture, any Person or Persons may buy and export the same, &c.'

† 'Our Honourable *East-India Company*, some Years since, falling into a little Eclipse in their Credit, where- by Money grew scarce with them, and their Manufactures of *Indian Silks, Mullins, and Callicoes*, which were wholly carried on with Silver, being their only Profit, wholly neglects the sending over any of our Woolen Manufactures, for three or four Years, to some Parts of the *East-Indies* that they formerly served; upon which (a Famine for Cloth growing in those Parts) several *Persians* and *Grecians* mustered up their Forces, like *Jacob's Sons*, and undertook a hazardous Journey into a strange Land, where they heard was Plenty, for the Good of themselves and Countrymen; their fair Enterprize succeeded well in their Journey, but not without Difficulty (according to the Parallel) when they attained the Land; for now they found themselves within the Charter of the *East-India Company*; and although they saw great Plenty of the Goods their Country wanted, yet their Hands were still bound up from procuring it for them; but this Difficulty was accommodated by the Payment of *ten per Cent.* to the Company, or more, for what Goods they bought; upon which they were permitted to go freely into our Packers Houses, and were courted with as good and

§. 4.

9. I wish we are not convinced of our Negligence in the great Affairs of the Trade of the Nation, when it is

and cheap Pennyworths as *England* afforded; and paid for their Cloth before they exported it.

Upon great Complaint, as well upon this Account as several others, against the *East-India* Company, to the Government, they were obliged to ship off annually, one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds worth of our Woolen Manufactures, for the Advantage of the Country, which readily they agreed to; but by the Sharpness of their Wits, they turned this Obligation into a Support of their Darling Profit; which I think is the Master-piece of their Contrivance, and it was effected by this Means.

The *Persians* and *Grecians* were now to return to their own Country, all, except *Callander*, who was their chiefest Judgment in the Woolen Manufacture; who was to be left behind to inspect their Pennyworths, and see their Goods shipped off according to their Agreement: And to save their Trouble and Hazard in remitting their Money for *England*, it should be paid into their Factory in the *East-Indies*.

This Affair being so well accommodated, the Company now gives out, that they resolve to devote themselves to the good of the Nation, and to buy all the Cloth that was made in their Way; and in the first Place, to carry on their Design, they espoused the Interest of three or four considerable Packers, that had the Command of the Sale of great Quantities of Cloth, but were privately Members of their own Company; these now outvie one another in their Bills of Parcels of Cloth, where they drew many Clothiers into the same Bargain, as one and the same; and, as Money was paid without Distinction, they divided it, and Multitudes of Samples were sent into the *East-India* House. Some Scruples were made at first, by their Proposals of a little Accommodation in Payment on the Score of some Ships that they daily expected; which Difficulty was soon got over by the first Examples. A considerable Quantity of Cloth was bought. *Callander* inspected the Pennyworths, and the Cloth was shipped off.

Upon Pretence of Disappointment, Payments are now stopped, and Bonds given, with lawful Interest, to the Clothiers for six Months; that Time expires, and no Payment, and now going on for the other six Months. And thus they have fixed a Debt of almost 100,000 *l.* upon the Country, and no Possibility of paying it off, until their Goods

is too late. I am well assured, had there been due Care taken to prevent the Exportation of our Wool, at the Beginning of our Wars, and to encourage Trade in all its Particulars, as in Prudence we ought, and might have done; had we laid but two Shillings in the Pound equally upon Land, and raised the rest that our Occasions required, by an *Excise*, our labouring People which would have paid the greatest Share, had lived much better than now they have done, and the rest of our Expence had been saved.

In a long Combat, we ought to be tender of loading our Sword Hand; and this I am sure, that whilst by Annuities, Lotteries, and Banks, we have fixed great Part of our trading Stocks in a Mortgage upon the Nation, not again to be commanded, thereby to prevent an *Excise*, we have tied up our own Hands in Trade, and fixed it to a very dangerous Degree in the Hands of the *Dutch*, and other Nations, who have as effectually excised the labouring Part of our Nation, as if they lived under their own Government; and will every Year do it more and more.

10. Another Precipice that seems to threaten the Ruin of our Trade, is the Low Ebb of our Coin in Quantity and Quality*.

11. Another

Goods return from their Factory, that this Money purchased; so that instead of relieving the Country, they have made the Country relieve them; which is a great Hardship upon the Country at this Juncture. Doubtless, when the Obligation was laid by the Government for the buying of so much of our Woolen Manufactures, it was likewise intended, there should be *quid pro quo*; and whatsoever Damages doth come from hence to the Country, must be owing to the Unkindness of our own Members; for had our Bill past to preserve the publick Market of *Blackwel-Hall*, the *East-India* Company must as well have paid for this Cloth, as their Bills of 150,000 *l.* drawn upon them from *Cadix* at the same Time. He had need of a *Roman* Faith, that will give Credit with Goods upon a common Seal.

* There was too much Reason for Complaint on this Head. As to the Quantity of Coin at this Time in the Nation, it was thus computed.

The

11. Another Grievance in Trade, that hath very much impoverish'd our Poor, hath been the private Interest of Companies of Merchants, in making Stops in Trade, to advance the Prices of their Goods at Home and Abroad, thereby to get those they buy cheaper. This hath enriched a few, and impoverish'd Multitudes*.

12. Another Oppression upon our Poor, hath been the sending out our Woolen Manufactures, without being fully manufactured. This hath very much affected our Dyers, &c. and hath been chiefly occasioned by the high

<i>Contin. of Rapin, P. 305--6.</i>	' The Silver Sterling coined in <i>England</i> , from <i>Eliz.</i> to <i>Car. I.</i> inclusive, was _____ £ 15,109,476 13 05 $\frac{3}{4}$
	' About two Thirds whereof } ' being sunk, the remaining } 5,036,492 00 00 ' Quantity was _____ }
	' The unmelted Coins of <i>Car.</i> } ' II. <i>James II.</i> and <i>K. Will.</i> } 563,508 00 00 ' were _____ }
	<hr/> ' Total clipped and unclipped, } ' hoarded and current _____ } 5,600,000 00 00
	<hr/> ' Clipped Money circulating _____ £ 4,000,000 00 00
	' Unclipped, lying in Hoards, } ' or current in remote Coun- } 1,600,000 00 00 ' tries _____ }
	<hr/>

As to the Quality of this clipped Money, which was the only Silver Coin that then appeared in Commerce; the Weight of 100 *l.* Sterling (according to the Standard) should have been 32 lb. 3 oz. 1 paw. 22 gr.

' But of 572 Bags, contain- } ' ing each 100 <i>l.</i> Sterling } ' by Tale, the Medium } 16 lb. 8 oz. 18 paw. 0 gr. ' Weight of each Bag was } ' but _____ }

So that there wanted very near half the original Quantity of Silver.

* How then did this Writer forget himself (§. 7.) or what did he mean (§. 3.) by a Law to incorporate our Woolen Manufacture in *English* Hands, to be exported?

high Duties upon Logwood, &c. imported, and the large Drawbacks thereof upon being re-exported †.

13. The last Grievance of Trade that I shall mention, is, fallen upon our Seamen. The Stat. 1 *Elizabeth*. c. 13. enacted, that whatsoever * Merchant did ship any Merchandize upon a foreign Bottom, should pay Aliens Duties: By 25 *Charles II.* c. 6. Aliens Duties upon all our Manufactures || were taken off, and hereby the *English* Merchant was lost, as well as the *English* Seaman. This hath prevailed so far, that in a considerable Fleet that lately carried off our Woolen Manufactures to *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, convoyed by *English* Men of War, there was but two *English* Ships. And I doubt our Share in the Merchandize as light ‡.

14. When I consider the many Stops in Trade that have been since our happy Revolution, and the Contrivance of those within our own Bowels, to oppress our Poor:

† Our Author was either wholly ignorant of, or had not attended to, the Experiment made, in this respect, in 1616, and the very bad Consequences which thereupon ensued. Tho', as to the Business of dying Stuffs, that admits of another Consideration. See Chap. 31.

* By the first of *Eliz.* c. 13. §. 4. it was provided, that Merchant Adventurers, and those of the Staple, in their several Fleets and Shippings of Cloth and Wool, &c. might, &c. (See Chap. 19. §. 1. Note.)

|| See §. 3. Note.

‡ Well, but if that considerable Fleet did carry off a considerable Quantity of the Woolen Manufactures of *England*, as seems to be allowed, it might have afforded some Consolation to a true spirited *Englishman*, seeing that the Weavers and Spinners, for whom this Writer expresses so much Compassion (§. 1.), would find Benefit from such Exportation even of Foreigners. But he seems to have much in him of what I call the mere Merchant, who is ever substituting himself in the Place of his Country. That there are such, and that it is possible for particular Merchants, as such, to have an Interest separate from that of their Country, Sir *Josiah Child*, the *British Merchant*, and all the best Writers upon Trade, tho' Merchants themselves, have freely averred.

Ch. 69. §. 1.
Ch. 98. §. 1.

Poor: First, in the Exportation of our Wool*; next, in tying up the Hands of so many of our own Merchants who were willing to trade to the *Levant*, which increased the Consumption of our Cloth, but it was by the Moths; next, in binding up so great a Part of the Clothiers Stocks in the common Seal of the *East-India* Company, the vast Quantities of our Teazles and Fuller's Earth^a, &c. that hath been exported to *Holland*, and that violent Stop in Trade that was made at *Worcester*, in a little Time after the Clothiers had sold off almost all their Cloth, I can believe no less than that there hath been a Design against the common Good of our Nation.

^a Ch. 84.
§. 15.
Ch. 173.

CHAP.

* *An Act for the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wool, and for encouraging the Importation thereof from Ireland.* 7, 8 Will. c. 28. *This Act recites*, 'That notwithstanding former Laws, the Exportation of Wool was still continued; repeals the Clause of 14 Car. II. by which it was Felony to export Wool; admits the Importation of Wool from *Ireland* to *Whitehaven, Liverpool, Chester, Bristol, Bridgwater, Minehead, Barnstaple, Biddisford*, and to no other Ports; ordered an Account to be transmitted from *Ireland* once in six Months; Certificates to be writ on Paper; no Wool to be carried into *Scotland*, or within five Miles of the Sea Coasts, but between Sun rising and Sun setting; the Hundred^b, through which it passes (illegally) to be liable to Penalties for the same, &c. And for the better preventing the Exportation of Wool, one Ship of the *Fifth Rate*, and two of the *Sixth Rate*, and four armed Sloops, constantly to cruize from off the *North Foreland* to the *Ile of Wight*, with Orders, &c.

Wool
Ports.

^b Ch. 57.
§. 27.

Ships and
armed
Sloops to
cruize.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Considerations requiring greater Care for Trade in England, and some Expedients proposed. London printed, 1695.

1. SOME Papers touching the Balance of Trade have been printed; wherein is seen how all Countries employ their Study to render it advantageous; in particular, before this War, 'tis plain how *France*, for twenty Years preceding, had gradually beaten out our Exportations thither, and turned the Balance vastly to her own Advantage. Several other Countries have done the like by us of late Years, in particular, touching the Woolen Cloth generally now fabricated by those who used to be furnished from hence. So that whoever will give himself the Pains to enquire into the Acquests other Nations have made upon our Trade, will find no solid Ground to expect that *England* should recover her former Glory without some new Advantages to Traffick from the Government.

2. The several Disadvantages of Trade are not hereby proposed to be insisted upon. The Sum of what is fit to be requested of our Representatives is, *That an Act might pass to constitute a * Council of Merchants sedentary at London,*

* 'The Losses of the Merchants gave great Advantages to those who complained of the Administration; their Conduct, with relation to our Trade, was represented as, at best, a Neglect of the Nation, and of its Prosperity: Some with a more spiteful Malice said, it was designed that we should suffer in our Trade, that the *Dutch* might carry it from us: And how extravagant soever this might seem, it was often repeated by some Men of violent Tempers. And in the end, when all the Errors, with relation to the Protection of our Trade, were set out and much aggravated: The Commons resolved, *First, That a Council of Trade be established by Act of Parliament. Secondly, Trade so- That Commissioners constituting the Council be nominated by Parliament, &c.* A Bill was ordered, tho' opposed by those who looked upon the Establishment of a Council of Trade by Act of Parliament, as a Change of our Constitution;

Page 310.

London, and vested with Powers only adapted to the Improvement and Security of Home Manufactures and foreign Trade for the future. Wherefore let a Bill for this End be tendered this Parliament, &c. †

CHAP.

tution; because tending to take the Executive Power out of the King's Hands; by which he would soon grow to be a Duke of Venice. And indeed those who set this on most zealously, did not deny, that they intended to graft many things upon it.

The King was so sensible of this, that he ordered his Ministers to oppose it as much as they possibly could. However, the Debates about a Council of Trade, by Act of Parliament, were going on; and it probably would have pass'd both Houses, when the Discovery of a Conspiracy (*the Assassination Plot*) turned their Thoughts another way.

Page 312.

Burnet.

† *An Act for encouraging the Linen Manufacture of Ireland, and bringing Flax and Hemp into, and the making of Sail-Cloth in, this Kingdom.* 7, 8 Will. c. 39. This Act recites, 'That great Sums of Money and Bullion were yearly exported out of the Kingdom for Hemp, Flax, and Linen, and all the Productions thereof;' which, it was thought, might be prevented in a great measure by this Act. But admit it to have had that Effect; tho', upon the whole, it may have been good for the Nation, yet is it past all doubt, that the Grower of Wool must have suffered some Loss by it, in that particular Branch of his Interest, as also by the Erection of every other Manufacture, heretofore imported, in Exchange for Woolen Goods.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Acts and Occurrences, 1696—7.

1. *AN Act to restore the Market at Blackwel-Hall to the Clothiers, and for regulating the Factors there.* 8. 9. Will. III. c. 8. *.

Ch. 62.
§. 8.
Ch. 76.
§. 5.
Ch. 138.
§. 13.--21.

* This Act recites, that, 'By the great Increase of the Factors at *Blackwell-Hall*, and by the Advantages given them by the Governours of the said Hall, not only by assigning them the most convenient Lights, but permitting them to hire Ware Houses in the said Hall to their own Uses, into which they enter upon those Days that are no Market Days, and carry the Clothiers Cloth thence, and expose them to Sale, in a clandestine Manner, in their own Houses, whereby great Inconvenience and Discouragement hath accrued to the Clothing Trade.' Therefore enacts, 'That the said Market shall be held regularly on certain Days, at certain Hours. And that the Keepers of the said Hall shall not permit the buying or selling of any Woolen Cloth, at the said Hall, in, or upon, any other Days or Hours. That the Governours shall set forth and appoint unto the Clothiers of all Counties, that shall bring up Cloth to sell at the said publick Market, the most convenient Room in the said Hall for the Sale of their Cloth; also Ware-House Room for the safe keeping of any that shall be unfold, paying the ancient Duty and no more. That no Factor or any other Person, besides the Owner of the Cloth, shall sell, or cause to be sold, or expose to sale, out of the said Market of *Blackwell-Hall*, any Cloths consigned or directed by the Owner thereof to the said Market, or to any Factor there: That the Clerks, &c. shall keep weekly Registers of all the Cloths sold in the said Markets, entering the Names, Surnames, and Places of Habitation of the Owner, Buyer, and Seller of every of the said Cloths, together with the Time of the said Sale thereof, and likewise of the Factor, or any other Person, other than the Owner, buying or selling the same, to the End Clothiers and others concerned, may be satisfied how their Cloths are disposed of from Time to Time. And in Case any Person or Persons shall buy any Cloth of any Factor or Factors, or other Person or Persons, except of the Owner of such Cloth, otherwise than for ready Money:

D d Money:

2. An Act for the further Encouragement of the Manufacture of Lutestrings and Alamodes, and for the better preventing the Importation of the same. c. 36.

3. An Act for rendering the Laws more effectual, for preventing the Importation of Bonelace, &c. 9, 10. Will. III. c. 9. *

4. An Act for the better Encouragement of the Royal Lutestring Company. c. 43. †.

5. An Act for the Explanation and better Execution of former Acts made against Transportation of Wool, Fuller's Earth, and scouring Clay. 9, 10. Will. III. c. 40. ‡.

CHAP.

Money: In every such Case, the Person selling, shall within twelve Days next after the Sale and Delivery, take, or demand, a Note in Writing from the Person buying, testifying the Cloth so sold, and the Sum of Money sold for, and payable by such Buyer to the Owner of such Cloth according to the Contract, and shall deliver on Demand such Note, with Notice of such Buyer's Place of Abode to the Owner of the said Cloth. And every Piece of Cloth not actually returned within eight Days after Sale and Delivery of the same, shall be deemed to be approved by the Buyer as a Merchantable Cloth.

That every Factor shall before the 24th of June next, if required, give a particular Account to every Clothier of the Effects of such Clothier in the Hands of such Factor, and of the particular Cloths of such Clothier or Owner of Cloth, and of the particular Sums of Money due to such Clothier or Owner of Cloth by any Contract of such Factor, and of the respective Names and Places of Abode of every Person from whom such Sums are due.

* Repealed, 11, 12. Will. III. c. 11. (See Ch. 114. §. 16.)

† This Act recites, That the Manufacture of black Lutestrings, hath been very advantageous, and beneficial to this Kingdom, by employing great Numbers of Poor, and preventing the Exportation of our Coin, for purchasing those Commodities in foreign Parts. From this, and other Instances, it may be observed, that tho' the French were gaining Ground in the Woolen Trade, yet were they losing as much, and England gaining much more, in this, and other Manufactures. Nor have any Class of People in England, had just Cause of Complaint on this Head, except those interested in the Growth of Wool.

‡ Reciting that 'Notwithstanding several Laws made to prevent the Exportation of Wool and Fullers Earth; yet nevertheless

' nevertheless the said Exportation is still notoriously continued,' and therefore it enacts (Sect. 2.) 'that no Fullers Earth shall be exported out of this Kingdom, so much as to Ireland, under the Penalty of Forfeiture of 1 s. for every Pound. (§. 3.) That all Owners of Wool, shorn, housed, or lodged within ten Miles of the Sea-Side, within Kent and Sussex, shall be obliged to give an Account in Writing, within three Days after Sheering, of their Number of Fleeces, and Weight, and the Name and Abode of the Person to whom it is disposed, and the Place to which it is carried; and to take a Certificate from the Officer who first entered the same; upon the Penalty of forfeiting all such Wool; and the Owners also to be liable to the further Penalties of 3 s. for every Pound, as if the same had been transported; which Account the Officers are to take gratis, and to give such Certificates, without Delay, and shall therein specify the Names of the Owners and Buyers, and limit it to Times and Places to be removed; for which Service the Officers shall take 6 d. for each Certificate. (§. 4.) No Person residing within fifteen Miles of the Sea, in Kent and Sussex, shall buy any Wool, before they enter into Bond to the King, with Sureties, that all the Wool they buy shall not be sold by them to any Person within fifteen Miles of the Sea; unless such Wool be first entered.

(§. 5.) No Wool removed from the Place where it was first housed, within ten Miles of the Sea, as aforesaid, shall be lodged within fifteen Miles of the Sea in the Counties aforesaid, upon Pain of forfeiting all such Wool if found; but if carried away, the Owner to forfeit 3 s. for every Pound. (§. 16.) Every Person that shall lay any Wool within fifteen Miles of the Sea, and not entered, all such Wool shall be forfeited; and every Person laying Claim to the same, shall give Security in his Majesty's Exchequer (if cast upon Trial) to pay treble Costs over and above the Penalties. (§. 8.) All Penalties before-mentioned, shall be distributed, one Third to his Majesty, the other two Thirds, to such as shall seize, and sue for the same. (§. 9.) And whereas, by a former Act, Offenders were to be prosecuted within one Year, they may now be prosecuted at any Time within three Years. (§. 10.) Owners of Wool shorn and lodged within fifteen Miles of the Borders of Scotland, shall give an Account, make Entry, &c. as in the Counties of Kent and Sussex. (§. 11.) And whereas the Hundred out of which Wool should be exported, was by a former Act made liable to the Penalties of Exporters, the Hundred of Winchelsea in the Cinque Ports, being divided by a navigable Arm of the Sea, shall be considered as two distinct Hundreds.

C H A P. LXXIX.

An Essay on the East-India Trade, in a Letter to the Marquess of Normandy.

By Dr. Davenant. 1696-7. *

My LORD,

Page 4. 1. YOU desire to have my Opinion in general, of the *East-India* Trade, and particularly, my Thoughts concerning the † Bill for prohibiting the wearing of all *East-India*, and *Persia* wrought Silks, Bengals, and dyed, printed, or stained Callicoes.

2. Whoever looks strictly and nicely, into our Affairs; will find, that the Wealth *England* had once, did arise chiefly from two Articles, first, our Plantation Trade, secondly, our *East India* Traffick †.

Page 8. 2. The Woolen Manufactures, Tin, Lead, &c. are indeed, the Basis of all our Traffick. The Woolen Manufacture

* The Date of the Book of which this makes a Part, is, 1698. But upon a Blank Leaf of the Volume is wrote. 'For Robert Harley, Esq; from the Author, Jan. 14, 1697.' And this particular Essay is an Appendix to the said Volume, with a Title Page, which says, it had been published the Year before.

Salmon's Chronol. Hist. 1697. † A. D. 1697, April. 'Tumults of the Weavers in London, on Account of Calicoes and other *Indian* Manufactures imported: They had very near seized the Treasure at the *East-India* House.' Which 'Tumult, I suppose, to have been occasioned by the Miscarriage of this Bill; against which we find employed one of the finest Pens of those Times, but, some have said, on this Occasion particularly, a mercenary one. The Arguments made use of by this Writer, deserve especial Notice from the *Gentlemen of England*, as shewing what Lengths the Advocates for a particular Interest did occasionally run, upon Supposition, one would believe, that the *Landed Interest* might be persuaded out of their Senses, or rather, I think, presuming that They had already lost them.

Ch. 19, 26. † This Gentleman, because, not for his Purpose, overlooks entirely the ancient Trade of *England* to *Antwerp*, and the golden Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

facture is undoubtedly, by Laws, and all possible Care, to be encouraged; but 'tis its Exportation, and * *not the Consumption* of it at Home, that must bring Profit to the Kingdom. See Chap. 100.

3. As to the *East India Trade* in general, if all *Europe*, by common Consent, would agree to have no further Dealings to those Parts, this Side of the World, by such a Resolution, would certainly save a great and continual Expence of Treasure. For *Europe* draws from thence nothing of solid Use, Materials to supply Luxury, and only perishable Commodities; and sends thither Gold and Silver, which is there buried, and never returns. But the Burthen, which this Commerce lays upon the collective Body of *Europe*, in sinking Treasure that never returns, for Matters of mere Luxury, does bear hard only upon those Countries, which consume the *Indian* Commodities, without having any Share of the Traffick; and therefore *France* did very wisely, about 12 Years ago, prohibit the wearing of Callicoes, that were not of their own Importation. Page 11. Page 13.

D d 3

4. The

* This is, as if a Gentleman, having a large Family, should be told, it is the cheaper Way, to buy his Bread and Beer, than to Bake and Brew; for surely, by the Word *Consumption*, our Author does not mean wilful Waste, or wanton Destruction, but necessary Use; and in that Sense, Woolen Manufacture, from *English* Wool, by *English* Labour, consumed at home, is equally profitable, as the Exportation of it; since it is a certain saving of so much Money, as otherwise must be sent out of the Kingdom, to be paid for foreign Materials, and foreign Labour; and tho' some Merchants will be always ready to advise the Contrary, because, as Brokers, it is for their Advantage, under all Events; yet, for the Nation, the People in general, 'tis much Safer, in respect of Clothing, to be content with their own Manufacture, than to be at the certain Expence, first, of buying in one foreign Country, and then to trust to the uncertain Chance of selling theirs in another, in order to pay for the same; and this more especially, because it is the Wisdom of most Nations (for the Sake of encouraging the Consumption of their own Produce and Manufacture, and by that Means, to prevent as much as may be, the carrying out of Money) to discourage the Importation of the like Manufacture to their own, or what is any Way equivalent thereto. Ch. 80. §. 6.

Page 14. 4. The *English* and *Dutch*, which together are not a tenth Part of *Europe*, enjoy this Traffick almost without any Rivalship. So that the Burthen, whatever it is, lies upon the other nine Parts; and the Gold and Silver it carries out, is truly, and properly, at their Cost.

5. To imagine all *Europe* will come to an Agreement of dealing no more to those Parts, is absurd; and therefore it would be egregious Folly in us, to quit this Advantage, and leave it entirely to the *Hollanders*.

6. By the best Account I can have, *England*, before the War, exported annually for this Traffick, either in Bullion, or our Manufactures (of which the Manufactures might be near an eighth Part) 400,000 *l*.

7. Suppose we consume at Home, the Returns of 200,000 *l*. But, by the way, the Company of late Years, have carried out to the Value of 100,000 *l*. per Ann. in our Manufactures.

Page 15. 8. If the Company export to other Nations, the Returns of the other 200,000 *l*. (which I may safely affirm they did) *England* must certainly be a great Gainer by this Traffick. The Returns from *India*, when exported to other Countries, must increase fourfold, and produce 800,000 *l*.

So then the Account stands thus,		£.
Returns exported, yield per Ann.	—	800,000
Returns consumed at Home, cost	—	200,000
		—————
	Total	1,000,000

Deduct prime Cost	—————	400,000
<i>England</i> Net Gainer by this Traffick		600,000
		—————

Page 16. 9. Nothing can be a clearer Gain to this Nation, than the Returns of the 200,000 *l*. consumed at Home, because treble that Sum would otherwise be carried out for foreign Silks and Linen; which is hindered by the Impottation of *East India* Commodities.

Page 17. Page 18. 10. If the *East India* Trade did in peaceful Times, bring so great an Increase to the annual Income of the Kingdom (and I think the contrary is capable of no clear Demon-

Demonstration *) the legislative Power ought to proceed with much Caution, in any Matter relating to it.

11. The Scarcity of Money in a long War, makes the Exportation of Bullion thought a great Grievance, of which, in quiet Times, we should not be sensible.

12. In the same manner, the Interruption of any Page 19. Manufacture, though never so † prejudicial to the Kingdom, is grievous in a time of War, when Business is scarce, and Trading dull; but in a time of Peace and full Employment, these Hands can shift from one Work ‡ to another, without any great Prejudice to themselves, or the Publick.

13. There having been for three Years last past, a great want of *East India* Goods, and there happening of late, a great Call for Woolen Manufactures, and indeed, for all the Product of *England*, some unthinking Persons grew presently to imagine, that the want of *East India* Goods (and no other Reason,) had brought the Woolen Manufacture into Request, and increased its Consumption; from whence very many have begun to argue and infer, that the *East India* Trade ||, is, and always was, prejudicial to the Kingdom.

14. But the sudden Call which was then for all kind of *English* Commodities, as well as the Woolen Manufactures,

D d 4

* Observe the Fallacy of this Writer, in requiring his Opponents to demonstrate the contrary, of what it was incumbent on himself to have proved.

† It had been well, to have instanced in some Manufacture, that was, as the Author insinuates, prejudicial to the Kingdom. I suppose, he might mean prejudicial to the Sale of *East India* Silks and Callicoes, namely, the Silk and Stuff Weavers, as he pretty well explains himself in the latter part of this Section. (See the Note upon it.)

‡ Though this might be a good Argument for favouring one Manufacture, rather than another, or for giving equally into all Kinds of Manufacture, both for home Use, and for Exportation; yet is it a sorry Reason for introducing foreign Manufactures, to the Prejudice of those at home.

|| In this Tract, great Care is taken, to confound the *East India* Trade in general, with that of importing Silks and Callicoes for home Use, to the Destruction of the *English* Manufactures of Wool, and Silk and Linen. But we shall find hereafter, that the Parliament knew how to distinguish, in this Case.

Page 20. factures, did not proceed from the want of *East India* Goods, but from the Posture of Exchange abroad, the ill Condition of our Silver Coin, and the high Price Guineas was brought to: For we plainly see this great Demand, both abroad and at home, for our Goods, does cease, now Guineas are lowered, and the Coin is altered.

15. The Concern of Wool, is, without doubt, to be taken Care of, but not so, as upon that Account, to slight all our foreign Interest.

Page 21. 16. The *East India* Company, has been for a long Time, looked upon with an evil Eye, by some People, because there has been formerly ill Management in their Affairs; and for that, some of their Goods were thought to hinder the Consumption of our own Manufactures; and because it was seen what Silver they really carried out, and not enough considered what Bullion their Effects brought hither in return.

Ch. 70. §. 17. 17. Some Persons without Doors (either bribed by the *Dutch*) or to flatter that Interest, profess themselves open Enemies to the Traffick in general. Others join with them, out of an immoderate Zeal to the Woolen Manufacture.

Page 24. 18. I proceed, to deliver my Opinion concerning the Bill for prohibiting the wearing all *East India* and *Persia* wrought Silks, *Bengals*, and dyed, printed or stained Calicoes.

They who promote this Bill, say, 1. It will advance the Consumption of Wool, and the Woolen Manufactures. 2. The Silk and Linen Manufactures of *England*. 3. This Prohibition, by Act of Parliament, may be effected, without Ruin to the *East India* Traffick in general.

Page 25. 19. First, as to the *Woolen Manufacture*, Trade is the general Concern of this Nation; but every distinct Trade has its distinct Interest. The Legislature is concerned for the whole.

Page 27. 20. The natural Way of promoting the Woolen Manufacture, is, not to force its Consumption at home, but by wholesome Laws to contrive, that it may be wrought cheap in *England*, which consequently, will enable us to command the Markets abroad.

21. No

21. No Country in *Europe*, manufactures all Kinds Page 28. of Goods, so dearly as this Kingdom. The Act for Maintenance of the Poor is the Cause, as it encourages Sloth.

22. To make *England** a true Gainer by the Woolen Page 29. Manufacture, we should be able to work the Commodity so cheap, as to under-sell all Comers to the Markets abroad.

23. 'Tis not the Benefit, nor Interest of *England* in general, that *Wool* should bear an high Price in our Markets at home.

24. By a great Consumption of the *Woolen Manufactures* within this Kingdom, the Publick will not reap such an Advantage as some imagine. §. 2.

25. Fine Broad Cloth, was the ancient Drapery of *England*, 'tis the natural Issue and Product of the Kingdom †, inimitable abroad. But though the Wool of other Places, is not so fit for Workmanship as ours, the Commodity is abounding almost in all Countries of *Europe*; and if the Cloth of *England*, be brought any Way to bear too high a Price, it may put some of our Neighbours, either upon the Industry of manufacturing their own better, or upon the Frugality to content themselves with what they can make at home. This cannot be prevented, if by Arts and Inventions, we endeavour to give Wool an unnatural Price here at home. And therefore I say, *England* reaps no such Advantage, by a large Consumption of the *Woolen Manufacture* within this Kingdom †. Page 30.

26. In the *Woolen Manufacture*, *England* does not Page 31. get by what is spent^k here by the People, but by what is sold abroad in other Countries. §. 2. Note.

27. If

* By *England*, is here meant the *Merchant* only. For if the Manufacturer is to have little for his Labour, and the Grower less, as we shall see^l, for his Wool, who but the Merchant, can be a Gainer by the *Woolen Trade*? §. 23.

† I suppose, this Gentleman did not know, that the finest Cloth was made of *Spanish Wool* only.

‡ A very pretty Doctrine this. The Exportation of Wool had been prohibited, in order to render it, and to keep it, cheap. This was not sufficient, but that it might be still cheaper, the Consumption of the Manufacture at Home, is, according to this Author, to be discouraged.

27. If the People of *England* are pleased to wear *India Silks* and Stuffs, of which the prime Cost in *India*, is not above a fourth Part of what their own Commodities would stand them in here, and if they are thereby enabled to export so much of their own Product, whatever is so saved, is a clear Gain to the Kingdom in general.

Page 33. 28. 'Tis granted, that *Bengals* and stained Callicoës, and other *East India* Goods, do hinder the Consumption of *Nowich* Stuffs, &c. But the same Objection will lye against the Use of any Thing that is foreign.

29. That the *East India* Goods do something interfere with the Woolen Manufacture, must undoubtedly be granted. Yet if 100,000 *l.* prime * Cost in *India*, will supply the room of 400,000 *l.* of our own Manufactures, it will enable us to divert so much of our own Manufacture into foreign Markets; and 400,000 *l.* worth of our native Goods, sold abroad, does add more Wealth to the Nations Stock, than four † Millions worth of our home Product, consumed within the Kingdom.

Page 34. 30. But besides, suppose the Prohibition to take Place, I don't see how it would advance the Vent of our home Product. For if they hinder the Consumption of the Woolen Manufacture at home, will they not, when exported, hinder its Consumption and Sale abroad. And if the *English* are not allowed to import them, will not the *Dutch* do it so much the more, and thereby hurt pro-

* There are many Objections to be made to this Argument, besides this, *that the Case is by no means fairly stated*, in comparing the *prime Cost only* of the *India* Goods, in *India*, with the *full Value* of the *English* Manufacture, as ready for Use or Exportation. He should have said, what *India* Goods of that Amount, prime Cost, *viz.* in *India*, would be sold for in *England*, exclusive of the Duties to the Crown; all beyond that, and which is to be considered as Profit or Wages to the Factors abroad, is no otherwise a Profit to the Nation, than as it is expended upon the Produce and Manufactures of their own Country; what is otherwise bestowed by them upon the Produce and Manufactures of other Countries, is so much Money quite sunk to the Nation.

† This is an equivocal false Assertion. See Chap. 80. §. 3. Note.

proportionably abroad, the Vent and Consumption of our *English* Manufacture.

31. As to the *Silk and Linen Manufacture*, Wisdom is most commonly in the Wrong, when it pretends to direct Nature. It is our Fault, if we do not enjoy the Woolen Manufacture, without any Rivalship. There is no Trade so advantageous, especially, to an Island, as that of buying Goods in one Country, to sell them in another. There is Gain by Freight, it makes a Consumption of our home Product, it breeds Seamen, increases Shipping, and improves Navigation. And any home Manufacture, that hinders this Kind of Traffick, or that indeed interferes with it, is pernicious, and ought in Wisdom, and by all Rules of Policy, to be discouraged by the Publick. Page 38.

32. Silk is a Manufacture of a foreign Extract, and not the genuine Product of this Country. It employs indeed the Poor, but is not composed from a Material of our own Growth. Whatever Encouragement it meets with, it cannot thrive with us, being not calculated for our Meridian. Page 40.

33. If the Luxury of wearing Silk, could be quite abolished, such a Reformation would undoubtedly be beneficial to the Kingdom. As that is not to be expected, a wise State must consider, which Way the Folly of their People can be supplied at the cheapest Rate; consequently, instead of prohibiting, we should, after the Example of the *Dutch*, (who have also a Silk Manufacture) encourage Importation of *India* Silks. Ch. 177.

34. As to the *Linen Manufacture*, it is no more the genuine Offspring of this Kingdom, than that of Silk. The Growth of this Manufacture would obstruct Trade, and other Business more important to the Nation. §. 23, 24. Page 44-45.

35. Our noble Staple of Wool, is undoubtedly capable of great Improvement, to which the Increase of Wages (that must happen upon an Increase of the Linen Manufacture) will be a considerable Hinderance. And one cannot rise, but to the Prejudice of the other; because we really want People and Hands, to carry on both to their full Perfection. Page 46.

36. It is more the general Interest of *England*, to export Woolen Manufacture, in Exchange abroad for Linen,

Linen, than to make * it here at Home; which Trade has been set on Foot, and prospered very much, since the Prohibition of *French Goods*, during this War.

37. But if we provide ourselves at home with Linen sufficient for our Consumption, and do not want that which is brought from *Silefia, Saxony, Bohemia, and Poland*, this Trade must cease; for these Northern Countries have neither Money nor other Commodities; and if we deal with them, we must be content to barter our Cloths for their Linen.

Page 48.

38. After much Thought upon this Subject, I conclude, that our Silk and Linen Manufactures obstruct Trades more profitable to the Kingdom. And tho' a Prohibition of *East India Goods*, may advance their present Interest, who are engaged in the Silk and Linen Manufactures here, yet that it will bring no future Advantage to the Kingdom, but will *utterly disable the present East India Company, or any other to be erected hereafter, from supporting and carrying on the Trade.*

39. It is plain to me, that the intended Prohibition must prove, tho' not a sudden, yet a certain Destruction to it. 'T will be lopping from this Trade, the Branches, and taking away some of the Bark, and Part of the Root; the Trunk indeed will be left, but so maimed and injured, that it can never spread and flourish; nay, it will be in Danger of being utterly destroyed, and lost to the Kingdom.

C H A P.

* This Argument has more Truth in it, than some others made use of by this Writer. Nevertheless, the Legislature has, from Time to Time, thought proper to give large Encouragements to the Linen Manufacture, as well in *Great-Britain*, as *Ireland*; in which I believe, they have judged it wisely in the main; although the Woolen Exportation Trade of *England*, has most certainly been impaired in some Degree, by this, and the like Policies. How far those Policies, either in Equity or Wisdom, comport with that particular Measure, of *prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool*, is a Matter very fit to be considered.

C H A P. LXXX.

England and East India, inconsistent in their Manufactures; being an Answer to a Treatise, Intituled, An Essay on the East India Trade, &c. 1697.

1. THE many Objections formerly made against the *East India Trade*, on Account of the Exportation of Bullion, and Importation of Goods manufactured, were usually answered by the Advocates for that Trade, that such Goods were not spent in *England*, but re-exported, and so occasioned the Importation of more Bullion than ever was exported. But now it is owned, that one half of the said Goods are consumed at home; and that those manufactured Goods do hinder the Consumption of what are fabrick't by our own People.

2. But with Regard to the Woolen Manufacture, Page 19. this Author appears to be of Opinion, that our Nobility, Chap. 79. Gentry, and landed Men, make too much of their Estates, by selling their Wool too dear; and that after many Thoughts about it, he had found out an effectual Way to remedy this Evil, by endeavouring to persuade them, that it is advantageous for us to send our Money to the *Indies*, to buy manufactured Goods there, to be spent at home, as well as abroad, in the room of our Woolen Goods: That this indeed, will make Wool cheap, but that will turn to the Profit of the Kingdom in general; forasmuch, as those that drive the *India Trade*, may at the same Time, make 400*l.* of 100*l.*

3. That our Woolen Goods consumed at home, do Page 20. not enrich † the Nation, and that a high Price on our Woolen Manufactures, may hinder the Sale of them,

† As Dr. *Davenant* himself hath acknowledged, 'Ex-nant of pence must arise from Income; which arises from Land, publick Trade, Arts, Labour. We understand that to be Wealth, Revenue, which maintains the Prince, and the general Body of his Part 1. People, in Plenty, Ease, and Safety.' And therefore this p. 23. Author grants much more than is necessary, in admitting Part 2. that p. 60.

is agreed; but that we must therefore send our Money to *India*, to purchase the manufactured Goods made in those Parts, to be spent at home, and abroad, in the room of our own, in order to bring down the Price of them, by making Wool and Labour cheap, are false Conclusions drawn from true Premises.

4. If that Woolen Goods consumed at home, do not enrich the Nation, since nothing is so certainly enriching to it, forasmuch, as *Money saved, is Money got*. But because that is no Part of the Balance of Trade directly, therefore, I suppose, some will have it to be no Part of the Riches of the Kingdom. This is for want of a true and full Idea of what are Riches; of which I cannot conceive otherwise, but that whatsoever enables a Community to live plentifully, and contribute largely to the Support of Government, is truly, and properly, *Riches*. This, a large Consumption of home Produce and Manufacture, of the latter especially, does certainly. It does not indeed increase directly the Stock of Bullion in the Kingdom, but it does what is much more, it certainly gives a brisk Circulation to what is already there. And Money itself is not properly *Riches, i. e.* it is not serviceable to a Community, but as it is circulated. Now four Millions at home, consumed in home Manufacture, makes ten times the Circulation, gives Life to ten times the Expence in Provisions and Taxes, that 400,000 *l.* sent abroad in home Manufacture, does. In short, Trade is twofold, foreign and domestick; and tho' neither is to be slighted, but on the contrary, cultivated with the greatest Care and Diligence, yet (according to the British Merchant) the latter is of the far greatest Consequence. A larger home Consumption of home Produce and Manufacture, is a certain Advantage. A less Exportation of the same abroad is uncertainly so. If for Instance, which is too often the Case, to force a Vent abroad, and make more Business and Profit to Merchants, more in Value of consumeable Commodities is imported upon the Whole from foreign Countries, than is exported thither of home Produce and Manufacture; in that Case, though there is an Appearance of Trade, and the Merchants are Gainers, yet the Nation really loses. But home Consumption of home Produce and Manufacture, is a Means of enriching a Nation, as certain, as that improving Lands, is a Means of increasing their Rents, altho' the Number of Acres are not increased; while the exporting of home Produce and Manufacture, is only accidentally enriching, *i. e.* provided less in Value, of consumeable Commodities, is imported in Return, than was exported. *I have said thus much, only to shew the great*
Mistake

• See
Ch. 79.
§. 29.

• See
Ch. 100.
§. 1, 2, 11.

4. If after we have used our best endeavours to keep up the Price of Wool, and the Expence of our Woolen Goods, it should be our Misfortune to be disappointed, by the Increase of such Fabricks in other Places, or Diffuse in the Expence of them, we should, and ought to submit, with Patience; but it would be unanswerable, to be so zealous to have it done, as to give the first Blow ourselves, by discouraging the Expence of them at home. Page 21.

5. The Author of this Treatise might have done well to have told us, to what Price he would have Wool fall, and in what Places we can consume more Woolen Goods abroad. No Reason will appear for bringing home, or encouraging the Expence of these Goods, if not in order totally to ruin the Manufactory; unless we could be assured, that the falling of Wool and Manufactures to a low Price, would first ruin those other Manufactures, and then, that ours would certainly advance in Price again. And we should also have been told, how the *Landed Men* and *Poor* should subsist, whilst the Experiment was making, and how in Case the Project should not take, we might retrieve the Loss incurred by trying it. Ch. 45. §. 1, 2.

6. What Woolens, Silks and Linens, and other Goods of our own Make, we spend at home, are for the Supply of our Necessities, and hitherto have been thought very advantageous, as saving much Expence in foreign Goods of the like Sort. If we should reject our own, and prefer the Consumption of those from *India*, we may reasonably expect, that other Nations should, by our Example, do the same; and so by our own Endeavours, we should destroy what we ought to be industrious to preserve. Page 23.

7. But if it should be understood, that notwithstanding what hath been said, it is our Interest to spend these *Indian* Goods at home, that we may save our Woolen Goods for Exportation; if no Stop must be put to spending

Mistake of those who make light of the home Consumption of Woolen Manufactures in England; which is vastly great, and of immense Advantage to the Nation; not to disparage the Exportation of the same, which is also of prodigious Consequence, as is every other Article of our Trade, which tends to turn the Balance in our Favour.

Page 24. ing them, either at home or abroad. If such great Gains be made on them, why may not the *East India* Merchants be tempted, to go on increasing in this Trade, 'till they bring sufficient Quantities to supply all Markets abroad, as well as at home. Therefore, we should have been told, what we should do with our *Wool* and People too, if that Trade should thus increase upon us; which is more probable, than that the Expence of our Woolen Manufactures will increase, if the Consumption of those Goods from *India* be continued.

Page 25. 8. In short, the Arguments of this Writer, are as contradictory, as it would be to affirm, that the best Way of preserving Life, is, for a Man to cut his own Throat.

* Ch. 79. 9. As to *Silk and Linen Manufacture*, these, it seems, are not the genuine Offspring of this Land, nor the Manufacture thereof, calculated for our Meridian. How Silks and Linens perfectly manufactured in *India*, bought with our own Money, should be esteemed more genuine, or better calculated for our Meridian, than our Silks and Linen manufactured at home, by our own People, is not apparent to all Mens Understanding; especially, since the Linens are fabrick't from Materials of our own Growth, and the raw Silk we generally have, is purchased by the Product of our own Manufactures, and but of small Value, in Proportion to the Labour bestowed in making it, (which must be owned to be all our own) and that we cannot spend our Goods in *Italy* and *Turkey*, without taking their Silk in Return.

Page 31. 10. If the original, or chief Cause or Means of Riches, must be from the Labour of the People, how do such Arguments, as are used in this Tract, consist with that Maxim? Our Woolen Manufactures must be reduced to near one Half, by not spending them at home. *Silk* and *Linen* Manufactures are not convenient. And if Paper, Shoes, &c. had stood in the Way of *East India* Goods, it is probable, that by the same way of arguing, those would have been cryed down too. We should surely have been told, how our Industry and Stock could have been better employed, than in such Manufactures, before such Advice should be given for the Discouragement of Woolen, Silks and Linen.

Page 33. If the Author of this Essay, had gone as often to *Spittle-Fields* or *Canterbury*, as, it may be presumed, he hath

hath to the *India-House*, and had informed himself what vast Numbers of both Sexes, and all Ages, are employed in that Manufacture, and had their sole Dependance thereon, he would probably have changed his Opinion.

12. That this Manufacture of *Silk*, hath increased very much in this Age, notwithstanding these Difficulties, is an undeniable Proof against what is asserted, namely, that it cannot thrive in *England*.

C H A P. LXXXI.

*The Advantage of the East India Trade to England, considered, wherein all the Objections to that Trade, are fully answered**, 1697-8.

1. IT is generally objected against the *East India* Trade Page 1. to *England*, that it carries out a great Quantity of Bullion, and returns chiefly Manufactures to be consumed in *England*; that the Labourer hereby loses his Employment, that the Landholders Rent must be abated.

2. To export Bullion to the *East Indies*, for the Ma- Page 17. nufactures of those Countries, is to exchange it for more and better Manufactures, than are elsewhere to be procured for the same Quantity of Bullion; consequently, it is an advantageous Exchange.

3. To

* The Copy of this Tract, now before me, was printed in 1720. But it appears to have been wrote, during the Strife between the old and new *East-India* Companies; whence I conclude this to have been a second Edition, on Account of the Contest then on Foot, (*An. 1720.*) about the Use of Calicoes, printed and painted in *England*. It is pretty long, pretends to Argument; though tautologous, yet is subtle; and, I think, sophistical. I have very much contracted, but I hope preserved the Sense, and given the Substance of it.

Page 34. 3. To this it is objected, that tho' the Exchange is profitable to private Persons, yet the Kingdom is not richer for it. But if one Man procures as much Value by his Labour from *India*, as three produced before in *England*, he possesses as much as all the three before; and the Riches of the other two, are not reduced to nothing; their Labour, tho' perhaps less valuable, is still worth something, and whatever it is worth, is so much Gain to the Kingdom. Especially, if upon the whole, our Bullion is increased by this Trade. And that it is, I thus prove. We have no Mines; it is received in Exchange for the Manufactures which are exported. We carry to the *Indies*, Bullion, we import Manufactures at a cheap Rate, have proportionably so many more than heretofore, either *Indian*, or native Manufactures, to export; consequently we gain our Bullion again, with Profit, *i. e.* more Bullion.

Page 51. 4. Wherefore the People employed to make Manufactures here, more than are necessary to procure the like from *India*, are not employed to the Kingdoms Profit. And certainly, every individual Person in *England*, might be employed to some Profit, to do some Work, which cannot be done without him; at least, the contrary is not evident, so long as any Country possesses any Thing, which *England* wants.

Page 54. 5. Thus the *East India* Trade, is most likely to make Work for all the People, by enlarging their Business in the present, and by being the Cause* of setting on Foot, new Works.

Page 60. 6. It is very true, that the *English* Manufacture cannot be sold so dear, or rather the *East India* Trade, will put an End to many of our *English* Manufactures; and the Men that were employed in them, will betake themselves to others. By the Increase of Labourers, in which other Employments, the Price of Work will be abated. If the Price of *English* Manufactures shall be abated, the Vent thereof will be increased, and in the End more People employed. But tho' the Price of Work, I have said, be thus abated by the *East India* Trade, it does not follow, that there will be an Abatement of *Wages* on that

Page 61. Score; and if no Abatement of *Wages*, Provisions, and consequently Rents*, will not be abated.

* §. 7. * As Necessity is said to be the Cause of Invention.

Score; and if no Abatement of *Wages*, Provisions, and consequently Rents*, will not be abated.

7. For the *East India* Trade, by putting Persons upon Invention, may be the Cause of doing Things with less Labour; and then, tho' *Wages* should not, the Price of Manufactures might be abated.

8. Arts, and Mills, and Engines, which save the Labour of Hands, are Ways of doing Things with Labour of less Price, tho' the *Wages* of Men, employed to do them, should not be abated. And the *East India* Trade procures Things with less, and cheaper Labour; than would be necessary to make the like in *England*; it is therefore very likely to be the Cause of the Invention of Arts and Engines †, to save the Labour of Hands in other Manufactures; these are the Effects of Necessity and

* As if Wool contributed nothing to the Rents of *England*.

† It is true, that Arts and Engines, are of great Use in many Respects; but in the first Place, there is no Reason to create Wants, in order to whet the Invention of People, which is otherwise sufficiently excited by natural Indigence, and the Hopes of Gain. In the next Place, the Woolen Manufacture, of all Arts, seems to afford the least room for the compendious Methods of working, which are here hinted at; forasmuch, as the Spinning, which is a principal Part, and some others, are unavoidably the Result of single Hand-labour. We have been told indeed, of an Engine contrived to make Linen Cloth, as to the Weaving Part, and which if practicable in that, might possibly be made serviceable for Weaving Woolen also. What has been the Success of it, I don't know. But the supposed Conveniency thereof, were as follows. 'One Mill will set ten or twelve of these Looms at Work; you may make Cloth of what Breadth you please. There will be fewer Knots in the Cloth, since the Threads will not break so fast, as in other Looms, because the Shuttle that breaks the greatest Part, can never touch them. In short, the Work will be carried on quicker, and at less Charge, in Regard, that instead of several Workfolks, which are required in making very large Cloths, one Boy will serve to tie the Threads of the several Looms, as fast as they break, and to order the Quills about the Shuttle.'

An Engine to make Linen Cloth. By M. de Gennes. *Phil. Trans. Abridged.* Vol. i. p. 589--590.

and Emulation; every Man must still be inventing, or improving upon the Invention of other Men.

Page 72. 9. The *East India* Trade then abates only the Price of Manufactures (by Means of Arts and Engines) not the Wages of the Labourer; so that he is able to buy more Manufactures, more Conveniencies of Life, with the same Labour. Thus we may come to have more Manufactures, and in Time, may perhaps, be able to carry on the Fishing Trade in *England*.

10. And as Rents will not be abated by Exportation of Bullion, nor by Diminution of the Consumers, nor by Abatement of Wages, it follows, that they will not be abated at all, by letting the Produce of *India* into *English* Markets, and least of all, by *Indian* Manufactures; especially, as it is the Sense of People, that the unwrought Things of *India* cannot do it*.

Page 79. 11. Men are very careful to preserve their Rents. But above all, Gentlemen are in the greatest Disquiets for their Wool. Both the Living and Dead must be wrapped in Woolen; nor is any Law wanting to complete the Business, but only one, that our Perukes should be made of Wool. Nevertheless, the unwrought Things of *India* are let alone; these are neither directly, nor by high Customs prohibited; these therefore, in the Opinion of Gentlemen, are not dangerous to the Rents, are not likely to abate the Price of the Produce of their Estates. Which tho' it does not prove, that Gentlemen do not mistake their own Interest, yet, that *Indian* Manufactures cannot abate the Price of the meer Produce of the Estate, may be thus demonstrated.

Page 82. 12. Manufacture will not be made in *England* by dearer, if as good a one shall be procured from *India*, by cheaper Labour. So that the Labour that is necessary to *English* Manufacture, must be lowered to the Standard of the Labour[†], that procures the *Indian* Manufacture.

§. 9-10. In other Words, the Price of *English* Manufacture must be levelled to the Price of *Indian* Manufactures; and whatever the Difference is, it must be abated, upon Labour only, not the Material, as, suppose, Wool.

13. For

* Compare this and §. 9. with §. 12-15.

13. For Wool is not dearer in *England*, than Cotton or raw Silk in *India*; all the Difference is, in the Price of Labour in *England*, and *India*; wherefore the whole Difference of the Price, betwixt both Manufactures, will be abated in Labour.

14. If more should be abated, then the *English* Manufacture would be cheapest, and the *Indian* could not be sold, consequently would not be imported, contrary to the Fact, and also contrary to the Supposition. Therefore, if the Price of Labour only is abated, that of the Produce is not; on the contrary, it is very likely to be raised, by the Importation of *Indian* Manufactures. For as the Price of Labour †, will be thereby abated, the Demand of the Produce of the Estate will be increased, more will be invited, more will be enabled, to buy the same at higher Prices. Page 84.

15. More of our own People will be enabled to buy Wool, at two Shillings per Pound, with the Labour and Manufacture of the Price of six Shillings, than to buy so much Wool for one Shilling, if the Manufacture must be nine. Or if at home, Men might be compelled to buy at any Price; yet Foreigners are not subject to *English* Laws, they will rather buy our Wool, with the Price of Manufacture abated. The Abatement for the Price of Manufacture, will pay for the Carriage of our Wool^u u^u Manufactured, into distant Markets. So then, if the *East India* Trade should be supposed.

† The national Advantage expected from Labour, supposes Wages, and, in Consequence thereof, a greater Consumption of the Produce of the Kingdom, at a better Price. But we have been told^w, that the Price of *Indian* Labour, ^w Ch. 68. does not exceed one Penny a Day; and so far as the *English* §. 2-3. Labour is reduced to that Standard, so far *English* Provisions, and consequently Rents, must fall in Proportion; and the less Probability there is of reducing *English*, to the Price of *Indian*, Provisions, the greater Certainty there is, upon this Writer's own Principles, of his proposed Reduction falling upon the Material, *Wool* in particular, as well as other *English* Produce. Thus at the same Time, that he contends, that neither the Land, nor Labour of *England*, are liable to be affected by *Indian* Manufactures, his own Concessions prove the contrary, in both Respects; and his Opinion, every Way, stands condemned by his own Arguments.

should reduce the Price of Labour and Manufacture, it must needs invite, and *enable* more People, to buy the Produce of the Estate.

16. Again, if almost every one in *England*, shall be able to buy the Gentleman's Wool, the Demand of it must be greater, consequently the Price, than if Multitudes shall be disabled; also, if People upon the Coasts of foreign Countries, shall be invited, and enabled to buy the Wool, than if the same shall be restrained to only *English* Markets. Lastly, if People at greater Distances from those Coasts, shall buy our Wool, than if only *English* Men, or the Coasters of foreign Countries, shall be our Customers. So in all Cases, the more shall be enabled to buy the Produce of the Estate, the Demand must be the greater, and so must the Price. Then the Importation of *Indian* Manufactures, abates the Price of Labour, invites, and enables so many the more, to buy the Produce of the Estate, increases the Demand, increases the Value of the Produce of the Estate*.

* This Affair of the *East India* Silks, &c. seems from this Time, to have been repited for a while, or rather diverted by another Object, which now begun to exercise the Thoughts of the Woolen Manufacturers of *England*; namely, the growing State of that Manufacture in *Ireland*; as we shall see immediately, in the next Volume.

And tho' neither the Arguments of this Writer, nor the
 * Ch. 79. those of Dr. *Davenant* * were sufficient to uphold the Use of *East India* Manufactures, in *England*, for Continuance of Time; yet by raising a Mist about the Subject, they were plainly instrumental in prolonging the same, for a few Years.
 y Ch. 87. And that, to some particular Traders y, was worth the paying a handsome Premium for, to such mercenary Pens z.
 P. S. So that both the one, and the other, viz. those that paid,
 §. 14. and they that received the Money, finding sufficiently their
 Note. Account therein, for the present, they were none of them
 z Ch. 87. over and above solicitous for the future Credit of the
 §. 11. Thing.

The End of the First Volume.

Chronicon Rusticum-Commerciale;

O R,

M E M O I R S

O F

W O O L, &c.

B E I N G

A COLLECTION of HISTORY and ARGUMENT, concerning the WOOLEN MANUFACTURE and WOOLEN TRADE in general; particularly, the *Rise, Progress, Improvements, Declensions, Revolutions*, and the respective *Causes* thereof (with a View of the different *Prices* of WOOL at certain distant Periods) in *ENGLAND*; as given by a Succession of Writers, from ancient down to the present Times.

A L S O

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By JOHN SMITH, L. L. B.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the Year MDCCXLVII.




M E M O I R S

O F

W O O L, &c.

C H A P. LXXXII.

A Discourse concerning Ireland, and the different Interests thereof, in Answer to the Exon and Barnstaple Petitions; shewing, that if a Law were enacted, to prevent the Exportation of the Woolen Manufactures from Ireland to foreign Parts, what the Consequence thereof would be, both to England and Ireland. 1697-8.

i.  EFORE the late War in that Kingdom, the Flocks were grown so numerous in all the plain Parts of the Country, that the vulgar *Irish**, were driven for the most Part, into the mountainous and woody Parts of the Kingdom; insomuch, that I have myself very frequently heard them curse

* This Writer, by Way of Introduction, distinguishes the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, at this Time, into three distinct Classes, *viz. Irish, Scotch, and English*; assigning to the latter, the greatest Property in Sheep, as also, the sole Possession of the Woolen Manufacture there.

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A 2

4 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 82.

curse the *English* Sheep, with all the Bitterness and Rancour imaginable, and pray to God, that he would send a Rot, or Plague among them, that the Poor of the Country might have a greater Scope for Tillage.

2. And this was the true Reason, that in the Beginning of the late War, they made such barbarous Havock of that Kind of Cattle, more than any other, killing Hundreds of them in the Fields, when they had occasion for the Flesh but of a very few; which did not a little contribute, in two or three Years Time, to occasion so great a Scarcity in that plentiful Kingdom, that if the *Irish* Army (especially, when driven over the *Shannon*) had not been plentifully relieved from *France*, a great many of the Country must have inevitably perished by Famine.

Page 22. 3. And as to the universal Plunder which the *Irish* Army, the Rapparees, &c. took from the Protestants before, and in, the late War, they were no sooner Masters of any Part of it, but it was immediately destroyed; for when they drove away an Herd of Cattle, (which was common with them) they never ceased slaughtering, both fat and lean, 'till they had consumed all; neglecting their Potatoes, and other ordinary Food, to which they had been accustomed †.

Page 33. 4. The *Scotch*, are a People of a different Interest and Dependance, from the *English* of *Ireland*; they are linked with their Friends in *Scotland*, and, from thence, take all their Measures, which concern either Religion or Commerce. The Number of this People is wonderfully increased since the Battle of the *Boyne*; for by common

Page 34.

† The Author supposing the present Design of prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Goods from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, to take its Rise from an Opinion, the Inhabitants of *England* had entertained, of that Kingdom being made rich with this Manufacture, added to the other Advantages of the Country; he takes occasion to mention these Circumstances, in order to induce a contrary Belief; which Circumstances being extremely probable, they let us plainly into one Reason of the advanced Price of Wool, and Cattle both, in *England*, during some Part of King *William's* Reign. And indeed it may be observed in general, that the Price of *English* Wool in *England*, has always been much influenced by the Quantities of *Irish* Wool or Yarn, imported into *England*.

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common Computation, above 80,000 Families of them, have, since that Time, transplanted themselves from *Scotland*, into that Kingdom. They possess almost the whole Province of *Ulster*, and are numerous in the Counties of *Cork*, *Kerry*, and *Limerick*. As for their Commerce, 'tis certain that many of them, in the most considerable Sea Ports of that Kingdom, are fallen into the merchandizing Trade thereof, and by their Correspondence with *Scotland* and *France*, have sufficiently enriched themselves.

5. This Peoples Manufacture is chiefly Linen Cloth. Their Woolen Manufacture is so very inconsiderable, Page 35. that it bears no Proportion to that of the *English* of *Ireland*.

6. The Merchants of them, as well as the *Irish* Merchants, do undoubtedly deal in Woolen Manufactures, which they transport to other Countries; but they buy those Commodities from the *English* of that Kingdom, who there are the only considerable Manufacturers of that Kind.

7. And these are the only People, whom the afore- Page 43. mentioned Law (if it should be enacted) is likely feverely to affect; for setting aside those Persons of the Page 44. first Quality, that are above any Thing of Trade, the *English* Gentlemen of Estates, and the Farmers of the Lands of those Noblemen and others, have been all along the only considerable Flock-Masters of that Kingdom: Some of them, before the late War, were Owners of 18,000; others of 15,000, some of 10,000, some of 5,000, and others of less Numbers of Sheep, according to their Abilities, and the Quantities of Land which they held.

8. As for the vulgar *English* of *Ireland*, they are the only Woolen Manufacturers, the Clothiers, Weavers, Dyers, Worsted Combers, Hatters, and of all other Trades which belong to this Manufacture, in and throughout the Kingdom. I am very well assured, that there are within the City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, above 12,000 *English* Families of this Kind of Tradesmen, of which there are computed to be above 50,000 in the Nation, who were bred to these Callings, and can no more get their Bread in the *Linen* Manufacture, than a *London* Taylor by Shoemaking. Though with due Encourage-

6 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 82.

couragement, the growing Generation may be induced thereto.

9. The first and immediate Consequence of such a Law will be, the unavoidable Ruin of many Thousands of *English* Families, who live by the Woolen Manufactures in *Ireland*, and in which the Strength of the *English* Interest in that Kingdom, doth, in a great Measure, consist. To *England*, great Part of them dare not venture (as having fled thence for Debt, &c.) and if they should remove to *Scotland*, as not unlikely many of them might; by this Means, the People of *Scotland*, will not only be the easier and cheaper furnished with Woolen Manufactures, to carry on their *East-India* Trade, but will be capacitated to trade in the *West-Indies*

^a Ch. 88. also, notwithstanding the Restriction laid, or to be laid ^a §. 8. *Note.* upon them by *England*.

Page 53. 10. In order to which End, they will not want the Wool of *Ireland*; that is, if any of the Flock-Masters of that Kingdom shall think it worth their while to deal in Sheep, as it cannot well be supposed they will, if this Law be enacted. But let us suppose, that those ruined Manufacturers should transport themselves to *Holland*, or other foreign Countries, and they and their Posterity to be for ever lost to these Kingdoms; the *Irish* Popish Merchants will have then, by reason of the Cheapness of Wool, greater Encouragement for carrying on their old Woolen Trade with *France* than ever.

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C H A P.

Ch. 83. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.*

C H A P. LXXXIII.

*The Interest of England, as it stands with Relation to the Trade of Ireland, considered, The Arguments, against the Bill, for prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures from Ireland to foreign Parts, fairly discussed. And the Reasonableness and Necessity of England's restraining her Colonies in all Matters of Trade, that may be prejudicial to her own Commerce, clearly demonstrated**; with short Remarks on a Book †, intitled, *Some Thoughts on the BILL* depending before the Right Honourable the House of Lords, for prohibiting the Exportation of the Woolen Manufactures of Ireland to foreign Parts. London 1698.

1. **M**Y Design being only to shew the Necessity there ^{Page 2.} is upon us to stop the Progress of such Manufactory's in *Ireland*, which directly interfere with those of *England*, I shall offer a few Propositions which I take to be in a manner Self-evident.

2. *First*, *England* hath no other Means of procuring Riches, than by vending a greater Value of her Commodities in foreign Markets, than what she expends in Merchandizes imported from abroad. 2. That the far greater Value of the Exportations of *England* arises from her Woolen Manufactures. 3. That *England* hath always been able to send as much of her Woolen Manufactures abroad,

A 4

* *Dr. Davenant* speaks of one Mr. *Clements*, as the supposed Author of this Tract.

† This Book I have not been able to meet with; but the principal Arguments thereof, it may be supposed, are stated and answered in this Tract, and that of the next following Chapter.

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abroad, as could be vended in foreign Markets. 4. That whatsoever Country can afford their Manufactory cheapest, must infallibly gain the Trade from that Country that cannot work so cheap. 5. That *Ireland* is able to make many of the same Kinds of Woolen Manufactures cheaper than *England*, and therefore will never want a Vent for them in foreign Markets. 6. That the whole Quantity of such Manufactures which *Ireland* shall supply in foreign Markets, will hinder the Sale of so much from *England*; and consequently the whole Value thereof will be so much clear Loss * to *England*. 7. That whatsoever Number of People shall be employed in this Trade in *Ireland*, the same Number of our Manufacturers must sit still in *England*. 8. That such People, to avoid starving at home, will go to *Ireland* for Work, by which Means, in Time, the whole Trade would most probably be established there, and lost here.

3. I proceed to the Arguments which have been offered against the Bill. They are, first, 'That the Government of *England* have at several Times given Encouragement to the Settling a Woolen Manufactory in *Ireland*, and therefore 'twould be very unreasonable, after they have with great Charge and Difficulty, brought the same to Perfection, to destroy it at once, and ruin the Undertakers.'

I answer, that (supposing this to be true) former Times might not see through all the Inconveniences that might accrue to *England*, by settling a Woolen Manufactory in *Ireland*; or perhaps they intended that Encouragement only to capacitate them to make Clothing for themselves, but not to enable them to interfere with *England* in its foreign Trade; for certainly our Ancestors who prohibited the sending their Wools to foreign Parts, never intended to enable them to send the Manufactures thereof, which would do us a far greater Damage ^b.

^b §. 8. Note.

4. Secondly, 'That 'tis the Interest of *England* to encourage the Increase of Riches in *Ireland*, that it may be in the better Condition to contribute to its own Support,

^c Ch. 84. §. 7.

* This and the following Articles, stands upon a Supposition of many Things for true, that are not so; and principally, 1. That *England* and *Ireland* shared, or had the Means of sharing, the whole Woolen Trade between them ^c. 2. That *England* had no Part in the Gains of *Ireland*.

'port, upon any Exigencies, and lessen the Charge of *England*.'

This is a very true Argument, when rightly applied; but there is a vast Difference between *Ireland's* gaining Wealth by any Way of Industry peculiar to themselves, and their incroaching upon that Trade, which is the only * Way by which *England* can attract Riches.

5. 'That by putting down this Manufactory, the Poor of *Ireland* will be destitute of Work, many Families would be ruined, and an unreasonable Hardship put upon a Country but just recovering itself after a destructive War.'

'Tis answer enough, since this is but the Beginning Page 5: of a new Business, to ask how they lived before? Lands are very cheap in *Ireland*, Provisions plentiful. Both are dear in *England*, and the People numerous. This Manufactory (for Exportation) is but young, and few, (comparatively) are yet employed in it; the sooner the Business has a Stop put to it, the less sensible will the Disappointment be.

6. 'That the Quantities they make are so inconsiderable, Page 6. as that it cannot hurt *England*; that there is no Probability of their increasing the Trade to any great Degree, and that a great Part of the Workmanship is there so dear, as that they cannot make their Goods much cheaper than in *England*.'

Every one knows, that the greatest Undertakings proceed from small Beginnings, but that when the first Difficulties are overcome, they easily go on, and increase in a much greater Proportion than at the first Appearance. Before the War, they came, in four Years, to export in the last Year, 11,360 Pieces; and since the Reduction

* The Woolen Trade had formerly been almost the only Trade of *England*; but now the Case was very much altered for the better. 'Monsieur Philipeaux d'Herbaut (after the Peace of Ryswick) being sent hither as Com-^{Contin.} missary general from the French King, for regulating Rapin. Commerce between the two Nations, found insuperable p. 380. Difficulties in his Commission; particularly, because the *English* had by this Time, learned to be without the Commodities of *France*; supplying themselves with Paper, Stuffs, Hats, and Silks, by the Manufactures of these Goods set up in *England*, by the French Refugees.'

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Reduction of Ireland, they are, in four Years, come to above 4000 Pieces, and it may be remarked, that they advanced from 2000 and upwards, in the Year 1695, to above 4000 in 1696. These are not short Steps; in Time they will be able to manufacture * all the Wools of Ireland. But I will suppose, for Argument Sake, that they make but to the Value of 100,000 l. yearly, and that they would not sell for more than 10 per Cent. cheaper than England usually doth: Supposing also, that England sends abroad the Value of but one Million yearly, of Goods of the like Kind; 'twill be easily granted me, that if any one offers his Goods cheaper than the usual Price, that will become the Market Price, and every one else must sell at the same Price, or keep his Goods †: By this 'tis plain, that England must abate 100,000 l. out of the former Value of her Million, for the Sake of Ireland's 100,000 l.; and then she loses another 100,000 l. by Ireland's taking that Money from the Markets which England should otherwise solely furnish: So that 'tis clear from this Consideration, if no more were to be said to it, that 'twere more advantageous to England, by the one Half, to buy these Goods, and throw them into the Sea, than to suffer Ireland to sell cheaper than we can in foreign Markets. But the arguing that weaving, and some other Parts of the Workmanship, is as dear as in England, is a perfect Fallacy; for besides that they only suggest it without Proof; yet, if it were so at the first attempting such a Manufactory, that could only be occasioned through a Scarcity of Workmen,

* What was Matter of Fear then, seems now to be the Object of many Persons Desire, to prevent, as is pretended, the Runnage of Wool to France.

† Not upon the Supposition of such unequal Quantities, as ten and one; but on the contrary, as all Persons do certainly vend their Commodities as dear as they can; tho' the Irish could afford theirs lower than the English, yet would they endeavour to come up as near as they well could to the English Price. But this Absurdity was to be swallowed, in order to make Way for the rest that follow, as if nothing was too extravagant to be asserted upon these Occasions; and Tully's Observation † on little pedling Dealers, was to be a standing Rule in all public Disquisitions, in the greatest Affairs of Trade.

† *Nihil proficiunt nisi admodum mentiuntur.*

men, but would every Year grow cheaper as those Workmen increase; and enough is said above, to shew, that that will be the infallible Consequence of an encouraging Trade; and since I may modestly affirm, that Provisions are not (generally speaking) at above half the Price there, to what they are in England, and Labour holding always in Proportion thereto, 'tis not unreasonable to expect, that they will, in Time to come, work at least one Third cheaper than we can, and if they should make as much as they can then sell for 200,000 l. that will be equal in Quantity to our 300,000 l. and abate so much out of the Sale of our Million, and then by the Fall in Price, the remaining 700,000 l. would yield but 466,666 l. $\frac{2}{3}$. So that 'tis plain, that if Ireland gains Riches by this Trade, 'twill be at the Expence of impoverishing England.

7. 'That the high Duties payable upon all Woolen Manufactures brought into England, amount to a Prohibition of the Irish, and that if it were intended, that theirs should be brought hither, the Duties ought to be moderated so, as to bear but a just Proportion to what they can work cheaper.' Page 8.

I will be so free as to acknowledge, that I believe the House of Commons intended no less by this Bill, than the suppressing all Exportations of Woolen Manufactures from Ireland, and the utter discouraging the Progress of that Trade * there; but to lay such a Duty as might, at present, seem equal to the Difference of Workmanship, would utterly defeat that Intent: For, as I have noted before, they may soon come to work so much lower than they now do, as that they may be able to bring their Goods

The Intention of the Bill for preventing the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from Ireland to foreign Parts, was to suppress all Exportation of Woolen Manufactures from thence.

* Time has shewn, that the Parliament of England was out in this Part of their Aim^d; and if they hoped by this Bill, which we shall find passed in the next Year, to retrieve the Error of their Predecessors, in the Article of Irish Cattle, 'tis plain, they were mistaken. Nor is there, I think, any absolute Remedy in either Case; tho' by treading back those two false Steps, further Mischiefs may yet be prevented. But if we still think to go forward in the old Paths of Prohibitions, and forbid the Importation of Spanish Wool to Ireland, for which we have seen a Scheme: By a Merchant (an. 1745) that Law will be of no more Effect there, than all others of the same Kind. §. 19.

Goods into *England* at so small a Duty, and be encouraged to keep on their Manufacture there; which though, by this Means, it may not so much prejudice our foreign Trade, by beating down the Prices, yet it will have its full Effect in taking away our Manufacturers, and drawing them into *Ireland*. Moreover, what Assurance can we have, but that if they are suffered to make such Goods there, they may ship them for foreign Parts by Stealth, without paying any Duty at all? The Manufacture being of much less Bulk than the Wool, which they tell us plainly will be apt to be sent for *France*, if they be debarred from working it up there*; though I doubt not, but if our Legislature will exert its Power †, it may be smart enough with them to prevent both.

8. 'That their Undertaking doth not interfere with the main Branch of our Manufacture, the Clothing Trade, but that they do yet continue to buy great Quantities of Cloth from us.'

This indeed is true at present, but when they shall have considerably increased the Number of their Workmen, and brought their People into the Way of working their Wools, who can doubt but they will be at that also? Their Contest indeed now, is only in Relation to what we call new Drapery, consisting of Bays, Serges, and Stuffs, which makes up a mighty Part of our Exportations, and the Injury they will come to do us therein, cannot be less than what I have before noted; to which I might add, that *Ireland* affords us great Quantities of that Sort, we call long Wool for Combing, of which those Goods are made, and if they shall work it up themselves, the wanting of that Supply will be very sensible to us ‡.

9. These

* Or, I add, if they be not debarred.

† The Legislature hath exerted all its Power and Skill, and Experience tells us, they are both unequal to the Task, for that they have not been able (by prohibitory Laws) to prevent either the Exportation of Wool, or Woolen Goods from *Ireland*.

‡ This Author (§. 3.) had said, 'the Exportation of *Irish* Manufacture was more detrimental to *England*, than even to export the Wool itself.' The Doctrine was what I had not before met with; but here he has explain'd himself; and it appears, that the Thing of which he was principally afraid,

9. These are the most material Objections to the Bill, Page 10. that occur to my Memory, and I hope I have fairly answered them: But that I may give a full View of the whole Controversy in its true Shape, I will, after the old Way of arguing, represent it by a Simile.

10. A good old Gentleman, Possessor of great Tracts of Land, abounding in Plenty of all Things fit for Life, but especially in the greatest Quantity of Sheep of any in his whole Country, happily fell into the Way of manufacturing his Wools, in which he became so successful, as to be able to outdo all other People, and furnish all his Neighbours with the greatest Part of what they used; by which Means, he was not only capacitated to support a very numerous Family, but also attracted to himself great Riches, and became equal in Power to most of his Neighbours. He had settled his eldest Son in a very considerable Part of his Estate at a Distance from him, which he had formerly gained by Conquest, giving him the full Liberty of enjoying all the Product of an abundant Soil; only reserving this Advantage to himself, that what Wool the Son should have to spare, above the Quantity which he should need for the Clothing of his own Family, he should be obliged to sell to the Father †, and not to any other Person, because that would extremely injure him in his Woolen Manufactory Business, which was the main Support of his Estate. The Son lived plentifully, and flourished greatly, only the ancient Possessors of the Estate (who were a very numerous Family) being compelled by the Power of the Father

afraid, was, left for want of *Irish* Wool, that of *England* should sell dearer. The landed Interest of *England* was obliged to him. It proves, what I have elsewhere observed*, 'That (notwithstanding all that is otherwise pretended by them) if a Liberty to export Wool from *England*, was a Means to make that Commodity cheaper to them, the most knowing of the Manufacturers would petition for that Liberty, in the very first Place. See (vol. 1. pag. 302.) * A likely Story indeed, when *England* had not yet been known to export to the Value of three Millions in any one Year. Cheapness of Wool, a general In-

† Who having enough of his own, and to spare, did not want it, at the same Time that he put his Son under a Necessity of increasing his Stock of Sheep; which, by the Way, was no Part of the original Covenant between them. land.

ther to live in Subjection under him, were apt to take frequent Occasions to give him great Disturbance, and by reason of their Numbers, sometimes prevailed against him; yet he was always readily assisted by the Father, who never failed by the Strength of his Purse and Power, to subdue his Enemies, and to re-settle him in the quiet Enjoyment of his Estate. The last Insurrection they made, was by far the greatest, because they were assisted by a very potent Neighbour, and it cost the Father a mighty Sum to quell it. But the Son was no sooner settled in quiet, but he sets his People to work upon making the same Kinds of Woolen Manufacturies which was the Father's Trade, and sends them to the same Markets for Sale; the Father is justly offended at this, and foreseeing the great Injury which the Sons going on in such a Trade would prove to him, resolves to put a Stop to it; the Son complains mightily against this; alledging, that 'tis unreasonable to deprive him of such Means to enrich himself, and that if he be denied this Way, 'twould become a Temptation to his Tenants and People to sell the Wools to others; upon which the Father bespeaks him after this Manner: Son, Thou knowest well, that my Charge and Expence is very great, having many other Children to provide for besides thyself, and that it hath cost me vast Sums to protect thee in the Possession of the Estate which I have given thee, which is sufficient to give thee a very abundant Subsistence without thy interfering with me in my peculiar Trade, which thou seeest is the only Way I have to gain Wealth, and to enable me to support all my Children, of which thou hast always been the most chargeable to me, and yet thou hast often been ready to make use of the Advantages which thy profitable Portion hath given thee to encroach upon me, not only in my Woolen, but also in some other Parts of my Trade, which I could not spare thee; and therefore if thou wilt not have a due Sense of my Interest, and consider how much thy own is concerned in it; assure thyself, that I will take that Care of my own Affairs, as to use my paternal Power to restrain thee in all such Matter of Trade, which I shall find inconsistent with my well being. And although I shall always be willing to encourage thee in any

Page 11. Thing that tends not to my own Hurt; yet if thou shalt not

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not desist from sending thy Woolen Goods to the Markets, which I have of long Time been used to furnish, I will by my Authority, take from thee all thy Woolcombers, and prohibit, that any such Trade shall be exercised in thy Family for the future, thereby to incapacitate thee from making those Commodities, with which thou canst do me so much Hurt: And if thou shalt not be careful to keep thy People from selling their Wool to Strangers, I will send Officers to keep an exact Registry of all thy Sheep, and secure thy Wool in Warehouses, as it is shorn, that it may not be in thy Power to deal fraudulently by me in an Affair which so nearly concerns me.

11. I am yet no Enemy to the People of *Ireland*, and wish them all the Prosperity that can consist with the Well-being of *England*: I own 'tis our Interest, that they should grow rich, but not by such Means, as will sooner impoverish us than advance them. I believe it would be a useful Policy, and worth the Care of *England*, to promote any such Manufacturies in *Ireland*, as may not jar with ours, whereby the People there may not only gain Wealth, but even the Multitude of *Irish* be drawn into a more civilized Way of living, which would tame them faster than any Severities we can use; for a People brought into a settled and profitable Way of living, would soon come to a better Understanding, than to be apt to quit their Ease and Profit at every Call of the turbulent Gentry and their Priests. The Country is every Way fit for a Linen Manufactory, and wants nothing but a Stock to establish it: Private Undertakers are commonly too weak to struggle with the Difficulties that attend the Beginnings of great Undertakings, but the mighty Publick would easily go through with it: It would be Money well employed, if the Government of *England* lent them 100,000 *l.* to establish it; and though we may not be in a Condition to do it at present, yet I hope such a Thought may not be forgotten when we can better spare it.

12. The Objection, that our Neighbour Nations, of Page 13. whom we now buy our Linen, would be offended at it, and refuse to take our Manufactures, I take to be a wrong Notion: The Alterations and Changes of Trade are not uncommon, and move by Degrees, not soon to be

be observed: If we again buy Linen in *France*, as before the War, *Germany* must take less of our Money; yet, as many other Nations deal with them for it, their Trade will go on, and the many distant Countries from whence 'tis brought to the Markets at *Hamburgh* and *Bremen*, if they are sensible of some lessening of their Vent, will scarce reflect directly upon the Cause, or if they should, such Resentments are not apt to be of any Consequence; the People must have Woolen Cloths, and no body can furnish them with our Sorts upon equal Terms with us, if we do but manage our Trade as we are able; and 'tis evident, that People will not easily be diverted from what they have been used to, and like; witness * our continuing in the full Use of *French* Goods before the War, when they had, as it were, prohibited ours. And though this Caution hath been often urged in Discourses of Trade; yet I never knew one † Instance of any Nations being piqued at another to such a Degree, as to break off their Commerce; though I have known several Instances of such Occasions given.

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* It is ill arguing from this Example. It does not often happen, that a Prince is in a different Interest from that of his Subjects, in Matters of Trade, as was the Case with King *Charles* and *James II.* The People were highly sensible of, and remonstrated loudly against the ill Policy of it.

† Our Author seems to be unacquainted with what happened in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time; (See Ch. 19. §. 4. Note. Ch. 20. §. 1. Note.) also in 1616. (See Ch. 31. §. 2.)

CHAP. LXXXIV.

The Substance of the Arguments, for and against, the Bill for prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from Ireland, to foreign Parts, delivered at the Bar of the House of Lords; together with some Remarks on a printed Paper, intituled, Some Thoughts on the said Bill. London 1698.

Against the Bill it was said,

1. THAT this Bill passing would become a total Prohibition of the Exportation of Woolen Manufactory from *Ireland*, because the Bill prohibits it to all foreign Parts; and the Duty upon it here in *England*, is so high, that it can never be brought hither; and under this Head it was said, that this would put the *Irish* upon making Cloth for their own wearing, which would be more prejudicial to *England*, because the Cloth imported from *England* into *Ireland*, is of much greater Value, than what is exported from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, the *English* Cloth being worn there by the Nobility and Gentry. It was further said, that this Bill opens all the Ports in *England*, to receive *Irish* Wool; and by that Means, Wool, coming up the Channel in Sight of the *French* Ports, would have an easy Opportunity of running in thither. And that it being so near a Cut over from the North Part of *Ireland* to *Scotland*, it would be carried thither, and from thence to foreign Parts.

2. That this would discourage the *English* Interest of *Ireland*, and that it seemed not to be well timed, after the Distress the *English*, there, had lately been in; and that it was the *English Irish*, that were chiefly concerned in the Woolen Manufacture there.

3. It was further said, that the Allegations of the Bill were not true, viz. 'That great Quantities of the like Manufactures to those of *England*, have of late been made, and are daily increasing.' And to disprove the

faid Allegations, an Account was given (taken as was faid, out of the Custom-Houfe Books) to fhew that more Woolen Manufacture was exported out of Ireland, from 1684 to 1687, than from 1693 to 1696, and that the chiefest Part thereof, was the new Drapery of Stuffs and Frizes, and but little Cloth, which was the old Drapery of England; and that therefore the old Drapery was not prejudiced thereby: And an Account was alfo given, how many Yards of Cloth was imported into Ireland from England in a Year,

4. It was alledged, that this was only the Concern of one Place, viz. Exeter, and that that ought not to weigh with the Intereft of the whole Kingdom of Ireland. And Notice was taken of a Paper printed for the Bill, and a Lift of the Names of Perfons lately gone from Exeter and Tiverton, to Ireland; and it was faid, that feveral Matters of Fact in the faid printed Papers, were falfe, viz. The printed Papers affert, that Wool was 50 per Cent. cheaper in Ireland than England, a Pound cofting there but 6 d. being worth 9 d. here; which it was faid was a Miftake, and that it was but 25 per Cent. The fecond Thing was about Dying Wares being dearer in England than in Ireland, which was denied; and it was faid it could not be fo, becaufe all the Dying Wares was fent from England to Ireland, and therefore of Necessity they muft be deareft in Ireland. As to the printed Lift of the Names of about 150 Perfons lately gone from Exeter and Tiverton, to Ireland. A Perfon faid he knew three of thofe Names, one whereof went above twenty Years fince, and the other two a long Time ago. It was agreed, that fpinning the Wool was cheaper in Ireland than England, but not the combing and weaving. And as to Soap, it was faid, that but little was ufed in a Piece of Stuff, no more than to the Value of 3 d. a Piece.

Page 3.

4. It was faid by a Gentleman who lived long in Ireland, that Anno 1656. the Woolen Manufacture was attempted to be fet up by fome, but they failed in it; 1679. fome again from Holland and England, made another Attempt, which alfo mifcarried. But, 1684. it was again attempted, and fucceeded as to the new Drapery, but that as to the old Drapery, they can never

set

set up that, becaufe they have no Fuller's Earth ^s §. 15. there.

5. It was further faid, that the Irish muft bring their Wool to a Market where it will not vend, meaning England. Or, that the Wool being brought hither unwrought, will lower the Price here, and glut the Market, and that will bring down the Rents of England. It was alfo faid, that England gets much by Ireland. And feveral Irish Statutes were quoted ^h, as, 13 Hen. VIII. ^h See c. 2. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 17. and 11 Eliz. c. 10. which vol. 1. p. 153. Note. it was faid, were to encourage the Woolen Manufactory page 217, there. 218. Note.

6. I will here add alfo the Subftance of what is contained in a Print, Intituled, *Some Thoughts on the Bill*, &c. that the Strength of all that can be faid on that Subject, may be laid together; and though it be fomewhat long, I think the Arguments are in fhort thefe. 1. That Page 4. England profits greatly by Ireland, becaufe near one Third of the Lands of that Kingdom belong to the English who inhabit here, and have their Rents constantly returned in ready Money. 2. Moft of the Nobility and Gentry fpend their Eftates here. 3. England fupplies Ireland with moft of the Commodities they confume; and nine Tenths of the People there, that are able to buy it, wear English Woolen Manufactures, and England receives little from Ireland, their Cattle being prohibited, high Impofitions on their Tallow, Leather, and Corn, and laft Year, the Tonnage and Poundage was doubled on their Linen and other Manufactures, and fuch as are fuffered to come, are abfolutely neceffary for us, or Materials for our Manufactures. 4. What Ireland gets by Trade, centers all in England, and the Trade, there, is moftly carried on by English Stocks. And hereupon it is faid, that we feem to defire to get fo much from Ireland, that at laft, we may put them out of a Condition to pay us any Thing.

7. And it is faid, That it may not neceffarily follow, that fo much the more Woolen Manufactures will be made in England, as is reftained or deftroyed in Ireland, but that Holland, France, &c. may get the Trade Ireland lofes, and that what Ireland has done, has not leffened the Woolen Manufacture in England.

B 2

8. And

8. And then he comes to the Point on which the Strefs of the Controversy depends, and that is, whether the *Irish* can send their Manufactures cheaper to foreign Markets than the *English*; and this the Author affirms they cannot, because they want Numbers of People, and Stocks, and Materials.

9. The Author says further, that they make only a few Stockings and Frizes, which are different from those made in *England*, and yet they send but few abroad; and that because they pay less Wages in *Ireland* than here, they are not so likely to drain our People away, and that none go there but such as are necessitated, and that those who are in the Woolen Manufacture, will be forced to go to other Countries, if this Bill pass.

10. Lastly, he makes a Doubt *, whether the Law, if made, would take Effect, it being the Interest of all *Ireland* to defeat it. And then again, the Bugbears of *Scotland* and *France* are set up. And after all, the Author proposes a gentler Method of doing the Work by secret Discouragements, and so to let it decline by Degrees.

11. It was acknowledged, that the Duties on Woolen Manufactures from *Ireland* are at present high, the Subsidy being lately doubled (which will soon expire, and then they will come near to a Level with the *English*, some a little over, and some under,) and yet notwithstanding, we find by daily Experience, great Quantities of *Irish* Frizes, Broad Cloth nap'd, and Stuffs, imported into *England*.

12. If the Prohibition put the *Irish* upon making Cloth for their own wearing, instead of what they now take from *England*, it seems then, the *Irish* can take to making Cloth if they please; and no doubt of it, and the *English* will never deny them the Liberty of making what they themselves wear, but have just Reason to fear, that by Degrees, they will not only do that, but beat the *English* quite out of their Trade to foreign Markets, which must be the natural Consequence of their making the Woolen Goods so much cheaper than we can.

13. That

* This Doubt, Time has cleared up into a Certainty.

13. That this Bill opens all the Ports of *England* to receive *Irish* Wool, is true, and with great Reason, that one Place may have it on as easy Terms as others, otherwise the Charge of Land Carriage, and other Charges, and ill Conveniencies, are so great, that it makes 10 per Cent. Difference between Places no further distant than *Bideford* and *Exon*. And whilst all our Plantation Goods, and particularly Tobacco, which pays so high a Duty, come up the Channel, and Wool is sent from *Southampton* to *Fersey* and *Guernsey*, and may also be sent from any one Port to any other Port in *England*, and all under no other Security than Bond given to discharge in *England*, there can be no greater Danger here, seeing by this Bill, it is provided, that the Bonds for Security, shall be given by sufficient Persons residing near the Place where the Goods are shipped, and shall not be granted over to any Person; and that a particular Account from Time to Time, shall be transmitted to *England* of all the Wool shipped, and the Ships, and Masters Names, and to whom, and at what Port consigned.

14. As to what was said, *This would discourage the English Interest in Ireland*, it was answered, 1. That by their own Confession, the Woolen Manufactory has not long been set up in *Ireland*, and the *English* Interest was preserved before that Time, and no doubt may be so still, without drawing so many People from *England*, as would certainly leave it, if the Woolen Manufacture goes on there; and it is better, that a good Strength remains in one Kingdom, than to divide it into both, by which Means, neither may be strong enough to resist a foreign Enemy. 2. Though the Woolen Manufacture be suppressed there, they have the same Means of Improvement they had before; nay, greater, since our *West-Indies* take off so great Quantities of their Horses, Provisions, and Servants, which makes a Compensation, in some Measure, for the prohibiting their Cattle from coming to *England*. 3. The Soil is very well adapted to produce Hemp and Flax, and so to establish the Linen Manufactory, which would find all due Encouragement from *England*, and employ great Numbers of People, and so would the Fishery, which might be carried on to great Advantage on the *Irish* Coast. 4. They send great Quantities of Corn, Beef, Hides, Tallow, Butter, &c.

to foreign Markets, and will never want Means of improving their Country, and increasing their People, without giving so great a Wound to *England*.

15. *As to the Truth of the Allegations in the Bill.* 1. The Accounts they themselves gave, were a sufficient Proof of them; for by them it appeared, great Quantities of new Draperies were exported (which although they endeavoured to shroud under the Name of Frizes, yet are they known to be Bays, Perpetuanos and Serges) such as are made in divers Parts of *England*; and a Witness on Oath declared, that the *Irish* Serges were preferred to the *English* in *Holland*, and were in great Demand at the same Time that *English* Serges lay on Hand, and would not sell. 2. That the Woolen Manufactory had as yet increased to no greater a Height, was said to be (as the Truth is) because of the late War, which made Exportation from *Ireland* unsafe; and that Kingdom not being well settled, Persons were unwilling to venture their Stocks, and to enlarge their Trades; but that nothing can hinder their Increase now, if Peace continues, but this Bill. Further it was said, that there was no Doubt, but by Degrees they would improve and increase in their making of Cloth, for that all Things grew to Perfection by Degrees, as the Woolen Manufactory did heretofore in *England*; and making of Lutestrings and Alamodes was coming to it, and that nothing could hinder this in *Ireland*, having there the same Materials, and by Degrees would have Workmen sufficient, and a good Profit arising by it; Fuller's Earth would be found there, or sent from hence, or they may do as they do in *Holland* and *France*, where they have no Fuller's Earth, and yet make as fine Cloth as we do in *England*.

Fuller's Earth not necessary to the Cloth Manufecture.

16. It was said, 1. That this was not the Concern of *Exeter* alone, but of all *England*, for there were presented to their Lordships at least 18 Petitions, from several Parts of *England*; as from *Norwich*, *Colchester*, *Bocking*, *London*, *Sudbury*, besides those from *Somerset* and *Devon*, who thought themselves immediately concerned. 2. All the Parts of *England* are affected, where Wool is produced, in the Price of their Wool, which would soon be reduced to a very low Rate, when the Manufactory of it is decayed. 3. The Increase of the Woolen Manufactory in *Ireland*; would draw People from

from all Parts of *England*, who consume the Product of the Land. 4. The able working People of *England* Page 9. going over, would leave the weak and aged a Charge to the Parishes; and on both Accounts, the Rents of *England* must fall considerably. 5. That the Woolen Manufactory of *England* exported, was above half the Value of the whole Exportations, and that being lost, §. 1. must needs abate the Value of all the Lands in *England*.

17. *As to the Objections made to the Paper printed for the Bill.* First, about *Dying Wares* being cheaper in *England* than *Ireland*, it was said, that such Goods may be brought from any Part of *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Africa*, directly to *Ireland*; and the few Sorts which come from *America* to *England*; as *Logwood*, *Indico*, &c. draw back great Part of the Custom, when exported to *Ireland*; particularly *Logwood*, so much that as it may be afforded cheaper there than here; and although as yet *Dying Wares* do not come in very great Quantities directly from other Parts to *Ireland*, yet they will do so, as the Woolen Manufactory increases. And it might have been added, that there is lately gone from *Holland* to *Ireland*, a great Quantity of *Redwood*, which is brought thither from *Guinea* cheap, although in *England* it is at a very high Price.

18. As to the Objection, that Wool selling for 6 d. per lib. in *Ireland*, and at the same Time in *England* for 9 d. was but 25 per Cent. Difference, Arithmetick determines that*.

19. About the Workmanship it was owned, that Page 10. the Spinning was much cheaper in *Ireland*; and though it was said, that that was the least Part of the Work, yet the Clothiers know that is above half †. The Persons that witnessed at first, that but three Pennyworth

B b 4

* This is so plain, that I suspect some Fallacy in the Representation.

† Is it so? Why then above half the Objections against permitting the *Irish* to export their Woolen Manufactures, have been got over, by a late Act of Parliament^k, which^k Ch. 142. has taken off the Duty from *Irish* Yarn imported to *Eng-P. S. land*. But it is to be observed, that Spinners and Growers of Wool, are of no Account at all, with some Writers, when they stand in the Way of the Merchant or Master Manufacturer.

worth of Soap was used in a Serge, afterwards owned himself mistaken, and in Truth, there is above three Pound of Soap used in a Serge, which is worth about one Shilling.

20. It was acknowledged by a Gentleman against the Bill, that bringing the *Irish* Wool hither, would not prejudice the Price of *English* Wool †; and it is not to bring it to a Market where there is no Vent; for it always did, and always will find Vent here; and *England* will be much the better Market for it than *Scotland*, though it should even be permitted to go there.

Page 11. 21. Whosoever pleases to look into the *Irish* Sta-
1 Ch. 32. tutes¹ quoted, will find that they were only to prevent
§.18. Note. the Exportation of Wool, and not to encourage the Ex-
Chap. 46. portation of Cloth to foreign Markets.
§. 5. Note.

22. And now to give Answer to so much of the printed Paper, intituled, *Some Thoughts, &c.* as is not answered before. First, As to the Profit *England* gets by *Ireland*, it had need get something, after so vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, to deliver and protect *Ireland*. 2. This was got by *Ireland*, before the Woolen Manufacture was set up, and will be after it is suppressed there. 3. If *Ireland* should get by the Establishment or Continuance of the Woolen Manufacture, which must unavoidably ruin our own, by its getting a Penny, we should lose a Pound. 4. If most of their Nobility and Gentry spend their Estates here, it is because they live where they like best; but as *Ireland* flourishes more, and grows greater, as it must do, if they remain in Peace, and such a Bill do not pass, that Humour, by Degrees, will alter, and they will have every Thing as much to their Content

† Whoever he was that acknowledged thus much, confessed a Thing that was not true. But as an Advocate for *Ireland* perhaps, and chiefly interested there, he might be unwilling to give into any Notions, which tended to deprive that Kingdom of the Advantages of the *English* Market for its Produce; well knowing, that 'tis more Markets than one, which gives a Price to all Commodities. And therefore, as often as there is an Opportunity of making the Observation, it will be found true, that in Proportion, as *Irish* Wool has been brought to *England*, so has been the Prejudice to the Price of *English* Wool. And so it must continue to be, especially as the Law stands, and has stood, since the *Restoration*.

tent and Pleasure there, as here; and now they go as much to foreign Parts, as to *England*.

23. To come to the main, and indeed the only Point Page 13. on which the Controversy turns. And that is, Whether in *Ireland* they can make the same Woolen Manufactory cheaper than in *England*; and this the said Author determines in the Negative, but leaves us to seek the Proof of it where we can find it; and seeks to cloud the Matter with an obscure Way of arguing, but such as every one must see thorough, especially such discerning Judgments as the Matter is now before. The plain Answer * to that, is, the Account which follows.

	In <i>England</i> .	In <i>Ireland</i> .
	l. s. d.	l. s. d.
A Piece of Serge of about 40 s. Price, takes up 24 lib. of Wool at 9 d. per lib.	00 18 00	at 6 d. 0 12 00
The 24 lib. of Wool, when comb'd, makes 15 lib. for the Spinner at 9 d. per lib.	00 11 03	at 5 d. 0 06 03
Soap used.	00 01 00	0 00 08
Combing and weaving reckon the same in both Places.	00 09 00	0 09 00
	01 19 03	1 07 11

So that a Piece of Serge which costs in *Ireland* but 1 l. 7 s. 11 d. costs in *England*, 1 l. 19 s. 3 d. which is 40 per Cent. Difference, besides the Exchange †.

24. The

* All that have either writ or spoke upon this Subject, agree, That the whole Controversy turns upon this single Point, whether they can make the same Woolen Goods cheaper there than here.

† Beyond all Doubt, Wool is a third cheaper there than in *England*.

Davenant of Trade, p. 81.

† I observe, that this supposed Difference appearing to consist altogether (except 4 d. in the Article of Soap) in the Prices

24. The Probability of their Wool going into Scotland or France, is before answered; and to prevent that, if this Act be not strict enough, it is a good Foundation, and a stricter may be made in Time; and the Government there being so much under the Direction and Influence of England, there is no Doubt, but the Laws will be executed † there, as well as here; and I believe, by Degrees, the Rummy Marsh People will be weary of their Connivance.

25. The

Prices of Wool, and of Spinning, the Case is since altered in both these Respects. The Duty being taken off both from Irish Wool and Yarn imported into England, Wool is become full as dear in Ireland, as in England; nay, in Regard of its being exported clandestinely from thence in larger Quantities, comparitively, than from England, it is dearer there than in England; and Irish Yarn (except for the Difference of Freight, Factorage, and Land Carriage, &c.) must consequently come as cheap * to the English, as to the Irish Manufacturer. So that they are not now at any Thing near so wide a Distance, as formerly; and a moderate Duty on Irish Manufacture (such as, for the Sake of evading which, high Penalties would not be risked) might bring them upon the Par, or rather give the Advantage to the English, while a total Prohibition has been seen to have had very little or no Effect; which is not to be wondered at, for this Reason, viz. because it was, and is, and ever will be, the Inclination and Interest of all Ireland †, to defeat the Law in that Case.

§. 10.

* And at the same Time bring down the Price of English Spinning, nearer to that of Ireland. And yet the employing and maintaining the Poor of England by Spinning, is one principal Advantage of the Woolen Manufacture, beyond most other Parts of Trade.

† Execution is justly said, to be the Life of the Law; for Law unexecuted, is but a dead Letter. And it is none of the least Reasons, why People, as in England, should be governed by Laws of their own consenting to; because such Laws, and no other, in a Country where is the least Shadow of Freedom, will be executed as they should be. Reason might have told our Author, but Time has abundantly shewn, that he was much mistaken, in imagining his favourite Project would be so punctually executed in Ireland, contrary to what the whole People there judged to be their Interest, or so far as it should avail, that they would not endeavour to

25. The Proposal * which the Author makes of doing the Work more gently by secret Discouragements, seems cruel and unjust; cruel, to ruin People under the Pretence of shewing them Kindness, and unjust to do it where there is no publick and known Law to give them Notice, whereby they may order their Affairs accordingly.

CHAP. LXXXV.

Occurrences and Acts, 1698-9.

1. THE Result of this Bill, for prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from Ireland to foreign Parts, which had been much debated in both Houses †, was this: June 15, 1698, the Lords presented an Address to King William, desiring him to discourage

Salmon's Chron. Hist. 1698.

to make themselves amends, by sending their Wool to France, &c. And if past Experience in this single Case will not suffice, in all future Policies respecting that Kingdom, let the Example of Wood's Halfpence be a farther Remembrance to England.

* Of these Proposals, as they are not mentioned, there is no judging; but it is beyond all Dispute, that nothing violent can check the Woolen Manufacture in Ireland, so as to prevent its growing upon us. But certain Policies, in the Nature of secret Discouragements, may. Such I reckon to be, the Linen Manufacture there; such I think would be the discouraging the Breed of Sheep there, by repealing the Irish Act; and taxing the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture in a proper Manner, rather than prohibiting the same altogether; and in these there is nothing cruel or unjust, nothing but what might easily be complied with, and which would in some Measure, certainly attain its End; especially, if done all at once, and not by Piece Meal, as has been the Case, first erecting a Linen Manufacture in Ireland, afterwards taking off the Duties on Wool, then on Yarn; which under such Management, have answered no End, besides that of lowering the Price of Wool in England. But that will appear to have been all that was really proposed, tho' more was pretended.

† It passed the Commons, and was committed in the House of Lords.

discourage the Woolen Manufacture in Ireland, and promote that of Linen.

Continuation of Rapin, p. 376.

2. The Commons addressed the King, importing, That being very sensible, that the Wealth and Power of this Kingdom, do in a great Measure, depend on the preserving the Woolen Manufacture as much as possible, intire to this Realm, they thought it became them, like their Ancestors, to be jealous of the Establishment and Increase thereof elsewhere, and to use their utmost Endeavours to prevent it. That they could not without Trouble observe, that Ireland, which is dependant on, and protected by England, in the Enjoyment of all they have; and which is so proper for the Linen Manufacture, (the Establishment and Growth of which would be so enriching to themselves, and so profitable to England) should of late apply itself to the Woolen Manufacture, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of this Kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the Linen Trade which would benefit both Nations. That the Consequence thereof would necessitate his Majesty's Parliament of England to interpose, to prevent this Mischiefe, unless his Majesty, by his Authority and great Wisdom, should find Means to secure the Trade of England, by making his Subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint Interest of both Kingdoms. Wherefore they implored his Majesty's Protection and Favour in this Matter; and that he would make it his Royal Care, and enjoin all those whom he employed in Ireland, to use their utmost Diligence to hinder the Exportation of Wool from Ireland, (except it be imported hither) and for the discouraging the Woolen Manufacture, and the increasing the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, to which the Commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost Assistance.

3. His Majesty answered in Terms agreeable to this Address, gave Instructions accordingly to the Earl of Galway,

† And to what was this to be imputed, so much as to the Act, which prohibited their Cattle in England? and how could it be expected to reverse this Mischiefe in any Degree, but by repealing the said Act?

Galway*, and the other Justices who recommended to the Parliament of Ireland, a Bill for encouraging the Linen and Hemp Manufactures, as more advantageous to the Kingdom than the Woolen Manufacture, which (said they) 'is the settled Trade of England, whence all foreign Markets † are supplied, &c.'

4. The House of Commons in Ireland, fell in so far with the Lords Justices Sentiments, as to say, 'They would endeavour to establish the Linen Manufacture, in a Way to be useful to England, as well as advantageous to themselves, and that they hoped to find out such a Temperament with respect to the Woolen Trade there, as that the same should be not injurious to England †.'

5. An

* The King wrote to the Earl of Galway, to this Effect.

Kensington, July 16, 1698.

'The chief Thing that must be tried to be prevented, is, that the Irish Parliament takes no Notice of what has passed in this here, and that you make effectual Laws, for the Linen Manufacture, and discourage, as far as possible, the Woolen.'

† This monopolish Imagination, as not being founded in Truth, has been the Source of all the capital Errors, which have been committed, in Relation to the Wool and Woolen Trade of England. Nor was the Argument a likely one, to induce the Irish to give up their Pretensions to a Share in the Benefits of that Trade.

‡ 'Tis plain, that the Parliament of Ireland meant to take all possible Advantage from the Disposition of England, to countenance the Linen Manufacture there. And they have also readily embraced every other Overture of Advantage to themselves, which has been since made from England to them, with the same View of preventing their exporting Wool and Woolen Manufacture. But this they have all along done, without entertaining the least Thought of foregoing their Interest in that other Regard, of selling their Wool at their best Market, and in making and exporting Woolen Manufacture as much as they could. At this Time indeed, they did so far come into a Temperament in this Case, as, hoping it would be accepted by Way of Compromise, to lay a high Duty of upon all their Woolen Manufacture exported; under which, had England acquiesced, I am persuaded it would have been better for the Kingdom in general. But the false Notion of

Contin.
of Rapin,
p. 371.

5. An Act to enlarge the Trade to *Russia*, 10 11 Will. III. c. 6. *

6. Notwithstanding the severe Laws that were in Force against such as transport *English* Wool to foreign Parts, who are commonly called *Owlers* †, yet many of them encouraged by the powerful Incentive of Gain, continued their clandestine Practices to the great Detriment of the Nation, and Profit of the *French*, who had lately set up a great Woolen Manufacture in *Picardy*.
Therefore,

of a possible Monopoly, made the *English* deaf to all other Terms of Accomodation; by which Means they lost the Horse rather than quit the Saddle, i. e. *Ireland* has since gone on, improving to the utmost of their Power, their Woolen Manufactures for home Use, and for Exportation clandestinely, and moreover, exporting Wool in all other Shapes whatever. Nor in this have they done any Thing but what all People, in the same Situation, might be expected to do; especially, after having been put under the Necessity, as by the *Irish* Act they were, of stocking their Lands chiefly with Sheep.

* By this Act, all Persons may be admitted to the *Russia* Company, paying 5 l.

† A Pass from the Admiral of *France* for an *English* Ship, that served at once for the Owling and Smuggling Trades, at the breaking out of the late Conspiracy, was intercepted at the Post-Office. This Pass had a long Time remained usefess in the Hands of the Secretary of State, by Reason it was granted on a supposititious Name; but the same being communicated to Mr. *Hilary Reneau*, an eminent *French* Protestant Merchant, who was the chief Manager and Promoter of the *Lutestring* Company, and who had, upon several Occasions, done signal Services to the Government: He by the Help of this Letter, and other concurring Indications, at last found out the Smugglers, and, having caused their Books to be seized, petitioned the House of Commons, in the Name of the *Lutestring* Company, that these Books, Letters, and other Papers, in which the Contrivances to ruin the *Lutestring* Manufacture in this Kingdom appear, might be laid before the House and examined. The Commons referred the Matter to a Committee of Trade; at the Head of which was Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, who with unwearied Application and Industry, made a full Discovery of the Smuggling Trade. Sir *Rowland Gwyn* having made his Report to the House of Commoms, it was resolved, 'That the *Lute-*
string

Therefore, more effectually to obviate that Evil, and because the Jealousy of the *English*, concerning the *Irish* Woolen Manufacture, was only increased by the Act lately made in *Ireland*, by which the Woolen Manufacture thence exported, was subjected to a Duty of — — — — the following Act was made.

7. An Act * to prevent the Exportation of Wool out of the Kingdom of England and Ireland to foreign Parts, and for the Encouragement of the Woolen Manufactures in the Kingdom of England. 10 11 Will. III. c. 10.

8. P. S.

' string Manufacture had been advantageous to this Kingdom, by employing great Numbers of the Poor; That a destructive clandestine Trade had been carried on during the War, for importing the same for France; that the same Vessels which imported *Alomodes* and *Lutestrings*, exported great Quantities of Wool.' In the Conclusion, several Persons being impeached for this Male Practice, before the Lords, by the Commons, the Lords imposed a Fine of ten Thousand Pounds upon *Stephen Seignoret*; of three Thousand Pounds on *Rene Baudouin*; of fifteen Hundred Pounds on *John Goudet*, and *Nicholas Santini*; of one Thousand Pounds on *Peter de Hearce*, *John Peirce*, and *John du Maitre*; and of five Hundred Pounds on *David Burreau*; and ordered that they should be imprisoned in *Newgate*, until they had paid their respective Fines; and the Commons addressed the King, that these Fines might be appropriated to *Greenwich* Hospital, which he ordered accordingly. Other Smugglers were ordered by the Commons to be prosecuted by the Attorney General, and for his good Services, a Bill for naturalizing Mr. *Henry Reneau* and his Family, to pass the House gratis.

* This Act recites, 'That great Quantities of the like Woolen Manufactures, as in *England*, have of late been made, and are daily increasing in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and in the *English* Plantations in *America*. For Prevention whereof, and Encouragement of the Woolen Manufactures within this Kingdom, it enacted, 1. That no Person should export from *Ireland*, Wool or Woolen Goods, except to *England* or *Wales*, under very high Penalties (which see in the Act) such Wool and Woolen Goods to be shipped only from certain Ports in *Ireland*, to certain Ports in *England* or *Wales*.

16. 'The Commissioners of the Admiralty, to appoint two Ships of the fifth Rate, two of the sixth Rate, and eight

Essay on the Balance of Trade, p. 85.

Page 86.

8. P. S. While this visionary Project was under Consideration, for suppressing the Woolen, by setting up instead thereof the Linen Trade in Ireland, Dr. Davenant delivered his Sentiments about it thus. ' They who would prohibit the Exportation of Woolen Goods from Ireland to foreign Parts, have hitherto proposed the setting up there the Linen Manufacture. But this Design is not without its Danger. Our Woolen Goods are sold in several Places, many of which will not be able to take off those Goods, unless we deal for their Linens. And in truth, as our Call for some Linens has diminished, by the Importation of certain East-India Goods, their Call for Drapery has decreased in Proportion; not only so, but the People have been compelled by Necessity to fall upon making coarse Woolen Cloth; by which they supply themselves and other Places, which heretofore we were wont to furnish.

' Upon the whole Matter, it ought to be carefully examined, whether instead of establishing a Linen Manufacture in Ireland, it would not be the best for both Kingdoms, to take off the Prohibition that lies on the Cattle.

Ch. 76. §. 14. Note.

' eight armed Sloops' (which was one fifth Rate, and four armed Sloops more than had been appointed by 7, 8 Will. c. 28 m. ' constantly to cruize on the Coasts of England and Ireland, particularly, between the North of Ireland and Scotland, with Order to seize all Ships which shall export Wool, with Intent to carry it to foreign Parts. 17. ' All Wool Ships or Boats so seized, shall be forfeited.

19. ' No Wool †, or Woolen Manufacture, being of the Product or Manufacture of any of the English Plantations in America, shall be loaden on Board any Ship in the English Plantations, or loaden upon any Horse or Carriage, to the Intent to be exported out of the said Plantations, to any other of the said Plantations, or to any other Place, upon the like Penalties upon every Offender, as are provided by this Act, for the like Offences in Ireland.

† How doth this Clause agree, with the too general Notion, That our Wool, viz. English and Irish, is to all the World a necessary of Life? And how can we be assured of a more strict Observance of this Act in the American Plantations; than in England and Ireland.

' Cattle. This Point has been formerly much debated; but it is to be feared, that in the making that Act, the general Interest of England was not sufficiently considered.'

9. To Dr. Davenant's Argument, as above, against the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, Mr. Dobbs hath since excepted, as follows: ' By this Way of reasoning, He [Dr. Davenant] must mean, that either that [the Hamburg] Trade must always be against Britain upon the Balance, or that they could not expect to trade with them, if they received a Balance from Hamburg; and consequently that Trade, as then carried on, was of no Benefit to Britain. For if England consumed at home as many Hamburg Linens, or more than the Value of the Goods carried there; then we were either barely Savers, or lost by that Trade, and Hamburg must have a Balance in Return from England, which would not be poured back again any other Way, as it would from Ireland; thus the Benefit would redound to Hamburg instead of England, and the foreign Poor be employed instead of those under our Government; whereas, by the established Maxims of Trade, a wise and prudent Nation should endeavour to procure fewer Importations, that a Balance in Cash might be brought into it.—But though this lessening of the Vent of Hamburg Linens was of Consequence, when in Distinction with setting up the Linen Manufacture in Ireland; yet was it not once mentioned, when in Competition with the East-India Callicoes and Muslins, which, he owns, lessened, as well as lowered, the Hamburg Linens; but the common prevailing Opinion, of Ireland's being a dangerous Rival to England in Trade, and a perpetual Expence, made all Objections against it go down easily, which at other Times would not have been advanced.'

10. Whatever Weight there may be in Mr. Dobbs's Argument, in regard to the general Balance of Trade, and notwithstanding that he most justly corrects Dr. Davenant for the Part he took, in Relation to East-India Callicoes, &c.; yet is it to be observed, that he (Mr. Dobbs) does not deny, but rather seems to admit, that, as Dr. Davenant had said it would be, so the English Vent to Hamburg

for Woolen Manufacture, has been, and is, impaired by the Linen Trade of Ireland^a. Nor does he say, that such Defalcation of the English Woolen Trade is any other Way made up to the English Wool Grower particularly; which (if it is not) renders the Monopoly against him, as occasioned by the absolute Prohibition on Wool, but so much the stronger and more grievous.—Mr. Dobbs, perhaps, would be ready to alledge some Compensation to the English Woolen Trade, from the Act of 1699^r, which demolished (as we are to believe, and as was certainly intended^s) the Woolen Trade of Ireland, and gave the English (as he calls it) a Monopoly of the Irish Wool and Yarn.—But whatever were the first Effects of that Act, they certainly were not of such Duration, but that the Disaster is long since more than recovered in Ireland; as must be acknowledged, if we consider, 1st, that the Irish, instead of fewer and worse, for Exportation, as before that Act, make now, considerably more, and better Woolen Manufactures, for their home Consumption; and those, instead of what they used^t to purchase from England; and by which England in Course sustains some Loss.—Thus, for Instance, Mr. Dobbs^u rates (from the Custom-House Books) the Spanish Wool imported to Ireland, from 1719 to 1726 inclusive, at but 368 l. per Ann. A Merchant, the Author of ‘A Scheme for preventing the running of Irish Wools to France, printed 1745^w, rates the same, from the Custom-House Books also, in the Year 1743, at 9,120 l.’ So that, in Ireland, the Manufacture of fine Cloth, from Spanish Wool, in about seventeen Years, is increased more than twenty-fold.—Moreover, in 1697, (the Year, but one, before the Act for restraining the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from Ireland to foreign Parts,) the total Value of the Irish Woolen Exports, of all Sorts, was 23,614 l. 9 s. 6 d. ^x; and in 1687, (when the Irish Woolen Manufacture was at its highest Pitch) their Exports did not exceed 70,521 l. 14 s. ^y; while at present, confessedly, 50,000 Stones of Wool^z are exported from Ireland, in Manufacture, clandestinely, besides what is openly exported (in Consequence of lower Duties on those Goods^a,) in Frize, Flannen, Hats.—And these 50,000 Stones, at 3 l. 10 s. per Stone, as according to Mr. Dobbs^b, produce Manufacture, to the Value of 175,000 l.; which is above twice as

^a See Chap. 101. §. 2. Note. ^r §. 7. ^s Ch. 83. §. 7. ^t Ch. 84. §. 1. ^u Essay, &c. Part 1. p. 97. ^w Page 13. ^x Ch. 126. §. 9. ^y Ch. 126. §. 8. ^z Ch. 143. N^o. 1. §. 1. ^a Essay, &c. By A. Dobbs, Esq; p. 24. ^b Essay, p. 60.

as much as was exported from Ireland in 1687, and more than seven Times the Value of what was exported thence in 1697.

I confess that Mr. Dobbs seems to overrate his Woolen Manufacture, at 3 l. 10 s. per Stone upon a Medium.—But taking it upon the Foot of Mr. King's^c Valuation, ^c British viz. of four Times the prime Cost of the Wool, and valuing Merchant, the Wool but at 8 s. per Stone; and 50,000 Stones manufactured, produce 80,000 l. which exceeds the Value of the whole Woolen Exportations from Ireland in 1687; which in that respect, was the greatest Year that had been known in Ireland, not only between the Revolution and the Year 1699, but before the Year 1688, and the spoiling of that Kingdom^d, by the War of three Years there, which attended the Revolution.—And seeing that there is all imaginable Reason to believe that this Computation (of 50,000 Stones of Wool exported in Manufacture every Year clandestinely from Ireland, as being the Computation^e of Persons more immediately interested in that Kingdom) rather came short of, than exceeded the Truth; hence it is plain, that as, in Fact, the Irish have not patiently submitted to, so neither have they suffered, much, or long, by, the Act of 1699, even in their Woolen Trade to foreign Parts. And therefore, besides that Mr. Dobbs confesses the Linen Trade to be a full Equivalent to the Irish for their Woolen Trade to foreign Parts (supposing they had lost it, which it is plain they have not) the Monopoly of their Wool and Yarn (which he mentions, tho' does not complain of, but says, they ought to acquiesce in) is not altogether what he represents it, nor, at the most, any other than what the English Grower and Spinner is equally subject to. I say, at the most. For Wool and Yarn being more easily, as well as more willingly, run from Ireland than from Britain, the Irish Grower and Spinner (especially since the Duties on Irish Wool and Yarn in England, are taken off) has more of a double, and proportionably a better, Market for Wool and Yarn, than the Growers and Spinners of Britain have. Accordingly, the above mentioned Author of a Scheme, &c.^f tells us, the fine Wools of Ireland were sold in 1743-4, at 16 s. per Stone, and that the whole Wools of that Kingdom, were then worth upon a Medium, 12 s. per Stone; which was considerably above

^c Ch. 82. §. 2, 3. ^d Ch. 143. N^o. 1. §. 1. ^e Ch. 143. N^o. 1. §. 1. ^f Page 12.

^h See the then Medium Price of English Wools in ^h England *.
 Ch. 176. All which, makes it reasonable to consider (what Mr. Dobbs
 §. 28. recommends) whether the Irish Wool, as now disposed
 of, is so beneficial an Article to Britain, as it might
 be. To which I add, whether the English Grower has
 a Market Price for his Wool, and whether the whole
 Affair, of the Irish Cattle, Wool, and Woolen Manu-
 facture, is not capable of a Compromise, to the mutual Ad-
 vantage of both Kingdoms, beyond what they are at present
 to either.

ⁱ Essay, &c. P. 6, 7. 11. Mr. Dobbs says ⁱ, ' Upon checking the Export of
 our Woolen Manufacture to foreign Kingdoms, and
 by laying on heavy Duties on its being exported to Eng-
 land in 1699, and 1700, equivalent to a Prohibition;
 most of those who had embarked in the Woolen Ma-
 nufacture, were laid under a Necessity of removing
 elsewhere; and being piqued at the Difficulties they were
 laid under, many of the Protestants removed into Ger-
 many, and settled in the Protestant States there, who
 received them with open Arms. Several Papists at the
 same Time removed into the Northern Parts of Spain ^k,

^k See Ch. 103. §. 8. Note. Bays made at Barce-
 lona, which is in the South of Spain. where they laid the Foundation of a Manufacture high-
 ly prejudicial to England. Many also of the Pro-
 testants who were embarked with Papists in the Woolen
 Manufacture, removed into France, and settled in Roan
 and other Parts. Notwithstanding Lewis the XIVth
 had repealed the Edict of Nantz, and forced abroad
 the French Protestants into different Parts of Europe,
 yet these were kindly received by him, had Encourage-
 ment given to them; and were protected in their Re-
 ligion. From these Beginnings they have in many
 Branches, so much improved the Woolen Manufactures
 of France, as not only to supply themselves, but even
 to vie with the English in foreign Markets; and by
 their Correspondence, they have laid the Foundation
 for the running of Wool thither, both from England and
 Ireland,

ⁱ Essay, &c. P. 74. * And yet Mr. Dobbs says ⁱ of Ireland: ' By being con-
 fined to one Market, the Profit made by our Sheep is too
 small.' With how much more Reason then may the English
 Sheep-owner complain, whose Profit from Wool especially,
 is considerably less?

' Ireland, highly to the Prejudice of Britain; which
 pernicious Practice is still carried on, in Spite of all the
 Care and Precautions made use of to discountenance
 and prevent it.

' Thus a Check is put to the Sale of our Woolen
 Manufactures abroad, which would have given full
 Employment to all the industrious Poor both of Britain
 and Ireland, had not our Manufacturers been forced
 away into France, Spain, and Germany; where they
 are now so improved, as in great Measure to supply
 themselves with many Sorts they formerly had from
 England. The French particularly are supplanting
 Britain in many of their Markets abroad; and upon
 the whole, those Nations may be justly said to have de-
 prived Britain of Millions since that Time, instead of
 the Thousands IRELAND might possibly have made;
 which Gain whatever it had been, must necessarily have
 centered in England at last. For had they then allow-
 ed us to manufacture our Wools, and confined us to
 the English Markets; it is not to be imagined we could
 have under-fold the Manufacturers there, by having
 Provisions cheaper, considering Carriage, Commission,
 Freight, &c. since it is observable in our great Towns,
 where those Manufactures must have been carried on,
 our Provisions, for several Years, have been dearer
 than in the manufacturing Towns and Counties in
 England.'

12. I desire to remark again, after this ingenious Gentle- Remark.
 man, Mr. Dobbs, that 1. He ascribes too much to the Act
 1699, prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture
 from Ireland to foreign Parts. For as mentioned already ⁱ, it ⁱ §. 10.
 will be seen ^k, that from Ireland in 1697, was exported but to ^k Ch. 126.
 the Value of 23614 l. in Woolen Manufacture; whence it §. 9.
 follows, that the Persons embarked in that Business there, and
 by that Act disconcerted, could not be so many and considerable,
 as would naturally be imagined from Mr. Dobbs's manner
 of relating this Affair. 2. As the Irish have not only so
 vastly increased their Manufacture of fine Cloth from Spanish
 Wool, (as hath been mentioned at §. 10.) but do now ex-
 port, clandestinely, at least *, near four Times the Quantity
 of Woolen Manufacture, which they did export in 1697, the
 Year,

C 3

* I say at least, because so much is said to have been ac-
 know-

Year, but one, before they were supposed to be restrained by Act of Parliament: So it follows from thence also, that this intended Restraint has been, in Reality, no Check at all, or, at the most, but a very slender one. 3. Though I will not deny (because this Gentleman has said it) that some Persons embarked in this Business, might, upon the passing of this Act, 1699, go from Ireland, both to France, Germany, and Spain; yet I cannot admit, that those were in any Sense the Beginners of Woolen Manufacture in France and Germany particularly: Some ¹ of the foregoing, and following Chapters, of these Memoirs, sufficiently evince the contrary. 4. Mr. Dobbs is not only mistaken somewhat, in supposing that the French have, since the Year 1699, begun to vie with the English Woolen Manufacture in foreign Markets, but greatly so, in deducing thence the Original of their running Wool from England and Ireland (that being much prior to this Event, and as old as the Prohibition itself.) But I suppose it was intended hereby to insinuate, as he and some others of the same Country have alledged, that restoring to the Irish certain Privileges wanted, for exporting Woolen Manufacture openly and legally, would be effectually preventing the Runnage of Wool from that Kingdom for the future; which, for certain Reasons, to be given hereafter ^m, is not credible. Neither, I think, is it true (which he further suggests) that the Irish, upon his Terms, (§. 11.) would not be able to under-sell the English, in Woolen Manufacture; since we shall find the contrary alledged by other Writers, even in Behalf of the Woolen Trade of Ireland; it being particularly said by One ⁿ, that they do at present under-sell the English, 16 per Cent; which I presume, is more than can be accounted of, for Carriage, Commission, Frieght, &c.

¹ See vol. 1. p. 191, p. 187. Chap. 46. §. 4.

^m Ch. 143. N^o. 8. §. 4.

ⁿ See Ch. 143. N^o. 1. §. 1.

^o See Ch. 143. N^o. 1. §. 1. A Computation.

knowledged publickly, in a parliamentary Debate in Ireland^o; whence it may reasonably be imagined that the real Quantity is considerably more.

C H A P.

C H A P. LXXXVI.

England's Grandeur, and Way to get Wealth; or Promotion of Trade made easy, &c.

By T. Tryon, Merchant, 1699.

1. **T**HE Foundations of this Kingdom, are Land, Trade, and Manufacture. And it is indeed evident, that the promoting our Manufactures, is not only beneficial to particular Persons, but also to the Kingdom in general; for notwithstanding that the Product of our Lands hath bore a very considerable Price for seven or eight Years last past, occasioned by the Badness of our Coin, the clothing our Armies at home and abroad, and the Devastations committed in several of our neighbouring Countries by the late Wars, as well as the taking of great Numbers of our outward bound Ships, which obliged the Merchants to buy double the Quantity thereof, than otherwise they would have done. The Peace having put a Period to all these Things, our Product must come down to its ancient Price, and in all Probability much lower. For within these eight or ten Years, we have had several Wounds and Breaches made in our Trade by our Neighbours, I mean the French, Portuguese, Genoesse, Swedes, and Danes.

2. If it be objected, that though these Nations have, during the War, gained the Ascendant over us in several Parts of our Trade, yet we may recover it again. To this I answer, that we have little Reason to hope to out-trade the Dutch, as Matters now stand, more than the rest of our Neighbours. However, this should excite our Diligence, not only in propagating Navigation, but also the Staple Commodities of this Nation, the Woolen Manufactory, &c.; which, if neglected, will in a few Years pine. For as we have Competitors in our foreign Trade, so we may have the like in our Manufactures; there being in America divers considerable Settlements, which hitherto have been furnished with most of their Clothing and Utensils from England, but their Countries not furnishing them with sufficient Quantities of vendible

ble Commodities for *England*; by this Means their Clothing proving excessive dear and chargeable, it hath put them upon breeding all Sorts of Cattle, and making their own Clothing, which is certainly very detrimental to us.

3. The like may be said of *Ireland*, whose Cattle and Provisions being low, likely to be lower, occasions their taking such Methods as may advance the Woolen Manufactures; they being provided of all suitable Materials for such an Undertaking; which being transported, they will as much outvie us in Woolen Commodities, as they do in their Provisions; and if it should be in any Degree or Particular hindered, it would not only lessen the Value of the *English* Settlements, but mightily weaken the Protestant Interest. So that it may be better to lay a Duty * of _____ upon every Pound Weight of Woolen Manufactory exported from *Ireland*. It will make theirs equivalent with ours. So both Nations may go on jointly in the Preservation thereof, and prevent the Exportation of Wool from either Kingdom.

C H A P.

* This Tract, tho' placed after, appears to have been wrote before the Act 10, 11 Will. III. P. c. 10. And if it is allowable to argue from Experience in this Case, as also from the Reason of Things, the Expedient here proposed, had been, of all others, the most likely to have produced a good Effect.

p Ch. 85. §. 7.

C H A P. LXXXVII.

England's Advocate, &c. In a Letter to a Member of the House of Commons †, 1699.

S I R,

1. YOURS of the 20th past, acquaints me, that Page 3. you have lately received a dismal Account of the Decay of Trade, particularly of the Silk Manufacture of *England*. And therefore you depending upon my Veracity and Knowledge in this Case, desire I would give you the best Information I can about it.

2. I shall deal impartially, but refrain myself chiefly Page 4. to the weaving Trade in and about the Cities of *London* and *Canterbury*; not doubting but that *Norwich* and *Bristol* will speak loudly for themselves, as having but too just Cause.

3. The Weavers, and Silk and Mohair Throsters are Page 5. a numerous Company. From the Restoration to the Revolution, this profitable and necessary *Broad-weaving Trade* increased * nineteen Parts in twenty, to what it was before. And although the Foundation of our Defoliation

† The Affair, of the Woolen Manufacture in *Ireland*, being ended, the Minds of the People were again turned upon the Business of *East-India* Silks and Callicoos, from which they had been diverted for a while, and perhaps by some Management of the *East India* Company.

* By how much the Use of Woolen Manufacture was abated in *England* (as no doubt it was something) by the Increase of the Silk and Mohair Manufacture; by so much was that of the *English* Wool Grower, the Interest hurt, and the only Interest that was hurt by it; for the Poor are equally employed and sustained by one Manufacture, as by another. But the Case is quite different with the Wool Grower, if any Thing is done which works upon the Woolen Manufacture (as all other Manufactures, viz. of Silk, Cotton, Hair, &c. certainly do, in a Degree, some more, and some less) because, by Law, he is prohibited to export his Wool, upon any Terms whatsoever, be the Demand for it at home never so small.

42. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 87.

lation which was before (as 'tis said) by Br—y attained, began its Effects towards the End of King Charles's Reign; and that vast Quantities of East-India wrought Silks were brought over, it was chiefly to the Prejudice of the Woolen Manufacture. For then the better Sort of Women scorned them, and they were mostly used instead of Serges, Tammies, and Norwich Stuffs: But that produced such dismal Effects, that the Growth of several Years Wool lay to moth-eat, till the Invention of Silks and Worsted Crapes gave new Life, both to the Wool and Silk Manufactories, and rendered the Indian Silks and Stuffs contemptible to all Sorts of People. And to the Advantage of all Parts and Places where those Manufactures were settled, many Fields were turned into Streets, and Houses let before they could be finished.

Page 6.

4. But now, alas, there is such an utter Decay * of Trade, especially the weaving Part, that the Master who

		l.	s.	d.
British Merchant, vol. 2. p. 314, 315.	* The whole Exports from England	2,022,812	04	0
	in 1662, amounted to	2,063,274	19	0
	In 1668-9 to	6,788,166	17	6
	In [this Year] 1699 to	0,900,000	00	0
	In 1662, or in 1668, the exported Woolen Manufactures, could not exceed the Value of	2,932,292	17	6

So that Trade in general, and the Woolen Exportation Trade in particular, was very far from being under any Decay; and if the Woolen and Silk Manufacturers found a Want of Employment at this Time, it must have been, in regard to the latter, from the excessive Importations of East India Goods; to the former, from the same Cause, added to the vast Increase of the Silk Manufacture in England. Nor is it impossible but that the Woolen Manufacturers might be distressed, and under all the Symptoms of a decaying Trade, notwithstanding the then large Exportation of Woolen Goods; because the home Consumption of Woolen Goods has been estimated at about three Times as much as the Woolen Goods usually exported: And therefore a Decay in the home Consumption, might possibly be the Case now; as also again in the Year 1737-8, when the like Complaints were made by the Manufacturers, and the Price of Wool extremely low, at the same Time

British Merchant, vol. 2. p. 400.

Ch. 87. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 43

who formerly employed Twenty or Thirty, or more, cannot now employ four, nor find them full Work. The rest are put to miserable Shifts; and many dye of a Disease, in plain English, called Starving. This is notoriously the Case in the several Parishes about Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, Stepney, St. George's Southwark, and the Tower-Hamlets.

Page 7.

5. And here, as one Cause, I cannot but take Notice of a Mistake, which Multitudes of well-meaning Persons make, in imagining, that by wearing fine English Cloth, they were great Consumers of English Wool; which is a great Error. For it hath been proved more than once before the Parliament, that no Cloth of above 10 s. a Yard white, or 13 s. per Yard in mix'd Colours, sold at Blackwell-Hall, hath one Dram of English Wool therein. And so all the better Sort become only the Consumers of Spanish Wool; and by this Means, Hair Camblets, Prunello's, Callimancoes, Velvets, Silks, &c. are much disused; though for purchasing the Materials whereof they were here made, our own Cloth Manufactures were in great Quantities exported, and to which a great Stop by that Means is made; so that hereby a double Manufacture is discouraged, and a double Gain to the Nation lost: For he that wears a Hair Camblet Coat, or Cloak, or Prunello Gown, or any Sort of Hair or Silk, Velvet or Shag, is, in the Effect, a more true Consumer of Wool, than he that wears fine Cloth. Grogran, or Mohair Yarn, of which the aforesaid Commodities are made, being generally the Product or Exchange of our coarsest English Woolen Cloth. And before the War, we had attained to that Perfection, not only to serve ourselves with Hair Camblets, which before, used to be sent us from Brussels and Holland, but to serve the wisest, Paris, and other French Merchants.

6. The

Time that the English Exports of Woolen Goods were vastly great. But to have the home Consumption of Woolen Goods thereby abated, and withal, to prohibit absolutely its taking the Benefit of any other Market, is a Hardship peculiar to the English Wool Grower, such as no other Interest in the Kingdom labours under; a Policy, the like whereof does not appear to be practised in any other Part of the whole World besides.

See Ch. 176. §. 40. P. S.

Page 13.

6. The unreasonable and indiscreet Preference of *India Manufactures*, especially that of *India Silks* and *Stuffs*, hath almost wholly overthrown, and unhinged, this profitable and necessary Trade of *Silk Throwing* and *Weaving*, by which vast Multitudes of People of both Sexes, young and old, lately lived comfortably, who now starve. By this Means, the whole clothing Trade of *England* was upheld, which now sinks.

Ch. 68. §. 4.

7. This great Inconvenience, or rather Mischief, was first brought on us about thirty Years since, by the *East-India Company's* sending over several of our *English* skilful *Weavers*, *Dyers*, and *Pattern-Drawers*, &c. to instruct the *Indians* in such Methods as suited the *European* Fancies; before which Time, all Things they sent were contemptible, and the Ladies scarce thought them good enough for *Kitchen Maids*, but now so esteem them, that our *Silk Manufacture* is on the Brink of Destruction.

Page 16.

8. The Advocates for our *East-India Trade*, are pleased at all Times, to extol and magnify our *Merchandise* and *Navigation*, as the Foundation of our Wealth and Prosperity. And doubtless, they are very likely to maintain it, who carry away our Money and destroy our *Manufactures*. Indeed, the *East-India Company* was lately obliged to export yearly, 100,000 *l.* worth of *Woolen Manufactures*. But there was no Profit in this: They cannot sell Cloth in those Places, whence they bring those ready wrought Silks, which destroy our *Manufactures* at home, but were forced to vend it at those Markets, where the *Turkey Merchants* had otherwise sent it, and so became a Hinderance to their Trade, which is otherwise more profitable to us, than this *India*

Page 17.

Trade in vast Cargoes of ready wrought Silks, in Exchange for our Gold and Silver, which is sure to return to our Use no more.

Ch. 70. §. 13.

9. When these Cargoes arrive, our Ladies are so charmed with them, that no other Form or Manner of Silk than what they last brought, must be the Standard of our Mode and Fashion. So that when our *London* and *Canterbury Weavers*, against the Spring Trade, have provided many *Lutefrings*, &c. good as the World can afford; in comes an *East-India Ship* with *Damasks* and *Sattins*, which makes the Mode for that Spring; and the

the *English* Fabricators must keep that Years Goods, or sell them to vast Loss; and then are constrained, with vast Costs and Charges to alter their Fashion for the next Year; when in comes more *East-India Ships* with Goods of quite another Form; and all the *Weavers* are in the Dirt again. Thus, for several Years, have the *London* and *Canterbury Weavers* been disappointed; inasmuch, that Numbers of them are undone; some being tired out, have left off; others have fallen into the *Worsted-weaving*. And I doubt not but that famous Corporation and City of *Norwich* has, and will feel, the ill Effects of it.

10. But this Matter is accounted nothing with many; Page 20. and they commonly say, That the *Silk-weaving* and *Throwing*, with all its Dependants, had better be destroyed, than the *East-India Trade* obstructed or prejudiced. For (say they) though, in the first Instance, they do send out great Store of Money, to purchase the *India Silks* and *Toys*; yet in the End, they bring back more Money from other *European Countries* for the same, by which the Nation is enriched.

11. Though I have much to say against the Truth of this: What I now complain of, is the *Home Consumption* of those *Manufactures*, which will inevitably destroy not only our *Silk*, but our *Woolen Manufactures*: And that I may commend you to a compleat Judge in this Case, Pray read the *Essay upon the Indian Trade*, Ch. 79. whom I take to be the best Advocate for that Company, this Age hath afforded; and I suppose he may have been as well paid for it. It is a Pity so fine a Pen should be employed in so bad a Cause; but for his ingenious *Confession* of that Truth, which, if rightly considered, gives it up, we may forgive him.

12. Thus, Sir, I have laid before you, what I apprehend to be the Causes of this desperate Decay of Trade; and hence the Remedies are visible; our *Home Consumption* of *East-India* wrought Silks, is the Decay both of our *Clothing* and *Silk Manufactures*. And if I might, I would advise People of all Qualities, Age, or Sex; to the wearing of Garments and Ornaments of *Silk*, or *Grogran Yarn* of *English Make*; for this is the Return of *English Woolen Cloth*; and nothing could conduce more to the Advantage of the *English Merchants* trading to

to Turkey, Spain, Italy, and other European Parts. And therefore I intreat and beg of you, that you will use your utmost Interest and Rhetorick, to persuade and prevail, that Gamblet Cloaks, Coats and Gowns, Silk, Mohair, &c. and Manufactures here made of Silk and Grogran Yarn, may be the Wearing preferred and encouraged. For this is the true Interest of the Turkey Trade, and in it, the great Interest of England.

Page 40.

13. From what hath been said, I think it may plainly appear, That no less than a Prohibition, or Stop, of the Home Consumption of all Sorts of East-India Silks and Stuffs, except plain Persian Taffeties, and such like, of plain Make, can preserve the Silk Weavers and Throfters of England, and those great Numbers that depend upon them. And therefore, I beg and beseech you, Good Sir, for GOD's Sake, and for your Country's Sake, and for the Sake of those numberless Multitudes of Poor before-mentioned, that you would employ all your Interest to gain some effectual Prohibition of wearing any flowered, spotted, or striped Silk of Indian Make. (See P. S.)

14. P. S. An Act for the more effectually employing the Poor, by encouraging the Manufactures of this Kingdom, 11, 12 Will. III. c. 10. *

15. An

See Ch. 81. §. 16. Note.

Serious Considerations on the several high Duties, &c. 1743. p. 22, 23.

* This Act recites, ' That the Continuance of the Trade to East India, in like manner as had been for two Years before, must inevitably be to the great Detriment of this Kingdom; by exhausting its Treasure, melting down the Coin, and taking away the Labour of the People,' and therefore prohibits, ' after the 29th of September 1701, the wearing, and otherwise using, all wrought Silks, Bengals, and Stuffs mixed with Silk or Herba, of the Manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, and all Callicoes painted, dyed, or stained there.

N. B. Hercupon has been said, ' This Act was procured by that great Statesman, the Earl of Hallifax (while he was Mr. Montague.) What Good this has done, I leave others to judge. But this I know, that this very Nobleman declared to a Person of Credit (who told it me) that in his Life-time he had never done any Thing which he so sincerely repented of; but it was now grown so popular among the Weavers, and others of the inferior Sort, that it would be dangerous to attempt to repeal it.

I shall

15. An Act to repeal an Act made in the ninth Year of his Majesties Reign for rendering the Laws more effectual for preventing the Importation of foreign Bone-Lace, &c. c. 11. †

16. An Act for the immediate taking away the Duties upon Woolen Manufactures, &c. exported, and of the Subsidy of the Aulnage Duty of all Woolen Manufactures in England and Wales, upon the Expiration of two Grants, or Leases, to Charles Duke of Richmond and Lenox, for sixty Years, (from 16 Car. II.) c. 12.

17. An Act for — — and for explaining the Act intituled, An Act to prevent, &c. (See Ch. 85. §. 7. †) 11, 12 Will. III. c. 13.

CHAP.

I shall not in the least question the Veracity of this Gentleman, who does not speak, as from Lord Hallifax himself; but I cannot help thinking, that he was some Way or other, either mistaken, or imposed upon, about this Matter; seeing it was the same Mr. Montague, who afterwards, when Earl of Hallifax, was the ' Support ' and Spirit ' of the Paper call'd ' The British Merchant (1713, 1714.) which was wrote ex-actly upon the very same Principles which procured this Act; and wherein is laid down for a Maxim *. ' That the Importation of such Goods as hinder the Consumption of our own, or check the Progress of any of our Manufactures, is a visible Disadvantage (See Ch. 100. Ch. 80. Ch. 117. §. 6, 7, 8.)

† Reciting, ' That great Complaints are daily made of the Decay of the Woolen Manufactures in the Kingdom, of a Decay and that by Experience it is found, that the above Act for preventing the Importation of foreign Bone Lace, has been one great Cause thereof, by being the Occasion that our Woolen Manufactures are prohibited to be imported into Flanders. And therefore the said Act is repealed at the End of three Months, to commence from the Time of the taking off the Prohibition of the English Woolen Manufactures in Flanders.' (See Ch. 114. §. 16.)

‡ By this Act, the Clause concerning Wool; Woolfells, &c. exported from Ireland, is not to extend to Woolfells, &c. for Gunners Stores, &c. or for Cloth, &c. for any one Mariners Clothes, &c. not exceeding 40s.

C H A P. LXXXVIII.

Occurrences and Acts, 1700—5.

Aug. 10, 1700.

1. **T**O the King's Majesty, The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of Ezekiel Goddard of Kings Lyn, in the County of Norfolk, in Behalf of many Millions now employed in the Woolen Manufacture of this Kingdom, Humbly Sheweth.

Whereas the Woolen Manufacture is exceedingly decayed, in so great Measure, that many Thousands have not Employment at all, wherewith to buy Bread; and without Doubt, this is occasioned by the Exportation of Wool, Woolfels, and Yarn, made of Wool, whereby the Subjects of other Nations are employed and enriched, and those of this Kingdom impoverished; and your Petitioner having a long Time been sensible of the same, he humbly conceives, that he hath found out a Way how to prevent this Mischief, viz. as follows*.

2. In

* As there was nothing in this Petitioner's Scheme, which had not been offered by one or other before, or which was not a Part of the Laws then in Being, I shall not trouble the Reader with it; having only inserted thus much, for another Reason, namely, as one Evidence among others, that it was the Sense of People, that Wool was at this Time, and for Years past, exported.

I may here further Note a Mistake in this Petitioner, and others his Cotemporaries, in imagining (altho' Wool was pretty much exported, both from *England* and *Ireland*) the foreign Trade of *England* to be then at a low Ebb; the Reverse whereof appears plainly, from the *Custom-House*

^y Ch. 87. Accounts in the last Year, 1699^y; and will again appear

§. 4. *Note.* in 1703^z. But as it is not the Way of Mankind to be

^z Ch. 88. much pleased with the present State of Things, and as there

§. 4. never was a Period, in which, if popular Complaints were

2. In the Year 1701, was printed by Way of Dialogue, between a Merchant and a Clothier, a small Tract intituled, 'The Interest of *England*, in Relation to the Woolen Manufacture,' viz.

Preface. The Woolen Trade casts but a very gloomy Aspect upon us, and seems almost ready to transport herself, from her native Island into more Welcome Embraces. The Design of this Dialogue is, briefly to show how ill she is, and has been, treated; the great Danger we are in of losing her; and humbly to offer some Methods to regain her Affection and prevent her Escape.

Clothier. What a sad Account had we lately from *France*, that in one Year, there were exported into three Towns, 30,000 Packs of *English* Wool. Trade was bad, during the War, but since the Peace, it has sensibly diminished.

Merchant. I must needs own, that Trade has been very bad since the Peace †. But the great Stroke that has

to be wholly credited, the Nation was not upon the Brink of Ruin; so in order to form a true Judgment, it is necessary to look out for other Signs. And so far as regards foreign Trade, the *Custom-House* Accounts, tho' not infallibly correct, are the best Rules we have to judge by.

But then, for the *home Trade* and *home Consumption*, which is thought to be the much greater, and more considerable Market, that is a Point, about which, there is no arriving at any Thing near a Certainty; only when exotic Garments become a general Wear, that will show itself to every Eye, in a Degree, (altho' the Difference cannot be computed,) and be severely felt by the Manufacturers particularly. And as the Time for wearing *East India* Goods was not yet expired, there might possibly be Truth in what this Petitioner alleges, about Numbers wanting Employment at this particular Time, notwithstanding that the foreign Trade for Woolen Goods appears, at the very same Time, to have been so much better than in any preceding Period, especially since *Edw. VI.* and *Queen Elizabeth*. But then 'tis plain, that the real Cause of Persons now wanting Employment, was overlook'd; and hearing of Wool exported, and of Woolen Manufacture in neighbouring Countries, it was vulgarly conceived to be, *all*, the Effect of *English* and *Irish* Wool, and so much clear Loss to the Nation.

† We have here a remarkable Instance, how little Credit

has been given to your Trade, has proceeded from the

▪ Ch. 87. Prohibitions laid upon Cloth in *Flanders* ^a.

§. 15. 3. *A. D.* 1702. The Queen recommended to Parlia-
Salmon's ment, the preventing the Exportation of Wool, and
Chronol. the Improvement of that Manufacture.

Hist. 1702. 4. Our Exports to all the World were, *A. D.* 1703,
British £ 6,644,103 00 00 (See Ch. 49. §. 2. Note. Ch. 43.
Merchant, P. S. Ch. 34. §. 9.

vol. 2. 5. *Oct.* 23. The King of *France* issued an Arret, or-
p. 123. daining, that the Stuffs called Bays, Perpetuanas, &c. of
their own Manufacture sent to *Italy*, shall pay but 30
Page 134. Sols per 100 Duty †. 6. A

is due to Writers in this Way, when delivering themselves
in general Terms only, without some particular Proof. In
this Dialogue, it is both asserted, and allowed, that Trade
had been very bad, since the Peace; and indeed I believe,
Wool was not at this Time nominally so dear, as it had
been in some Time at least during the War. But besides
that we shall have other Opportunities of shewing, that (as
the Law then stood, and yet stands) the Price of Wool is no
real Test of the *English Woolen Exportation Trade*, the in-
trinsic Value of the *English Silver Coin*, now, after the Re-
gulation thereof, was greatly different from what it had
been before. A Guinea, which before exchanged for 30 s.
was now equal but to 21 s. 6 d. so that Wool, now, at a
Guinea a Tod, was equal to Wool sold, during the bad State
of the Coin, at 30 s. per Tod. And therefore if the Price
of Wool was any Test of the State of the *English Woolen*
Exportation Trade (which it is not) there is no Proof from
thence of any particular Decay of Trade at this Time. But
moreover, there happens to be all the positive Evidence to
the contrary that can be desired. In the Year 1699 ^b, the

^b Ch. 87. Woolen Exportations from *England*, amounted to a larger
§. 4. Note. Sum than had been known in any one Year before or after,
to the Year 1713, as may be concluded from the *British*
Merchant. Again, the *British Merchant* shews, that the
Woolen Exportations from *England*, were at this particular
Period, not only large, but at good Prices. His Words
are c. 'On that Peace [of *Reswick* 1697.] as soon as we
c *British* were able to go free, and Freights and Insurance were
Merchant, very easy and reasonable, all *English* Goods proper for
vol. 3. the *Spanish* Markets advanced considerably. For Instance,
p. 96. Colchester Bays rose from 17 d. to about 24 d. the *Flemish*
Ell.'
† 'This was to enable the *French* Merchants to furnish
Italy with these Goods, as cheap as the *English* Manu-
facturer could do.'

6. A Treaty was signed at *Lisbon* between *England* Vol. 1.
and *Portugal* *. P. 209.

7. To evince further the Practice of exporting Wool in
this Period, as also before, it is proper to insert here an
Extract of some Informations on that Head, although they
they were not printed in *England* until 1708, but at
Dublin, in 1706, viz.

Captain *Joseph Brooks* proves a constant Practice for
several Years, before the late Wars with *France*, of send-
ing Wool thither; particularly nineteen Ships going into
Nantz and *St. Malo*; fifteen of which were brought
thither, by one *Hays* and *Roach* of *Yaughal*; and that
during the late War, *Roach* brought nine Ships laden

D 2 with

* 'By which his Majesty of *Portugal* promises for himself
and Successors, to admit for ever hereafter into *Portugal*,
the *Woolen Cloths*, and the rest of the *Woolen Manufactures*
of the *Britains*, as was accustomed, 'till they were pro-
hibited by the Laws; nevertheless, upon Condition, that
the *Wines* of *Portugal* be admitted into *Britain*, for one
Third less Duty than the *French Wines*.

'This Treaty immediately produced the good Effects
foreseen by that able Minister (Mr. *Methuen*) whom her
Majesty employed to make it, who by a perfect Know-
ledge of the *Portuguese* Trade, knew the Consequences.
He had been Envoy extraordinary in the Year 1691, and
continued employed in that Country, until the Year 1697;
and in the Year 1700 was sent again, and continued until
the Year 1703, that this Treaty was made. And the Success
answered; for from that Treaty's first taking Place, the
Balance of Trade began to take Place, and the Year
1703, was the first Year we began to bring off the Silver
of that Nation. Before, from the Time of their pro-
hibiting of our Cloth, Cloth Serges, and Cloth Druggets,
&c. (which continued 20 Years) we never had an Over- Vol. 2.
balance, so as to bring from thence, either Gold or p. 44.
Silver.'

It may be observed from this Instance, and many others, ^d
that almost the whole Secret of promoting the *Woolen Trade*
of *England*, consists in proper Treaties for the Admission of our
Woolen Goods into other Countries, that they be neither ex-
pressly prohibited, nor by Duties tantamount. But from the
Year of the Restoration, we have been chiefly intent upon
what is neither possible, nor, if it was, of so much Signi-
ficancy, as is commonly imagined; namely, to prevent the Ex-
portation of Wool, by prohibitory Laws.

with Wool, &c. into the Port of Nantz; at another Time, four Ships from Ireland laden with Wool, &c. at the same Port.

Mr. B. M. late of London, Merchant, coming from Roan in France, where he had settled a Correspondence, during the Interval of Peace, went into Ireland; and settling on the Coasts of Wexford, in one Years Time, made four Voyages into France with Wool pressed into Beef Barrels. Mr. D. and Mr. A. of Glandore, do prove this Practice for several Years. Captain N. in August 1701, carried great Quantities of combed Wool skrewed into Beef Casks; in the same Ship, another great Quantity of combed Wool, of which Mr. W. of Waterford was Merchant. The said Captain N. in June 1704, being taken and carried, by a French Privateer, into St. Malo, having the Liberties of the Town, saw great Quantities of Wool brought thither. There were given in to the Committee of Lords in Parliament, in 1704, an Account of many Ships then in the Ports of Rochel, Nantz, and Bourdeaux, with Wool, &c. from Ireland; which was the Occasion of the Author's being summoned before the Lords, sent into Ireland, and made Surveyor of the Coasts there. But lately there were many Informations brought to Mr. Crawley, Register of the Court of Admiralty, of many Ships arrived in several Ports of France from Ireland, with the like Commodities. In April 1705, when Sir George Bing brought to Kinsale, a French Man of War, with several Merchant Ships bound from Martinico to France; several Prisoners, Irish Men, being examined, confessed a constant Trade and Practice, as is before-mentioned.

8. An Act † for the effectual securing the Kingdom of England

† This Act impowers the Queen to appoint Commissioners under the great Seal of England, to treat with Commissioners, that shall be authorized for that End, by the Parliament of Scotland, about the Union of both Kingdoms. And till such Time as the Succession to the Crown of Scotland, should be settled by the Parliament of Scotland, in the same Manner as the Succession to the Crown of England was then settled by Act of Parliament in England, enacts, That no Person being a Native of the Kingdom of Scotland, except then a settled Inhabitant within the Kingdom

England from the apparent † Danger, that may arise from several

of England, or the Dominions thereunto belonging, should be capable of inheriting within the same, any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, or of enjoying any Benefit or Advantage of a natural born Subject; but every such Person should be in all Respects deemed as an Alien*, born out of the Allegiance of the Queen of England. The Act further prohibits, the bringing of Cattle or Sheep, or Coals or Scotch Linen, from Scotland into England.

* In the Beginning of the Reign of James I. viz. in 1606. A Session of Parliament, which began the 18th of Novem. Rapin, was chiefly employed about uniting the two Kingdoms, which the King strongly solicited. To this End, Sir Francis Bacon, p. 174. the King's Solicitor, was ordered to move and support it. But the Jealousy of the English was an Over-match for all his Rhetorick.

The King hearing the Affair was not likely to succeed, sent for both Houses to Whitehall, and after having said to them what he thought fit in Favour of the Union, proceeded to a nice Point (as he had himself determined a Thing, which properly belonged to the Cognizance of Parliament) He said he was informed by the Judges, that there was a Difference between the Antenati and the Postnati of each Kingdom, i. e. such as were born before, and such as were born after his Accession to the Crown of England. That therefore he had published a Proclamation, declaring those to be naturalized in both Kingdoms, who were born since his Accession.

In virtue, it seems, of this Proclamation, Judgment Note. was given in Westminster-Hall, in a Case called Calvin's Case; which Case was reported (says Wilson) and adjudged by him, the Lord Chancellor Ellesmore, and most of the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, and so became a Precedent, and a Part of the Common Law of England, till the passing of this Statute, 3, 4 Ann. c. 7.

† To understand the Reason of this, and the following Act, it is necessary to look back a little into the History of some Affairs in Scotland.

May 9, 1695. The Parliament of Scotland meeting, Burnet. the Committee of Trade, after several Sittings, prepared an Act which procured the West Indian and African Company there, and the Darien Enterprize. This Act was passed, but proved (as will be seen) very fatal to Scotland. It was occasioned in this Manner. The Interlopers in the East India Trade, finding that the Company was like to be

Several Acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland, 3, 4 An. c. 7.

a W. M. Parl. 1. Sess. 4. c. 32.

9. An

be favoured by the Parliament, as well as by the Court, were resolved to try other Methods to break in upon that Trade. They entered into a Treaty with some Merchants of Scotland, and they had in the former Session, procured an Act, that promised Letters Patents to all such as should offer to set up new Manufactures, or drive any new Trade not yet practised by that Kingdom, with an Exemption for 21 Years from all Taxes and Customs, &c. But here was a Necessity of procuring Letters Patents, which they knew, the Credit that the East India Company had at Court, would certainly render ineffectual. So they were now in a Treaty for a new Act, which should free them from that Difficulty. There was one Patterson, a Man of no Education, but of great Notions, which, as was generally said, he had learned from the Buccaneers (with whom he had consorted for some Time.) He made the Merchants believe, that he had a great Secret, which he did not think fit yet to discover; only he desired, that the West Indies might be named in any new Act, that should be offered to the Parliament: He made them in general to understand, that he knew of a Country not possessed by the Spaniards, where there were rich Mines, and Gold in Abundance.

While these Things were in Treaty, the Time of the King giving his Instructions to his Commissioner for the Parliament came on; and it had been a Thing of Course, to give a general Instruction, to pass all Bills for the Encouragement of Trade. Johnstoun told the King, that he heard there was a secret Management among the Merchants, for an Act in Scotland, under which the East India Trade might be set up; so he proposed and drew an Instruction, empowering the Commissioner to pass any Bill, promising Letters Patents, for encouraging of Trade, yet limited, so that it should not interfere with the Trade of England.

When they went down to Scotland, the King's Commissioner, either did not consider this, or had no Regard to it; for he gave the Royal Assent to an Act, that gave the Undertakers either of the East or West India Trade, all possible Privileges, with an Exemption of 21 Years, from all Impositions. And the Act directed Letters Patents to be passed under the Great Seal, without any further Warrant for them. When this was printed, it gave a great Alarm in England, more particularly, to the East India

9. An Act to permit the Exportation of Irish Linen Cloth

India Company; for many of the Merchants of London resolved to join Stocks with the Scotch Company, and the Exemption from all Duties gave a great Prospect of Gain,

In December following, the English Parliament addressed the King against the Act passed in Scotland, for erecting a Company to trade to Africa and the East Indies; among other Things, representing, that when that Nation should have settled themselves in Plantations in America, the English Commerce in Tobacco, Sugar, Cotton, Wool, &c. would be utterly lost. The King answered, that he had been ill served in Scotland. But he hoped, &c.

The Trade of Wool, &c. in America.

However, this Business did not stop here; for the Committee appointed by the Commons, to examine by what Methods this Act was obtained, having made their Report, and delivered a Copy of an Oath de fidei, taken by the Directors of the Scots East India Company in England, it was resolved, that the said Directors were guilty of an high Crime and Misdemeanor, and that they should be impeached for the same.

But when it was understood in Scotland, that the King had disavowed the Act, from which it was expected, that great Riches should flow into that Kingdom, it is not easy to conceive how great and general an Indignation was spread through that Kingdom. The Company had endeavoured by their Agents, to get Subscriptions in England, Holland, and Hamburgh, and had met with Encouragement from private Persons in all those Places.

The English and Dutch, Indian and African Companies took the Alarm; and a Stop was put to the Subscriptions the Scotch Agents were taking. The King was even prevailed with, to permit his Minister at Hamburgh, to present a Memorial to the Senate against it.

Hereupon, in 1698. The Scots India Company lay their Grievances before the Parliament of Scotland, then assembled at Edinburgh. The Parliament made their Representation by an Address to the King, which the Company seconded with a Petition. Upon the Whole, the Affair occasioning great Heats, the Commissioner saw Reason for an Adjournment. But notwithstanding the Repulses they had met with in England, &c.; in April 1699. the Scots settled a Colony at the Isthmus of Darien in America; the News whereof, alarmed most of the Nations of Europe. The Spanish Ambassador at England particularly, presented a Memorial against it. Great Dif-

Cloth to the Plantations, and to prohibit the Importation of Scotch Linen into Ireland. c. 8.

C H A P.

putes and Apprehensions from Spain, were raised about it in England. The English Plantations became jealous thereof, and Proclamations were published in the King's Name, against holding any Correspondence with the Scots at Darien. In the End, the whole Affair miscarried; partly for want of Skill and Stock, in those who managed it, partly by the Baseness and Treachery of those whom they employed.

The Conduct of the King's Ministers was much censured in the whole Progress of this Affair, for they had connived at, if not encouraged it; but now it was not so easy to cure the universal Discontent, which the Miscarriage of this, to the impoverishing of the whole Kingdom, had raised, and which began to spread like a Contagion, among all Sorts of People.

Salmon's Chron. Hist.

On the 12th of February 1699, the Lords [of England] addressed the King against the Re-establishment of the Scots Colony at Darien; which gave his Majesty occasion again to propose an Union between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

The Commons, about the same Time, resolved, that a Book intituled, An Inquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriages of the Scotch Colony at Darien, was a false, scandalous, and traitorous Libel.

In March 1700, The Scots Nation petitioned the King to call a Parliament in that Kingdom, in order to re-establish the Affairs of the African and East India Company, which, they apprehended, laboured under very great Hardships, both at home and abroad; whereupon the King promised them, their Parliament should meet. May 14.

May 21. The Parliament of Scotland being met, a Vote was proposed, That the Colony of Caledonia in Darien, was a legal and rightful Settlement, and that the Parliament would maintain and support it. Whereupon the high Commissioner adjourned them from Time to Time, to prevent the Question being put; of which the Scots complain in a national Address to King William.

July 30, the Duke of Gloucester died; and the 12th of March, an Act passed in the Parliament of England, limiting the Crown, after King William and the Princess Anne, to the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants. March 8, 1701, King William died. June 25, 1702, the Parliament of Scotland pass

an

an Act, appointing Commissioners to treat of an Union with England. May 6, 1703, the Parliament of Scotland met, and refused to come into the Protestant Succession. August 5, 1704, the Scots also passed an Act, called the Act of Security; wherein they enact, that if the Queen died without Issue, the States of the Kingdom should have a Power to nominate a Successor. Four Days after, viz. August 9. An Act discharging the Importation of Woolen Manufactory, and allowing the Exportation of Wool and Skins was read, which passed the House Aug. 23.

The Parliament of England meeting in October, Lord Anne, Haverham made a remarkable Speech, relating chiefly to the Affairs of Scotland; for Consideration of which, the 29th of November was appointed, when the grand Committee of Peers came to this Resolution, That the best Method to prevent the Inconveniencies which might happen by the late Acts passed in Scotland, was, by making such Laws here for that Purpose. It was suggested by Lord Wharton, That the Queen be enabled by Act of Parliament, on the Part of England, to name Commissioners to treat about an Union with Scotland, provided that these Powers be not put in Execution, till Commissioners should be named on the Part of Scotland, by the Parliament there. By Lord Halifax it was suggested, That Scots Men should not enjoy the Privileges of English Men, except, &c. By Lord Ferrers, That the bringing of Cattle from Scotland to England be prevented. By the Earl of Torrington, That Orders be given to her Majesty's Ships, to take such Ships as they shall find trading from Scotland to France. By Lord Mohun, That the Exportation of English Wool into Scotland, be carefully hindered.

These being approved by the House, the Judges were ordered to reduce them into Bills; one of which, for an entire Union with Scotland, was read a third Time, and pass'd Decem. 20, and sent to the Commons for their Concurrence, who presently acquiesced therein. These Acts gave Occasion, among other Things, to the following Tract.

C H A P.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

An Account Current between Scotland and England, balanced; together with an Essay of a Scheme of the Product of Scotland, and a few Remarks on each; as also a View of the several Products of the Ports or Nations we trade to, by comparing and holding forth how our Products and Manufactures may balance theirs with Returns. By John Spruel. Edinburgh, 1705.

1. UNTO his Grace John Duke of Argyll, her Majesties High Commissioner, and the Right Honourable the Estates of Parliament.

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

I know many admire, that I appear in Print. But considering all Circumstances, they need not. For so soon as I heard the Parliament was coming upon Trade, I, of myself, (being nearly concerned) and at the Desire of many worthy Merchants, that pay no little by foreign Custom and Excise, have been forced undesignedly upon the Stage, humbly to offer to your Grace and Lordships, the Schemes and Remarks following, in relation to our Trade; offering to prove, That Scotland's Product and Manufactures are able to balance our Trade, with any, or all Parts, and Kingdoms, we do, or need to Trade to. So that it may be seen plainly, That though England join with us in Union or Communication of Trade, they will not be married to a Beggar, with whom they should find nothing but a Louse in our Bosom the first Night, (as Sir Edward S— was pleased to reflect on us) yet that this Land is full of Product; if, by your Wisdoms and Care, we be stirred up to improve it abroad and at home, and not always suffer ourselves to be served, as is fabled of the two Crows with the Shellfish.

2. None

2. None of my Station is, and shall be, more desirous to see and hear of a better Understanding cultivate betwixt England and Scotland. But seeing the Parliament of England, last Session, have discharged all our valuable Goods from being imported into England, after 25 Dec. next, and their breaking the Act post nati; Ch. 88. which, of a long Time, they have not kept, nor yet §. 8. Note. the strictest Union could be made betwixt the two Nations: May not your Lordships consider, and weigh, the Balance of Trade and Remarks thereon, which makes it plain, (according to the great Law of Necessity) that unless that, or the like Draught of an Act offered unto the Parliament by ——— be considered, agreed upon, and enacted, discharging in like Manner, all Goods to be imported from England and Ireland, after 25 Dec. next, &c. Otherwise what may be the Consequences? It's downright a Sword, or Rod, above our Heads. Let us balance them still, until we accord; it's but Self-Defence.

3. My Lords, as to what I humbly offer by this Scheme upon Trade, and the Remarks upon the same, is to put you in Remembrance of Things, and to show my own, and the Pulse of many People. I have many Things to add that are omitted, by Reason of Pinch of Time.

I am,

May it please your Grace, &c.

John Spruel.

4. In regard, by an Act of Parliament in England, Ch. 88. last Session of Parliament, all Linen Cloth, Black Cat-tle, Sheep, &c. is discharged to be imported into England, after 25 Dec. next; which may be calculat to 120,000 l. Sterl. more or less, until an exact Abbreviat of the Custom Books be obtained. Quer. Whether or not, may the Wisdom of Queen and Parliament of Scotland (according to that ancient Law of Lex Talionis) pass an Act, discharging the Importation of any of the following Goods, viz. 1. All East-India Mullins and Callicoes, &c. and that none of our Linen Yarn may be exported, but the fine employed to make fine Mullins, &c. to serve

serve ourselves at home. 2. That all Silks, or Silk Stuffs, or Purflaine, or China Ware, be discharged, the which above, particularly, may carry off the Kingdom yearly, which may be preserved — — £ 50,000 Sterl.

3. That no Tobacco be imported, but rather to serve ourselves, by planting it at home, so in Time, to preserve into the Kingdom, — — 20 or 30,000

4. No Sugars in Casks, or Loaves to be imported from England, but to be supplied from any other Place, where we can purchase it with our Product, and so preserve at home — — 6 or 10,000

5. That no Coaches, Horses, or Furniture to them be imported. No, &c. &c. All which may preserve into the Kingdom that is caied off, — — 50,000

Summa Totalis. — — 141,000

Scotland may be Debit. to England per An. for Goods, — — 151,000

England may be Debit. to Scotland for Goods they have discharged after 25. Dec. next, — — 120,000

So that Scotland may be due to England, to balance yearly, — — 31,000

Besides which, the Nobility and Gentry spends, that is not mentioned.

5. Now Queritur. After 25 Dec. next, if the English shall keep their Law sacred, and not repeal, or dispense with it, to keep up the Amity that remains, and prevent a Breach, till Things be accorded, and the Succession settled; what shall come of Scotland, if the Wisdom of our Queen and Parliament balance not our Accounts in time, that we may either continue Trade as before, and keep up the same Amity, and live as Neighbours, and trade one with another. Otherwise, one Year's Trade

Trade with England, after the Discharge of our valuable Goods, may bring us in Debt yearly, — £ 150,000 Sterl. And who knows, but we are in Debt

already, more or less, another — — 100,000

Summa. — — 250,000

6. Is it not better to be wise in time, and retrench our Trade, by waneing ourselves from every thing that is superfluous, and with which we can serve ourselves at home, or any where else, where we can barter or exchange our Product for Goods we cannot want, and can purchase also Gold and Money * ?

7. The same great Improvement can be attested by many worthy Gentlemen in the North, and especially at Aberdeen, how great Increase of Profit arises upon the Wool. Industry of both rich and poor Women by one Stone of Wool, first in Spinning, then in Knitting it into fine Stockins, some Pairs whereof have given 10, 15, to 20 and 30 s. Sterl. per Pair, even for Womens Stockins, and so are finer than Silk Stockins.

8. Quer. Should the Poor starve at home, whilst they can be profitably employed? If the Wisdom of our Queen and Parliament would restrict us to wear Nothing but our own Manufacture made out of our own Product; and would every Person resolve, and restrict themselves so to do, rather than out of Vanity, and too nice Curiosity, slight any Thing that is made at home, and only admire and purchase any Thing at a dear Rate, that is brought from abroad, purchased by Money or Bills; especially, if the English take not our Goods discharged, why should we take theirs?

9. As to Butter and Cheese, if the Gentlemen in the Country would inclose more Grounds, and the Farmers and Tenants study to make up their Butter in small Casks,

* The Author speaking of their Capacity, and Materials for making Muslin, fine Lace, &c. to serve themselves, instead of buying the same from the English Merchants, and to shew what Profit would arise from such a Manufacture, instances in a Gentlewoman of his Acquaintance, making 20 lib. Scots, of an Ounce or two of Thread, in Lace.

Casks, of 50 lib. Weight a Piece, and follow the *Irish* Way of making up their Cheefe in handsome Chiffets, as they do here in some Places already, we may go near to serve ourselves at home, and by further Improvement, have considerable to export. For I know in the West Highlands, at *Mackloud*, and *Mackdonalds* Lands, there is as fine yellow Butter, and well made, as ever I saw from *Ireland*; but the not putting it up in clean and small Casks, disgraces the Butter. Was this remedied, and would the Gentlemen in the North, and at *Orkney*, teach their People to make up and handle their Butter more cleanly, and purge it better from the soure Milk and Dregs, with which they put it up, and churn oftner, and salt it up better, in small Casks that are close for keeping the Pickle, we might have enough for Export.

10. *As to Tallow and tanned Leather.* If *England* observe their last Act of Parliament, discharging importing our black Cattle and Sheep into *England*, then they will want 24 or 30,000 Hides for tanned Leather; which if we improve at home, by discharging all tanned Leather from *England* and *Ireland*, we may preserve 15, if not 20,000 l. *Sterl.* next, by Tallow, 15, if not 18750 l. *Sterl.* So that by the Hides tanned, and Tallow rined and sent abroad, or made in Candle and exported, we shall make as much, if not more, than we get in *England* for our Cattle, and have 24 or 30,000 Carcases of fresh Beef, a Part of which sold at home, will lower our Mercats, and the rest (suppose one half) salted, will make 15 or 20,000 Barrels of Beef for Exportation, which will yield 20, and some 30 s. the Barrel.

11. *As to Horses and Coaches and Furniture to them,* it is a Pity, or rather a Shame, that whilst our Gentry have so many excellent Inclosures and Parks, and those that have not as yet, may have them, they do not bring up a Brood of fine Horses, either for the Coach or Saddle, as the Duke *Hamilton*, Marquess of *Tweeddale*, Earl of *Crawford*, Earl of *Hoptoun*, and many others, excellent true Countrymen, have done; as the Lord *Cesnock*. In his Ground many fine Horses have been brought up, and I am told of one fine Horse, the Duke of *Athol* got from the late Lord *Cesnock*, and of another sold for 30 Guineas, and how many other Gentlemen that I know not,

not, tho' some I know, and also Farmers and Countrymen, such as in *Cunninghame*, *Catrick*, *Kilbride* and *Eaglesome*; as also by many Gentlemen and others in the Highlands. So as we need not cast away so much Money on Horses in *England*, nor Coaches, seeing we have good Workmen for making them, and Gilders for gilding, &c. All the other Particulars are now generally made at Home, and can be had both for Use and Export; our Tradesmen being both increased, and much improv'd, only wanting Encouragement.

12. *SCOTLAND's Product and Manufacture, by which we may balance with any Port or Nation needful for us, besides other Privileges and Advantages we enjoy, are,* First, 100,000 fighting Men. 2. Silver and Gold, with Bras and Copper, if digged for, and searched out. 3. Lead Mines. 4. Coals, East and West, for our own Use and Export, and Peats or Turf, where Coals are scarce. 5. Corn of all Sorts, as Barley, Wheat, Oats, Rye, Pease, and Beans, for our own Use, and some for Export. 6. Horses for our own Use at home, and for Export. 7. Black Cattle, producing Milk, Butter, Cheefe, Tallow, Candle, tanned Leather, salt Beef and Combs. 8. Sheep; hence, Tallow, Candle, Skins, *Sheep Wool* from which, Leather Gloves, Shambo. WOOL; hence and *Woolen* Broad Cloth, Fingrines, Serges, Bays, Crapes, *Temmin*, *Manufa-* Glasgow Playds, and all Sorts of fine *Worsted Camblets*, *Eure of* and other *Stuffs*, and *coarse Hats*. 9. Flax. 10. Wild *Scotland.* Skins. 11. Birds. 12. white and green Marble. 13. fine Greek Stone. 14. Skelly or Slates. 15. fine blue Amathyfts. 16. Hemp, many great Woods of Oak, Firr Trees, Walnut Trees. 17. Salmon, small Fish, Pearls. 18. Herrings, Cod and Ling, Oysters, Lobsters, Whales, Ambergreese, and white Coral, Wampumpig.

13. Here follows a short Essay, or Scheme, of the Product of all Ports, or Nations, we do, or need to trade to; and an Hint at what of *Scotland's* Product is fit and sufficient, not only to balance and purchase what foreign Goods we need from these Parts, but also to return Bills, Money, or Gold, from many Kingdoms; no Kingdom having such Variety, and Quantities of the most vendible Goods in all Parts, not *England* itself excepted, were it not for their great Improvement of their Woolen

Woolen Manufacturies, Lead and Pewter Mines, where-
in we come short of them *.

Page 20.

14. It is to be remarked upon our Wool and Woolen
Manufacture, that if the Improvement thereof is any
longer slighted and neglected, we shall repent of it. For
these have enriched England. May we not be denied to
all Silks, or fine foreign Broad Cloths, and Stuffs, that
is yet stolen in, and worn in Contempt of the Laws ?
May we not restrict ourselves only to wear Stuffs and
Cloths made of our own best Wool? And may it not
be granted, that none wear Cloth above ^h 9 lib. Scots per
Ell, as is well advised by a worthy Gentleman, and that
People would use more Worsted Camblets, of which I
have seen made at Hamilton and Glasgow, very near to
those Stuffs in England; for what they wanted in the
Fineness of the Wool, they are finer in the Thread, and
well wrought. In my humble Opinion, it might be of
Advantage to Manufacturies, that Noblemen, and Gen-
tlemen, were pleased sometimes to change their Wear
from Cloth to Camblets, as in England or Ireland; there
all People wait to see what is most in Fashion first in
the Spring. And this would be better also for Tradef-
men, and then to wear Cloth in the Winter.

Ch. 71.

§. 12.

Note.

Ch. 71.

§. 6. Note.

15. Baifes is one Subject of Trade, that might con-
sume more Wool than I dare mention. For if we could
make 1000 Times more than we do, if rightly made,
it would be exported and vended, being a Commodity
through all Spain and the Straights, and the Spanish and
Portuguese Islands. And how many Ships Loading
of it goes to Holland from Colchester, and Serges and
other Goods from Exeter and Topsham in whole Fleets,
and other coarse Cloths from Hull; the like of which
our best Wool might answer, and the coarsest for other
Uses. But without short Skin Wool, I am told, Baifes
cannot be so well made. And the Exportation of so
many

Ch. 103.

§. 4.

* Here our Author enumerates most of the trading Places
of the World, and the Commodities which they afford, and
Scotland wants; assigning to each of those Places, in Re-
turn, such Scottish Commodities as are proper to them re-
spectively; and to most of them, either Wool, or Sheep
Skins, or Woolen Manufacture, of some, or of all the fe-
veral Sorts mentioned, §. 12. (Fig. 8.)

many Skins will retard the making of Bayfes. And it's
a Shame, that some have begun so good a Work (as
making Bayfes) but they left it off ere it came to Per-
fection, though I know some continue it, which is Praise-
worthy.

16. I know we have worthy Countrymen abroad,
that would willingly join in Counsel and Stock, not only
to advance so good a Work, as making of Bayfes at
home, and Scots Broad Cloth, &c. but would help to
export and sell more of it abroad than we can make, if
the good Rules offered by some worthy Persons in Par-
liament for due making, &c. were enacted and ob-
served.

17. Next, were the Wool sorted, divided and sepa-
rated; for of one Fleece of Wool, an Artist will make
four or five Sorts, and every Sort proper for the Use it is
fittest for; whereas, if that Fleece of Wool were all
carded through other, the * hairy Part spoils the finer.
And this is the Complaint, Strangers abroad have advised
me, against some of our Cloths, Stuffs, and Stockings;
as also the not dying, (dressing, and right up-putting)
with

* Here is an Argument (which will be confirmed by
other Testimonies) against the Truth of that vulgar Notion,
of Wonders to be effected by mixing finer English, with
coarser foreign Wools. 'Tis, we see, a principal Art in
Woolen Manufacture, to separate and sort the Wool duly
of every individual Fleece, otherwise the hairy Part spoils
the finer; which shews, that there can be no Advantage,
but a great Loss, in confounding it again in the same
Thread or Yarn, which is, to reduce it to the unprofitable
Condition, of Wool unseparated and unsorted, in which
Case, a small Part that is coarse and hairy, defaces the
larger Quantity of finer. There is indeed a Mixture
practised, and that in England, as well as in other Parts, of
one Sort of Yarn or Worsted for the Warp or Chain, ano-
ther for the Woof or Shoot; which Mixture diversified, con-
stitutes, in some Measure, the many different Species of
Woolen Manufacture. But even in this, the Quality of the
Goods is so much better or worse, dearer or cheaper, accord-
ing to the Qualities of the Thread or Yarn, both of the
Warp and Wool; and that Thread or Yarn, according to
the Quality of the Wool from which it is spun. Not but that
much depends also upon the Difference of Spinning.

66 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 89.

with bright enough Colours. So as the Proverb is verified, many a Time, *we lose the Hog for the Halfpenny*; and a *small Matter* may blemish any thing.

18. There has been no little Money exported and paid for Wool into *England*, and this again exported into *Holland*, besides what is exported of our own Wool; inso-much, that I am credibly informed, there is above 10,000 *l. Sterl.* worth lying over Year into *Holland* unfolded †; and yet here many is buying and exporting it this Year also. And because they have not, or could not sell what they sent the last Year, the Merchants here say, they cannot give the former Price this Year for the same Sort of Wool. And so the Store Masters get less for their Wool, than when it was prohibit to be exported. This I am informed of by the Sellers of it, and the Buyers also. And further, I am told, that some of their Wool sold one Crown dearer *per Stone*, when forbidden, and went all off their Hand, and the Country People had little or none lying on their Hand over Year. I wish it may not be found ere long, it had been better for them, they had exported less, if not none at all.

19. For

† Can we credit this, and at the same Time believe what we have heretofore met with, and shall hereafter find others saying, concerning the Quantities of *English* and *Irish* Wool exported yearly to foreign Parts (even to the Amount of, from 300,000 to 500,000 Packs) as also concerning the great Advantages to be made of *English* and *Irish* Wool abroad, by mixing every one Pack of it, with two, or three, of foreign Wool? Would it have been possible, in such Case, to have over-stocked the Markets abroad by such a Start of Exportation, as here mentioned; or could so small a Quantity, comparatively, as 10,000 *l.* worth, either have made any sensible Difference, or have laid over the Year unfold? Should we not rather imagine, that Foreigners would have taken this Opportunity of stocking themselves with so choice and valuable Commodity, for as long Time to come, as the same was capable of being preserved? But as, according to this Writer, so it was, that about 10,000 *l.* worth extraordinary, did at this Time, over-stock the Markets in *Holland*, which is a Market to the whole World; instead of giving into vulgar Mistakes, may we not rather conclude, that useful Wool at least, if not equally good to all Intents and Purposes, as *English* or *Irish*, is no such Rarity in foreign Countries, as we have been taught to imagine?

Ch. 90. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 67

19. For if it be suffered to be exported, (it never sold better than when the *French* Merchants came here, and bought it themselves, both from the Merchants and Store-Masters) may it not be fit to lay on some Limitations, to prevent Persons over-cloying a Mercat, and rather let them come over, bring Money and buy it. But if the Store-Masters find it better for them, as it is, I have no more to say. Though the Poor at home suffers, that might be employed to manufacture it; and then the sending so much Wool to *Holland*, *Stockholme*, and *France*, doth inevitably hinder, and, as it were, forbid * them to buy our Cloths, Fingrines, Serges, Bayfes, Stockins, and what not; seeing their own Poor can be fed and employed to make them at home.

20. If the Store-Masters get but ^k 6 *lib. Scots per Stone*, ^k 10 *s. Sterl.* for the same Wool this Year, which they sold for 9 or ^l 10 *lib. per Stone* last Year, when it was not suffered ^l 15 *s.* or to be exported: Had not the Store-Masters better take 16 *s. 8 d.* 18 or 20 *lib. Scots* for two Stone, and give the third to Ch. 90. the Poor of the Parish for Nothing, rather than give it §. 7. to Strangers abroad, who beats down the Prices, and blows upon the Wool when too plenty, and Mercats overcloyed. The *Dutch*, in their Returns from the *Indies*, is said rather to throw out one Part of their Lading of Pepper, into the Sea, than break their Price; and lower their Mercat at home, which would overturn their Trade therein.

C H A P. X C.

Observations on the Accompt Current, &c.

1. HAD not the Union, of *England* and *Scotland*, took Place, in the Manner, and upon the Terms, which, we shall see ^m, it soon did; and if the Prohibi-^m Ch. 91. tion §. 7, 8. E 2

* To make this Argument quite good, it should be proved, that prohibiting absolutely, is the same Thing, as preventing totally, the Exportation of Wool; and also, that to prevent totally the Exportation of Wool, is in Effect, to invite or compel the People of *Holland*, *Sweden*, and *France*, to purchase these Cloths, &c.

Note.

tion of Scotch Cattle, &c. had continued, as in the Case of Ireland; it seems, as if England would have gained as little by that kind of Policy, in one respect, as in the other.

2. Scotland having thereby lost its Vent in England for the most considerable Part of its spare Product, with which they went to Market there for what they wanted, would have been driven to seek the like elsewhere, consequently, into a foreign Trade altogether; which must have lessened, so much, the Trade of England, as the Commerce and Custom of that Nation was before worth; when according to this Writer, not only their Imports from, exceeded their Exports to, England, but the latter were what England could very well dispense with, and a great deal of the former was what the English could as conveniently spare.

3. And though the Scheme of Scotch Trade exhibited by this Author of *The Account Current*, &c. is to be understood, as partly potential only, or what might be; yet a Part of it is also represented as then actually existing.

4. Salt Beef, for Instance, is spoke of as one Article thereof; after the same, for Exportation, was totally lost in England, to Ireland, in Consequence of prohibiting the Cattle of that Kingdom; and which, upon Continuance of the like Prohibition in Scotland, would have greatly improved there also; for that the Lands, and Means of feeding Cattle, breeding Horses, &c. were improveable by Inclosures, &c.

5. As to the Woolen Manufacture particularly, we findⁿ, they made Stockins at Aberdeen, from 10 to 30 s. Sterling per Pair; which, both for the Art and Material, exceeded any Thing of the Kind in England. They made, or had it in their Power to make, Broad Cloths^o of their own Wool, worth about 12 s. per Yard, which is not much inferior to the best English Cloth, of English^p Wool. They made then in Scotland, *Fingrines*, *Serge*, *Bayse*, *Temmins*, *Glasgow Playds*, and all Sorts of fine *Worsted Camlets*^q, and other Stuffs very near as good as in England, and coarse Hats.

6. And though in Quantity, the Scots came far short of England, as well as somewhat in the Quality of their Woolen Goods (fine Stockins excepted, and Playds^r) yet

ⁿ Ch. 89. §. 7.

^o Ch. 89. §. 14.

^p Ch. 87. §. 5.

^q Ch. 89. §. 12.

(Fig. 8.) §. 14.

^r Ch. 120. §. 14.

yet were they not so deficient, but that they might have put themselves into a Condition of doing without any English Woolen Manufacture themselves, which, it seems, by this Writer, they then purchased in pretty large Quantities, by Stealth, or Connivance, against the Laws^s of^s Ch. 71. their Kingdom. And not only so, but they might further, like Ireland, have become England's Rival in foreign Trade for Woolen Goods. For though their Country is not equally fertile in good Wool, as England and Ireland are; yet Scotland being more populous than Ireland, and withal, ingenious, and frugal, they might, and undoubtedly would, when forced upon it, have found Ways and Means of being furnished with sufficient Plenty of all proper Materials, viz. Spanish, Irish, and English Wool too, dying Stuffs, &c.

7. Lastly, Concerning the Price of Wool about this Time, it is to be observed from this Writer, as an indisputable Fact, that Wool in Scotland, of the Growth of that Kingdom, sold some Time the Year before^t, Ch. 89. viz. in 1704, at 9 or 10 lib. Scots per Stone, which was §. 20. 30 s. or 33 s. 4 d. Sterling per Tod; only with this Difference, that the statutable Stone in Scotland was 16 lib. Scotland The Pound 16 Ounces Trois. (*James VI. Par. 11. 30 s. and c. 114.*) This the Author of *The Account Current*, &c. 33 s. 4 d. per Todd. (somewhat contradicting himself, having first spoke of vast Quantities being exported to Holland, in the Year 1704, insomuch, as to overstock the Market there, and that 10,000 l. worth of such Wool was said to lye then unfold) insinuates to have been, while Wool was prohibited^u to be exported. But, in Regard, the Act in^v Ch. 89. Scotland, for exporting Wool, passed so early as August §. 18, 19, 23, 1704; it is submitted to the judicious Reader, to consider, whether 9 or 10 lib. Scots per Stone, was ordinarily the Price of the Wool of that Kingdom, or whether or no, it is not more likely to have advanced to that Price immediately upon the passing of the Act for Exportation, than that it should have sold dearer before, than afterwards; and whether a Strife, among Merchants and Wool Jobbers, for the Advantage to be made by such allowed Exportation, might not, for a while, raise the Market in Scotland, beyond what the Commodity would bear at a foreign Market, when naturally it would sink again to what it would bear. But whereas he speaks of

Wool being, this Year, 1705, not worth, or rather not likely to give so much as in the former, by one Crown per Stone, he does not affirm that for a Certainty; neither, I think, could he. For this Tract appears to have been printed in the Beginning of the Session in Scotland, which commenced June 8, 1705. And being drawn up necessarily some little Time before, it was sooner than the Market, and before the Price, for Wool of Scotland, of the Year 1705, could positively be known.

8. This Writer, it is to be noted, is a little obscure in his Manner of expressing himself concerning Wool being permitted * or prohibited to be exported, but gives Hints of French Merchants being used to come there, and buy it themselves, than at which Time, it never sold better. However, amidst all the Obscurities, and seeming Self-Contradictions of this Writer, on this Head, thus much appears plainly from him, and from what has been before noted, that Wool was allowed by Act of Parliament of Scotland, in the Year 1704, to be imported thither, and again exported thence; that much English, Irish, and Scotch Wool was actually exported thence in that Year, chiefly to Holland (by reason, I suppose, of the War with France †) and that Wool of the Growth of Scotland, was commonly sold that Year, at 9 or 10 lib. Scots per Stone, which was 30 and 33 s. 4 d. English Money per Tod, except that the Scots Stone was two Pounds more than the English Stone of Wool.

C H A P.

* See Chap. 71. §. 1. Note. Scottish Statutes.

† Not but it may be gathered from this Writer, that some Wool was sent directly from Scotland, or, however by Scotch Merchants, to France, by Means of French Passes. He says (p. 26.) 'The French King refused Passes to all that brought not contraband Goods, such as, Lead, Wool or Butter;' which (says he) takes our Money into Ireland to purchase it; and implies, that the same brought not back French Money, but Commodities.

C H A P. XCI.

Occurrences and Acts. 1705—7.

1. *TO proceed in the History of Affairs with SCOTLAND.* History of the Parliament, which met there, June 28, 1705, *Q. Anne to the Union,* by Reason of many Members being absent, was adjourned to July 3, when her Majesties Letter was read, p. 227. recommending the Settlement of the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and a Treaty of Union. But the House resolved, before all other Affairs, to go upon the Regulation of Coin and Trade, and spent from the 6th, to the 17th, of July therein. At which Time, Duke Hamilton presented the following Resolve, That the Parliament would not proceed to the Nomination of a Successor, till they had a previous Treaty with England, in Relation to their Commerce, and other Concerns with that Nation; That, &c.

2. The next Sederunt, The Duke of Athol gave in Page 329. the following Protestation, 'In regard, that by an English Act of Parliament, made in the last Session thereof, intituled, (See 3, 4 Ann^w c. 7.) The Subjects of this Kingdom are to be adjudged Aliens, &c. I do protest, §. 8. that no Act for a Treaty of Union, ought to pass in this House, unless a Clause be adjected thereto, for the Commissioners not to depart the Kingdom, in order thereto, until the said Clause be repealed and rescinded.' This in the End was agreed to.

3. And on September 5, the Parliament read the first Time, An Act, discharging the Importation of all Merchandize, and other Commodities from England; an Act discharging the Importation of English or Irish Tanned Leather; an Act for taking off the Duty from Woolen and Linen Manufactory. They also read a first Time, an Act, discharging the victualling Ships of that Nation outward bound, with Irish and foreign Beef, or providing them with foreign small Beer.

4. On the 28th, The Act, prohibiting the Importation of Commodities from England, was again read, and three Days after, the high Commissioner gave the Royal Assent to an Act, naming publick Ministers for Scotland,

land, &c. and some other Acts relating to Trade, and then adjourned the Parliament.

Page 342. 5. The Parliament of England met, October 25; and on November 23, the Lords went upon the Scotch Affairs, the Queen being present; and after a long Debate, resolved, 'That in order to come to an Union with the King-

* Ch. 88. §. 8. 'dom of Scotland, the Act (3, 4 An. c. 7 *) pass'd the last Session of the preceding Parliament, intituled, *An Act for the effectual securing the Kingdom of England from the apparent Dangers that may arise from several Acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland, should be repealed,* except the Clause that empowers her Majesty to appoint Commissioners to treat of an Union with that Kingdom.' Ordered, the Judges to bring in a Bill for that Purpose; and that a Committee should sit thereon, Accordingly followed,

6. *An Act* * to repeal several Clauses in the Statute made in the Third and Fourth Years of her Majesties Reign, for securing the Kingdom of England from several Acts lately passed in Scotland. 4 An. c. 3.

History of 7. Jan. 20, 1706. The Parliament of Scotland passed Q. Anne to an Act of Ratification of the Articles of Union agreed the Union, upon, between Commissioners for both Kingdoms, the B: 537: Summer before.

8. Jan. 28. The Queen acquainted the two Houses therewith; and on the 6th of March following, this Important Act, confirming the Union which had been thus treated, on both Sides, as it were, with Sword in Hand, had the Royal Assent, and was to commence from the first of May, 1707. (See 5 An. c. 8 †.)

9. An

* This Act recites the several Clauses of Prohibition, 3, 4 Anne, c. 7, and adds, that 'whereas since the making of the said Act, an Act hath passed in the Parliament of Scotland, for enabling her Majesty to appoint Commissioners, to treat with Commissioners for the Kingdom of England, of, and concerning an Union of the said Kingdoms of England and Scotland; therefore was enacted a Repeal of the said recited Clauses.

† By the fourth Article, 'All the Subjects of the united Kingdom of Great-Britain, shall, from and after the Union, have full Freedom and Intercourse of Trade and Navigation, to, and from any Port or Place within the said

9. *An Act* to repeal all the Laws, prohibiting the Importation of foreign Bone Lace made of Thread. 5 An. c. 17 *.

10. *An Act* for encouraging the dressing and dying of Woolen Cloths within this Kingdom, by laying a Duty upon Broad Cloth exported White. 6 An. c. 8 †.

11. An

' said united Kingdom, and the Dominions and Places thereunto belonging: And that there be a Communication of all other Rights and Privileges, and Advantages, which do, or may belong to the Subjects of either Kingdom; except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in the Articles.

N. B. A Book intituled, *A Tour through Great-Britain: By a Gentleman* (Ed. 1742. Tom. 4. p. 139.) gives for History, as follows.

' Peebles, the Country hereabouts is very hilly; but those Hills are covered with Sheep. 'They used formerly to export their Wool to France. But by the Act of Union, the Exportation of it was prohibited upon the severest Penalties; and to make the Gentlemen of the Southern Counties amends for this Loss, a great Sum of Money was at that Time granted them as an Equivalent, to encourage them to set the Poor on Work.

* Reciting, 'That it had been found by Experience, that some former Acts, for restraining and preventing the Importation of foreign Lace, had obstructed the Exportation and vending of the Woolen Manufactures of England, in the Spanish Low-Countries, and other Places abroad; and for Remedy thereof, repeals all those Acts, except with Regard to Lace, made in the Dominions of the French King, or of the Duke of Anjou.

† Acknowledging 'the Necessity, to the Woolen Manufacture of England, of exporting broad Cloths white, but, (for the Encouragement of Dressing and Dying in England,) imposing a Duty of 5 s. on every broad Cloth exported white.

And what is the Necessity alledged here, other than a plain Acknowledgment, that Foreigners want neither Art nor Materials for making Cloth? For else, would it not be just as adviseable to make the most of Things, by prohibiting the Exportation of the Manufacture unfinish'd, as of the Material raw? But the Prohibition of the latter, is grounded upon a Supposition, that the Materials of the Woolen Manufacture are such as other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but, of Necessity, must be furnished from England. And this

11. An Act for the Importation of white Woolen Cloth. c. 9*.

12. An

See Chap. 31. §. 1.

this was exactly the Plea, heretofore, against the Exportation of undressed and white Cloths, as not then, but since, of raw Wool (for the Exportation of raw Wool was not then prohibited); if this Supposition then is given up for false, as hereby it plainly is, and as needs it must be; and if it be only urged (which is very true) how much better it is to export Wool manufactured, than raw; I answer, that for the very same Reasons, it is also better, in a Degree, to export Cloths dressed, and dyed, than rough and white. Yet in this latter Case, we see, it has been judged good Policy, to make only the Difference of a small Duty, between the one and the other; and that, for the Encouragement of Dressing and Dying. By Parity of Reason therefore, as we are not solely possessed of the Material, Wool, and therefore can have no Monopoly of the Manufacture; so, rather than creating, as we do, a Monopoly against the Wool-Grower, would it not be equal good Policy, to prefer a Duty on Wool exported, to an absolute Prohibition in that Case; only making the Duty larger, in Proportion to the Difference of the two Cases, so as to encourage the Manufacture, rather than the Exportation of Wool? If it be said, that this Permission for undressed, and white Cloths, together with the Prohibition on raw Wools, are equally calculated to promote Manufacture, I answer, that this latter Policy, at the best, treats the Grower of Wool, as if his Interest in the Community was nothing, and his Property of no Consideration to himself, but to others only.

In short, as if the Wool Growers Money did not come to Market like other Peoples.

c. 3.

Of Merchant Adventurers.

* This Act recites 'That an Act had passed 14, 15 Hen. VIII. against exporting any Cloths or Worsted before the same be shorn, dyed, coloured, and calandred. But that in 6 Eliz. a Patent was granted to the Hamborough Company for ever, with Liberty to export 30,000 Cloths, though not wrought or dressed; 25,000 whereof, to be above the Value of 3, and under the Value of 6 l. per Cloth, and the other 5000 to be above the Value of 4 l. per Cloth. And that 28 Car. II. another Patent was granted to Sir James Hay, and Sir Peter Apsey, Knights, in Trust for the Countess of Portland, for the Term of 21 Years, without Limitation of Price and Number, with Power to compound with the Exporter for Licence to export the same. Since the Expiration of which Patent, the Officers of the Customs had put a Stop to

12. An Act for the better ascertaining the Lengths and Breadths of Woolen Cloths, made in the County of York. 7 An. c. 13 †.

CHAP.

to the Exportation of all white Cloths; and a Doubt had arisen, whether the same might be exported. And the same being adjudged to be for the Benefit of the Manufacture, it was therefore enacted, that all white Woolen Cloths whatsoever, might be exported by any Person or Persons.

† Reciting, 'divers Abuses and Deceits in the Manufacture of Woolen Cloths in the County of York,' and therefore ordaining some Regulations. It prescribes the Length and Breadth of broad Cloths to be made in Yorkshire; inflicts a Punishment on Clothiers exposing Cloth, otherwise made, to Sale; directs the Fullers to fix a Seal of Lead on each Cloth, expressing its Length and Breadth; who upon Neglect of their Duty, are to forfeit twenty Shillings for each Offence; one half to the Informer, the other to the Poor of the Parish.

I may here insert, tho' somewhat out of its Place, as to Order of Time, the following Act for regulating, improving, and encouraging the Woolen Manufacture of mixed or Medley broad Cloth, and for the better Payment of the Poor employed in them. 10 Ann. c. 16*.

* This Act recites ill Practices in the manner of making these Cloths, and in the Method of paying the poor Workers, viz, by Goods of several Kinds, instead of Money. And therefore for Remedy ordains, 'That Medley broad Cloths be measured at the Fulling Mill by the Master, who shall be upon Oath, and affix a Seal to each Cloth, denoting its Length, Breadth, &c; and that Clothiers shall pay their Workmen in Money, upon Pain of forfeiting twenty Shillings; one half to the Informer, the other to the Poor.' This Act not to extend to Cloth made in Yorkshire, nor to invalidate, 7 Ann, c. 13^b. See 1 Geo. c. 15, for making this Act more effectual^c.

§. 12. Ch. 110. §. 3.

C H A P. XCII.

Memoirs of the Dutch Trade, written (as appears in the Body of the Work) about the Year 1706, or 1707, by Mr. Huet, Bishop of Auranches, Author of The History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients. Done from the French. London: Printed and sold by T. Warner, in Pater-noster-row.

The Author's Preface.

1. **S**OME Persons of Honour and Distinction, whom I ought by no means to disoblige, having engaged me to write something upon Trade, which might give them a general Idea of it, as it regard Politicks: I believed nothing would better answer that End, than to give them a true Notion of the Trade of the *Dutch*; which has diffused itself over all Parts of the habitable World.

2. Besides particular Considerations in relation to the present State of *Europe*, there are yet others more general, which ought to excite all Princes and their Ministers, and all those who have any Share in Government, to know thoroughly the Nature of Commerce, and the Maxims which are necessary to its being well carried on and managed, since (as *Boccalin* very well observes) Agriculture * and Commerce are the Breasts that suckle and nourish

* By *Agriculture* must be understood here, what we mean by the *Landed Interest*, which some perversely enough treat, in one View, as a *Milch Beast* that cannot fail, in another, as a *dry Nurse*, fit only to be fed with the Crumbs that fall from the rich Merchants Tables. But if either the Generality of the Land-holders gave a proper Attention to their own Interest, in their proper Places, or if the Generality

nourish the State; Truths which ought to be engraven in Letters of Gold in all the Apartments of Kings, Princes, and Statesmen.

3. Commerce, the *Dutch* have carried to the highest Pitch, as may be seen in the following Memoirs, which, I desire those, who will give themselves the Trouble to read, would not think to be the simple Speculation of a Man of Letters, but the true Sentiments of the most able Merchants of *Holland*, &c. having had the Happiness to converse with Persons of the greatest Abilities in this Way, in several Places where I have been. Besides, I have spared no Pains or Cofts to have good Memoirs; and the following Treatise will be a sufficient Proof of what I say. These various and rare Truths therefore, which I have with much Pains and Expence, acquired the Knowledge of, gave me Courage to put them into Writing, and to treat of a Subject so little understood.

4. *Cæsar* observes in his Commentaries, that the People of the Low Countries, were very laborious and industrious, both for Invention and Imitation. These People always were, and are to this very Day the same. It is said, the *Flemings* were the first of the Northern People, that made all Sorts of Woolen and Linen Cloths, their Country yielding the finest Flax in the World, and *England* producing the most * excellent and best of Wool.

5. The Woolen and Linen Trade, which, at first, began in *France* and *Germany*, very much increased for three Centuries, (from about the Year 960,) during all which Time, nothing was more flourishing than the Trade of *Flanders*.

6. In 1301, A Sedition at *Ghent*, and a War, drove several of the Workmen to *Tillemont* and *Lowain*, whence they spread themselves into several Parts of *Brabant*. Af-

terwards, lity of Traders knew what was most for their own Advantage, this would not be the Case; because, as Sir *Josiah Child* has truly said, *it cannot be ill with Land, but Trade must feel it.* (See P. S.) more on this Head.

* Good Wool, he might have truly said, in great Plenty, but far from being the most excellent and best, especially, if we are to judge by the best Price of *English Wool* in *England*, and that of some others at *Amsterdam*, and elsewhere (*Spanish* for Example) even of the worst and lowest Sort (See Ch. 171, 172.)

terwards, at *Louvain* particularly, the Cloth Workers, in an Insurrection, having killed several Magistrates, to escape Punishment, fled into *England*, others to *Holland* †.

7. Those who got into *England*, gave the *English* the first * Inſight into Cloth Making, and ſhewed them how to work their own Wool, to the great Detriment of the Trade of the Low Countries; for it is certain, that to the Year 1404, and even ſince, the *English* ſold their Wool to the *Flemings*, and took their Cloth in Payment †.

8. Not only the Cloth Workers of *Brabant* went into *Holland*, but a great many from *Flanders* did the ſame, and ſettled chiefly at *Leyden*, where the Art of Cloth Working hath continued ever ſince to ſhine out in its full Luſtre.

In

† ' The *Flemings* were the firſt (in the Northern Parts of *Europe*) that became Traders in Manufactures, 'till the many prejudicial or hurtful Laws of the *Halls*, which at firſt were framed, on the Pretence of preventing Deceit, and the debaſing of Commodities, but were in Truth, intended to fix thoſe Manufactures to the Cities. — But at laſt, having by Force, which is ever prejudicial to Traffick, driven much of this Weaving Trade out of the Cities, into Villages, the Wars between *France* and *Flanders*, drove it back again from the Villages, to *Tienen* and *Louvain*, in *Brabant*. Notwithſtanding which, the *Brabanters* being nothing more prudent, did, by the ſame Means, the Laws of *Halls*, &c. occaſion Tumults, which iſſued in murdering the Magiſtrates ſucceſſively, from the Year 1301, at *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Ipres*, *Louvain*, whence Offenders fled, ſeveral to *England*, many to *Holland*.

De Witt's
Maxims,
&c.
Chap. 11.

* See this to be a Miſtake. Chap. 4. §. 16. See alſo Chap. 5. §. 1. Note.

† It is certain, that to this Time, and much longer, the *English* ſold Wool to the *Flemings* and other Foreigners; and it is equally certain, that long before this, and for more than two Centuries following, they exported, not only Wool, but Cloth and other Drapery; notwithſtanding that they did alſo import ſome foreign Cloths, at leaſt to the 4th of *Edw. IV.* (See Chap. 5. §. 23. Chap. 6. 7. §. 6. Chap. 8. §. 20, 24, 26.) See alſo Chap. 34. §. 2. Chap. 10. §. 3. Chap. 12. §. 6.

9. In the Year 1487, The Trade was, in a great Meaſure, transferred from *Bruges* to *Antwerp*, and *Amſterdam*; but the greateſt Share fell to *Antwerp*; and every Thing after ſeemed to contribute to the Increaſe of its Commerce. But Trade, which has not any Enemy ſo mortal as Constraint, changed its Reſidence, as ſoon as the *Spaniards* began to deprive the ſeventeen Provinces of their Privileges; the Fiſhery removed to *Holland*, and the Manufactures of *Flanders* ^d into other ^d Countries. ^d See §. 10. Note.

10. One third Part of the Workmen and Merchants, who wrought and dealt in Silks, Damasks, Taffeties, and Stockins, &c. went to ſettle in *England*, becauſe none in that Country knew, at that Time, to work in thoſe Manufactures *. A great many went to *Leyden*.

11. It is aſtoniſhing to think, that the Merchants of *Antwerp*, in leaving a Place the moſt convenient in the World for Trade, ſhould make Choice of one, ſeeming the moſt improper, in all *Europe*. One would have rather thought, that the Neighbourhood of *England*, whoſe Situation and Harbours are ſo admirably fitted for Trade, might have invited them thither. Thoſe Merchants who were of the reformed Religion, would have had a greater Inclination to ſettle there, than in any other Place, in hopes, not only to live more at quiet, but alſo on Account of the Situation, which is very advantageous for trading with all *Europe*. But they wanted to be in a Country, where Foreigners were not obliged to pay ſuch Cuſtoms and other Taxes, which the native *English* were free from; for in *England*, it ſeems, at that Time, Foreigners, and all their Poſterity, paid double what the Natives did; beſides, Foreigners were excluded all Companies, or Societies, of Trade. So that none were allowed to work, either as Partners or Maſters, unleſs at ſuch Trades as the Natives were unacquainted with. So that none went thither, but ſuch as wrought in Serges, Damasks, Stockins, &c.

12. Moſt of theſe, and the like Inconveniencies, they were alſo ſure to meet with in the *Hanſe Towns*, which partly

* ' Becauſe that Trade was then new to the *English*, and *De Witt*. therefore under no *Halls* nor *Guilds*. But there were ſtill Ch. 11. a great Number of Traders in Manufactures, that remained in *Flanders* and *Brabant*.

partly was the Cause that almost the whole Trade of *Antwerp*, came to be established in the Towns of *Holland*, which were free from all those Obstacles. The Situation of these neighbouring Towns, and several other Considerations, contributed very much to draw thither, especially to *Amsterdam*, all this vast and profitable Trade.

13. After the Union of the seven Provinces, and the World saw this new Republick defend itself with Success against *Spain*, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, all those who hated the *Spanish* Government, retired thither, as to an *Asylum*, from its Rigour and Severity.

14. The Persecutions which *Spain* renewed with too great Severity in several Places, against those who had embraced the new Opinions, peopled the *United Provinces* with a World of excellent *Artisans*, who set up there several new Manufactures, and brought those they had already there to great Perfection. The civil Wars that lasted so long in *France*, then in *Germany*, and last of all in *England*, augmented considerably the Inhabitants of the *United Provinces*. And the Wars which broke out in the Year 1634, in the *Low Countries*, between *France* and *Spain*, made likewise great Numbers of Merchants and Workmen come into *Holland* from the richest Villages of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, and the Country beyond the *Maese*. All this caused not only the Towns of *Holland* to grow extraordinary populous, but doubly increased their Trade, as having a prodigious Vent for almost all Sorts of their Manufactures, and other Commodities, during the Continuance of that War. But after all, nothing has increased the Inhabitants of *Holland* and their Manufactures, so much as the *French* Protestants, who were almost all of them Merchants, or *Artisans*, and came thither about twenty or thirty Years ago.

P. S. to §. 2. Note. *A Dissertation on Agriculture and Commerce, the mixed and mutual Interests of LAND and TRADE.*

15. Sir *JOSIAH CHILD* has compared Land and Trade to *Twins*, and has said; it is vulgarly conceived of *Twins*, but

but of Land and Trade, may be affirmed most truly, 'that they must wax and wane together.'

16. But certain Moderns tell us, *the one is a vulgar Conceit, like the other; for 'the Landed Interest will sink, as that of Trade rises.'* So then, Land and Trade, instead of being (as commonly they have been accounted) in the same, are, (it seems) in opposite Scales. To this Effect, we have read very lately. 'The Landed Interest has long been the Pride of the ENGLISH Subject, but by the Increase of TRADE, has been gradually sinking; insomuch, that a RICH JEW will, in Time, perhaps, be of MORE IMPORTANCE than HALF A DOZEN REPRESENTATIVES OF COUNTIES.' And if so, why not, in Time (say I) than half a Dozen Counties; and so, in Course, HALF A DOZEN JEWS, than the WHOLE KINGDOM?

Gen. Edw. Post Sept. 20, 1746.

17. And thus much is true, that he who carries the Purse, has generally the casting Vote in the Company. The Moneyed Interest have always been but too apt to Lord it over their Brethren, of the Landed; witness the Merchants of the Staple, heretofore, and, after them, the Merchants Adventurers. (See Ch. 11. §. 25. Note. Ch. 12. §. 16. Ch. 15. §. 33. Ch. 36. §. 5. Note. Ch. 39. §. 2. Note.)

18. But notwithstanding the Indulgence due to Trade, and the natural Sway that Money bears in all human Intercourse, it is possible for a Community, in this Sense, to Judaize, or rather, to be Judaized too much, if I may so use the Word. For what if the Public has Occasion to borrow Money? The Landed Part, as the chief Stake, both for securing the Principal, and paying the Interest, may degrade itself unnecessarily, by truckling to Jews and Jewish Merchants and Money Brokers, more than is requisite from a Landed People, under a Landed Legislature; and more than is any Way convenient; it being an allowed Possibility, for particular Persons to thrive, by Means that are hurtful, nay ruinous, to the PUBLIC.

19. And with regard to the TRADE of this Kingdom particularly, Sir *Josiah Child* has laid it down for a Rule, (which notwithstanding what we have seen above, (§. 16.) Ch. 69. I think is a very true one.) 'That all such domestick or foreign Trade, as does not in the Result and Consequences thereof, increase the Value of our English Lands,

‘ Lands; (the good Plight whereof is the main Basis of our Wealth, Freedom, and Safety) ought not only to be discouraged, but rejected.’

20. It is (I confess) difficult, and somewhat invidious, to make Comparisons, as between the Members of the natural Body, so, of the Body Politic. But, if from the Interferings of narrow selfish Views, there is a Necessity of so doing; and if we will consider the Public or Community, under the Figure of a Plant or Tree, the Land (as already observed) must be acknowledged to be as the Root and Stem of that Tree: Or, if we speak thereof, as a Building or Fabric, it is the Foundation and chief Corner Stone.

Ch. 65. §. 10.

To illustrate the Truth of this, take what follows, from Daniel De Foe; which, whether real, or (as I suppose it) only Ideal, is no less to the Purpose, since it contains, tho’ perhaps, not the most accurate, yet no very unnatural Account of the constituent Parts of a mixed Society, of a Landed and Trading Interest; describing the Steps and Degrees, by which it rises, and particularly, the Basis or Foundation whereon it stands.

Plan of Commerce. By Daniel De Foe, p. 20, &c.

‘ I once (says he^h) saw a Calculation of Trade, for the planting a new Town in the South Parts of England; where, for the Encouragement of People to come and settle, the Lords of the Manors (for the Place lay in three Manors) agreed to give a certain Quantity of Lands to fifty Farmers, who would undertake to bring each two hundred Pounds Stock with them, and settle there.

‘ To every such Farmer they allotted two hundred Acres of good Land, Rent free, for twenty Years; and if the Farmer brought three hundred Pounds Stock, he had three hundred Acres. Besides the Land, the said Lords agreed to find Timber, and all other Materials, for the building to every Farmer, and out of their own Pockets to build to each Farmer, a House and Barn, and Stables. And thus, with other Encouragements, fifty Families of substantial Farmers were brought to live in a Kind of Circle within themselves, with every one a good Farm to manage, and sufficient Quantity of Land, Rent free. The Land was good in itself, tho’ never cultivated before. So that being cleared and inclosed, and gradually ploughed, or improved, it soon returned them a profitable Increase. The

‘ The Land was so laid out in a large Circle, that all the Farm Houses being built at the Extremities of the respective Farms, toward the Center, left a handsome large square Piece of Land, which the Lords reserved for the building of a Town; and as the Farm Houses were so regularly placed, as to front all inwards, they left ten Spaces, like Streets, before their Doors, of which five of the Farm Houses, with Out-Houses, made one Side; and the others remained, to build into a Street, as Occasion should present.

‘ At the same Time, they published, that whoever would come and build on that vacant Ground, should have a certain proportioned Measure of Land allowed him, according to the Size of the House he would build; should have Timber given him gratis, out of the Woods belonging to the Estate, sufficient for his Building, and to every House, Land also added for a Garden and Orchard; no Rent to be paid for ten Years, and then, a moderate Rent for twenty Years more; and then a certain Rent (not at last immoderate) for the Time to come.

‘ When the Farmers were settled (for there is the Substance and Reason of the Thing, and in this, it is exactly to my Purpose) immediately comes a Butcher, and he runs up a little Shed for the present, till he could build a House; and sets up a Shop, to kill and sell Meat for the Farmers.

‘ N. B. As these Farmers had every one two hundred Pounds Stock to begin with, so they are supposed to be all Men of Families, that had Wives and Children; and every one had, at least, one or two, and some, three Servants.

‘ Nor could one Butcher be sufficient to furnish Meat to fifty Families; but they were obliged to send to neighbouring Towns for Provisions, till, the first Butcher having Encouragement, two or three more came afterwards, and set up also.

‘ After the Example of the Butcher, in the next Place came a Baker; and he erects an Oven, to supply them with Bread.

‘ Fifty Families of Farmers must necessarily find Work for a Smith or Farrier, to shoe the Horses, and at least two Wheelwrights, to make and repair their

‘ Carts, Waggon, Plows, Harrows, &c.; and these, with the necessary Iron Work for so much Building, called in a couple of Blacksmiths, whereof one, being a Man of Substance, made himself a Kind of Iron-monger, laying in a Stock of all Sorts of wrought Iron and Brass for Building and Furniture, which, on such an Occasion, they could not be without.

‘ This Collection of Tradesmen naturally required a Shoemaker or two to set up, who soon found Trade enough, to supply the growing Number of People with Shoes and Boots; and likewise a good honest Country Cobbler or two, could not fail of Employment, to repair them; and (to add the other Trades working in Leather) they could not be without a Collar-maker or two, for Harness, Pannels, Saddles, and all the necessary Things belonging to a Team.

‘ Add to these a Turner, an Earthen Ware-seller, a Glover, a Rope-maker, three or four Barbers (perhaps a Midwife) and several such Trades as the Nature of Things required.

‘ But, to go back to the Building Part, three Master Carpenters would be the least that could be employed, in building Houses, and these would require six Pair of Sawyers at least, with four Journeymen, that is to say, Workmen; two or three Bricklayers, with their Servants and Labourers, and perhaps hard by, a Brick and Tile-maker.

‘ To supply these, one of the Carpenters, a Man of Substance, builds himself a Windmill, and another builds a second; and they both find Work enough (as the Town increased) to keep them constantly employed.

‘ The Town going thus forward, and standing in the great Post Road, comes an honest Victualler, and he sets up an Alehouse; and soon after, he is followed by five or six more. As the first, increasing in Stock, sees room for it, he enlarges the Building, and makes his little Alehouse out into a good Inn; and a second follows, and then a third; and in Process of Time, the Number of Publick Houses increase to eleven or twelve in all; whereof, as above, three are very handsome Inns, and perhaps sell Wine as well as strong Drink.

‘ By

‘ By this Time, the Lords of the Manors begin to think it proper to build their new Tenants a Church; for which they lay out a handsome Piece of Ground in the Center of the Town, and a large burying Ground added to it; and, obtaining a Licence from the Bishop, they * consecrate the Building; and, being joint Patrons, present in Turn, getting a Law to erect it into a Parish, and to ascertain the Tythe and Maintenance of the Incumbent, as in like Cases.

‘ Hitherto, Nature acted it all; but this Part indeed, the Piety of the Partrons supplies; our Business is (in both) to observe the ordinary Course of Things; the Concourse of Tradesmen follow the Concourse of People, as naturally as Warmth attends the Approach of the Sun; the Settlement of the Farmers, gives a Summons to the Tradesmen that supply them with Necessaries, and lets them know that there they may find Business and Employment. The Necessity of Meat and Drink, brings the Butcher, Baker, and Victualler to settle with them, as naturally as Sutlers follow an Army.

‘ But to proceed, Fame spreads the News of a Town newly erected, and a Number of Families brought together. A Grocer goes to see if there is no room for him; and finding no Supplies of his Kind, he takes a Piece of Ground in one of the principal Streets, and marks himself out a Place for his House; but first, as before, runs up a Booth or Shed, stores it with Goods, and opens a Shop; and two or three Chandlers do the same in remoter Parts, buying their Goods perhaps of him.

‘ An Apothecary does the like next Door to him, and a Mercer next to him; then a Haberdasher of Hats, a Draper, and a Milliner; and thus the Town is inhabited, and furnished by Degrees, with all Sorts of necessary People and Things; till after some Time, the Lords of the Manors, to carry on their Improvements, get a Patent for a Market once a Week, and a Fair perhaps, twice a Year; or oftener, as there is Occasion.

F 3

‘ In

* As Mr. De Foe was not of the established Church, but a Dissenter, 'tis the less to be wondered at, that he mistakes the Forms in this Particular.

In these advanced Circumstances, other Trades fall in; as 1. more Alehouses, 2. a common Brewer, 3. a Cooper for Casks of all Sorts; a Pewterer, two or three Lawyers (or Attornies rather) for drawing Writings, making Bonds, Bargains and Agreements, between Man and Man; and one of these, in Time, gets himself made a Justice of the Peace; and so there is an immediate Magistrate among them.

In the mean Time, other Trades fill up the Streets; a Malthouse, perhaps two or three, are erected, that the Inhabitants may brew their own Beer, if they please; a Surgeon, in Case of Difaster, for by this Time the Town begins to grow populous.

The good Women also being diligent and good Houfewives, they Spin, and in Consequence of that, there must be a Linen Weaver, and a Woolen Weaver, a Flax and Hemp Dresser, and, in a word, whatever depends upon their Thrift.

Thus far, the Nature and Consequence of Things agree with what is advanced above: Thus Towns and Families, nay, Nations and Countries, are planted and peopled, and made flourishing and populous, by their Commerce.

Let us now cast up the Account; and, according to ancient Custom, number the People; the List, by the Poll, will stand thus:

Fifty Farmers with their Wives, and two Children each, one with another, which I take to be the least that can be supposed	200
Two Men Servants, and one Maid Servant, to each Farmer,	150
The several Families of Tradesmen, necessarily brought together, on such an Occasion, I cast up to be 143 Families, at five to each House,	715
Add to these, hired Servants, which would fall in from other Countries, Nurfes, Midwives, Hostlers, Apprentices, &c. in all	335
	1400

Here

Here are fifty Farmers, who, with their Servants, make up but 350 People in all, but necessarily draw one Thousand and Fifty People after them. And wherever fifty Farmers were thus to settle, I INSIST, that, at least, one Thousand People must, of Course, throng to them, and live about them.

22. However that may be, as to the exact Numbers of the one, and the other; yet hence we plainly see, how great a Share of what is commonly understood by the Trading Interest, does depend absolutely upon the Landed. And this Share, lightly spoke of as it often is, we shall hereafter see accounted to make more than nineteen Parts in twenty of the whole Trade of the Kingdom. Ch. 100. §. 10.

23. To make this Affair yet plainer, viz. the Dependance of the TRADING, on the LANDED INTEREST, I subjoin to what DE FOE has said, That if the supposed adjacent Farmers to his supposed Market or Trading Town, are by any Means, or to any Degree, drove from their Settlements, their Lands laid Waste, and left uncultivated, or their Intercourse any Way obstructed or diverted; by the same Means and Degrees, will such supposed Market, or Trading Town, depopulate and go to Ruin.

24. If it be said (in Favour of Trade) that, after this, suppose a Colony of Manufacturers and Merchants, to repair to such Place, and they will rebuild the Town, and restore the neighbouring Lands to their former Intercourse, Culture, and Fertility. To this, I answer, In some Cases that may be impossible, as, suppose, that of Inundation, or of the Lands, and Town, being subjected to different Powers (like, for Instance, Spain and Gibraltar.)—But, in all Cases, the Supposition is not according to Nature. For no Manufacturers, (in the common Acceptation of that Word,) will, none indeed can form a Settlement in any Place, where the adjacent Country is not naturally fit, and also previously disposed, to sustain them with a very great Share of their Provisions. The Reason is, they can work but a very little while, before they will have occasion to eat; consequently, they must have their principal Supplies of Food always at hand.

25. Thus we see that Manufacturers (commonly so called) cannot precede Farmers and Grafiers; and if not Manufacturers, much less, Merchants; who, under such Cir-

stances, could have nothing to Export, no Vent for Imports, consequently, no Traffic whatsoever.

26. This proves that the Landholders have really the first Place in Society, the Manufacturers, the next; last of all, come the Merchants.

27. It is not indeed to be denied, that they are ALL of mutual Use and Benefit, and that the former, Land, is capable of receiving vast Improvements from the two latter, Manufacture and Merchandize. — But at the same Time, it is to be remembered, that these Two owe their Being, and so, in Proportion, their Well-Being, to the other, Land. — And, therefore, methinks, it is impossible for that to be the true Interest of a Kingdom, or even of Trade itself, which lessens the Landed Interest.

28. Trade, indeed, is a noble Superstructure; but LAND is the Foundation of it; and in every growing Superstructure, it is not barely good Policy, but it is essentially necessary, to widen and strengthen, not to narrow and sap the Foundation. If Trade and Manufacture are, as no doubt they are, convenient and helpful to Agriculture, or the Landed Interest, yet Agriculture is necessary to them both. And there is surely some Difference between Convenience and Necessity.

29. And tho' it may be said, that by carrying our Speculations in this Kind a little further back, it will appear, that Agriculture requiring Instruments, and in order to these, Artisans, &c.; this proves the Necessity to be, in a great Measure, reciprocal. Yet (besides that the Artisan must be beholden to the Lord of the Soil for the Primum, or Materials; which gives him still the Priority) we are not here contending so much for that, as for a Parity and Reciprocation of Interests; and more especially maintaining, that however particular Traders may, and sometimes do, and are almost constantly attempting it, yet Trade, in its best and most extensive Sense, cannot flourish at the Expence of the Landed Interest: That whatever Truth, in Fact, there may be, as to what hath been asserted (§. 16.) it is not the genuine Fruits of a well regulated Trade, for the Landed Interest to sink, in Proportion, as Trade increaseth.

30. Manufacture, considered as the Employment and Maintenance of the Poor, is justly a favourite Topic. — But then it should be considered, that Agriculture, in that Sense,

Sense, is no less a Manufacture, than Spinning and Weaving, &c. Bocaline therefore, has not given the Preference to the one or the other; but says equally of Agriculture and Commerce, that they are the Breasts that suckle and nourish the State. And, I think, it may be said of Agriculture, and foreign Trade, that they are the two Extreams of that Commerce, that Circulation of Blood and Spirits, which gives Life and Strength to every Nation or People. And upon their being duly and equally, not partially, cherished and regulated, depends the Prosperity both of the whole, and of by much the major Part of Individuals. These being secured, all that is intermediate, and valuable, will succeed in Course. But if either be neglected or oppressed, however some Particular Interests may be Gainers thereby, the Community will suffer, at least, in Proportion.

31. But tho' Land is indisputably the Foundation and Ground-work of Society; yet so great are the Conveniencies and Improvements from Manufacture and Trade, that the former is frequently esteemed, in respect of the two latter, but as Clay in the Hands of the Potter; and so much is said to depend upon them, that they cannot be too well protected, nor indulged to Excess: And this is granted—provided that particular Incroachments and Usurpations, are not mistaken for general Protection and Indulgence.

32. And therefore, because it is not uncommon, for particular Persons, under the Colour of promoting Trade and Manufacture, to attempt the serving of only By-Ends and Interests, at the Expence of the Community, the Business is to be able to distinguish rightly in all Cases of this Nature.

33. To that End, (abstracting from all Monopoly ^{Ch. 69;} a Word of too hateful a Signification, for any one to vindicate, as such, and which therefore I shall not here stand particularly to condemn) the proper Test, as I take it, is, in regard to any Branch of foreign Trade, to see that it does not, upon the whole, interfere with, i. e. lessen what is domestic, and so make the Income, and consequently the Expence of the Kingdom less, upon the whole: In all Pretences respecting Manufacture, by which is to be understood, the Employment and Maintenance of the Poor, to be sure that the Employment and Maintenance of the Poor is thereby increased, and not rather diminished.

I shall

I shall endeavour to explain myself on these two Heads, by an Example to each. 1. When Dr. Davenant¹, and others, pleaded for the home Use of East India Silks and Callicoes, &c. in Favour to the East India Company, and to foreign Trade; the Parliament, after some Time, wisely excluded the same, because of their interfering with what was more generally beneficial to the Nation, the home Consumption of home Manufacture. 2. When Mr. Munn^m mentioned it as a great Advantage to the Woolen Manufacture and Trade of England; because, in Consequence of an Act, then lately passed, forbidding the Exportation of Wool, that Commodity had fallen 25 per Cent. or more: He was not able to offer any PROOF, either of an Increase of the English Woolen Manufacture, or of the Woolen Exportation Trade from England; while by his own Confession; that part of the Landed Interest, the Grower of Wool, had just so much less to expend in Cloaths, and other Necessaries of Life; in short, on home Labour, and other home Produce, or imported Merchandize. And such home Trade being accounted to the foreign, as more than nineteen to oneⁿ; and a great part of such home Trade consisting in Manufacture, i. e. Hand Labour; it follows, that by intrenching upon the Landed Interest (which is retrenching the Income and Expences of the Nation) Manufacture, or Hand Labour, in other Words, the Employment and Maintenance of the Poor cannot be increased. Hence I conclude, that whoever, under the Colour of giving a Spring to TRADE, aims at lopping the Profits of the LANDHOLDER, is either ignorant, or regardless, of the TRUE SPRINGS OF TRADE. He either does not wish the Interest of his Country, or does not understand it.

C H A P.

C H A P. XCIII.

Memoirs of the Dutch Trade: By Mr. Huet.
Of the Origin and Causes of the vast Trade of Holland.

1. IT is certain, that some Manufactures were set up in several Places of Holland, even while the Hanse Towns commanded all the Trade and Navigation of Europe.

2. The Truce of twelve Years being concluded in the Beginning of the Year 1609, between the Spaniards and the United Provinces, the States General omitted nothing all that Time to increase their Trade, where it was already established, or to establish it where they never had established it before.

3. In the Year 1612, the Grand Signior allowed the Dutch a free Trade throughout all his Dominions. This Treaty of Alliance with the Turks, gave a free and favourable Access to their Ships all over the Mediterranean. About that Time, the King of Morocco, and the Emperor of Japan, permitted them also to trade in all their Dominions; since which, this Republick might boast of having extended her Commerce over all Parts of the World, except China.

4. The United Provinces having obtained of the Spaniards, very great Advantages for their Commerce, at the Peace of Munster, which was concluded in the Year 1648, they pushed it on with the utmost Vigour, during that Calm, their Republick enjoyed, and got together immense Riches, which put them into a Condition to support the War which they had with England and France, in the Year 1672.

C H A P.

C H A P. XCIV.

Memoirs of the Dutch Trade: By Mr. Huet, Of the Manufactures and Trade of the United Provinces.

Page 23. 1. THE Herring Fishery is the greatest Trade, and best Gold Mine belonging to the United Provinces. Their Manufactures employ as many People as their Fishery.

Page 26. 2. I do not pretend to give an exact Account of them all, shall only take Notice of some of the most considerable. Though there are Manufactures in several Places, yet they flourish most in the Towns of Amsterdam, Leyden, and Harlem. But Amsterdam for Number, far exceeds the other two.

Page 27. 3. In this last Town, they make Cloths, Camblets, and all Sorts of Woolen and Hair Stuffs, &c. But the Town of Leyden, without Dispute, is preferable to all others, for all Sorts of Woolen Manufactures, especially the finest Sorts, as Serges, Camblets, and the like. They tell you, that these Manufactures, after the Year 1400, began to grow in some Esteem, and the Workmen of Ipres that fled from their own Country, settled themselves there. But be that as it will, every Body agrees, they had not theri that Esteem, till after the Persecutions for Religion began, which effectually drove great Numbers of Workmen from the Provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, &c.

Page 28. 4. They make also good Woolen Stuffs at Harlem, but they are much inferior to those of Leyden, which latter may, undoubtedly, pass for the best in Europe in their Kind.

Page 37. 5. The Dutch have their Wool from Spain and England, Germany, Poland, and the Levant, that Sort of Wool called Vigoque from Peru, and that of Coromania from Persia.

Page 40. 6. The Dutch import to Muscovy, Linen and Woolen Stuffs, &c. have a greater Trade to Norway, a Part of the King of Denmark's Dominions, than all other Nations

tions put together; and carry usually thither Spices, Drapery, &c. They furnish Sweden with the same Commodities as they do Denmark, and much about the same Quantity, viz. Spices and Druggs, Silk and Woolen Stuffs, &c.

7. Pomerania abounds in great Quantities of Corn, Cattle, Wool, &c. Silesia in Wool and Woolen Cloths, &c. The Dutch import from Pomerania, vast Quantities of coarse Wool. They bring to Koningsburgh in Ducal Prussia Cloths, &c.

8. As the Poles are all Strangers to Trade, and much more to Manufactures; so they are obliged to make use of Strangers, the Dutch especially. They are generally supplied from abroad with great Quantities of Cloth, &c.; which Commodities they truck for Wool, &c.

9. In Moscovy and Poland, there is a vast Consumption of Cloth and Woolen Stuffs, of the Dutch and English Manufactures. But these Stuffs and Cloths must be of all Sorts, Qualities and Colours.

10. The Dutch deal also in vast Quantities of Wool, which they transport from all Parts of the North, as well from Poland, Prussia, and Pomerania, as from Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburgh, Silesia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the other Countries of the lower Germany.

11. The Elbe takes its Source in Bohemia, and after having traversed that Kingdom, and Electorate of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hanover, falls into the Ocean about 20 Leagues below Hamburg. In which City (the most rich and flourishing in all Germany for Trade) the Dutch secure to themselves that of the Elbe, that is, the Trade of the best Part of the Provinces of the lower Germany; carrying to Hamburg such Commodities, as arise from their own Manufactures of Silk and Wool, Spices, &c.

12. The River Wezer, like the Elbe, runs through a good Part of the fertile Provinces of lower Germany; which Provinces furnish Wool, &c. These the Dutch buy with their Silks and Woolen Stuffs, and sometimes with their Dying Stuffs, Logwood, &c.

13. Woolen Cloth (made by the Inhabitants of the Bishopricks of Munster and Paderborn,) come down the River of Ems to Emden.

14. To

14. To *Cologne*, by Way of the *Rhine* and *Moselle*, the *Dutch* send their own Manufactures of *Woolen Stuffs*, &c. which Goods are disposed of, to all the other Towns upon those two Rivers. To *Frankfort*, where are two noted Fairs, the *Dutch* bring *Cloth*, &c. There is not a Town near the *Rhine*, but consumes a World of the Manufacture of *Holland* in Exchange of their own Goods. By the *Maese* the *Dutch* carry on a great Trade, particularly with *Liege*, and *Aix la Chapelle*; at the former, for *Serges*, &c. at the last, for all Sorts of Merchandize made of *Wool*, &c.

Page 63.

15. To *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Brussels*, and *Audenarde*, the *Dutch* send their own Manufactures of *Wool*, &c. The *English* bring into *Holland*, *Cloths*, &c.; for which their Store House is at *Dort*. The *Scots*, several *Woolen Stuffs*, particularly *Worsted Stockings*. The *Irish*, *Beef* in Barrels, *Hides*, *Freezes* and other *Woolen Stuffs*.

Page 66.

Page 68.

16. The Trade the *Dutch* have with *France*, is very considerable. The Advantage and Benefit *France* had found by that Trade, made her favour such Commerce in several Treaties with the States. But this good Understanding between the two Nations, began to lessen, when the Treaty of *Munster* was on Foot. The *French* pretended to be ignorant (or perhaps were really so) of the vast Quantities of Merchandize that went out of their Country to foreign Parts. To undeceive them, Monsieur *Boreel*, the *Dutch* Ambassadour, in *France*, made it appear to the Court, that their Republick expended every Year, above 35 Millions of *Livres* in *French* Commodities, by an Account taken out of the Registers of their Custom-House, in the Year 1659. Of which this one Article, *Worsted* spun in *Picardy*, amounted to above 1,500,000 *Livres* *.

Page 73.

Page 74.

Page 75.

17. This Representation, and other Politick Reasons made the *French* change their Stile, and in the Year 1662, sign a Treaty of Commerce with the *States General*. But in 1667, the *French* increased their Duties on foreign Merchandize, without regard to the Treaty of 1662. They had for some Years, it seems, entertained a Notion, that they could carry on a Trade, after a new and unheard

* *De Witt*, and likewise the *Traite Le Negoce d'Amsterdam*, says *Florins*, which is about double the Sum.

unheard of Method. They pretended to sell their Goods to their Neighbours, and buy none of them. It must be allowed, a finer Project never could be invented, to fill *France* with Gold and Silver. I call it a fine, not pernicious Project; but it has been found by unhappy Experience, it was altogether unpracticable.

18. To put this Project in Execution, they set up an *East-India*, and other Trading Companies, as to the *Le-Page 76.* vant, the North, &c. And to quit themselves entirely of foreign Assistance, they began to set up in *France* the Manufactures of other Countries; imagining at the same Time, those other Countries could not be without *French* Goods and Provisions, and that they would take off the same Quantities as usual, and by Consequence would be obliged to pay ready Money, when they saw the *French* take no more of them in Return. 'Twas on this View, that in the Year 1667, the *French* laid new Duties on foreign Goods, especially Manufactures, which consequently made them much dearer than their own, and was done with Intent to make the People prefer their own to foreign Manufactures.

19. The *Dutch* seeing themselves attacked in the most sensible Part, so well traversed this new Establishment of the *French* Companies, that at last they fell of themselves. They forgot nothing that might ruin the Manufactures of *France*; they set up for making themselves those very Goods they used to have from *France*, and sold them much cheaper than the *French* could do. Reasons of State joined to those of Trade, and the Enmity of both Parties Page 77- to each other, broke out at last into an open War, which was properly speaking, a Trade War. To humble this Republick, it was thought nothing would go so far, as the ruining their Trade, by laying on still new Duties on such Merchandize as should be brought into *France*, or else entirely prohibit it.

20. The *States General* try'd all Ways to engage the *French* to regulate their Duties upon Entries by the Tariff made in the Year 1664, and to execute the Treaty of 1662; but finding they could do nothing, they began to Fight the *French* with their own Weapons, that is, they prohibited all *French* Wines, &c. and laid new Duties upon all Goods of *French* Manufactures; the *French* soon perceived a great Diminution of their Commerce.

The

The War coming on between *France* and *Holland*, in the Year 1672, Trade on both Sides was entirely prohibited. However, Monsieur *Colbert* happily foreseeing that it would be a difficult Matter to continue long a War, if no Body took off her Goods and Merchandize, gave Passports to every one that would come and trade thither, which was a sage and successful Conduct.

21. That War ended by the Treaty of *Nimeguen* 1678. A new Treaty of Commerce was struck up, and the Tariff of 1667, abolished, and that of 1664, was set up in Favour to the *Dutch*. But those Gentlemen who had the Management of Affairs after the Death of Monsieur *Colbert*, without having any regard to the last Treaty, set up the Tariff of 1667, and considerably augmented the Duties, in Hopes to augment the Sale of their own Manufactures.

22. The *Dutch* seeing their Commerce continually attacked in such open Manner, and that they had no Hopes of re-establishing Matters on the ancient Footing, applied themselves more than ever, with all Care and Diligence, to put themselves in that Condition, as never more to have Occasion of the *French* Manufactures; and they succeeded so well in this last Article, that they set up among themselves those very Manufactures; as the making of Silks, Gold and Silver Brocades, Hats, Paper, Ribands, and Laces, &c. And the *French*, since that Time, have found to their Detriment, a prodigious Decrease of their Trade in these several Articles. I believe it may be very truly said, that these Trade Quarrels were partly the Cause of the Wars breaking out again between *France* and the *United Provinces*, in 1690. The Declaration of this War was followed with the most severe, and longest Prohibition of Commerce, that ever was known.

23. *What follows, is a true Account of the Goods and Merchandize the Dutch used to carry into Spain, and bring thence before the last Rupture.*

They used to carry chiefly Linen, Woolen Stuffs, &c.

Page 86-7.

Their Woolen Stuffs are Drabs, Serges, Camblets of all Sorts, fine and coarse; these Stuffs are all of their own Manufactures, as well as what they call black *Anacosts*.

24. The

24. The principal Merchandize of their own Growth, Page 94. that the *Spaniards* furnish, are Fruits, Wines, Wool, &c. The *Dutch*, when they have a free Trade with *Spain*, take off vast Quantities, it being absolutely necessary in their Manufactures of Cloth.

25. The *Spanish* Wool was ever in high Esteem, on Account of its Fineness and Excellency; there is, however, great Difference; the best coming from the Provinces of *Andalusia*, *Valencia*, *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Biscay*. The *French*, *Italians*, and even the *English* themselves lay out considerable Sums in this Commodity. So that it may be truly said, that *Spanish* Wool is the greatest Article in their Trade on this Side.

26. In the Northern Parts of *Spain*, the *Dutch* come Page 96. into every Port. But the Traders of *Bilboa* and *Sebastian*, are they that deal most with them. The former being the Magazine of old *Castile* and *Leon*, furnishes those two Provinces with Woolen Stuffs, Silks, &c. brought thither by the *Dutch*, who carry much the same Goods also to *St. Sebastian*.

27. The Trade of the Southern Parts of *Spain*, which are washed by the *Mediterranean*, is chiefly at *Malaga*, *Cartagena*, *Alicant*, *Valencia*, *Almarica*, and *Majorca**, which afford all the Commodities mentioned before, and Abundance of Wool. The foreign Commodities most proper for this Country, are *French* Linen, good Quantities of Woolen and Silk Stuffs, &c.

28. The Trade of *Holland* with *Portugal*, is chiefly at *Lisbon* and *Oporto*. And the Goods they transport thither, are chiefly great Quantities of Manufactures of Silk, Wool, &c.

29. *Smyrna* is the very Center of the *English* and *Dutch* Page 106. *Levant* Trade, and the principal Mart of their Cloths; which are not only much admired and sought after in the Territories of the Grand Seignior; but in *Persia* and the greatest Part of *Asia*. The principal Merchandize Page 107. that the *Dutch* carry to the *Levant*, are Cloths. Their Cloths, and other Woolen Stuffs have ever made the greatest

* *Majorca* has good Commodities to export, as Oyl in Ker's
Plenty; also Manufactures, such as Silk, Sayes, Serges, *Memoirs*,
Blankets, and Things woven of Yarn or Worsted. vol. 2.
VOL. II. G P. 45.

greatest Article of what the People of *Europe* are used to send to the *Levant*; the *Venetians* and *French* * supplied those Countries heretofore, but the *English* and *Dutch* have long since made themselves Masters of that considerable Trade; and it is said, that those two Nations
Page 108. send thither every Year, a prodigious Quantity of all Sorts, Qualities and Colours; great Part of which is presently taken off by the Caravans of *Persia*, that come for that very Purpose to *Symrna*, and thence carry them to sell in their own Country and in *Tartary*.

Page 109. 30. The greatest Part of the Commodities that the *Dutch* bring from the Ports of the *Levant*, come from the Grand Seignior's Dominions; the rest from those Ports, where arrive the Caravans of *Persia* and *Armenia*; the chief of which Commodities, are raw and spun Silks, twisted Goats and Camels Hair, coloured Camlets, *Wool*, &c.

Page 114. 31. The *Dutch* carry into *Italy*, viz. to *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, *Naples*, *Messina*, Cloths, Serges, Camlets; but no Cloths to *Venice*, because the Natives make great Quantities there, and very good.

Page 136. 32. They bring from *Persia*, *Wool*, which is wonderful fine, &c. and send thither coloured Cloths; to *Suratte*, several Sorts of them; to *Bengal*, Cloth, &c.

Page 141. 33. In the Kingdom of *Tonquin*, the *Dutch* take the Native Commodities, in Exchange for Cloth, &c. The

Page 146. *Dutch*, the only People of *Europe* trading to *Japan*, carry yearly thither Cloths, *Wool*, &c. In the Isle of
Page 151. *Banda*, they vend a small Quantity of Stuffs.

Page 195. 34. The Island of *Curazao* (in *America*) belonging to the *Dutch*, produces, *Wool*, &c.

Page 231. 35. At the *Cape of Good Hope*, is excellent Beef and Mutton, and by the Care of the Governor, a vast Increase there in both those Sorts of Cattle.

C H A P.

* Observe here, that the *French* Trade to the *Levant* in Woolen Manufacture, is not absolutely new, as it is commonly represented.

C H A P. XCV.

Memoirs of the Dutch Trade. By Mr. Huet.
Of the Spice Trade, and of the Monopoly, first of the Portuguese; since, and now, of the Dutch therein; with the Means made Use of by the latter, to obtain and keep that Monopoly in its utmost Perfection.

1. THE *Portuguese* were formerly Masters of four Page 119; good Fortresses in the Isle of *Ceylan*, which secured to them the Cinnamon Trade.

2. The Fortresses they had in the Isles of *Tiron*, *Amboina*, *Ternate*, and *Benda*, made them likewise Masters Page 120; of the Clove and Nutmeg Trade.

3. In the Beginning of the Year 1605, the *Dutch* Page 124; seized upon the Fortress the *Portuguese* had in the Island of *Amboina*.

4. This Conquest was followed by that of the other *Molucca* Islands, which consequently made them Masters of the Spices, the richest, and most important Commerce of any in the World.

5. The Trade of the Isle of *Ceylan* is entirely in the Page 147; *Dutch* Hands, being Masters of all the Coasts, by Reason of the strong Places they possess in those Parts: The King of *Candi* holds the rest of the Island; he was never yet conquered, nor awed, either by the *Dutch* or *Portuguese*. The best Cinnamon is the principal Commodity that Island produces.

6. The Island of *Amboyna*, and many others of great Refort, as *Banda*, *Ternate*, &c. are possessed (to use the Expression) in Propriety by the *Dutch East India* Company, which makes them Masters of the rich Commodities of Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace, which grow no where else.

7. The Island of *Amboina* yeilds only Cloves: Not but the Isles of *Ternate*, *Bachiam*, and *Machiam*, &c. which are, properly speaking, the *Molucca* Islands, produce this Spice as well as *Amboina*; but the Company made the Trees every Year to be rooted up, reserving

only those in *Amboina*; which Island alone, is sufficient to produce more than the whole World can consume. The People of this Island, sell every Year to the Company, or their Officers, their Cloves at a low Rate, and they are obliged to take all the Crop, if I may use the Word, how great soever it be; whence it often appears, that their Stock is greater than they can possibly dispose of.

Page 151. 8. The Island of *Banda*, is the only Place that produces Nutmegs and Mace; the Company are intirely Masters of the Trade of this Island, exclusive of all other Nations, as well as that of *Amboina*.

9. The *Molucca* Islands are five in Number, and are called, *Ternate*, *Tidor*, *Machiam*, *Bachiam* and *Molire*; and tho' they have their Kings yet the *Dutch* in reality, may be said to be their Sovereigns, by Reason of the Forts they have there. These Islands were heretofore very famous, and much frequented, on Account of the Cloves they produced, in such vast Quantities, before the *Dutch* caused all the Trees to be plucked up. The Company pays Yearly Pensions to the King, and other Lords of *Ternate*, as an Acknowledgment for their consenting to the Destruction of their Clove Trees.

Page 152. 10. Under the Name of Spices, I comprehend Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamon. There are two Sorts of Cinnamon, the fine, or common and mild Cinnamon; the fine grows only in the Isle of *Ceylan*, in a large Tract of Ground, of about fourteen or fifteen Leagues long, on the Sea Side; but in reality, that Spot of Ground is so very fruitful, that it is sufficient to furnish the whole World.

Page 153. 11. The *Dutch*, who are entirely Masters of all the Sea Coasts of *Ceylan*, hinder the Multiplication of these fine Cinnamon Trees, on Purpose to keep up the Price of that rich Commodity. They omit no Pains to destroy the Trees. They say, that the chief Motives they had in possessing themselves of *Cochim*, was on Account of the Damage they received by the *Portuguese* selling the mild Cinnamon for that of *Ceylan*, which hindered the Company from setting what Price they pleased on theirs, and selling what Quantities they otherwise might.

12. Though the *Molucca* Islands and *Amboina*, the chief Places where Cloves grow, are of no very large Extent,

Extent, yet *Amboina* only produces all the Cloves that are used in all Parts of the World; for the *Dutch*, who are Masters of these Islands, by means of their Fortresses, have caused all the Trees to be rooted up, as I said before, except those of *Amboina*: And to make the King of *Ternate* Satisfaction for that Loss, the Company allows every Year, 12,000 Crowns Pension, and about 6000 in Presents. But then the Company is obliged to take all that the *Amboiners* bring them; for which they are to allow them 8 *d.* per Pound.

13. Nutmegs and Mace grow only in the Isle of *Banda*; of which the *Dutch* are likewise Masters; and they take great Care to hinder the Increase of these Trees, and have used the same Precautions to secure to themselves this rich Commerce, as in that of Cinnamon and Cloves.

14. They were not Masters of the Cloves and Nutmegs, till they had conquered the King of *Macassar*; and to rid themselves of all Apprehensions for the future, they obliged him to drive all the *Portuguese* out of his Country, and to shut out of his Sea Ports all Ships that should come from *Europe*, except those belonging to the *Dutch* Company; which has effectually made them absolute Masters of that rich Trade: For the People of the Isle of *Macassar*, being near Neighbours to those of the *Molucca* Islands, used to take underhand, vast Quantities of Cloves and Nutmegs, and sell them to the *Portuguese* and *English*, at a lower Price than the Company; which did not a little prejudice their Company.

C H A P. XCVI.

Observations on the Dutch Spice Trade.

1. **I**T is to be remarked from several of the *English* Writers concerning Wool, as well those which have been already transcribed into this Work, as others, to be inserted hereafter, that they affect much to speak of it as a Produce so far peculiar to these Kingdoms, as that it is possible for *England* to attain a Monopoly

Monopoly in it, with all the Advantages appendant thereunto. And therefore, although it may seem a Digression, I have thought it necessary, in order to give the true Idea of a Monopoly, to exhibit the foregoing Account of the *Dutch Spice Trade*, which is the most complete Monopoly, and perhaps the only one that is properly such, to be met with in the whole World. By comparing which, with the Condition of the *English*, and that of other Nations, as to *Wool*, we may better judge how well the monopolish Imaginations of the *English*, in this respect, are founded, and how wisely they act in Conformity therewith.

Ch. 95.
§. 9, 10,
11.

2. And first, The *Dutch* being Masters of *Ceylan*, the only Country that produced the *best Cinnamon*, in order to keep up the Price of the Fruit, took care to prevent too great an Increase of the Trees. But that alone not sufficing for the Purposes of a Monopoly, so long as a common mild Cinnamon (the Produce, it seems, of *Cochim*) might be had; which tho' nothing near so good, yet would be bought at a Price, to the Abatement of the Consumption, and consequently the Price of the fine Cinnamon of *Ceylan*; therefore the *Dutch* took Care to possess themselves of *Cochim* also.

§. 12.

3. Further, the five only Islands of the World producing Cloves, being brought under the Dominion of the *Dutch*; because one of them alone, produced as many as could possibly be vended, they destroyed the Trees in *four*; and the more effectually to prevent their being replanted, made the Lords of the Soil, a Yearly Allowance for such a Defalcation of their Profits. And, to the End, the Inhabitants of the *fifth* Island, *Amboina*, might have no Temptation, however no extreme Provocation, to dispose of any of theirs clandestinely to other Traders, they stipulated to allow them constantly for their whole Year's Growth, be it never so much and plentiful, one certain Price, *viz.* 8*d.* a Pound.

§. 13.

4. Again, the *Dutch* being possessed in like manner of the Island of *Banda*, which alone produced Nutmegs and Mace; the same Precautions were used by them, to avoid being overstocked; and after all, to prevent their Cloves and Nutmegs being smuggled into other Hands, they were forced to be at the Expence of subduing a neighbour-

neighbouring Island (*Macassar*)^p and subjecting the People to their own Terms, purely on Account of its Vicinity to the *Molucca* Islands (like that of *France* and *Holland*, to *England* and *Ireland*) and the Opportunities thereby afforded of procuring their Nutmegs and Mace, and selling them to the *Portuguese* and *English*, who, for that End, resorted to their Ports under different Pretexts; and this in Prejudice to the *Dutch Monopoly* * of those Spices.

C H A P. XCVII.

The British Merchant, or Commerce preserved;
First published in 1713 and 1714, in single
Sheets, twice a Week. London, Printed
1721, in three Volumes.

P R E F A C E.

1. **T**HAT this Work may be useful to future Ages, Vol. 1.
as it has been of the utmost Importance to the present: It is therefore necessary to give the Rise and History of it. p. 7.

2. When

* I think I may leave the Application to my Readers; since so much has already appeared from the foregoing *Memoirs of the Dutch Trade*, and in the Sequel of this Work will be seen much more; sufficiently proving, that notwithstanding the *Dutch Policy*, about their Spices, has been so frequently quoted for our Imitation in the *Woolen Trade*; the two Cases are so far from being Parallel, that there is not the least Similitude between them. But tho' it is not in the Power of Law, because it is not possible in the Nature of the Thing, to acquire to the *English*, this wished for Monopoly of *Woolen Manufacture*, or any Thing like it; yet *England* has acted in it, as if it had been possible. And I may venture to say, that what was at the Bottom intended thereby, has been also effected. *A Monopoly, in some Sense, against the Wool Grower has been created*; how far that is good Policy, will be the Subject of a future Disquisition.

2. When *Great-Britain* and her Allies, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough*, had reduced *France* to the Necessity of suing for Peace, there were two Treaties set on Foot; the one of Peace; the other of Commerce; though *Great-Britain* had so humbled *France* with the Sword, yet *France*, according to the old Maxim, was too hard for her at the Pen, and through the Unskilfulness of her Ministers in Trade, brought her to ratify a Treaty of Commerce, that must, in a very few Years have proved her utter Destruction.

Page 8.

3. But as Fortune (who has ever been her Guardian in Distress) would have it, this Treaty could not take Effect, unless the Parliament consented to reduce the high Duties, and take off the Prohibition so wisely laid on *French* Commodities. As this would have destroyed all the best Branches of our Trade, and deprived many hundred Thousand Manufacturers of their Subsistence, it began to give an Alarm. The Ministers apprized of the Difficulties they might meet with, in procuring the Treaty to be made effectual by Parliament, began it in an artful Manner. They had a Majority in the House of Commons implicitly at their Devotion, and as they were fond of their own Child, they determined to support it. They knew that *French* Wine was a relishing Liquor to *English* Palates, and therefore made a Motion to take off the Duties of it for two Months. This Motion was very accidentally, though very wisely opposed, as it was ready to pass the House, and dropp'd.

Page 9.

4. As this Motion, had it passed into a Law, would have destroyed our *Portugal* Trade, the Alarm increasing, became general among the Merchants and Traders who knew the fatal Consequences of it. Many Pamphlets were published to open the Eyes of our Legislators, and to convince them that the preserving our Looms, and the *Rents* of *Great-Britain*, was of greater Consequence to the Nation, than gratifying our Palates with *French* Wine.

5. The Treaty however was to be supported at any Rate; the Persons concerned in making it, either could not, or would not, see the Mistakes in it; and the Nation was to be convinced, that through their great Skill in Trade, they had made an excellent Treaty of Commerce.

6. To

6. To these Ends, a Hireling Writer was employed, Page 10. the Author of a weekly Paper writ some Years before, a Daniel called THE REVIEW; in which the *French* Trade is De Foe. very often condemned as detrimental to this Kingdom. This Person, however, undertook the Cause, and published a Paper thrice a Week, under the Title of the MERCATOR, or *Commerce retrieved*; in which he was to prove, that the Trade to *France*, though contrary to all Experience, had always been beneficial to this Kingdom, and would be so again upon the Foot of this Treaty.

7. As this Author had a Knack of writing very plausibly, and they who employed him, and furnished him with Materials, had the Command of all the publick Papers in the *Custom-House*, he had it in his Power to do a great deal of Mischiefe among such as were unskilled in Trade, and at the same Time very fond of *French* Wine, which it was then a great Crime to be against.

8. Several ingenious Merchants, of long Experience, Page 11. and well skilled in Trade, joined together to contradict the Impositions of this Writer: They knew he had many Heads, besides the Advantages of publick Papers, to help him; and therefore, thought this the most feasible Way to confute him, and set the State of our Trade in a clear Light, because they were sensible, that it was impossible for any one Man to be Master of so much Experience, as was required to furnish Materials from so many different Branches of our Trade, as would be touched upon in this Debate.

9. The Paper we put out was, in Opposition to his Title, called the BRITISH MERCHANT, or *Commerce preserved*, and was published twice a Week; it contained many valuable Papers, and so much Knowledge in Trade, as would never have appeared in the World, had it not been thus extorted from those worthy Gentlemen.

10. As these Materials lay scattered about in loose Papers, without any Form or Order, and considering the Difficulty we found in tracing the State of our Trade from past Times down to the present, I thought Page 12. it necessary to methodize them in this Manner, by throwing the Materials on each Head together, as well as the Nature of the several Trades touched upon, which are interwoven one with another, would admit; that
Posterity,

Posterity, as well as the present Age, might have the Benefit of them, and both be convinced to whom we owe the Preservation of our Trade, on which depends the chief Support and Power of *Great-Britain*.

Page 13. 11. The Reason these Materials lay so disposed and scattered in these Papers, was, that the *Mercator*, whenever he was close set, always quitted the Point he was upon, and trump'd up something new; we were therefore forced to follow him, to expose his new Forgeries, before they had made too deep an Impression. I have given all his material Arguments in his own Words, that the Reader may the better judge of them, and of the Spirit with which this important Debate was carried on; and I have added to this Work, a great many useful Materials, in order to make it more compleat.

12. These Papers, and the convincing Arguments some of those Gentlemen gave at the Bar of both Houses of Parliament, had the good Effect to throw out the pernicious *Bill of Commerce*. But here I must do Justice to that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, who, at a Time when the Court, who espoused the Bill, had a greater Influence than ever was known in a House of Commons, joined his Influence to them who opposed it, and rejected it by nine Votes, when we expected to have lost the Question.

Page 14. 13. The Person to whom our Country is chiefly obliged for these Papers, and who had the greatest Hand in them, is *Henry Martin*, Esq; lately deceased. Besides him, the following Persons were assisting, Sir *Charles Cooke*, Merchant, Sir *Theodore Janssen*, Bart. *James*

Page 15. *Milner* Esq; Merchant, Mr. *Nathaniel Toriano*, Mr. *Joshua Gee*, Mr. *David Martin*, Merchants. Besides the above Persons, there were several other very able and worthy Merchants concerned in this Work. And since I have mentioned this Account of the Gentlemen who assisted, I must not forget the Right Honourable *Charles*,

Page 16. late Earl of *Halifax*, and the Right Honourable *James*,
Page 17. late Earl *Stanhope*. My Lord *Halifax*, was the Support and very Spirit of the Paper, called the *British Merchant*. He assisted at the Meetings of these Gentlemen, and contributed largely to the Expence of the Work.

Page 18. General *Stanhope* * came into the House of Commons,

* Afterwards, *Earl Stanhope*.

as a Vote was ready to pass for taking off the Duties on *French Wines* for two Months, by which our Treaty with *Portugal* would have been instantly broken, by which we should have lost above a Million of Money Sterling, *per Ann*. But he opposed the Vote, began the Debate, and brought them to consent; that our Merchants should first be heard *.

CHAP.

* *N. B.* It was thought proper to insert thus much of this Preface, because it shews the peculiar Authority of the Work following it; which, notwithstanding that it gives a very different Notion and Account of the Woolen Trade in general, from most of the Writers who have gone before, notwithstanding it was first published in detached Parts, and read in all the Coffee-Houses, &c. of the Kingdom, yet has in that particular Respect, been as little attended to by subsequent Writers upon the Subject; and appears to have made as little Impression upon the Minds and Opinions of the People of *England*, as if such a Work had never been published for their Information.

Nor can this general Oversight be accounted for, but in the following manner. At the Time these Papers were first wrote, the Nation was quite intoxicated with Party Distinctions, of *High and Low Church*, &c. So that Persons and Sounds were more attended to, than Sense and Things.

These Papers were indeed re-printed in 1721; but that again was an unlucky Season, when the Thoughts of the People were wholly merged in the Disasters of the *South Sea*, &c. It's true, the Books obtained a Place in several Libraries of Note. But the Title having no immediate Reference to *Wool*, and the principal Scope thereof being known to be, *the Treaty, or Bill of Commerce with France*, which was rejected, and which therefore the Nation has not since been under any particular Necessity of considering; hence it has come to pass, that what lyes interspersed in these Volumes, relating to *Wool*, has been thus long in a manner wholly unobserved; which could not have happened to a Work of such Credit and Authority, had it treated distinctly of *Wool only*.

C H A P. XCVIII.

The British Merchant, 1713.

General Maxims of Trade.

Page 1.

1. THERE are general Maxims of Trade, which are assented to by every Body. That a Trade may be of Benefit to the Merchant, and an Injury to the Body of the Nation, is one of these Maxims. I shall confine myself to speak of Trade only as it is, nationally, good or bad.

Page 2.

2. The Exportation of Manufactures is, in the highest Degree, beneficial to a Nation.

Page 5.

3. The Exportation of Superfluities † is so much clear Gain.

4. The Importation of foreign Materials to be manufactured by us, instead of importing manufactured Goods, is the saving a great deal of Money.

5. The exchanging Commodities for Commodities, is generally an Advantage.

6. All Imports of Goods, which are re-exported, leave a real Benefit.

7. The letting Ships to Freight to other Nations, is profitable.

8. The Imports of Things, of absolute Necessity, cannot be esteemed bad.

9. The importing Commodities of real Luxury, is so much real Loss as they amount to.

10. The Importation of such Goods as hinder the Consumption of our own, or check the Progress of any of our Manufactures, is a visible Disadvantage*.

C H A P.

† By Superfluities is, and must be here understood, the spare Produce of a Country; which (it is to be noted) is here put as the second Maxim of sound Policy; and it is what all Nations govern themselves by, as a Means to uphold the Rents of Land, and secure as much as may be, the Balance of Trade.

* As a farther Introduction to, and Explanation of, what follows, we are to understand, that a principal Argument urged by the Mercator, in Defence of the Bill of Commerce with France, was the pretended peculiar Circumstances of England

C H A P. XCVIII.

The British Merchant, 1713. Of the French fine Cloths, their Goodness and Price.

1. THE Exportation of our Woolen Goods to France, is so well barred against, that there is not the least Hopes of any Vent for them there. Several Merchants have brought over from thence, Patterns of their Woolen Goods, with the Prices they are sold at; and it appears, that in general, they are, Goodness for Goodness, cheaper than ours. Their Cloth made of Spanish Wool, which is brought to great Perfection, is sold in the Shops for 16 to 17 Livres the Ell (which is a Yard, a Quarter, and an Inch) and as a French Livre is exactly worth one of our Shillings, they sell the Ell there as cheap, as we sell here the Yard, which is 25 per Cent. Difference.

Page 8.

Page 9.

French Woolen

Manufa-

ture, 25

per Cent.

cheaper

than ours.

2. And if what is owned on all Hands be true, that the French do send great Quantities of Woolen Goods to Spain, Italy, Portugal, Turkey, and the Rhine, and other Places, although they pay a Duty upon Exportation; 'tis a Demonstration, that they have more † than is

England, above all other Nations, in respect of Wool, 'That the Nation had nothing to do, but to prevent its being exported, in order to command a Trade with all foreign States for Woolen Goods, however, otherwise, they might be disinclined to England.' This extraordinary Assertion put the British Merchant under a Necessity of shewing the real Circumstance of England, in Regard to Wool; and his Account happens to be different from the Generality of English Writers upon the same Subject. Nevertheless, it is to be esteemed above all others, being, if I may so call it, the Verdict of a Jury of the most eminent English Merchants, whose Testimony and Judgment, in this Case, cannot be suspected.

† Objection, 'What need the French limit the Exportation of our Cloth, &c. to three Places, and subject it to strict Visitations, and insist to continue a high Duty upon it, if they have enough of their own, and can afford it cheaper than we?'

Answer.

is sufficient for their own Wear, and consequently no great Occasion for any of ours.

CHAP. C.

The British Merchant, 1713. Of the Trade of England in general.

Number of People in England, and their Annual Expences.

1. THE best Way to preserve our Commerce, is to recommend the Preservation of the best Markets, for the Product and Manufactures of our native Country.

2. The first and best Markets of *England*, are the Natives and Inhabitants of *England*. It is computed, that we have seven * Millions of People; and that great and small, rich and poor, one with another, are not lodged, fed and clothed, for less than 7 *l.* per Head; so that the Expence and Consumption of our whole People, must amount to forty-nine or fifty Millions of Pounds *Sterling* per Ann.

3. This

Ans. ' By the long Interruption of Commerce and Correspondence between the two Nations, the *French* knew ' as little the Price of our Commodities, as we did the ' Price of theirs; and being extremely jealous of their Manufactures, they would not give Way to any the least ' Thing that could prejudice them. In short, they had a ' Mind to be secure against all Events.

' Have not we done the like in the self same Case? We ' outdo, in our own Thoughts, all the World in the ' Woolen Manufactures: But not depending upon that ' single Advantage of Working better than others, we have ' laid very high Duties upon all foreign Woolen Goods, ' and even prohibited them. And 'tis well we did so; for ' else the *French* would have made our Hearts ake since ' the Peace, by their great Importations of Woolen Goods ' upon us.

Contin. of Rapin, P. 52.

* ' By the Hearth Books it appeared, that the Number ' of Houses in *England* and *Wales*, soon after the *Restoration*, was about 1230,000; and reckoning six Persons, at ' a Medium, to each House, it fixes the Number of the ' People, at that Time, to be 7380,000.

3. This whole Sum is annually paid for the Product and Manufactures of *Great Britain*, except only so much of it as is paid for our foreign Consumption, and for the Annual Lodging of our People.

4. Our whole Importations do not exceed the Value *Our Annual* of 5 Millions *per Ann.*; great Quantities of these are re-nual *Importations* exported, and there is not the least Reason to believe, *that our whole foreign Consumption, can amount to 4 and Consumption* Millions.

5. Neither is there any Reason to believe, that our *Page 166.* People are lodged at above the Price of 10 *s.* per Head at *Our House* a Medium, or, that the whole House Rents of *England*, *Rents.* for seven Millions of People, can exceed three Millions and a Half.

6. Consequently, allowing seven Millions and a Half *How much* for Lodging, and our foreign Consumption, above 42 *of our Ex-* of the 50 Millions Expence of our People, are paid for *pence is* the Product and Manufacture of our Native Country. *Annually* Our own People, are a constant Market for our own *paid by* Product and Manufacture, of so great a Value. *our own Product.*

7. The Gentleman fondly imagines, that he receives his Rent from his Tenant, the Weaver, that he is paid his Wages by the Master Clothier, but it is the Consumer † that pays both; he pays the Price of the Wool and

† I ask then, what makes the Consumption, or rather, pays for it? The Landholders Rent, which is to him instead of Labour; and the Labour of all others, which is to them instead of Rent. These Things run so much in a Circle, that it is hard to say which gives the first Movement. But this Difficulty is seemingly at least got over, by considering that the Landholder has some Necessaries of Life within himself, which no other Persons have independently of him. And this methinks is sufficient to give him that Precedence in Society, which some have appeared inclinable to dispute with him. With regard to the present Subject, and State of Things, it is easy to conceive, that what the Landholder receives in Rent, he partly bestows in Consumption, but, I think, the much greater Part on Labour, which is to others creating what is equivalent to Rent; and what he, the Labourer, does in like manner bestow, is again issued, partly in Consumption, partly in more and other Labour. Thus is Labour undulated from an original Yearly Rent of, suppose, ten Millions, to an Expence

and the Charge of the Manufacture; neither the one, nor the other can be paid, but by the Consumption of the People.

What every Person pays Annually to Land and Labour.

8. For my Part therefore, I consider every Person in the Kingdom, for what he eats and drinks, and wears, as a Tenant to the Lands, and a Paymaster of our Labourers; and if seven Millions of People, consume the Yearly Value of 42 Millions of our Native Product and Manufacture, as was said above, every one at a Medium, pays the Yearly Sum of six Pounds, to the Land and Labour of this Kingdom; every one is a Market of such Value to his Country.

Page 167. Our Annual Exports, how much.

9. All our Annual Exportations to foreign Countries, both of our own, and foreign Goods and Merchandizes, do not amount to seven Millions; and therefore, since our own People are a Market for our own Product and Manufactures, to the Value of 42 Millions Yearly, all our foreign Markets joined together, are not one sixth Part of that Value.

10. Besides, from the foreign Markets, there ought to be deducted the Price of all the Goods we buy, and especially, that interfere with, and hinder the Consumption of our own; and if this shall be considered, it will be found that all our foreign Markets, far from a sixth Part, cannot be equal to one twentieth Part of our own, for

Expence and Consumption, of perhaps 40 Millions and upwards, within the Circle of a Year; from which Consumption the Government also receiving a great Share of its Support, in the Shape of Customs, Excise, &c. that reverts also to the Community in Labour and Consumption. Hence appears the Absurdity of that Notion we have met with, that 400,000 *l.* of Woolen Manufacture exported, avails the Nation more than 4,000,000 *l.* consumed at home; it being plain, that the latter creates ten Times the Labour, which makes, or rather pays for, ten Times the Consumption, adds ten Times as much to the public Revenue; and is in short, to all National Purposes, of ten Times the Use and Benefit. And though this is not said to disparage the Benefits from Exportation, which are very great, yet it may lead us to comprehend more clearly what the *British Merchant* here means; and which I interpret into the Propriety and Expedience of paying a strict Regard to the *Landed Interest*, as the great Wheel and main Spring of *Labour and Consumption, Supplies, &c.*

Ch. 79. §. 29.

for taking off our Native Product and Manufactures. It remains therefore, as I said at first, that our own Consumption, the Consumption of our own People, are the best and greatest Market, for the Product and Manufactures of our own Country. The Preservation and Increase of this Market ought therefore to be the Thing principally regarded.

11. It is not to be expected, that our own People will ever buy the Product or Manufactures of their own Country, if the like are to be had cheaper from foreign Nations. Therefore those of foreign Nations are either prohibited or loaded with Duties, that our own may have no Rival to contend with among ourselves. And I make no Doubt, that the Use of foreign Manufactures in *England*, will always be discouraged by our Legislators, for this very Reason, that our own Consumption which pays annually the Sum of 42 Millions to our own Product and Manufactures, that is, to the Rents of our Lands, and the Labour of our People, may never pay any Part of the above-mentioned Sum to the Rents and Labour of foreign Nations, or at least, that sufficient Care will be taken, that the Consumption of every other Nation shall pay as much to the Rents and Labour of *Great-Britain*, as *Great-Britain* shall pay to any such other Nation.

12. We suffer the Goods and Merchandizes of *Holland, Except Germany, Portugal, and Italy*, to be imported and consumed among us; and it is well we do, for we export a much greater Value of our own to those Countries, than we take from them. So that the Consumption of those Nations pays much greater Sums to the Rents of our Lands and the Labour of our People, than ours does to them.

13. But we keep out as much as possible the Goods and Merchandizes of *France*, because our Consumption of them would very much hinder the Consumption of our own, and abate a great Part of 42 Millions, which it now pays to the Rents of our Lands and the Labour of our People. The prodigious Increase of our foreign Traffic, since our prohibiting the *French Trade*, [viz. in 1678:] is a full Proof of this.

Reasons against those of France. Page 177. Ch. 62. §. 12. Note. Ch. 72. §. 1. Note.

C H A P. C I.

*The British Merchant, 1713.
The Bill of Commerce, not a Party, but a
National Affair.*

Page 202. 1. **T**H E R E are great Pains taken to have this Controversy about the *French Trade* and *Bill of Commerce*, thought a Party Controversy; but to shew, that this is quite a national Affair, I will venture to say, that by the passing of that Bill, almost all our Trade had been lost.

Page 203. 2. Had *Spain* remained with the House of *Austria*, *France* had been excluded from that Trade, and *Great-Britain* would have supplied the *Spanish West-Indies* with Manufactures. But *Portugal* hereafter must stand so much in awe of *France* and *Spain* united, that the former must be let in for a good Share of that Trade. The Case of

Page 204. *Germany* is not very different. We can hardly expect so good a Trade with that Country, when they have Peace with *France*, as we had before; both because many Commodities are brought from *France*, since the Restoration of their Commerce with that Kingdom, and because many of their own Manufactures will be cultivated in a Time of Peace. But what if the Law that was intended, should have passed, and the Duties upon *French* Linens should have been reduced down to those of *Germany*? Should we then have bought so much Linen from *Germany*, when we could import it cheaper from a nearer Nation? And would *Germany* have then taken such Quantities of our Woolen Manufactures*? We might with much more Reason have expected, that the *Avocatoria*

* Apply this to the Case of *Ireland*; and see if the Policy and Act, intending to prevent the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from thence to foreign Parts (which nevertheless has not been effected) and in Lieu thereof, encouraging the Linen Manufacture there (which actually has succeeded) can be thought to have been any Way beneficial to the Woolen Trade of *England*, although that was the Thing principally designed.

Ch. 85.
§. 7.

atoria † would have been published throughout the Empire, or a total Prohibition of our Woolen Manufactures. Whatsoever therefore we shall save of this Trade, we owe to the rejecting the Bill of Commerce*.

3. It cannot be denied, that the *French* have a very great Trade to *Turkey*; and we have seen a Letter from *Galata*, shewing, that a *French* Man of War lately imported 170 Bales of Cloth, besides other Goods; which is a Demonstration that their Trade is very great; especially, if the Value of their Cloth be considered, which is almost all of the finer Sorts. And certainly, if they shall want neither *Spanish* Wool, nor *Cochineal*, at the best Hand, they must needs improve in that Trade.

C H A P.

† Does this Way of Reasoning square with the common Notions, of our Wool, for Clothing, being to all the World, as much a Necessary of Life, as any Thing else? Does this argue, that if we can but keep our Wool at home, we may command a Trade for Woolen Goods with all Nations? Or does it not rather demonstrate, as before observed, that the Secret of promoting the *English* Woolen Trade, consists in a discreet Management of Affairs with foreign States, by making proper Treaties; by dealing out the *English* Custom, for such foreign Wares as are fit to be imported, to those Places where it is likely to turn to the best Account, by procuring, in the Way of Exchange, the Admission of our Woolen Goods in the greatest Quantities, and upon the easiest Terms?

* Here I cannot but take Notice, that these two Articles of *Spanish* Wool and *Cochineal*, re-exported to *France* in 1687 (See a List of foreign Goods exported to *France* from *Michaelsmas* 1686, to *Michaelsmas* 1687, *British Merchant*, vol. i. pag. 223.) are sufficient to demonstrate, that the Manufacture of *Spanish* Cloth, and the finest Dye of that Manufacture are not so new Things in that Kingdom, as some would have them thought; and they have been every Year since improving. And as long as they shall be able to come at *Spanish* Wool and *Cochineal* at the best Hand, nothing can hinder their arriving at the utmost Perfection in that Manufacture. They will stand in no Need of *Spanish* Cloth from *England*, and must certainly be able to furnish other Markets.

CHAP. CII.

Vol. 2. *The British Merchant, 1713.*

EXTRACT of a Letter from *Lisbon*, with Remarks, &c.

Lisbon, November 7, 1713.

S I R,

Page 26. 1. 'I wrote you a few Lines the 20th ult. since which are come in the *Betty*, *John Moore*, &c.' *

Page 30. 2. This Gentleman bids us depend upon a Prohibition, not only of our Woolen Cloths, but of our Bays and other Goods, if the Commerce Bill should pass. My Antagonists are of another Opinion. *Woolen Goods*, say they, the *Portuguese* must have, and from what other Nation can they be supplied? So that in their Opinion, we may safely break the *Portugal Treaty*; that Nation will still be obliged to take off our Woolen Goods, and consequently must still contribute to the Increase of our Treasure, and to the raising of the Value of our Native Com-

* And after acknowledging the Receipt of several Bales of Woolen Goods, he goes on:

'I now find myself honoured with Yours of *October 6*, and perceive you intend two Bales more by the *Mary*, *Capt. Field*. I am of Opinion, you had as good stop your Hands, at least send sparingly, 'till I can give you some more certain News about the *Brazil Ships*, and that you find what will be done in your Parliament, in Relation to the *French Trade*; for I dread their taking some Resolutions that will prove destructive to this. Thus far you may depend upon, that if the Bill of Commerce in Favour of the *French*, passes, this Court will do their utmost to oppress the *English Trade*; and it's much to be feared, that the Treaty * being broken by us, they will not be content to prohibit Cloths only, but proceed to forbid Bays and other Goods, which the *French* are proposing to bring hither, and are representing how much more advantageous to *Portugal*, a Trade with *France* would be, than with *England*: *France* taking off great Quantities of their Sugars and Tobacco, and *England* nothing but their Gold, except it be some Wine and Fruits.'

* Ch. 88. §. 6. Note.

Commodities and Manufactures. They differ very much from this *Lisbon Correspondent*. This Gentleman endeavours to persuade us, that the *French* are at this very Juncture of Time, proposing to serve the *Portuguese* with Cloths, Bays, and other Goods; and representing to them how much more beneficial it would be to them to trade with *France* than *England*, and how much greater Quantities of Goods *France* will take off from that Country.

3. My Antagonists, no doubt, will laugh at Woolen Manufacture from *France*. 'Let us see now (say they, N^o. 67.) their Dogs Hair Broad Cloth, their rough half dressed Druggets, their unshorn Dozens, their Cabbage-net Bays, and let them be matched with the *English Goods* of the same Denomination.'

They write with such an Air of Confidence, that one would almost believe there is no Mutton at all in *France*, or that their Sheep wore no Fleeces. Now if I should produce a hundred living Witnessess, that Wool, and not Dogs Hair, grows on the Backs of *French Sheep*, they would call them all Parties against the *Bill of Commerce*. I shall therefore give them a Witness, that has been dead

above this forty Years. It is the Maxims of *Holland*, by the famous *Monsieur de Wit*. In the 7th Chap. 2d Part, Picardy among the Goods which *Holland* annually bought from *France*, we read WOOLEN YARN, SPUN IN ALL PARTS OF PICARDY, WORTH MORE THAN ONE MILLION AND A HALF.

WOOLEN YARN worth a Million and a Half of *Livres**, purchased annually from one *French Province* only to *Holland*, and yet is there no Wool at all in *France*?

4. *Flanders* heretofore, in the Times of the Dukes of *England Burgundy*, was the Seat of the Woolen Manufacture. We then sold our Wool to the *Flemings*, and bought from them our Woolen Cloths. Since that Time, by the coming in of the *Walloons*, by wholesome Laws, and by applying ourselves to the Work in earnest, we arrived at Perfection. The *Flemings* are gone off to fine Lace and Linens, and we sell them yearly, a very great Value of Woolen Cloths; and shall still, perhaps, be

H 3 able

* *Florins* (See Ch. 94. §. 16. Note.)

able to do this, unless by any Provocation we force them upon Prohibitions*.

5. But can we hope to export any of our Woolen Manufactures to *France*. They have Wool of their own, and they can never want of the finest Sort from the Dominions of King *Philip* †.

Page 91.

6. The Trade to those Nations therefore, who consume the greatest Quantity of our Woolen Manufactures, must, and will, be most effectually promoted †.

7. Our Forefathers (it's certain) enjoyed a great Trade || with *France*, whilst they paid easy and reasonable

The Prohibition of their Lace hindered our Woolen Exports. France supplies Turkey with more fine Cloths than we.

* We have learned better I hope, by our unsuccessful Attempts, to prohibit the *Flanders Laces*, which made the *Flemings* retaliate upon us, and lessened our Exportation of Woolen Manufactures, to the Value of several hundred thousand Pounds per Ann.

† They have followed it now for many Years, with uncommon Application; and for the Encouragement of their Artists, they have put as many Hardships as possible, upon foreign Manufactures. They now not only supply their own People, but *Smyrna* and *Constantinople*, with more fine Cloths than are sent thither from *Great Britain*, and even *Italy* is served with the Woolen Manufactures of *France*.

‡ I will therefore conclude, that our Commerce with *Russia*, the *East Country*, *Germany*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, the *Straits*, *Italy* and *Turkey*, with whom we traded during the War, to the great Benefit of this Nation, will be encouraged, and that due and proper Measures will be taken for restoring our Trade with *Spain*.

|| But as their own Manufacture increased, they gradually imposed greater Customs on ours, whereby that Trade was sensibly discouraged; and no sooner had the *French King* established his Tariff in 1664, whereby we were obliged to pay 40 Livres for Custom for a Cloth, and extravagant Duties for all our other Manufactures, but the Exportation thereof abated apace. It is certain his said Majesty has nothing more at Heart, than to encourage the Consumption of his Woolen Manufactures, and that he spares no Charge to promote the same. And tho' it was some Time before the *Levant Trade* flourished, yet they now import at some of the Scales in *Turkey*, CLOTH and PERPETS to a greater Value, than our *Turkey Merchants*.

And also with Perpets, to a greater Value.

By

able Duties, viz. six Livres for a Cloth, and one Livre for a Piece of Serge; then the Woolen Manufactures exported thither, amounted to a vast Sum.

8. In 1662, even before the Tariff of 1664, and Page 123. when the Duties upon our Goods were a great deal less in *France*, than by that Tariff, yet our Exports to all Ch. 43. Parts of the World in that Year, amounted to no more P. S. than 2,022,812 l. 4 s.

9. Again,

By these, and other proper Methods, their Trade and their Woolen Manufactures have been established in *France*, Page 95. and they are now brought to a very great Perfection. Do not the People of that Kingdom generally wear Woolen Cloth, and Stuffs; and are not those worn there of their own Manufacture? Is it not acknowledged by all that have lived in *Italy*, as well as in *Turkey*, that they supply France those Countries with great Quantities of Woolen Manufactures; and did they not formerly furnish us with Stuffs and Druggets to a great Value?

¶ Besides, have not the *Spaniards* laid aside their old Habit, which was made of *English Bays*, and are now clothed in *French Stuffs, &c.*? And can we be so very unhappy, to imagine there are but few Woolen Manufactures in *France*?

But the *Mercator* says, they are not so good as ours; and I must confess, they generally are not; especially their superfine Cloths. However, when it turns to their Account, they will make them very near as good as their Neighbours, and can sell them cheaper.

Have we forgot, that our *Drape de Berry*, *Serge de Nismes*, and other Goods, took their Names from their Manufactures? But if they, or the Foreigners with whom they trade, demand, and are pleased with a lighter, and worse made Cloth than ours, because it's cheaper, are they in the right to gratify them.

The *Venetians*, some Years past, supplied a great part of *Italy* and the *Levant*, with their fine Cloth, which is an excellent Manufacture: But by being obliged by the Law of their Country, to keep up to their own Standard, have since, in several Places, lost nine Parts in ten, of that Trade.

What is become of our noble Manufacture of *Plunkets*, and *Violets* and *Blues*, formerly made in *Suffolk*? Are not these Sorts beat out entirely, by a slighter and inferior Sort made in *Gloucestershire*? And are not the Cloths even of this Country, which are made for Exportation, of less Substance than formerly.

H 4

Let

9. Again, in 1669, even after *France* had loaded us with the severe Tariff of 1667, yet our Exports to all the World, amounted to 2,063,224 *l.* 19s^x. The Difference between the two Years is inconsiderable: So that it seems the Case was much the same, whether we pay low Duties or high Duties in *France*; our Exportations to all the World, differed but very little. Nay, we made the greater Exportations to all the World, even when *France* loaded our Goods with higher Duties; but then it is certain, it must have increased in other Countries.

10. In 1699, our Exports to all the World were, 6,788,166 *l.* 17s. 6d.^y; above three Times as much as in either of the former Years. In 1703, our Exports to all the World were, 6,644,103 *l.*^z; almost as much as in 1699; but still above three Times as much as in either of the former Years. The Duties in *France* upon our Goods, in 1699, were the very same as they are now; so that we could make no greater Exportations thither than we do now. But whatever Exportations we

Let our *Salisbury* Clothiers answer, how many more superfine *Spanish* Cloths did they formerly sell for *Turkey*, than at present. Or if the *Turkey* Merchants would confess, what is the Reason, that that Part of their Trade is almost lost; I am afraid it would be found, that the *French* fine Cloth prevents the Consumption of ours; for it is obvious by their present Exports, they are well enough inclined, for the public Good, to promote, nay, to force a Trade in the *Levant*; and yet they take off but little of this Sort of Cloth.

But in all Countries, how few are there who buy the best Cloth, comparatively, with those that are forced to content themselves with the inferior Sorts?

If the *French* then come to the same Markets with us, and have such Sorts of Cloth as we have, tho' they are really inferior, will not theirs be prejudicial to the Sale of ours?

The *Mercator* may tell a *Yorkshire* Clothier, that it's in vain for him to send up his Cloth to *London*, to be disposed of there; because there are many better Sorts from the Western Parts, to be sold every Day in that City: But he will never take his Advice, nor credit what he says.

In short, an inferior Commodity will always affect the Price of a better, at the same Market.

we made to *France*, in 1699, it is certain, we exported very little in 1703; for in that Year we were at War, and our Goods and Merchandizes were all prohibited in that Kingdom. And notwithstanding this; and though we had then also a War with *Spain*, and could send little or nothing to that Country, yet our Exports were almost as great as in 1699, and above three Times as much as in 1662, when we were every where at Peace, and paid so very easy Duties in the *French* Dominions.

11. Now what can be the Reason that our whole Trade is so much better, when our Goods in *France* are either prohibited, or loaded with excessive Duties? It can be no other, than that the *French* Goods here, are either prohibited, or loaded with higher Duties than those of other Countries; that we therefore chuse to buy the Goods of other Countries; and that they in Return enlarge the Trade with us, and take off so many more of our Manufactures; after the Example of *Portugal*, which by her very Treaty, buys our Woolen Manufactures, upon Condition^a, that we will buy her Wines.

^a Ch. 88.
§. 6. Note.

C H A P. CIII.

The British Merchant, 1713.
Arret of the [*French*] King's Council,
Oct. 23, 1703.

1. THE King having by Arret of Council of the 14th of July last, for Reasons there explained, regulated the Duties upon the Exportation of Page 135. Stuffs, called Bays, Perpetuanas, &c. which are sent into *Italy*, and any Way whatsoever, at 10 Sols per 100; and his Majesty being informed, that there is a very considerable Quantity of the said Goods consumed in *Italy*, of the Growth and Manufacture of *England*, and that it will be very advantageous to the Manufactures of the Kingdom, to fix the Duties of Exportation, so that the Merchants may be able to furnish *Italy* with the said Stuffs, at the same Price as the Manufacturers

Manufactures of England do; WHICH HIS MAJESTY BEING WILLING TO GRANT; and to encourage A TRADE WHICH IS SO ADVANTAGEOUS TO HIS SUBJECTS; has therefore ORDAINED, and does hereby ORDAIN, That the said Stuffs called *Bays*, *Perpetuanas*, &c. of the Manufactures of this Kingdom, which are sent into *Italy*, by any Way whatsoever, shall pay but 30 Sols per 100 Weight, instead of * all the Duties which

* The *Mercator* has been so eloquent upon the Dogs Hair Broad Cloth, the &c. and other sorry Woolen Manufacture of the *French Nation*, that I was almost tempted to believe, there were no Sheep in *France*, or that their Sheep did not bear Fleeces, or that the People did not know how to work up the Wool; so that let the Duties be ever so high in the Country, yet they would be obliged to buy our Woolen Manufactures. But of all Things in the World, I should not have suspected, that they would pretend to vie with us in other Markets, that they could have the least Hopes of carrying their *Bays* and *Perpetuanas*, with any Success into *Italy*, or that any of them could be sold there in the Presence of the *English* Manufactures.

Page 137.

I was perfectly amazed, when I came to read over the above Edict of his most Christian Majesty. What! Merchants of *France* represent to their Prince, that they should be able to sell *Bays* and *Perpetuanas* in *Italy*, at as low a Price as the *English* Manufactures? And this too, without taking off the whole Duties of Exportation? Nay, tho' 30 Sols per hundred Weight, should be still left upon these exported Manufactures?

Ch. 87. §. 16.

All the Duties of Exportation upon our Woolen Goods, were taken off long before this Edict, and yet are we not able to sell our *Bays* and *Perpetuanas*, tho' all the Duties are taken off, cheaper than the *French* Merchants, tho' a Duty of 30 Sols per hundred Weight, be still left upon them. This was all the *French* Merchants desired, to enable them to cope with *England* in the *Italian* Markets, and the Prince has granted what was desired by his Subjects.

Page 138.

If their *Bays* and *Perpetuanas* are as cheap, with a Duty of 30 Sols per hundred Weight, as ours without any Duty at all, what if his most Christian Majesty should remit even these 30 Sols? Why then we shall not be able to export either *Bays* or *Perpetuanas* to the same Market, without giving a Bounty at Exportation? as we do in the Case of Corn.

The

which they used to pay; and the said Stuffs shall be exempted and discharged from paying the Duties of the Custom-House of *Lyons*, of *Valence*, of *Bayonne*, and from all other Duties, as *Octrois*, *Peages*, and *Passages*, which were levied to his Majesties Use, or to the Use of particular Lords, &c. without Prejudice nevertheless to the *Tranfires* granted upon the Merchandizes sold in the Fairs of *Lyons*, *Bourdeaux*, and *Troyes*.

Done at Fontainbleau, Oct. 23, 1703.

Signed, &c.

2. The Interest of Merchants ought not to be considered in Treaties of Commerce, so much as that of the Landholders and Manufacturers *.

3. I

The King acknowledges, that the Trade of sending their own *Bays* and *Perpetuanas* to *Italy*, even when this Edict was made, was already advantageous to his Subjects. What then must we think was the Consequence of this Edict, and the discharging all those burdensome *Octrois*, *Peages* and *Passages*, besides Port Duties, and reducing the whole to 30 Sols per hundred Weight, not above one eightieth Part of their whole Value? There is no doubt but their Exportations to *Italy*, if they were before so advantageous to the *French Nation*, must needs be very much increased.

It is in vain for the *Mercator* to talk, as he often does, of the Quality of our *English* Manufactures, and their being so preferable to those of *France*. If the latter can be sold as cheap, it is plain that the Quality, as well as Quantity, is considered by the Buyer.

He often calls the Woolen Manufacture, OUR Manufacture, OUR OWN Manufacture, as if WOOL was not the Growth of any other Country, or as if the People of other Countries did not know how to work it up. And in a late Treatise, he has insisted upon the inimitable Spinners of *England*. This Edict is a full Confutation of these fine Doctrines; they have Wool in *France*, they have Spinners in *France*; so that besides supplying their own Country, they are able to vie with us in foreign Markets. Page 139.

* Tho' in Opposition to the *Mercator*, I set out with the Title of the *British Merchant*, yet the Interest of the Merchants, is the Thing that I have least of all considered, in my Reflections upon the late Treaty of Commerce, or upon the Bill for rendering that Treaty effectual. The Merchant may have a distinct Interest from that of his Country, he may thrive by a Trade which shall prove her Ruin.

3. I have ever considered the Authority of Persons as the lowest Kind of Proof *, and such as ought never to be credited against Demonstration or Probability.

4. The People of *Lyme*, without doubt, are very good Witnesses, that their DRAPERY, till the Year 1687, was imported into the PROVINCE of BRITANY, CUSTOM FREE †, Again, the People of *Lyme* are very good Witnesses,

* Upon this Occasion, I think myself obliged to present my Readers, with a Copy of a Representation of the Mayor, &c. of *Lyme Regis* (*viz.*)

APetition from the Mayor of Lyme, &c. To the Honourable Commissioners of Trade, The humble Representation and Petition of, &c. Humbly Sheweth,

That the Trade to *France* with the Woolen Manufactures, was an enriching Trade to this Nation, and was the best this Kingdom had for Employment of People, Shipping and Navigation; there having been Yearly, for several Years together, shipped in this Port for the PROVINCE of BRITANY in *France* in Drapery, to the Value of fifty thousand Pound Sterling and upwards; and that this Trade was enjoyed Time out of Mind, and DRAPERY was imported into the said PROVINCE, CUSTOM FREE, till the Year 1687; in which Year, the Importation of all Woolen Manufactures whatsoever was prohibited; and afterwards several great Duties were laid on all Goods and Commodities of the Growth, Product, or Manufacture of this Kingdom, by an Edict, a Copy whereof, truly translated from the Original, is hereunto annexed. And we also crave Leave to acquaint your Honours, that a Month before the said Prohibition took Place, several great Quantities of Drapery, to the Value of two thousand Pounds and upwards, which had been imported into the said Province in two Ships from this Place, were seized and detained during all the last War, which were all spoiled.

Page 168.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray, that in the ensuing Treaty of Peace, Care be taken to get the said Prohibition taken off, and that your Petitioners may be restored to the said Trade, and be at Liberty to import Drapery and other Goods and Commodities, of the Growth and Product of this Kingdom, Custom free, as formerly; and that the Owners of the said Drapery, so seized and spoiled, may have Satisfaction made for the same. And your Petitioners shall pray, &c.

Page 169.

† *Britany* was formerly a free Province, and as no Customs were paid there, so there was the chief Consumption

nesses, that the *French* Prohibitions began in the Year 1687 †. Again, I believe the People of *Lyme*, when they tell us their own Goods were seized and spoiled. They may also, perhaps, be good Witnesses, that they formerly exported yearly to the Value of fifty Thousand Pounds in Woolen Manufactures ‡. But lastly, I can by no Means allow the Evidence of the good People of *Lyme*, when they tell us, that the Trade to *France* with the Woolen Manufactures was an enriching Trade to this Nation, and was the best that Part of the Kingdom had for Employment of People, Shipping, and Navigation. For do they conclude, that the whole Nation was enriched by the *French* Trade, because the single Town of *Lyme*, was enriched by exporting to *France*, the yearly Value of fifty Thousand Pounds in Woolen Manufacture? Does this prove, that the Balance of the whole *French* Trade was on the *English* Side, or that our Exports exceeded our Imports from that Country? And as for Shipping and Navigation, one single Ship was sufficient to carry at once, that whole Value * of Woolen Manufactures: So that if great

consumption of our Woolen Manufactures. But as *Britany* now, by the Articles subsequent to the late Treaty, can have our Manufactures only by the Way of other Provinces, so she must receive them after they have paid the Customs from 30, to 50 per Cent. according to the Tariff of 1699.

† This was a Fact they could not but be well acquainted with, by their own feeling. Strange! that *France* should then prohibit our Woolen Manufactures, so soon after King *James* and his Parliament had obliged her, by taking off our aforementioned Prohibition! But this shews, as the Inspector General has said, that they have all along treated us, as if the Genius of *France* had got a perfect Ascendant over *England*.

‡ Tho' I am afraid, they have at a Venture lump'd it at so great a Sum; for this would amount to almost a third Part, of all that ever were exported to *France* in one Year, from the whole Kingdom.

* According to this Account, supposing *England* upon a Medium, to send out Woolen Manufacture Yearly, to the Value of 3,000,000 *l.* sixty Ships, at once, would carry it all; contrary to what we frequently read, as if whole Fleets were commonly loaded therewith, and constantly employed thereby.

Ch. 72.

§. 1. Note.

See Chap. 89. §. 15.

great Numbers of Ships were employed in the *French Trade*, they must have been employed to import upon us a great Overbalance of Wines and other Goods from that Nation, perhaps to the enriching the single Town of *Lyme*, but certainly to the impoverishing the whole Kingdom.

Page 176. 5. It is evident, says the Mercator, (N^o. 106.) the *Perpetuanas* made in *France*, have not been able to be sold so cheap as those of *England*, or else they are not so good as the *English*; how else comes it to pass, that we have such a Vent for ours, and that every Day at the *Custom-House*, we see vast Quantities of *Bays* and *Perpetuanas**, entered both for *Spain* and *Italy*, whereas the *French* are at the Door? And could they undersell us, they can upon all Occasions, pour in their Goods before us, and with much less Expence, the Voyage from *Marsilles*

* ' In answer to this, I must affirm, that the *French King* for 60 Years past, has been encouraging the *Woolen Manufactures* in his Kingdom, and as his People succeeded therein, he increased the Duties on ours, that were imported into *France*. In 1654, the Customs on Cloth were raised to 30 Livres. In 1664, to 40. In 1667, to 80. *Serges* in Proportion, from 5 to 12.

' Under these Discouragements, our Exports decreased annually, except in *Britany*, where, as I have said, they were always Custom Free, till the Year 1687.

The French send more Perpets to Turkey than England does.

' Besides, about this Time, their *Perpets*, which both *France* and We call *Imperial Serges*, being brought to very great Perfection, they became our Rivals in foreign Markets in that Trade. To begin with that to *Turkey*, which has been always very justly a Favourite of this Nation; it is manifest, they export vast Quantities of *Perpets* to *Turkey* from *France*, in Comparison of those from *England*, and such as cannot chuse but disturb the Sale of our Goods in that Market: So that it is plain, we have almost lost the Trade of *Perpets* to that Country.

' Our last Fleet, which will be allowed to export the Bulk of our Goods for one Year to *Turkey*, yet exported no more than 400 *Perpets*, which cannot exceed 16 or 18 Bales. But I have also seen an Account of the *Perpets* exported from *France*, for the Years 1711 and 1712, to the Port of *Smyrna* only, in which the Bales were 400; that is, 200 Bales per Annum.

Page 178. ' Will the Mercator say now, that they do not rival us in our Trade of *Perpets* to *Turkey*?'

seilles to the Coast, either of *Italy* or *Spain*, being not above two or three Days Sail.

6. But says the Mercator, the *French King's* raising his Customs and laying his Prohibitions, is an Argument of the *French Trade* being beneficial to *England*, and that this was only done to prevent his own Subjects being impoverished, and *England* enriched at their Expence*.

7. How

* ' But this Writer must be told, that he might do this, that the Trade which was before carried on to the Advantage of *France*, and Disadvantage of *England*, might be rendered still more beneficial to *France*, and more ruinous to *England*.

' The Mercator supposes the *French King* would not be the Aggressor, lest we should have retaliated upon him. Page 181.

' But besides that *France*, as observed before, has all along treated us, as if the Genius of that Nation had got a perfect Ascendant over that of *ENGLAND*, I must tell the Mercator, that that wise Prince had generally known how much his Neighbours would endure, before they would be provoked to retaliate; and besides, there are Ways and Means to keep off this Retaliation. The Pensions in the Reign of Ch. II. are too notorious to be forgotten. Page 182.

' It will not otherwise be easy to account, why it was so hard to obtain the prohibiting Act in that Reign, and why in 1678, there was no other Way of coming at it, than by tacking it to a Capitation*.

* Ch. 62. The Advantage gained to *England* in Consequence of §. 12. Note. the abovementioned Prohibition in 1678, the *British* Merchant sums up as follows, viz. Instead of Brandy from *France*, saved in Malt Spirits made at home, l. s. d. Note.

home,	60,000	0	0
Instead of Linen from <i>France</i> , <i>Irish</i> Linen,	80,000	0	0
This Manufacture increased in <i>Lancashire</i> and <i>Cheshire</i> ,	240,000	0	0
In <i>Dorsetshire</i> and <i>Somersetshire</i> ,	100,000	0	0
Instead of Silks from <i>France</i> , the same made at home, viz. (being entirely a new Manufacture) black Silks,	300,000	0	0
Silks for Linings,	150,000	0	0
Silk Handkerchiefs	200,000	0	0
Total	1,110,000	0	0

Besides Paper, a new Manufacture of Consequence, and Hats, &c.

N. B.

7. How many are there of our Turkey Merchants, who remember the Time when the French Imports into the Grand Seignior's Dominions, did not exceed 2 to 300 Cloths per Annum. whereas now the Value of their Woolen Goods imported annually thither, is greater than what ours, for several Years past, at a Medium, have amounted to?

8. But let what will happen, the Mercator assures us (N^o. 162.) that our Woolen Manufactures must still be safe: All other Countries want the necessary Material, they want the Wool*; and let us but secure and keep our Wool

f See Chap. 44. §. 8. Ch. 139. N. B. We should compare this with Mr. Fortry^e, 1663, and consider also how much all these are improved since 1713, and what other new ones have been erected with Success, before we indulge too much our Melancholy, and Complaints, of an imaginary Decay of Trade and Manufacture in this Kingdom, from the single View of France and some other Countries, having given into the Woolen Trade as they certainly have done. If to this we add, that England has also rather increased, than gone back in its Exportations, even of Woolen Manufacture (as will appear, Ch. 176. §. 40. P. S.) that is a plain Demonstration, that the Manufacturers in general, and those of Wool in particular, have had no just Cause of Complaint, unless the HOME CONSUMPTION has abated, which may possibly be somewhat the Case, as to Woolen Manufacture, in Consequence, among other Reasons, of the Wool Grower having suffered for a Number of Years together in the Price of his Wool. For what these Men do not receive, they cannot possibly pay or expend; and it is easy to conceive, that a Defalcation in the first Instance of 40 or 50 per Cent. in so considerable a Part of the Produce of the Kingdom, as Wool is, (the annual Amount whereof has been heretofore reckoned, at two MILLIONS) must make an extraordinary Difference in home Consumption, which the British Merchant justly stiles the best Market for the Product and Manufactures of our native Country.

Wool in other Countries than ours, particularly in France. * No Wool in any other Country! I must confess I thought I never should have heard more of this Subject, after I had so often appealed to the Gentlemen, both within and without Doors, who have travelled into other Countries, that they eat Mutton abroad, as much and as good as they do in England, and that their Sheep there, wear Fleeces, and not Dog's Hair; after I had appealed so often to the Testimony of our Woolen Manufacturers, who

Wool at home, all other Nations must buy from us.

CHAP.

who every Day give a much greater Price for Spanish Wool, than the very best that grows in England; after I had appealed to the Testimony of the famous Monsieur de Wit, for the vast Value of Woolen Yarn, that was annually spun in Picardy, a single Province in France, and sold to the Hollanders; after I had produced the Testimony of Mr. Mun^h, in the Reign of King Charles II. Ch. 45. THAT OTHER NATIONS NEITHER WANTED ART NOR MATERIALS FOR THIS PERFORMANCE; after all these Evidences, and without the least Answer given to any of them, to be still pestered with the Want of Wool in other Countries, shews, THE MIRACULOUS CONFIDENCE OF THE MERCATOR.

Certainly the Woolen Manufacture is not so new a Thing, nor so confined to England. I do not know any Evidence of the English Woolen Manufacture in the Days of Tiberius Cæsar; yet Strabo, who lived at that Time, when he speaks of Turtedania (which at most is but a Part of Portugal) and her Traffick, says, that frequens inde primum vestis veniebat, nunc vero Coraxorum amplius Lanificium, excellentissimæ Pulchritudinis, unde admiffarij Arietes talento emantur. Cloths, says he, were heretofore the Exports of that Country [Turtedania, or a Part of Portugal] but now a more noble Woolen Manufacture of excellent Beauty, such as that of the Coraxi; whence Rams are bought for Breed at the Price of a Talent. A Talent, above an hundred Pounds of our Money, the Price of a single Ram to propagate this fine Woolen Manufacture! Surely this was very fine. The Coraxi were a People in Asia; and was their Woolen Manufacture so very fine, that Strabo could not better commend that of Portugal, than by comparing it with that of the Coraxi? And yet the Mercator will tell us, there is no Woolen Manufacture but in England.

It was very lately, that I was forced by him to look into a Spanish Book of Customs paid in Castile on foreign Goods; there I found, that the Customs were the same on the Bays of Barcelona, as on those that are made in England. How! Barcelona able to sell her Bays in Spain at under as heavy a Load of Duties, as those that are made in England; yet, no doubt, the Mercator will say, that Bays cannot be made in any Part of the World but at Colchester. I have this very Moment a Marseilles Price Courant for the seventh of November in my Hand, and there I see the Vol. II. I Wool

C H A P. CIV.

The British Merchant, 1713.

A Letter from a Clothier, in Reference to the Bill of Commerce with France, and to the Peace of Utrecht in general.

Impositions on our People at the Cessation of Arms. **I** Will allow, that upon the Cessation of Arms between Us and France, and on the positive Assertions that were then made, how advantageous the Treaty of Commerce, to be settled between the two Kingdoms, would be to our Trade, a mighty Expectation was raised here, that we should have the most flourishing Trade imaginable; and with very good Reason; for who could expect, that any Thing very advantageous for the Commerce of France, should be insisted upon by a conquered Enemy, whose Interest it was to court us? Or on the other Hand, that any Thing highly prejudicial to our Trade, should be yielded in a Treaty with France, when we could have imposed on her what Terms we pleased? Therefore the Mercator may be in the right, in saying, that the Price of our Goods was raised, when the News was spread about the Kingdom, that the French Trade would be opened; and yet his Conclusion from thence (*viz.* that the Fall thereof was occasioned by rejecting the eighth and ninth Article) very false: For every one must remember, that before the Treaty of Commerce was printed, it was INDUSTRIOUSLY spread through the Nation, how great Advantages were obtained for the Trade of England, and particularly, that Care had been taken, that all the Prohibitions and high Duties laid on the

Several Sorts of Wool at Marseilles. Wool of Castile, Arragon, Albarcin, Barbary*, and Constantinople, all of different Prices †, and the very lowest above the Price of English Wool, but no English Wool at all in that Price Courant; yet, no doubt, this Man will tell us, that English Wool is the best and dearest in the World, though every English Woolen Manufacturer will tell him quite the contrary.

* In the London Bill of Exports, March 8, 1743, was this Article, viz. 100 Dozen of Wool Cards to Barbary.
† It is a Pity the British Merchant did not say what those Prices were.

the Woolen Manufactures in France, should be taken off; and this with such Assurance, and from Persons who, 'twas thought, might be depended upon, that the People generally believed it, and were not only induced publickly to express their Satisfaction with what they knew nothing of, but did really think, that the Woolen Manufactures they had by them, would soon find a very great Vent, and thereupon immediately heighten the Prices thereof, as also that of Wool, as well in Expectation of finding what they were told of the French Trade, true, as upon the Belief they had, that the Treaty of Commerce with Spain would soon be signed; in which 'twas hoped, as they had reason to believe, from the Necessity that Monarch seemed to be in of our Assistance, that no Article could possibly be proposed to him in Favour of our Commerce, but what would meet with his ready Compliance; and that therefore our Trade must, at least, be as beneficial with that Kingdom, as it had formerly been, notwithstanding that Monarchy was now in the Hands of a Prince of the House of Bourbon.

2. But no sooner was the Treaty of Commerce with France made publick, and thoroughly considered, but they quickly found their Mistake with Relation to that Trade; for in that Treaty, they plainly found, that the Duties on some Woolen Goods were settled according to the excessive Rates imposed by the Tariff of 1699; and that the Articles and Specifications were so ambiguously worded, as to put it very much in doubt, whether the rest were to be admitted at all, or after what Manner they were to pay.

3. They also found to their Cost in a little Time, by some Goods sent to Cadiz, that the Expectation they had conceived of a vast Trade to Spain, was groundless; that the Fashions in that Country were extremely altered, since that Monarchy had been under the Influence of French Counsels; that the little Demand for our Goods in Spain, proceeded from the Alterations in their Apparel to the French Modes and Manufactures; and the Treaty of Commerce with that Crown, since published, has shewn us, we are in no wise to depend upon any considerable Trade hereafter.

4. When therefore, upon a due Examination of the Treaty of Commerce with France, it was found impracticable,

practicable, upon the Foot of that Treaty's being rendered effectual, to send any great Quantities of Woolen Goods thither, by Reason of the excessive high Duties, that would still remain to be paid by the Tariffs of 1664, and 1699; as also by their being expressly subjected to *Visitations* in France, whereby they might be confiscated upon the slightest Pretences in the World, if they were found either in Length, Breadth, Weight, Fineness, or any other Way, different from the like Sorts made there: (For those Rules of *Visitations* could be insisted on by France, for no other Intent, but to have a Handle to plague, and to prevent our Importation.)

Page 392.

5. Upon these Considerations, it was not possible, but that the Price of Wool, and of Manufactures made thereof, must again fall as fast as it rose, and that what was raised purely upon Force of Expectation, and without any solid Ground, must sink again, when that ill-grounded Rise came to be perceived.

A French Prince not so like to encourage our Trade to Spain as an Austrian Prince. 6. But the Case was far otherwise after the Peace of *Ryswick*; for though we sent but few Woolen Goods to France, during that Peace, yet an *Austrian Prince* being then upon the Throne of Spain, who was more desirous of encouraging our Trade than that of France; and the Demand for our Woolen Goods was then so great in Spain, the War, which had raised Freights and Premiums of Insurance to an extravagant Height, being ended, what was saved on those two Accounts, came to be added to the Price of the Manufactures, which gradually advanced by that continued Demand, whereof I will give an Instance in the Article of *Colchester Bays*, which, at the Time of the making of the Peace at *Ryswick*, were at about 17 d. per Ell, but rose to about 23 d. and 23 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per Ell, and continued about that Price, till a Stop was put to our Trade thither.

Page 393.

7. Another Reason that may be assigned for the sudden Fall of the Woolen Manufactures, from the Prices to which Manufacturers and Dealers therein had raised them, upon the Prospect of the *Utrecht Peace*, is, that most of our Merchants never knew what the Duties that were to be paid in France by the Tariff, said to be granted to us, and which they were told was so advantageous for our Woolen Manufactures, would amount to; but when they found what Duties would be payable, supposing

ing the Treaty took Effect, and that they were tantamount to a Prohibition, and their Correspondents could give them no manner of Encouragement to send any thither, they plainly saw that it was impossible to answer the Expectation of the Manufacturers here.

8. This being the Case of our Woolen Manufactures, *Our Trade* in respect to France, it were to be wished, that our Treaty of Commerce with Spain, would befriend them more than with France; but you have shewn, that no Good can be expected from it as it is; but that we are saddled with much higher Duties than ever we paid before in that Country. But besides, the Mode in Spain is so much altered, and the Fashion of wearing Bays, and other English Woolen Goods, so very much changed into that of French Druggets and fine Stuffs; and those that will not alter their Manner, being furnished by the Way of *Alicant*, and other Ports of Spain in the Mediterranean, with Bays and *Perpetuanas*, &c. from *Castres*, and other Places in the Province of *Languedoc**, which is very near them; and since there are such other Discouragements to our Woolen Manufactures, both in France and Spain, it plainly appears, that it is wholly owing to the Trade we have preserved with other Nations, that our Woolen Goods are not reduced a great deal lower than they are, and that nothing but keeping the Trade to and from France upon the present Foot of high Duties, the preventing the † clandestine Exportation of

I 3 OUR

* In which Manufacturies, in those Southern Parts of France, it is not so much as pretended, that any English, or Irish Wool is used.

† Tho' this may be thought to come naturally enough from a *Clothier*, the supposed Author of this Letter. Yet, as it must be accounted to convey the Sentiments of the Society engaged in writing the *British Merchant*, so it is not easy to be reconciled with the good Sense of that Society, or made consistent with what they have already said, to convince us, that Wool is far from being the peculiar Produce of these Kingdoms, and that other Nations want neither the ART of manufacturing, nor yet the MATERIAL from whence to make Cloth, &c. And therefore I should here turn an Argument of the *British Merchant* against himself, viz. that the Authority of Persons is no Proof against Demonstration¹, or Probability; but that I consider this only as a Sentence³.

OUR WOOL, and the obtaining an Alteration of several Things in our Treaty of Commerce with *Spain*, can prevent the total Ruin of the Woolen Manufactures in this Kingdom.

CHAP. CV.

*The British Merchant, 1713.
The French and Others can support their Manufactures without the Help of any English or Irish Wool.*

Page 395. 1. TO preserve and encourage the Consumption of our Woolen Manufacture at home and abroad, is the common Concern of every Man that delights in the Welfare and Prosperity of his Country.

Page 396. 2. 'Tis true indeed, Providence has furnished us with better and more useful Wool, than most of our Neighbours, and our Industry has brought our Manufactures to the greatest Perfection. But can these be said to be secure to us, whilst (as I have formerly mentioned) we know that other Nations neither want ART nor MATERIALS, for this Performance.

Woolen Manufacture at Salonica, its Consequences.

Page 377.

3. Is it not certain, that the *Venetians* have still a noble Manufacture of Cloth, with which *Italy* and *Turkey* were formerly supplied in Abundance? Did not the *Jews* and *Greeks* at *Salonica*, and in the Country thereabouts, seventy Years past, set up a Manufacture of coarse Woolen Cloth, which entirely beat out our *Kersies*, then vended in great Quantities in *Turkey*, and which has ever since proved prejudicial to the Consumption of our ordinary Cloth in that Empire? Nay, have not the *Turks* of late Years, upon the Encouragement of two *Viziers*, twice attempted this Manufacture? And though under their Conduct, Manufactures can never flourish, yet they made

tence thrown in, to please certain Persons, whom they were willing to attach on their Side, and that therefore it is couched under the equivocal Term, *clandestine* Exportation; a Thing to be sure highly fit to be prevented, but which the Generality do easily confound with the supposed Expedience and Necessity of Laws, *absolutely prohibitory in this Case.*

made several Cloths, which were esteemed of equal Value with ours, from 6 to 8 *l.* per Cloth, white. And in *Silesia* and *Poland*, have they not their Woolen Manufactures? And did they not attempt, but two or three Years past, to supply the *Czar* with Woolen Cloth for the Use of his Army?

4. And since the *Mercator* has but crude Notions of the *French* Trade, and possibly is not acquainted with the Methods they take to supply themselves with Wool from several other Countries, besides *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; I will endeavour to set him to Rights in the following Particulars.

5. And first, I will tell him, that *France* has Abundance of Wool of its own Growth, which always served for many ordinary Manufactures. That of late Years, by the Encouragement they have given to foreign Manufacturers, they have learned to make the most of this and all their Wool. And the *French King*, some Years past, caused a great Part of his Kingdom to be surveyed; and those waste Grounds which were found proper for the Improvement of Wool, were turned into SHEEP WALKS, whereby they reap no small Advantage. To these I shall add, the great Supplies they import from many Parts.

6. From *Turkey* they bring vast Quantities of the middling and ordinary Sorts of Wool; and having lately engrossed all they could procure in those Parts, they this Year advanced the Price thereof, 150 per Cent.

7. From the Gulph of *Volo*, and the Country thereabouts in *Greece*, they constantly import several Sorts of Wool equal to ours from 7 to 9 *l.* per Pack.

8. They have also large Parcels of inferior Sorts from divers Places in *Barbary*.

9. The *Portugal* Wool is now shared between them and the *Dutch*; the best whereof will make 6 and 7 *s.* per $\frac{1}{4}$ Yard.

10. And
† The *British Merchant* seems not to have had the best Information concerning the Wool of *Portugal*; which, whether we judge of it from the Price thereof at *Amsterdam*, or from what is said of it in the *Universel du Commerce*, is much better than here represented. See also what he himself has said of *Portugal* Wool.
(Ch. 107. §. 4.) Ch. 172. §. 8. Ch. 151. §. 8. Ch. 152. §. 14.

10. And from *Bilboa* it's advised, under the 27th of *April* last, that in eight Months before that Time, the *French* had sent out of *Spain* into *France* 24000 || Bags of *Wool* of all Sorts, and besides they had contracted for most of the best Piles of new shorn *Wool*.

Page 404. 11. Certainly therefore it is high Time to look about us. The only Way is, to promote and encourage our Exportation to those Countries that trade with us to Advantage, and also to exert ourselves vigorously in putting

Ch. 104. an entire Stop to the running of our *Wool*.

§. 8. Note. 12. In this I shall never believe we are in Earnest, until, 1. we are obliged to keep a general Register of our *Wool*. 2. That severe Penalties be inflicted on those that transgress the Laws. 3. That suitable Encouragement be given to the Informers and Seizers. 4. That a very easy Method be assigned to recover the Seizures and Forfeitures, without Cost or Delay. That Men of Probity and Capacity, well versed in Trade, are entrusted

Ch. 69. § 1.

Page 420. will not do the Business †, THEY [the *French*] can be in NO WANT of *Wool* ‡, tho' they should not be supplied with any from this Nation.

13. Yes, says the *Mercator* (N^o. 168.) they may have *Spanish Wool* for fine Cloth, fine Druggets; but what is that to the Gros of our *Woolen Manufacture*? One

|| Which is about as much in two Thirds of one Year, as the *English* have been used to take from *Spain* in five Years.

Ch. 109.

* No matter it seems for the *Wool GROWER*; as if his Interest was of no Consequence, or that it necessarily followed from an enlarged *Woolen Exportation Trade*. This latter, I believe, is generally taken for granted; and tho'

Ch. 176. P. S.

it is no unnatural Supposition, yet we shall shew when it has been far otherwise.

† Then, I ask, what Business will it do?

‡ Admitting thus much to be true (which is very nearly at least demonstrable) I ask any rational Person, what is to be inferred from it, as touching the NECESSITY and the USE, not only of prohibitory Laws in this Case, under the Sanction of severe Penalties, but of a general Register of *Wool*, in order to confine it certainly within the Kingdom?

One Point then I have gained, that there can be no Want of fine *Wool* in *France*.

I must inform him now, that they can have sufficient *How coarse Wool*, either to mix with their fine, or to make *France* those other Manufactures, without coming into *Eng-land*. *may be furnished*

I have shewn often, that they have a good deal of their own; and if they had not, they could be supplied also with this from *Spain* and *Portugal*. *with coarse as well as fine Wool.*

14. We take from *Spain*, only the fine *Segovia Wool*, which is sorted into *Fine*, *Seconds*, and *Thirds*. But the *Spanish* have several others Sorts, such as *Wool of Castile*, *only the Arragon*, and other finer Sorts, from five Pence half-penny to six Pence per lib, ||, which after being picked and cleansed, is worth, from six Pence to ten Pence per lib. and answers all the Uses of *English Wool*. We buy only the fine *Segovia Wool*; but the *French*, great Quantities of all their other Sorts. The *Portugal Wool* runs higher than the ordinary Sort of *Spain*. So that *France*, without coming to us, cannot want *Wool* for any Part of the *Woolen Manufacture*. *fine Segovia Wool.*

CHAP.

|| Here again, the *British Merchant* is very much misinformed: Or perhaps it was not judged so convenient, to acquaint the *Country Gentlemen of England*, with the real Price of those middle and inferior *Spanish Wools*; because to these, some of the *English Wools* (as those of *Coteswold* and the *Ile of Wight, &c.*) are accounted to be equivalent; and being so accounted of (which is the more likely to be true, because none but the fine *Spanish Wools* are imported) the *Gentlemen of England* would be apt to expect, that their better *English Wools*, which are so deemed equivalent to middle and inferior *Spanish Wools*, should afford nearly an equal Price, in *England*, to what the said *Spanish Wools* are sold for, at *Amsterdam* for Instance; whereas the Difference, we shall shew, is very considerable.

Ch. 171, 172.

C H A P. CVI.

The British Merchant, 1713.

The Trade of Portugal considered.

Vol. 3.
p. 18.

What Goods the Portuguese prohibited.

Page 24.

The great Advance of our Trade by the Portugal Treaty.

Page 71.

During the Prohibition we brought thence no Gold or Silver; since, both in great Quantities.

1. THE Gentleman who spoke before the House of Commons, on the Behalf of the *Portugal* Trade, acquainted the House, *That Portugal had not only prohibited all Sorts of English Cloth and Hats*, but observing we introduced *KERSIES* and *CLOTH SERGES*, and *CLOTH DRUGGETS*, these they also *prohibited*; that *this Prohibition continued twenty Years, except, that a Permission was granted for the Importation of black Cloth, and Hats* *.

2. By an Account of the Exports of Woolen Manufactures to *Portugal*, before the TREATY of 1703, subscribed, *Cha. Davenant*, and laid before the House of Commons, there is no Room to believe, that our whole Exports of those Goods to that Nation, exceeded 330,000 *l. per Ann.* and probably not 70,000 *l. per Ann.* of all other Goods. But it was affirmed before the House of Commons by the Gentleman mentioned above, that our Exports to *Portugal*, since that Treaty, have amounted to 1,300,000 *l. per Ann.*

3. The *Mercator* alleges, That as we have increased since that Treaty † in the Exportation of Woolen Cloths to

* He also acquainted the House, that during the twenty Years † Prohibition, the *Portuguese* succeeded so well in their Woolen Manufactures, that we brought thence no Gold or Silver; but after the taking off that Prohibition, we brought away so much of their Silver, as to leave them very little for their necessary Occasions, and then we began to bring away their Gold.

† See Ch. 66. §. 20. Note. By which it appears, that English Cloth had been prohibited in *Portugal*, from the Year 1660. (See Chap. 107. §. Note.)

‡ The Treaty was in *October* 1703, for taking off the Prohibition of our Woolen Cloths, and for obliging the King of *Portugal* never to prohibit for the Time to come, either

to *Portugal*, we have decreased in the Exportation of our other Woolen Manufactures.

C H A P.

either our Woolen Cloths, or any of the rest of our Woolen Manufactures. The *Mercator* therefore has singled out the Year preceding, and that which followed the Treaty, to shew us how much our Exportations of double Bays, Perpets, Serges, Stuffs, Druggets, and Says, exceeded the Exportation of the like Goods, after the Admission of our Woolen Cloths into *Portugal*; and consequently how little we got by taking off the aforementioned Prohibition.

This was the Argument of his N^o. 119; but then in his very next Paper, he has given us another Scrap from his Entries, which demonstrates that our Exportation of double Bays, Perpets, Serges, Stuffs, Druggets and Says, has been as great since the Treaty, as it was before; so that we have not decreased in the Exportation of those Goods, by getting off the Prohibition from our Woolen Cloths, and that consequently the whole Exportation of Woolen Cloths is so much gained by the Treaty.

The *Mercator's* grand Argument against the Advantage this Nation has received by the Treaty with *Portugal* in 1703, is, *That tho' we exported in 1704, the Year after the Treaty, Cloths 10493 more than in 1702, the Year before the Treaty, yet the Consequence of this was, the lessening the Exportation of our Perpets, Serges, Stuffs, Druggets,* Page 73. *for that there were shipped for Portugal in 1702, more than in 1704.*

7281 double Bays,
153,279 *lib.* Weight in Perpets and Serges,
161,247 *lib.* Weight in Stuffs, Druggets and Says.

And in 1704 more than in 1702.

2130 Minikin Bays,
274 single Bays,
30939 Dozen Pair of Hose, besides Kerseys, Hats, &c. Spain

In answer to this irresistible Argument, I must first remind the *Mercator*, that in 1702, the very Year the *Way of War* was declared with *Spain*, while *Portugal* stood *Lisbon* neuter, we endeavoured to supply *Spain* by the *Way of Lisbon*, not only with Bays, but with Perpets, Serges, Druggets and several other Commodities; and therefore this was the real Occasion of such a large Exportation for *Portugal* in that Year.

Every Merchant on the Exchange, is so well acquainted with that Fact, that it is strange the *Mercator* should so openly expose himself to the Charge of Partiality; for of this he could not be ignorant.

C H A P. CVII.

The British Merchant, 1713.

The Progress of the Woolen Manufacture in Portugal, from the Commencement of it in 1684, to the Destruction of it in 1703, by Mr. Methuen's Treaty. And that our whole Exportation of Woolen Manufactures to Portugal, depends on that Treaty.

1. **I**N the Year 1681, one *Courteen*, an *Irishman*, a Servant in the Family of the Queen of England, afterwards Queen Dowager, carried over several Clothiers and Bays-makers into *Portugal*, where they presently set up the Manufactures both of Cloth and Bays, particularly at *Port Alegre* and *Covillhan*. It was soon found, that their Wool was too short for Bays, therefore their Bays-makers were soon dismissed. But they proceeded in the Manufacture of Cloth, and soon brought it to such Perfection, that in 1684, either in *June* or *July*, upon the *Conde d' Ericera's* Project to increase their Exportations, and lessen the Consumption of foreign Manufactures, as well as to encourage their own, the King of *Portugal* made a sumptuary Law, to restrain several Excesses in his Kingdom, and among the rest, the Importation of *all foreign* † Cloths was prohibited.

2. Upon this, the foreign Merchants in that Country made several Remonstrances, but could by no Means obtain, that the Prohibition should be set aside; yet they gained a Year's Time to bring in those that were on the Way, but were obliged to re-ship whatsoever should arrive after the Time limited.

3. The

† *N. B.* The Author of *Britannia Languens*, who wrote *Ch. 66.* in the Year 1680, speaks of *English Cloth* as having been §.20. *Note.* then prohibited in *Portugal* from the Year 1660. But, from what we read (*Ch. 106. §. 1.*) it seems as if that Prohibition had been some Way or other evaded, or connived at, 'till the Year 1684, when the Importation of *all foreign Cloths* was prohibited.

3. The *Mercator* (N^o. 125.) has given a prodigious Page 83. Exportation for that Year 1684, especially of Woolen Cloths; which, by this, is very well accounted for; a License to import for one Year, when for ever after they were to stand prohibited, might very well give Occasion to that vast Exportation. It was an Exportation, indeed, of but one Year, but it was to supply that Country for many Years to come.

4. The *Portuguese* soon became so expert in the Manufacture of Woolen Cloths, that they sent home our *English* Clothiers, in a distressed Condition; and the *Renagadoes* were forced for some Time to beg their Bread. But the *Portuguese*, as I have said, went on successively; their Manufacture of Woolen Cloths increased to that Degree, that both *Portugal* and *Brazil* were wholly supplied from their own Fabricks, and the Materials of this Manufacture were, their own, and *Spanish* Wool, and no other; so that the *Mercator* may know that other Nations have Wool as well as *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; and 'tis but cheating ourselves, to fancy that all the Materials for Woolen Cloths are of our own Growth: For I am afraid, *Portugal*, as well as *Spain*, has better Wool than ever grew in *England*.

5. To make ourselves some amends, and to evade the ill Consequences of this Prohibition of our Woolen Cloths, we presently introduced into *Portugal*, in their stead, Cloth Serges, and Cloth Druggets; against which their Fabrick of Cloth, which was then but in its Infancy, would have been as unable to contend, as against a free Importation of our Woolen Cloths. Therefore, that their own Cloth might have no such Thing as a Rival in their own Country, they proceeded to Druggets. This happened in about one Year after the first Prohibition.

6. I appeal to every Person that has lived in *Portugal*, from the Year 1683, to 1703, during the Time of the Prohibition, whether *Portugal* did not make Cloth enough for herself and *Brazil*? I am sure, that every Man, of Honesty and Experience, must acknowledge this.

7. The *Mercator* often makes us the Compliment of the Woolen Manufacture, and calls it OUR WOOL, OUR MANUFACTURE, OUR WOOLEN MANUFACTURE, as if there were no such Thing in the World, but in *Great Britain*.

Other Nations have Materials for Cloth, as well as we. Britain. But the very Moment I am writing, I have Mr. Mun's Treatise printed in 1664, lying open before me, and p. 19, I read the following Words, WE KNOW THAT OTHER NATIONS NEITHER WANT ART NOR MATERIALS FOR THIS PERFORMANCE.

8. For my own Part, I know very well, that *Wool* is the Growth of other Countries as well as *England*; and in some Countries in much more Perfection than in *England*; and they have Dying Goods too for perfecting their Manufactures, which are wanting here. So that I never hear of an Attempt in any Place to set on Foot the Woolen Manufacture, but it gives me a Fit of Trembling * for my native Country. And we see by this Attempt of the *Portuguese*, that in a very few Years Time, they were able to forbear Yearly, an hundred thousand Pounds Value of our Woolen Cloths.

The Portuguese Fabrick prevented 100,000 l. Value of our English Cloths per Ann.

Ch. 94. §. 17.

* But why this Panic, except (as the Law stands) for the *British Wool Grower*? Can *Great Britain* expect (what is not to be expected), to carry on Trade, as Mr. *Huet* calls it *, after a new and unheard-of Method; vainly imagining, as once the *French* (he tells you) did, to sell their Produce and Manufacture, without buying any? 'A fine Scheme (says he) only altogether impracticable'

Ch. 139.

In short, are other Nations undone, because *Great Britain* has set up Manufactures not practised heretofore in the Kingdom? Or is it not a Thing to be looked for, that many other Countries should be as ready to take up Woolen Manufacture, as *Great Britain* has been to erect, perhaps, every other Manufacture * that can be named? And what has *Great Britain* to do in that Case, but to persist in giving Encouragement to ALL *useful Manufactures*, and, for the rest, to regulate its Imports by its Exports?

Prov. Ch. xx. ver. 10.

But Note, the Premises considered, I should not think it very good Policy, to prohibit absolutely the Exportation of *Wool*, especially since by our Author's own Confession, in this very Place, *Wool* is the Growth of other Countries as well as *ENGLAND, &c.* And therefore, for *Great Britain* to give into all other Manufactures, and to allow of the free Importation of all foreign *Wools*, and at the same Time to forbid absolutely the Exportation of ANY *British Wools* upon any Terms whatsoever, is, between the Buyers, and the Growers and Sellers of that Commodity, using divers Measures; which the *Wise-man* y condemns equally as divers *Weight*, and says, they are alike an Abomination.

9. This was their first Essay. But can we be so very fond as to think they would have stopp'd here? or that they would not have proceeded afterwards to other Parts of the Manufacture? They would have gone on from Cloth to Druggets, from Druggets to Serges, and so to other Things, 'till, one after another, at last all foreign Goods had been prohibited. Page 88. Which would have led them to other Manufactures.

10. Perhaps it may be objected, and very justly, the Staple of the *Wool* in *Portugal*, is not of sufficient Length for Bays, and several other Parts of the Woolen Manufactures. But can we be sure that this Defect might not have been cured in Time, by removing their Sheep into the richest Pasture? However, at the worst, if they had not been able to come up to the Perfection of *England*, yet they might resolve to be contented with their own, to save an Expence of so many hundred thousand Pounds per Ann. Shortness of their Wool might have been cured by their rich Pastures.

11. The *Mercator* would persuade us, that the *Portugal* Trade is not so very necessary to *England*, as the *English* Manufactures are to *Portugal*; and that the very Prohibition of them were enough to raise a Rebellion there, against the Government, to cause a Revolt of the People from the Prince. This is the Doctrine of his *N^o. 121.* Was there any Danger of a Revolt upon the Prohibition of 1684? Yet that Court was pestered with Remonstrances from their Manufacturers, when the Prohibition was taken off pursuant to Mr. *Methuen's* Treaty. But the Thing was past, the Treaty was ratified, and their Loomes were all ruined. Remonstrances in Portugal on Mr. Methuen's Treaty.

12. Mr. *Methuen's* Treaty, by taking off the Prohibition of *British* Cloths, and by providing, that neither these, nor any of the *British* Woolen Manufactures in *Portugal*, should hereafter be prohibited, was the immediate Ruin of all the Fabricks in that Country, and opened to us a Market, by the *Mercator's* own shewing, for above 10,000 of our Cloths, above the Value of 100,000 l. per Ann. And I believe, when some of the last Year's Entries shall be given in from the *Custom-House*, it will appear that our whole Exports of Woolen Manufactures to *Portugal*, amount now to 5 or 600,000 l. per Annum *. Page 89. Page 90.

* I cannot but remark here, that according to this Representation of the *British Merchant*, it seems as if the King of

of Portugal had done an extreme foolish Thing for his own People, in ratifying this Treaty of Commerce with *England*. Whereas I rather think it was a wise one on his Part, as well as greatly advantageous to *England*, altho' the Manufacturers in *Portugal* did remonstrate against it, and altho' *England* was much indebted to the Sagacity and Address of Mr. *Methuen* for it.

When, in the Reign of *Charles II.* French Bribery had prevailed so far in *England*, as to procure that the Customs and Duties, on their Product, should be light, and heavy upon that of *Spain* and *Portugal*, 'tis no Wonder that French Wines, being cheaper, as well as more palatable, were the common Draught of this Kingdom; and that consequently, we importing little from *Portugal*, that Kingdom scrupled not to prohibit several of our Woolen Manufactures, especially after having lost much of our Custom for Sugars^z and Tobacco. But by this Treaty, wherein it was stipulated, that the Wines of *Portugal* should be admitted in *England*, for one Third less Duty than those of *France*, *Portugal* was secure of a good Vent for its Wine, which is one principal Produce of that Country, and for which *England* is almost its only Market.

^z Ch. 70.
§. 10.
Ch. 135.
§. 6.

And tho' it is not to be denied, that to prohibit foreign Manufactures, where the same are made at home, is generally speaking, right Policy, and was so far well judged in *Portugal*, as that it gave great Encouragement to the Woolen Manufacture there; yet the utter Abolition of the *Portuguese* Woolen Manufacture cannot well be thought to have been a direct natural Consequence of their admitting the same from *England*, altho' it would very much impair it. Neither is it to be concluded, that the Woolen Fabrics of *Portugal* were entirely demolished, because *England* furnished that Kingdom with Woolen Manufacture, to the Amount of 5 or 600,000 *per Ann.* seeing that such a Sum goes but a little Way towards clothing the whole Kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Brazil*.

I don't say the *Portuguese* Fabrics were not ruined, as the *British Merchant* tells us they were, I only say, that Woolen Manufacture exported thither from *England*, to the Amount mentioned, is no certain Proof thereof. It might be so that they were, and that might happen through the Accidents of War (or from some other Cause) rather than from *English* Woolen Manufacture being there admitted, altho' the Sale of a larger Quantity of *English* Manufacture was certainly a Consequence of such unlimited Admission, and might be a Cause of some Fabrics once destroyed, not being hastily, and perhaps not at all, repaired there. This is certain, that so much more as *England* sold there, on Account of that

C H A P. CVIII.

The British Merchant, 1714.

Of the State of our Trade with Spain, as it stood upon the Peace of Utrecht.

1. OUR *Spanish* Trade has suffered very much from the Influence *France* has had of late Years over that Kingdom; it has been such, as even to change their ancient Habits, an Alteration once thought impracticable. This has fallen very heavy on our *Colchester* Bays, a Trade formerly so considerable to that Country; with their Habits, the *French* have introduced their Manufactures, to the great Detriment of ours. But our Trade

that Treaty, so much less might the *Portuguese* be supposed to manufacture themselves. But then on the other Hand, it is to be noted, that they by this Treaty acquired a Market for their Wines, which otherwise they could not have had, and could not vend elsewhere. Whereas their Wool, another Part of their Produce, was what, it was known, they could find a Vent for. So that the Landed Interest of that Kingdom was certainly consulted by his Majesty of *Portugal*, in this Treaty.

As to *England*, this single Instance of the Treaty with *Portugal* in 1703, points out to us the best, if not the only Means by which our foreign Woolen Trade is to be preserved and promoted; namely, by making wise Treaties of Commerce; by providing as much as may be, that our Woolen Manufactures be not prohibited, nor charged with excessive Duties, and not by bending our whole Thoughts and Endeavours towards preventing absolutely the Exportation of Wool from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; which Experience of above 80 Years tells us, is next to impossible at least, in the Way wherein it has been hitherto attempted, and which if it was effected, merely by Dint of prohibitory Laws, a Register, &c. would avail us little or nothing, as, I think, will appear yet more plainly, before I come to the Conclusion of these Memoirs.

Trade * now seems to have had its fatal Blow from the Treaty

* *A Letter concerning the Spanish Trade.*

To the British Merchant.

Page 94.

S I R,

I wonder you suffer the *Mercator* to run on as he does upon the *Spanish* Trade; he has delivered as gross Things upon this, as upon our Trade with *France*. And it is in my Opinion, your Business to undeceive his Readers, as well in one Case as in the other.

In his Arguments about our Trade with *Spain*, he lays down as a Maxim, that if *France* could have supplied them with Manufactures, she would never have permitted that *Spain* should have solicited the opening a Trade with us; and therefore it shews of Consequence, that if *Spain* wanted a Trade with us then, we shall much more easily carry it on in Time of Peace.

The Interest of *Spain* was certainly to open a Trade with us; for by that Means they got a Consumption of their Wine, Oil, Fruit, *Cochineal*, and other Commodities, some of which no Nation takes off but us; and tho' *France* takes off some equally with us, yet it was the Interest of *Spain* to have several Buyers at the Market.

Page 95.

Now having shewn it was the Interest of *Spain* to open a Trade with us, or else they had no Consumption for several of their Commodities; it might be expected I should shew the Advantage we had by that Trade.

Spanish Wool and Dying Goods our chief Benefit by the Spanish Trade.

I am sure all the eminent *Spanish* Merchants were of Opinion, that it could be of no other Advantage to *Great Britain*, than by supplying us with *Wool* and *Dying Goods* which we wanted; they did not promise themselves an equal Trade with that Country, or that we should sell her as great a Value of Goods, as we were likely to buy from thence; but as we had then Hopes of regaining *Spain* to the House of *Austria*, it had been no good Policy to sour the *Spaniards* by our Refusal of their Product, but rather give Way at present, on a future View.

Spain Over-balances us.

I appeal then to all the *Spanish* Traders, whether *Spain* has not had an Over-balance against us; and if so, it could not be the Nation's Benefit to open a Trade that must exhaust us; for all Over-balance of Trade must be paid with Money.

I am sure no one of our Commodities for the Expence of the *Spanish* Market, advanced on opening the Trade with

Treaty of Commerce, by which, among other Mistakes, the

with *Spain*, which shews the *Spaniards* had no great Occasion for our Commodities; on the contrary, theirs, which otherwise must have perished in their Hands, not only found a Consumption here, but at very good Prices.

But let any one look back to the Peace of *Ryswick* in 1697, and he will find, that notwithstanding we had been in Amity with *Spain* during that War, and consequently

carried on a Trade with some Difficulty, by Convoys and Runners; yet on that Peace, as soon as we were able to go free, and Freights and Insurance were very easy and reasonable, all *English* Goods proper for the *Spanish* Markets advanced considerably. For Instance, *Colchester*

Bays rose from 17 d. to about 24 d. the *Flemish* Ell. I desire the *Mercator* to tell me, what they are risen since this Peace with *Spain*.

If he cannot shew that our Goods are advanced, can he pretend the *Spaniards* want them? Does not all Demand necessarily cause an Advance of Price of Goods? Now I challenge all that trade to *Spain*, to shew one Commodity advanced, one Commodity wanted in the *Spanish* Markets, of the Growth or Product of

England.

If the *Spaniards* wanted them in 1697, as appears by the Advance, is it not plain they do not want them now? And is it not a necessary Consequence, if they do not want our Manufactures, that they are supplied from some other Country?

Can any Thing then be more certain, than that *France* has got that Trade? Or else let the *Mercator* tell who has it; or can the *Spaniards* live without either their Manufactures or ours? It is equal to *England*, which of the two is the present Case, since the Consequence is what I assert; we have a losing Trade to *Spain*, by taking off more of their Commodities than they take of ours. However, it's certain, our Trade to *Spain* is the Benefit of *France*; for since, as above, none of our Products are demanded there, and that *France* takes off so little of theirs, the Over-balance that we must pay, must consequently center in *France*: For *France*, by permitting the *Spaniards* to trade with us (and I shall never think it otherwise than a Permission) will have this Advantage, by our taking off the Products of *Spain*, that we shall enrich the *Spaniards*, without which, they would be reduced to Poverty and Misery; and in the mean Time *France* reaps the Benefit of their Trade, which they could not do, did not we subsist those People, by taking off their Products.

Page 97.

the ancient Privileges of the *British* Nation are given up ; and as we formerly gained a more considerable Balance from thence, than from any other Country, by the Exports of our Woolen Manufactures, *France* has so beaten us out of that Trade ; that we now even pay a Balance to *Spain*, which Balance centers in *France*.

Spain takes French Cloth instead of ours. 2. Letters * from *Cadiz*, give this melancholy Account : That for the Woolen Manufacture of England, there is no Talk of it, and that, particularly for Cloth : It's

* June 3, 1714.

S I R,

Page 224. Letter from Cadiz. ' I am sorry, that the State of publick Affairs does at present so manifestly prejudice Trade. Our Commerce here (that is the Factors) have made Remarks on the *Articles of Peace* and *Commerce*, and represented, that in many Particulars, we are in a worse Condition than in the Reign of King *Charles II.*, and not half so much favoured in Duties as the *French* Nation. It is likewise set forth, that in the Interim, excessive Customs are exacted, more than even in Time of War ; by which Means no Goods are dispatched, and all Trade stopped. It is made appear, that the *French* continue a clandestine Trade to the *Spanish Indies*, by the King's Connivance, expressly contrary to the Treaty. It is hoped, when these Matters are fully understood, that the Parliament will stir in the Matter ; and if IT BEN'T TOO LATE, remedy those Grievances, and prevent the bad Effects of several Oversight's in the late Negotiations. There are at present in this Bay, an Aviso, or Pacquet Boat, and four other Ships sitting for *Vera Cruz*, and the *Honduras*, laden intirely with *French* Effects, besides some other *French* Ships for the *South-Sea*.

Page 225. ' *Mexico* Plate, Prem. 7 per Cent. Exchange for *London*, 52 d. to 52 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ per Piece of Eight. N. B. ' The Reader has here an Extract of one single Letter from *Spain* ; if I were to give him Extracts of all the Letters to the same Purpose from the *English* and *Irish* Merchants in that Kingdom, they would make a very large Volume. ' The Complaints of every one are, That we are not so much favoured in Duties as the *French* ; that we are in a worse Condition than we were in the Reign of King *Charles II.* ; that more excessive Customs are exacted now, than when we were in actual War with the *Spanish* Nation ; that

none

It's wished the Mercator, and his Friends, saw the *French* Cloth they had there, which, if they did, they would believe the *French* could make Cloth. Woolen Goods pay now from 20 to 30 per Cent. Let the Mercator now tell us, if he thinks the Woolen Manufacture will bear from 20 to 30 per Cent. in *Spain*.

3. Behold

' none of our Goods are dispatched, and that all Trade is stopped ; that the *French*, in the mean Time, have a full Trade, by the Connivance of the King of *Spain*, to the *Spanish* Indies ; and that whole Ships are laden with *French* Effects for those Countries, besides many which the *French* themselves send directly to the *South-Sea*. These are the Complaints which our Merchants residing in *Spain*, singly represent to their Correspondents here, and also jointly, as a Body, with their Consul, to the Government.'

Cadiz, June 24, 1714. N. S.

S I R,

' This Week came an Order to the Officers of our Custom-House, to permit the Dispatch of Goods as formerly, until the general Peace and Commerce is concluded, when there will be an new *Arancel* (or Book of Rates) for the *Cadiz*, regulating the Payment of the Duties. And altho' Goods with you are exceeding cheap, here it happens the same, and what is still worse, we have no Consumption for them, through the miserable Condition of this Country, which is oppressed with Taxes and Duties, and the Navigation of *Spain*, the *Spaniards* to the *Indies* interrupted ; whilst, in the Interim, from this Bay, and divers Ports of *France*, sail every Month Ships for *Peru*, and other Coasts of the

Sevilla, June 26, 1714. O. S.

S I R,

' We are very desirous here, that the *British* Ambassador may soon arrive at *Madrid*, and fix the Customs out of *French* Hand, that the *Dutch*, *Flemish*, *Italians*, and *SPANIARDS*, may obtain the same Privileges. Since *Thursday* last, there is come an Order to dispatch Goods at the Custom-House, as formerly. The Reason of it is, that they found no body dispatch'd any on the new Terms. ' I much doubt, whether the *English* Ambassador can, on his Arrival at *Madrid*, prevail that the *French* may not sail to the *West Indies*. Several Ships of that Nation are now loading in the Ports of *Spain* and *France* ; and from

Page 229. 3. Behold then what we have got by our Treaty! This Trade to *Spain*, that was formerly esteemed as the Page 232. best Flower in our Garden, that took off more of our Woolen

The French buy up all the Wool in Spain. They overstock the Spanish West Indies with Goods.

Page 262. Seville and Cadiz have no Vent to the Indies.

dix lately failed several for the *South Sea* and *Vera Cruz*. They have enriched themselves so much by that Trade, that they have engaged in this Country, for all the *Wool* at such high Rates, that they cannot be bought up for *Holland* and other Parts as usual; and the same they have done for *Oils*, for which they give 65 Pieces of Eight per Pipe. The Factors from *Cartagena* (in the *West Indies*) write that they cannot sell Goods enough to pay Freight; and all that Country was stocked so full, that Goods sold there as cheap as in *Spain*. And the Case is the same in *Peru*, where the *French* had swept away all the Plate to such a Degree, that they loaded their Ships with mineral Oar to be refined in *France*. The said Nation has engrossed all the Commerce of *America*, and also of *Europe*, and as long as THEY REIGN in *SPAIN*, there is no Hopes of any Thing favourable for other Nations.

Since *Seville* and *Cadiz* have no Vent to the *Indies*, and the Consumption of the Country is so little, and the Scarcity of our Money every Day increases, it's not to be doubted, but those who send Goods will receive tedious and bad Accounts. And as I have Experience of what passes herein, it is but Reason I should not engage with you in any Goods from your Parts. For at present, there is no Demand for any Thing. And our Warehouses are full of all sorts of Merchandizes. And those who persuade themselves otherwise, are deceived, as they that are interested in the *Buenos Ayres* Ships will find, who will not be able to make any Sales for that Province. *Potosi*, *Lima*, and *Chili*, were full stocked with Goods, there being above 20 *French* Ships in the several Ports of the *South Sea*, and some gone since; infomuch, that if *England* and *Holland* do not redress this Disorder, they had as good not think of the Trade to the *Indies*; while the *French* Government predominates in *Spain*.

N. B. 'Tis notorious, that our Supplies of Gold and Silver were formerly wholly owing to our Trade with *Spain*.

Page 320. But the *Spanish* Merchants unanimously answered at the Page 321. Bar of the House of Lords, that we have dispatched no Goods in *Spain* of late, nor can dispatch any by the late Treaty. And the Merchants that reside in *Spain*, both *Spaniards*, and others, tell us roundly, there can be no Encouragement

Woolen Manufactures, and made us greater Returns of Money, than any other Trade, is now quite stopp'd. But *France*, in the mean Time, loads whole Ships for the Spanish

couragement for us to send any Goods to that Country now, though *King Philip* has given Orders for the dispatching our Goods upon the Terms of his Predecessors. They assign two Reasons for this, the one is, the extreme Poverty of the People, occasioned by the War; the other, that all the Riches of the *Spanish* Indies are intercepted by the *French*.

St. Maloes, from a poor beggarly privateering Town, at the End of the first War, is now in so short a Time become the richest City of its Extent in the whole World, by her Trade to the *Spanish* Indies. *Port Louis* has its Share; and we have not heard of such rich Subjects in all Europe, as the *French* Traders to the *Spanish* Indies. Almost every *News Paper* from *France*, gives us an Account of some prodigious Cargo from those Provinces, so that even *England* itself begins at last to be alarmed.

But to make the People entirely easy in this Matter, the Gazette on Saturday July 24, 1714, comes out with a flaming Paragraph in the Article of *Madrid*; that very Page 322. strict Orders had been sent from Time to Time to the Viceroy and Governours in the *West-Indies*, to put a Stop to all clandestine Commerce, which Foreigners, particularly the *French*, may endeavour to carry on in those Kindoms. And a World of vigorous Cedula's to this Purpose. And then after a long Account of *French* Ships that had ventured thither, notwithstanding these Discouragements, and were seized and confiscated in almost every Sea Coast Town in those Provinces, we are told, &c.

That *French* Ships then do really go to the *Spanish* Indies, is true, upon the Authority of the Gazette. But they are seized, it seems, and confiscated when they come there. This is a little cruel to the Subjects of his Grandfather. But I believe the *Spaniards* of *Cadiz* have never heard of his Cruelty: For they assure us, that *French* Ships are fitted out from *Cadiz* for those Countries, with entire Cargoes of the *French*; and that they will not suffer *Spaniards* to be concerned with them. But all this while, we hear of no *Spanish* Ships returning from the *Indies*, but great Numbers of *French* Ships that come from thence. See here a Letter from *Lima*, from Don D. G.

S I R,

The great Abundance of all Sorts of Goods which the *French* have brought from Time to Time into the *Indies*.

Spanish Indies. The whole Riches of the *Spanish Nation* are thus given up to *France*.

C H A P.

‘ have occasioned such a Confusion in Trade, as is almost
‘ incredible, and will require a large Space of Time for
‘ their Consumption. Over and above what has been already
‘ introduced, there are in several Ports in these Kingdoms,
‘ eight Ships which have not yet broke Bulk, and which
‘ for want of Plate, cannot possibly be dispatched: And
‘ besides, there are other three, that after their Cargoes
‘ were sold, failed for the *East-Indies*, and are returned hi-
‘ ther, laden with Silks in Abundance, from *Canton* and
‘ *Bengal*; all which remain without finding any Buyers, at
‘ any Rate, these Kingdoms being glutted with those Sorts
‘ of Goods; and finally, there is no Sort of Merchandize
‘ of what Quality soever, that is not quite down to the
‘ lowest Value; and if the King permit the Continuation of
‘ their Trade any longer, I assure you under my Hand,
‘ there will not remain in all these *Indies*, any Man that
‘ shall be worth a tolerable Estate; for they are already al-
‘ most all broken and lost, from the lowest to the highest;
‘ and even the Ecclesiastics suffer exceedingly; for there is
‘ not a Piece of Eight to be seen, the *French* being Arbiters
‘ of all the Gold and Silver, and they have now quite drain-
‘ ed these Kingdoms. These Oppressions we miserable
‘ *Spaniards* now labour under.

‘ We have Notice of the Arrival of the Galleons off *Porta*
‘ *Bello*; but the miserable State of these Parts, through the
‘ false Measures here tolerated, must inevitably prove the
‘ Ruin of their Voyage; for from hence not one of this
‘ Commerce can go down to trade with them as usual.

Salmon's Chron. Hist. 1714. Representation of the House of Lords to the Queen.
P. S. July 5. The House of Lords having taken into Consideration, the Treaty of Peace and Commerce with *Spain*, made a Representation to the Queen, July 7, in the following Terms. ‘ That upon Examination of the Mer-
‘ chants at our Bar, and perusing and considering several
‘ Representations and Papers, laid before us by your Commis-
‘ sioners of Trade, it appears to us, that the carrying on the
‘ Trade between your Majesty's Dominions and *Spain*, on the
‘ Foot of the Treaty of Commerce, as it stands ratified with
‘ the three preliminary Articles, is attended with insuperable
‘ Difficulties; and therefore we do humbly beseech your Ma-
‘ jesty, to use effectual Means for procuring such Alterations
‘ to be made in the same, as may render the said Trade pra-
‘ cticable, and beneficial to your Majesty's People.’

C H A P. C I X.

The Advantages arising to Great Britain, since the Peace, by the Increase of the Navigation and Exportation of the Manufactures, and Produce of England only, viz. of Woolen Manufactures.*

Species of Goods.	Exported 1709, 1710, 1711.
Bays, — — —	127,492 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cloth of all Sorts, — — —	107,888
Cottons, — — —	273,017
Kerfies, — — —	59,884 $\frac{2}{3}$
Perpets and Serges, — — —	8,250,805 lib.
Flannel, — — —	990,451 Yards
Stockins, — — —	81,472 Dozen
Stuffs, — — —	3,186,031 lib.
Says, — — —	495,457 ditto
Northern Dozens, — — —	19,385 ditto
Hats, — — —	25,383 Dozen.

Spanish Wool imported into England, 13,986 Bags.
Cochineal imported, — 177,785 lib.

Species of Goods.	Exported 1712, 1713, 1714.
Bays, — — —	158,903 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cloth of all Sorts, — — —	152,642
Cottons, — — —	525,227
Kerfies, — — —	83,110
Perpets and Serges, — — —	8,643,505 lib.
Flannel, — — —	1,213,949 Yards
Stockins, — — —	96,939 Dozen
Stuffs, — — —	5,586,968 lib.
Says, — — —	619,262 ditto
Northern Dozens, — — —	52,151 ditto
Hats. — — —	29,373 Dozen.

Spanish

* This is bound up, by Way of Appendix, with the Articles of Impeachment against the *Earl of Oxford*, and his Answers thereto, in Vindication of himself; and Printed in the Year 1727.

154 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 109.

Spanish Wool imported into *England*, 20,388 Bags
Cochineal imported ————— 220,667 *lib.*

The Increase of the Exports 1712, 1713, and 1714, more than in the Years 1709, 1710, 1711.

Bays,	— — —	31,411	Pieces
Cloth of all Sorts,	— — —	44,754	Cloths
Cottons,	— — —	252,210	Goads
Kerfies,	— — —	23,225 $\frac{1}{2}$	Pieces
Perpets and Serges,	— — —	392,700	<i>lib.</i>
Flannel,	— — —	223,498	Yards
Stockins,	— — —	15,467	Dozen
Stuffs,	— — —	2,400,937	<i>lib.</i>
Says,	— — —	123,805	ditto
Northern Dozen	— — —	32,766	ditto
Hats.	— — —	13,990	Dozen.

Spanish Wool imported ————— 6,402 Bags
Cochineal ————— 42,882 *lib.*

P. S. *English Wool* in the War, was sold at 15 *s.* per Tod, and now at 18 *s.* *

CH A P.

* I see nothing in this Account, which contradicts materially, what we have before met with in the *British Merchant* *, touching the Peace of *Utrecht*, and the *Treaty of Commerce* with *France*.

* See particularly Ch. 104.

It shews indeed some Increase of Trade and Navigation; but that only proves, what every one must believe, that Peace, in these Respects, is better than War. It does not therefore follow, that the *Treaty of Utrecht* was not (what is abundantly manifest from other Hands) unglorious and pernicious to *England*.

Ch. 110. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 155

CH A P. CX.

Occurrences and Acts. 1714—15.

1. KING *George*, in his Speech to the Parliament, *Salmon's* *March* 21, 1714, reflected on the Insecurity of *Chron.* the present Peace; telling them, that Trade was rendered *Hist.* 1714. impracticable, and if it was not retrieved, must destroy their Manufactures and Navigation.

2. *April* 1, The Commons addressed the King, to 1715. lay the Negotiations of Peace and Commerce before the House, with which his Majesty having complied, a Secret Committee was appointed to inspect them.

3. An * *Act* to make more effectual an *Act* of the tenth Year of her late Majesty, intituled an *Act* for regulating, 10 *Anne*, improving; c. 16.

* This *Act* recites, ' That the *Act* of the Tenth ^b of ^b *Ch.* 91. Queen *Anne*, had proved ineffectual for preventing the ^c §.12. *Note.* Abuses committed, in making and measuring mix'd or Medley Broad Cloths, and therefore ordained, 1. That at the Instance and Request of the Buyer, it shall for Proof thereof, be put into Water (as by ancient Custom they usually were) and then measured by two indifferent Persons, to be chose, one, by the Buyer, and another, by the Seller of the said Cloth; and in Case they disagree in ascertaining the Length and Breadth of the said Cloth, by a third Person of their choosing, and if they neglect or refuse within the Space of two Hours to chuse, or if the Person so chosen, neglect or refuse to take upon him the said Admeasurement, then (if in *London*) it shall finally be made by the Keeper of *Blackwell-Hall*, to be sworn for that Purpose; if elsewhere, by some fit Person, to be nominated by the chief Magistrate, where the said Cloth shall happen to be sold. And if upon such Admeasurement, the Quantity be found less in Length or Breadth, than is expressed in the Seal from the *Fulling-Mill*, the sixth Part of the whole Value to be forfeited, if in *London*, for the Benefit of *Christ's-Hospital*; if elsewhere, to the Poor of the Parish; the Forfeiture to be paid by the Buyer, and by him deducted from the Price of the Cloth.

2. That if the Fuller refuse or neglect to take the Oath required by the said Tenth of Queen *Anne*, or to fix the Seal

7 Anne,
c. 13.

improving, and encouraging of the Woolen Manufacture, of mixed, or medley Broad Cloths, and for the better Payment of the Poor, employed therein, for the Benefit of Trade in general; and also to render more effectual, an Act of the seventh Year of her said Majesty's Reign, intituled, An Act for the better ascertaining the Lengths and Breadths of Woolen Cloth made in the County of York. 1 Geo. c. 15.

4. An Act for giving Liberty to Persons who have served their Apprenticeship to any Part of the Woolen Manufacture in Colchester, to work at the said Trades, and at making Bays in the said Town, c. 41. *

Salmon's
Chron.
Hist.
1715.

5. Feb. 25. An Express arrived from Madrid, which brought his Catholick Majesty's Ratification of the Treaty of Commerce † between Great Britain and Spain, concluded the 14th of December, 1715.

CHAP.

Seal required by the said Act: Or if any Person shall take off, Deface, or Counterfeit such Seal, being lawfully convicted thereof, shall for every such Neglect or Offence, forfeit 20 l. [instead of 20 s. by the Act of Queen Anne.] That if Clothiers shall pay their Workmen in Goods and not in Money, the Forfeiture in that Case, shall be 40 s. instead of 20, as by the former Act.

Ch. 91.
§. 12.

3. With Regard to the Seventh of Anne c, touching Yorkshire Broad Cloths, it determines the Length and Breadth, with the Penalty of 20 s. for over-stretching them, and of 40 s. for fixing a Mark thereon, other than the Makers own.

Preamble.

* Whereas the Trade of making Bays in Colchester, was formerly a free Trade, till by Virtue of a By-Law, made 1707, the same was restrained to Persons serving their Apprenticeship to Bay-makers only; which By-Law hath by Experience been found to be highly detrimental to that Branch of the Woolen Manufacture. And whereas, by Means of the abovementioned By-Law, and by the ill Practices of some of the Bay-makers, of the said Town of Colchester, the Poor Weavers, and other Persons working at the Woolen Manufacture there, have been grievously oppressed. For Remedy thereof, be it enacted, &c.

See
Chap. 49.
§. 1.

† By the Treaty concluded at Madrid (1667^d) the Duties of Importation payable upon the Manufactures and Product of Great Britain, amounted, upon the established Valuation, in the Spanish Books of Rates (after the

CHAP. CXI.

A Letter to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, concerning the Trade of New England, 1715.

1. AT present, the Importation of New England Page 7- exceeds their Exportation: This, if not balanced, must bring on this double Evil; it will oblige us to set up Manufactories of our own, which will destroy that Branch of Trade: And this necessarily infers the other fatal Inconveniency or Evil: Those Manufactories will employ the Hands that are, or would be at work on naval Stores. And the Nation may come entirely to depend on the Humours and politick Designs of the Russ, the Dane and the Swede, for Leave to set a Fleet to Sea.

2. If any one shall object, My Lords, that these Damages are only imaginary, or else why have they not fallen upon Manufactories already; for that they have not, we find, because the Exportation to those Plantations yearly increases? Your Lordships, I hope, will be satisfied

the Deduction of the Gratia's) in Andalusia, to 11 1/2 per Cent. in Valencia, to 5 per Cent. and in Catalonia, to about 7 per Cent. or less; and consequently upon the whole aforesaid Trade, those Duties could not exceed 10 per Cent. on a Medium.

By the explanatory Articles of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Duties of Importation upon the Products and Manufactures of Great Britain, were augmented in Andalusia to 27 1/2 per Cent. at a Medium. But by the late Treaty made with his present Majesty at Madrid, the said Duties are again reduced, according to the aforesaid Treaty of 1667.

Another considerable Advantage is, that the French, by the Treaty made with his present Majesty, are to pay the same Duties at the Dry Ports, through which they pass by Land Carriage, as we pay upon Importation or Exportation by Sea; which was not provided for by the Utrecht Treaty. Frecholder, Numb. 41.

satisfied with the following Answer, which is but one of many that offer.

A Woolen Manufactory in New England.

Page 9.

3. *We have a very considerable Manufactory already established in New England, begun in the great Scarcity and Dearth of Goods, about nine Years ago, when the English Manufacture sold at 200 per Cent. Advance to the Shop, which added 25 per Cent. for their own Profit; which great Advance arose from the Badness and Uncertainty of Returns, and this, in some Measure, from the ill Pay of the Bounty Money, and great Discount on the Certificates. The Merchants could not sell cheaper, and the Husbandman and Householder would not give so dear.*

4. *This put them upon making Buttons, Stuffs, Kerseys, Linsy Woolseys, Flannels, &c.; which has decreased the Importation of those Provinces, above 50,000 l. per Annum. And for the Exportation increasing, that is only the Effect of the Peoples Increase, and has no more in it, than that three Men require more clothing than two.*

C H A P. CXII.

Provision for the Poor, or a View of the decay'd State of the Woolen Manufacture, with Remarks on the Causes and evil Consequences thereof, and a Scheme of proper Remedies, &c. By John Haynes. The Second Edition, 1715. 1^{to} 1706

Preface, P. 3.

1. **T**HE Preservation and Increase of the Woolen Manufacture being of the greatest Importance to Great Britain, 'tis presumed, a just Representation of the present State of it, will not be unacceptable to the Publick. 'Tis but too manifest, that the true Interest of it is not pursued with due Diligence and Care, and that proper Measures are not yet fallen upon for promoting it, by the effectual preventing of the Exportation of Wool.

2. I

2. I give a short View of the Endeavours hitherto used, for that End, how they came to be ineffectual; with a Scheme of Proposals, for the more effectual Pursuit of that Service.

3. The Wool of France and Holland, is of that Nature and Quality, that 'twill not make Cloth or Stuffs for Ornament or Service, without a Mixture * of OURS with it. And their Care † and Diligence to get OUR Wool for this Purpose is a sufficient Indication of what I say. When they have thus clandestinely obtained our Wool, they work it up in their own Manufactories, cloath their own Subjects with it, and supply Italy, Turkey, Spain, and other Foreign Countries, which we formerly did.

4. There are three Sorts of Wool different in their Kinds, and applied to different Uses, in which great Numbers are continually employed. To form an Estimate of the Loss sustained by exporting rough Wool: Let us compute the Numbers of Poor employed in working it up. One Pack of short Wool made into Cloth, is Employment for 63 Persons a Week. A Pack of long Wool for Stuffs, is Employment for 302 Persons, who will earn 43 l. 10 s. But such a Pack wrought into the finest Stuffs, will employ double the Number of Hands in the Spinning and Weaving especially. In Stockins, a Pack will employ 202 Persons, who will earn 56 l. 1 s. And here it falls in my Way to take Notice of the Silk Manufacture. A hundred Weight of Silk, will employ weekly 297 Persons, who will earn 88 l. 10 s. †

5. In

* Either this Author had never read the *British Merchant*, or to very little Purpose. *Printed 1706*

† But what if another Account may be given of this their Care and Diligence? (See Chap. 66. §. 11. Note.) *Printed 1713*

‡ This Writer had said before (p. 3.) 'that of all the Labours which exercised the Hands of the skilful Artift, the Woolen Manufacture was the most beneficial.' Yet here he shews us, that 297 Persons in the Silk Manufactory, will earn 88 l. 10 s. while a greater Number (302) are earning less than half that Sum, (43 l. 10 s.) in the best Branch of the Manufacture of the best English Wool. This shews that so far as this Nation, in any Part of it, has gone off, from the Woolen, to the Silk Manufacture (which is the Case in London, and some other Places) the Poor have turned

Page 16. 5. In the Reign of King *Charles II*, much of our Cloth was monthly exported to *Hamburg*; but of late Years, that noted and beneficial Trade is much declined, indeed, almost lost; which I cannot but think is chiefly occasioned by the laying open^e of that Company, whereby all Foreigners are privileged in trading thither; and by Cloth being made in the neighbouring Countries, with the Help of our Wool, and *Fullers Earth* exported to those Parts, whereby they have been enabled to set up Manufactories of their own. Besides, they get our dying Wares from us, with less Charge, than we can use them here, by Reason of the large Drawbacks * allowed^f on them.

Ch. 72. §. 3.

Page 18.

Ch. 114. §. 3.

turned their Hands to more Advantage. And the Wool Grower is the only Sufferer.

I know it is said, that the Silk Manufacture is propitious to the Woolen Trade, as making a Vent for Woolen Goods in *Italy* and *Turkey*, in Proportion to the Quantities of raw Silk imported from thence to *England*. But however this might formerly have been the Case; I believe it is certain, that the Silk Manufacture in *England*, and consequently the *English* Importations of raw Silk hath increased, while the Vent for Woolens to *Turky* and *Italy*, hath been declining^g for some Years. And as more Silks are manufactured in the Kingdom, the more also they are worn at home, and consequently the less is the home Consumption of Woolen Stuffs and Stockins; so that must needs affect, tho' not the labouring Part of the People (who in Process of Time, apply themselves to such Work; as affords the most Employment and best Wages) yet the Landed Interest or WOOL GROWER, who, (as the Law stands) *must*, however, SHOULD, sell his WOOL to the *English* Manufacturer ONLY.

Ch. 103. §. 5. Note.
Ch. 122. §. 3, 4.

* This is a Topick much insisted upon by several Writers on the Woolen Trade, who with equal Want of Judgment, complain of the Drawback in this Case, as what should be taken off; whereas, in Truth, if any Thing, the Duty itself should be taken off; or rather the *English* Exporter of Dyed Woolen Goods should be considered with some Bounty equal to the Duty paid for Dying Stuffs. For it is obvious enough to suppose, that as these Dying Stuffs are all imported, so if Foreigners had them not from *English* Merchants, they would procure them by another Channel, and so much Trade would be lost to the Merchants of this Kingdom; which I conceive is the very Consideration, upon which the Drawback is allowed.

them. Thus the Art of Dying will be lost in *England*, without a speedy Prevention; it is lamentable to consider what Quantities of Cloth, and other Woolen Manufactures are transported white †.

6. I shall now shew the Methods which have been taken to prevent this growing Evil, *the Exportation of Wool*; the sure and most effectual Means of doing which, is, to encourage the Commissioners † already appointed by Act of Parliament, to be vigilant in exerting their Authority, by allotting them such *Provisions* and *Salaries*, as may enable them to employ and reward Officers.

7. This Power was first lodged in the Commissioners of the Customs, who by Virtue of an Act of Parliament made in the 12th and 14th Years of *Charles II*. issued forth Orders to their chief Officers in their respective Ports, to inspect and prevent the Exportation of Wool. But so it was, that either through the Carelessness, or through the Corruption of many of these Officers, the Exportation was still practised with Impunity; insomuch, that upon the Death of King *Charles II*. the Clothiers of several of the Clothing Counties, petitioned King *James II*. for the Redress of such a crying Grievance. Upon this he gave a Commission * by Letters Patents under

† Our Author here has Recourse to the supposed Letter of Sir *Walter Raleigh* to King *James I*. (of which so much has been already said) as an indisputable Authority, without appearing to know any Thing of what happened, *Ann.* 1616. (See Chap. 91. §. 10. Note.)

‡ N. B. Our Author himself seems to have been one of these Commissioners (See §. 8. Note. the Names of several, *John Haines*, for one.)

* The Commission was directed to the Governours, Deputy Governours, and Treasurers of the Merchant Adventurers of *England*, commonly called the *Hamburg Company*.

† In Pursuance of this Commission, the said Commissioners met in *London* at *Founders-Hall* in *Lothbury*, weekly, and gave Orders for the fitting out of several Shallops for cruising, and appointed Land Officers to have Inspection upon the Coasts of *Kent*, who were frequently disturbed in the Exercise of their Office, by considerable Numbers of *French*, that came armed ashore to guard and

under the Privy Seal in the first Year of his Reign to several Persons in and about *London* and *Westminster*, June 24.

8. In

cover the Exporters. Upon this, a Troop of Horse was sent down; but what Assistance they gave, was chiefly to the Owlars, who bribed them to connive at the Exportation of Wool.

In fine, the said Commissioners having expended many hundred Pounds of their own, more than was collected, and seeing no Likelihood of being reimbursed, or of procuring a sufficient Sum to answer the Charge of carrying on so important a Work, did desist from acting.

Page 30.

Will. III.

Matters being come to this Pass, the Clothiers of the Western Parts, represented their Case in a Petition unto the King and Council, who thereupon ordered the Commissioners of the Customs, to make a Report to the Committee of Trade, of their Opinion relating to that Affair.

The Report was, as follows,

May it please your Lordships.

By an Order of his Majesty in Council, signified to us by Sir *John Nicholas*, upon the Petition of, &c. complaining, that great Quantities of Wool are daily transported to *France*, &c.

Page 31.

His Majesty being pleased to refer the Consideration thereof to us, requiring us to report to the Right Honourable the Committee of Trade, &c. what Remedy we conceive most proper, to put a Stop to that growing Mischief, so prejudicial to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom.

We humbly report, that it hath been the constant Opinion of this Board, that the preventing the Exportation of Wool, is a Matter of great Moment and Consideration, as well to the Revenue of Customs, as to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom; and so do humbly acquaint your Lordships, that since the Year 1685, the Crown hath been, and is, at an extraordinary Expence of seven or eight hundred Pounds per Ann. at least, out of the Revenues of the Customs, in the maintaining Vessels at Sea in that Service, besides an Allowance of a Moiety of the King's Forfeitures of all Wool seized, and all other Forfeitures by the Act for preventing the Exportation thereof, as a Bounty for the Encouragement of such as should seize, or make a Discovery of Frauds relating thereto. And because that Expence and Bounty from the Crown, was not found sufficient to undertake and carry on

8. In short, the Commissioners of the Customs found their Officers very remiss in doing their Duty. And at last, the Clothiers from several Counties representing their Grievance to Parliament, and the Report above-mentioned being taken into Consideration, a Bill was prepared and brought in, for the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wool, which passed into an Act * in the first Year of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary* ^k.

^k Ch. 72.

9. Pursuant §. 3.

on the Charge of the said Service, his late Majesty was pleased, upon the Petition of the Clothiers and Factors, and from the Report of this Board to your Lordships, to issue out the aforesaid Commission to prevent the Exportation of Wool, to certain Persons to collect a voluntary Contribution towards the same. And if the said Commission be determined, it is the Opinion of this Board, that the Laws prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, cannot be duly put in Execution, and the Evil effectually prevented, without some Persons commissioned, as before, fit to be trusted with a Matter of this Nature, be employed therein, with a considerable Supply of Money to be expended by them in the said Service, two or three thousand Pounds per Ann. at least, over and above all Fines and Forfeitures; and in the mean time, we conceive it will conduce much to the Service aforesaid, if his Majesty should be pleased to issue his royal Proclamation, to revive the Proclamation which was made by his late Majesty, touching this Matter.

Page 32.

Custom-House London, *Tho. Worden,*
March, 4, 1689. *Dudley North,*
Will. Culliford, } Commissioners.

* This was only intended for the County of Kent; for the West and Northern Counties had not then so much Knowledge of the exporting Trade, as they now have.

* In this Act, particular and separate Commissioners were appointed for seeing to the Execution of it. The Persons nominated for that End, were of known Integrity, interested in, and zealous Promoters of the Woolen Manufacture; but for want of Money to defray the Charges of Officers, carry on Prosecutions, &c. they were forced to decline acting for some Years; till at last the Exportation became so open and bare-faced, not only in *Kent* and *Sussex*, but upon the Borders of *Scotland*, and in several maritime Counties of this Kingdom, that the Mer-

Page 34.

Page 39. 9. Pursuant to an Act 7, 8 of King William, the
1 See Ships and Sloops appointed were fitted out, and the King-
Chap. 76. dom was at a very great annual Expence in maintaining
§.14. Note. them. There was also established by Warrant from the
Lords of the Treasury, three Sloops in the Month of
March 1697, which also proved, both chargeable and
ineffectual. In January 1698-9, the Parliament ordered
the Admiralty to lay before them an Account of the
yearly Charge of each of those Frigates, &c. exclusive
of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance. Accordingly
an Account was given in, and the same amounted to
29,016 l. 7 s.

10. Further,

chants and Clothiers of the Northern Parts, made pressing
Solicitations to Sir Henry Gooderick, a Yorkshire Gentle-
man, and Privy Counsellor, one of the Commissioners nomi-
nated in the Act, to call a meeting of Commissioners,
for applying some Remedy to that reigning Evil, and
giving the necessary Orders to put the Laws † in Ex-
ecution. Pursuant to their repeated Request, that Gen-
tleman forthwith did procure a meeting of such Commis-
sioners, as were then in and about London. They met at
the Guild-Hall of London, July 22, 1698. And consider-
ing they had no Provision of Money for defraying the
Charges of Officers (upon which Head, the King in Coun-
cil had been petitioned, and the Matter referred to the
Lords of the Treasury) they immediately drew up the
following Representation to the Lords of the Treasury.

May it please your Lordships:

1 W. M. Several of the Commissioners appointed for preventing
c. 32. the Exportation of Wool, &c. having met this Day at
Guild-hall, in order to the putting the said Act in Execu-
tion, have agreed unanimously, humbly to present to your
Lordships Consideration, the pressing Necessity of your
Lordships taking favourable Resolutions, upon the Re-
ference lately made by his Majesty in full Council, to a
Petition signed by several Merchants and eminent Traders
in this City, which we presume e'er this Time, is laid
before your Lordships.

And

† Which, it seems, were notoriously transgressed about this
Time, in this particular; and yet remarkable it is, that not
only Wool gave a high Price in England, but the Expor-
tations of WOOLEN MANUFACTURES were also considerably
great.

10. Further, in the 10, 11 of King William, an Page 40.
Act was made, which was an additional Charge, pro- m Ch. 85.
bably of 25,000 l. and which added to the other, a- §. 7.
mounts to more than 50,000 per Ann. It is the Opi-
nion of many judicious Merchants, that the former
Com-

And we are the more emboldened hereunto, by the fre-
quent and certain Informations we have received, that
great Quantities of Wool have lately been transported
into foreign Parts, and much more thereof is probably
prepared for the same End, to the great Discouragement
of the Woolen Manufacture.

Our Duty obliges us to this Representation, and our-
selves to be

Your Lordships, &c.

Sir H. Gooderick, Chairman.

Sir William Asburst, Knt.

Sir Benj. Ayllof, Knt. Bart.

Sir John Fleet, Knt.

Sir William Gore, Knt.

Nathaniel Tench, Esq;

Thomas Crundel.

John Busfield.

John Haines.

Edward Bickley.

Richard Harrison.

Philip Bickley.

Guildhall, London,
July 26, 1698.

Those Commissioners did send out Officers into all the Page 36.
maritime Countries, who made several Seizures, which
upon Trial, being proved to be legally made, the Wool
was condemned, and the King's Moiety paid.

But the Custom-House Officers, in several Counties,
especially Northward, where was most Danger, rather
discouraged than assisted them in the legal Discharge
of their Duty, which by the Act of Parliament. they
were commanded to do.

The Commissioners of Wool fitted out a small Sloop Page 38.
of about 40 Tun, who seized several French and English
Ships with Wool consigned for France (besides several
Boats in the River) and by the Commanders Industry,
took more in nine Moonths, than all the other Vessels
employed on the same Account, did in several Years, as
can be easily demonstrated; and the Commissioners were
very well pleased, that they had taken such a Method as
gave such Certainty of its good Effects. But the want of
Money forced them to drop it.

A LIST of the Number of Surveyors and Riding Officers, deputed by the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament made in the first Year of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, for preventing the Exportation of Wool and Yarn, &c.; with the Counties they were posted in, what Seizures of Wool was made by them, and the Value thereof; with the Difficulties they underwent in that Service, as well as Charge in obtaining and entering Informations, as also carrying on Prosecutions against the Exporters of Wool in the Court of *Exchequer*.

Surveyors.	Counties under their Charge.	Number of riding Officers.	Packs of Wool seized.	What appraised at.	Number of Packs condemned.	Recovery thereupon.	Packs refused from the Officers.	The Value of the Wool rescued from the Officers.	Officers Expenses annually in keeping themselves and Horses, at 60l. per Ann.
Captain William Ingram, Jun.	Northum. } Durham } Cumberl. }	54	105	£ 530	57	140	236	£ 1262	£ 3240
Will. Ingram, Jun.	Yorkshire	18	46	236	6	35	53	275	1080
Robert Moore	Lincolnshire	19	38	214	6		41	246	1140
Robert Carter	Lancashire	10	6	56					600
Thomas Braine	Cheshire	7	3	16			12	72	420
John Stokes	Norfolk	16	6	35	5	30	36	198	960
Edward Nordeh	Suffolk	9	4	22	4	23			540
John Hamilton	Effex	9	29	146	20	105	5	30	540
Edw. Anderfon	Surrey	4	6	33	6	32	8	44	240
Robert Barker	Kent	36	65	362	8	44	45	270	2160
Charles Webb	Suffex	20	26	148	12	72	21	126	1200
Samuel Spicer	Hampshire	28	55	306	12	72	6	36	1680

Will. Whotton	Dorsetshire	16	11	62	6	34		140	960
Chr. Pollard	Devon	12	9	52	5	36	25		720
Will. Syme	Cornwall	14	12	68	6	33	4	24	840
J. Larton	Somerfet } & Bristol } London & } Middlesex }	12	9	52	5	36	25	150	720
J. Hughes		15	22	126	8	46	12	72	900
17	19	299.	457	3791	162	744	504	2705	17040

The Charge the Commissioners for Wool were at annually, viz.

To Postage of Letters from their Officers,	43	00	00
To their Secretary, Clerks, Messengers and Door-keepers,	180	00	00
To the Cost of a small Sloop, and fitting it out to Sea for cruising on the Coast of <i>Kent</i> and <i>Suffex</i> ,	676	00	00
with the Charge of Viſtualling, Wages, Ware and Tare,	2040	00	00
To Seventeen Supervisors or chief Agents, at 120l. per Ann. each Man,	17940	00	00
To Two hundred ninety-nine Riding Officers, at 60l. per Ann.	Total	20878	00

Commissioners, by the Methods they took, would have done more Service, and prevented the Exportation of greater Quantities of Wool; if they had but 30,000 *l.* * *per Ann.* settled upon them by the Government.

11. But the Officers sustained great Losses † for want of Money to carry on the Prosecutions, upon Seizures, Replevins, and personal Informations.

12. *Defects in the present Laws are,* 1. The Want of a Fund to defray the Charge of prosecuting Offenders, and fully executing the Laws. 2. The Prosecutions not being at the Charge of the Crown. 3. The Want of Corporal Punishment, as well as Fines and Imprisonment.

* But if not, they would have had 30,000 *l.* *per Ann.* which was an Appointment worth pleading for by this Writer, as one of those Commissioners. (See §. 13. *Note.*)

° §. 6. Provisions wanted and Salaries for Commissioners.

† *Viz.* ‘ By 479 Packs of Wool rescued from them, to the Hazard of their Lives. By personal Informations entered in the Court of Exchequer, against fundry Persons for exporting 2893 Packs of Wool, which would have amounted to, if prosecuted upon the Statute 7, 8 *Will.* III. for the Penalty of 3 *s.* *per* Pound Weight, 36 *l.* *per* Pack, *viz.* 104,148 *l.*

N. B. ‘ The Officers met with great Discouragement from Justices of the Peace in several Counties, especially Northumberland and the Bishoprick of Durham (by being imprisoned and having legal Seizures taken from them) *viz.* Sir Francis Blake then Member of Parliament, Justice Howard, Forster, Taylor, Gray, Colingwood.

Note, ‘ That of 3791 Packs of Wool seized, there was but 162 condemned in the Exchequer, the Remainder was either rescued, or not prosecuted for want of Money. The Recoveries on those condemned, amounted to 744 *l.* two Thirds of which was spent in Prosecutions, and the Moiety given by Law to the Crown, so that the Officers had no more than 248 *l.* The Sloop took 80 Packs of Wool, which was appraised at 402 *l.* most of which, after condemned at the Captain’s Charge, upon Trials in the Court of Exchequer, lies now † in the Custom-House Warehouses, being refused to be delivered, until the Moiety due to the Crown was paid; which Edwards the Master of the Sloop, was rendered unable to do, having expended his Substance in carrying on Prosecutions against the Offenders, &c.’

† Now! that is, I suppose, when the first Edition of this Tract was published; but when that was, does not appear.

ment. 4. Want of suitable Rewards to the Discoverers. 5. Not restraining Water Carriage. 6. Not lessening the Quantities allowed to the Islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey.* 7. The Want of registering Wool; especially, in all the Counties on the Sea Coasts, and to be brought for Sale to publick Markets, and not sold in private Contracts, &c. 8. Want of the same Care in *Ireland,* as in *Great Britain,* both by Land and Sea. 9. Lastly, a Want of small Sloops to search into Creeks, and the Entrance of navigable Rivers leading to the Sea, &c.

13. I propose then, 1. That the Water Carriage of Wool be entirely prohibited (except what is allowed by Parliament to be exported to *Guernsey,* &c.) 2. That all Prosecutions be carried on at the Charge of the Crown *. 3. A sufficient Number of Sloops to guard the Coasts of *Great Britain* †, &c. 4. That no more Wool be allowed

* ‘ And whereas her late Majesty, by Proclamation gave a Reward of 40 *l.* as in Case of Highwaymen, to all such as should seize or hinder the Exportation of Wool, it is humbly conceived, that it would be better if 5 *l.* a Pack were given for all Wool seized and condemned, over and above what the Law before allowed. For according to that Proclamation, by Collusion between an Owlmer and an Officer, the Government might pay 40 *l.* for a single Pack of Wool, which would encourage Fraud, whereas 5 *l.* for every Pack would have a very different Effect.

† ‘ A Scheme of the Cost of manning and victualling 22 Sloops for guarding the Coasts of *Great Britain,* to prevent the Exportation of Wool, *viz.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Three Sloops of 25 Men each,			
The Yearly Charge	2566	10	0
Six Dit. of 20 Men each,	4238	8	0
Thirteen Dit. of 15 Men each,	7244	16	11

Total Charge for Sloops 14049 14 11

‘ Their Station for cruising, <i>viz.</i> &c.				Page 70.
‘ A List of the Officers, &c. at Land, necessary to be employed, <i>viz.</i> &c.	11200	0	0	Page 71.
‘ For guarding the Coast of <i>Wales</i> by Land,				
Total	2700	0	0	

Scotland

lowed to *Guernsey*, &c. than was, by 14 *Charles II.*
Ch. 115. §. 1. 5. That some corporal Punishment, or Transportation for Life be inflicted on certain Transgressors, besides all Fines †, &c. 6. That a Restraint be laid on the printing and wearing of Callicoës * in *Great Britain* and *Ireland.*

Scotland	1600	0	0
Five Commissioners at 300 l.	1500	0	0
One Secretary at 100 l.	100	0	0
Two Clerks at 50 l.	100	0	0
Two Messengers at 30 l.	60	0	0
Two Door-keepers	40	0	0
House Rent and House-keeping	200	0	0
Postage of Letters	40	0	0
<hr/>			
Total	31589	14	11

Page 77. † But what is farther most material to be considered, is, a Fund to defray the Charges of this Scheme. The Frigates and Sloops already established by Act of Parliament, have cost the Nation 55000 l. and upwards annually; which if recalled, and the Commissioners, according to this Scheme, authorized to fit out Sloops as mentioned, it is not to be doubted but that our Wools Exportation would be effectually prevented. And I am so far from desiring to be chargeable to the Crown in this Matter, that I doubt not but the Crown will be Gainer by the following Method. Here our Author wisely proposes a Duty of 3 d. the Pound Weight on Cloth and other Woolen Manufacture, shipped off white and dressed, and 4 d. for all undressed; of 1 s. for every long Cloth dressed and dyed, exported by Denizens, and double the Duty on Aliens; and 5 s. per Pack, or one Farthing a Pound on all Fleece Wool, and the Half of that Duty on all Fel Wool.

* The Reason of this Proposal is manifest, in that hereby the Consumption of our fine Silks and Stuffs is much lessened †, not only in wearing them at home, but exporting them to foreign Parts. And here I cannot omit mentioning wrought Silks imported from *India*, which tho' forbid to be exposed to Sale here, are sent to *Ireland*, our Plantations, &c.; which deprives thousands of poor

† See Chap. 87. 1701 P. which we shall bear more, a few Years hence. (See Chap. P. S. 14. Note. 116, 117, 118, §. 1, 7.)

7. Notwithstanding what has been already said, it is impossible to secure the desired Effects, if we shut not the *Irish* Back-door. I shall therefore endeavour, according to my Capacity, to lay down a Method † for the Prevention of that Evil also.

14. Here let us have a Retrospect to the Cause of *Ireland* so abounding in Wool. It is well known to be a fruitful Country; and their chief Breed and Feed was formerly black Cattle. But (whether for our Advantage) in *Charles II.*, an Act was made to prohibit the Importation of *Irish* Cattle, by which they were forced, for Consumption of their Pasturage, and a Livelihood, to breed Sheep; which has occasioned a great Quantity of Wool in that Kingdom; and *England* having laid a severe Duty on their

poor Weavers and others of their Labour, by lessening the Consumption of our Woolen Manufactures abroad: And what is worse, if I am rightly informed, these Silks are shipped off to our Plantations Custom free, nay, with a Drawback of per Cent. It is therefore humbly hoped, that our Legislators will take this Matter into their Consideration; and also the Drawbacks allowed on the Exportation of our Dying Wares.

† A Scheme of the Cost of 10 Sloops for guarding the Coasts of *Ireland*, viz.

		l.	s.	
Four of 25 Men each	3156	12	0	
Three of 20 Men each	1959	18	0	
Three of 15 Men each	1552	10	0	
<hr/>				
Tot. annual Charge	6669	00	0	

Their Stations, viz. &c. Page 90.
These Sloops being so stationed, may have Communication with each other, to consult proper Measures for discovering Frauds, and in few Hours join themselves occasionally.
And considering the Impossibility of the Commissioners in *England*, inspecting the Affairs of that Kingdom to good Effect, it is humbly proposed, that three Commissioners may be appointed there, and they obliged, &c. Page 95.
* I suppose him also to have intended a competent Number of Supervisors and riding Officers for that Kingdom, as in this, altho' he has omitted to mention so much.

their Wool and Yarn, can it be supposed they will not find other Vent for it; and who can blame them?

15. I propose then, for Redress, 1. That the Act before-mentioned, for prohibiting the Importation of Black Cattle be repealed, and the Breed of their Sheep confined * to such a Number as may be thought sufficient, fully to supply the Occasions of that Kingdom. But if the Wisdom of the Nation shall not think fit to repeal the *Irish Act*, it is submitted, whether it would not be expedient to permit and encourage the Importation of *Irish Wool* and Yarn into *England*, by taking off the Duty; which I am very fond of thinking, will appear proper to be done.

C H A P. CXIII.

Occurrences and Acts, 1716—17.

Salmon's *Chron. Hist.* 1716. 1. **T**HE Parliament met Feb. 20, 1716, when the King in his Speech told them, he had entered into such Negotiations, as has remedied many Defects in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which very nearly affected the Trade of the Kingdom.

2. *An Act for* and for the more effectual Discovery of, and prosecuting such, as shall unlawfully

* Other Writers have talked in this manner, of limiting the Number of Sheep in *Ireland*. But may it not be asked, *Who shall muzzle this Bear?* Is it not ridiculous to think of laying a whole People under any Restraints, otherwise than by Means which naturally operate to the End wanted? Encouraging the Breed of black Cattle in *Ireland*, by permitting the Importation of them to *England*, is a natural, and almost the only Means, by which the Breed of Sheep in *Ireland* can be lessened. But we shall find, that it is far from being the Desire of certain Persons in *England*, to lessen the Breed of Sheep in *Ireland*. They rather chuse that *France* shall have some *Wool* from thence, than that they themselves should have neither *Wool* nor *Yarn* of that Kingdom, and so be obliged to give the *English Wool-Grower* a better Price for his *Wool*, and the *English Spinner* better Wages.

lawfully export *Wool* and *Woolen Manufactures* from *Ireland* *. 3 *George*, c. 21.

3. *Aug.* 22, 1717. An Order of Council issued, that Salmon's the military Officers upon the Coast, should assist the *Chron.* Officers of the Customs in preventing the Exportation *Hist.* 1717. of *Wool* †.

C H A P. CXIV.

A Discourse on Trade and other Matters relative to it: By John Cary, Esq; Merchant of Bristol, 1717. Reprinted 1745.

1. **O**NE Fundamental in our Trade, is the keeping of our own *Wool* at home, and preventing the *Wool of Ireland* from being transported any where else, except to this Kingdom; which I am persuaded can never be done, by any other Method, but by a Register.

2. *Butter* is another Part of our Produce, for foreign Page 9. Markets; but the *Irish* have almost beaten us out of it. 'Twas the Act of Prohibition made formerly in *England*, that first ushered them into a foreign Trade; their sole Dependance before that Time being on our Markets; and from hence they were supplied with what they wanted;

* 'Whereas by 10, 11 *Will.* III. c. 10. one Moiety of the Penalties inflicted in this Case, was given to the Encouragement of setting up the *Linen Manufactures* in *Ireland*; which had turned to little Account of the said *Manufactures*, and served to discourage Prosecutions.' This Act therefore provided, 'that the same for the future should be to the Crown; and that Actions commenced on this Head in *Ireland*, should be tried by a Jury of any other County, than where the Fact was committed. The three first Discoverers (not being Owners or Part Owners of the said *Wool* or *Woolen Manufactures*) to be exempt from Punishment.'

† In this Year, and the next, *Wool* sold at an extraordinary Price, from what it had done for several Years before. Ch. 171. N^o. 1. §. 7. 8. N^o. 2.

wanted; but being thereby prohibited from bringing hither their Cattle and other Provisions, they endeavoured to find a Vent for them in other Markets, which they did with good Success, and more Advantage; the Sweetness whereof gave a Spring to their Industry, and put them on the Woolen Manufactures, which they also vended, where they exported their Provisions, till in time, it became so great and flourishing, as to give us Apprehensions it would endanger us.

3. *Logwood* is a Commodity much used in Dying, which pays 5 *l.* per Ton Custom, when imported, and draws back 3 *l.* 15 *s.* when shipped out again, by which Means the Dyers in *Holland* use it so much cheaper than ours do here; now if it was imported Custom Free, and paid 25 *s.* per Ton, at its Exportation; the Dyers there would use it so much dearer than ours; and I think it would be well worth Inquiry, whether a Prohibition, either total or in part, of shipping out our Manufactures thither, and to the Northern Kingdoms, undy'd and undress'd, might not be made. I am sure it would be a great Advantage to this Kingdom, if it could be done, without running into greater Inconveniencies. The *Dutch* discourage their being brought in dy'd or dress'd, that they may thereby give Employment to their own People, and increase their Navigation by the Consumption of dye Stuff; the same Reason should prevail with us to dye and dress them at home; but this requires Consideration of a Committee of Trade, to hear what may be said both for and against it, before it be offered to Parliament.

Ch. 30,
31.
Chap. 91.
§. 10. Note.

4. But a principal Means of Improvement to *England*, is, by strengthening the Laws against the Exportation of Wool, by such practicable Methods as may prevent its being done; to which End, no Care can be too great, nor Methods laid too deep*. Laws, concerning Trade, whose sole Strength is Penalties, rarely reach the Thing aimed at. 'Tis one Thing to punish People, when a Fact is committed, and another to prevent

* Especially if it be true (which the *British Merchant* hath affirmed) that the FRENCH can be in NO WANT OF WOOL, tho' they should not be supplied with ANY from THIS NATION. FRANCE, WITHOUT coming to us, CANNOT WANT WOOL FOR ANY Part of the WOOLEN MANUFACTURE.

vent their doing it, by putting them, as it were, under an Inability. Now where the Welfare of the Kingdom lies so much at Stake, certainly it cannot be thought grievous to compel Submission to good Methods, though they may seem troublesome at first.

5. And that we may the better perceive the Mischiefs that attend the carrying of Wool abroad unwrought to other Nations, let us consider the Consequences thereof, in what is shipped to *France**. I know many Methods have been thought of, to prevent this pernicious Mischief; but all the Laws I have yet seen, seem to reach but half Way. They depend too much on Force and Penalties, and too little on Method. We must begin deeper, and secure it from the Time of its growing, till 'tis wrought up into Manufacture; and I think nothing less than a Register to be kept in every County will do it.

Ch. 105.
§. 12.

6. Nor will this be attended with so much Trouble and Charge to the Nation in general, or to private Persons in particular, as may at first be thought. The Time of Sheering being once a Year, those who keep Sheep, may give Notice to the Officer appointed for that District, of the Number of Sheep they have to Sheer, and the Day whereon they intend to do it, that so he may be present to see the Fleeces weighed, and charge them therewith; which Charge must remain upon them till they sell their Wool, and give Notice hereof to the Office; when the next Buyer must be charged; and so *toties quoties*, till it comes into the Hands of him that works it up; and all this may be done by the Officers of Excise, in such a Manner, as may cost the Nation Page 37. little.

7. And to prevent Frauds, let no Parcel of Wool above such a Weight, as the Parliament shall think fit, be carried from Place to Place but in the Day-time, &c. and the same Method must also be pursued in *Ireland*, till it is either used there, or shipped hither. And if the Wool of BOTH Kingdoms, by these or any other Methods,

* Here Mr. Cary transcribes *verbatim* *W. S. Gent.* 1656, §. 4. and *W. C.* 1671. These, it seems, were good Authorities with him; the *British Merchant* he was either wholly a Stranger to, or did not at all regard.

Ch. 41.
§. 4.
Ch. 51.
§. 3, 4, 5,
6, 7.

thods, could be secured from being carried abroad, our Manufactures would find a surer Vent in foreign Markets, and yield better Prices. And the Wool of *France* would lye on their Hands, and become almost useles; the Credit of the Nation would be raised, and our Factories abroad courted, as much as formerly they have been; *because* the Manufactures we ship out, are such as no Nation can be without, nor can they then be well supply'd *elsewhere*; they are not Things only for Pleasure, but for Use, and both the Rich and the Poor stand in need of them; whilst the Profit of this pernicious Practice of shipping out the Wool, is sunk in the Pockets of private Men, whom former Laws accounted Felons.

Page 38. 8. Besides, 'tis well known, that the exporting our Wool, hath by the ill Consequences thereof, abated * its Price at home. This hath been observed by Calculations † made by considerable Men; and the Reason is, *because* those Countries, whither it is shipped, being thereby enabled to work up much larger Quantities of their own, the Sale of our Manufactures is grown slack, and we have been forced to sell them cheaper, which beats down the Prices both of Wool and LABOUR; whereas, if we had kept our Wool at home, this had been prevented. Our Forefathers were well aware of this, when they made Laws to prohibit the Exportation of Wool.

Page 69. 9. Some Sorts of coarse Cloth the *Portuguese* do make. Both *Venice* and *Genoa* have made some Attempts on a Woolen Manufacture, being furnished with Wool from *Alicant*, and those Eastern Parts of *Spain*. The *Dutch* Trade consists rather in buying and selling, than in Manufactures ^z. *Hamburgh* vends great Quantities of our Cloth. *Poland* also takes off many of our Manufactures ^a by *Dantzick*. It hath but little Wool ^a of its own, and that chiefly in *Ukrania*. In *Sweden*, the Sale of our Cloth hath been lessened, by their loading it with great Duties, on Purpose to encourage a Manufacture of their own; their Wool is coarse; however, the late King encouraged the wearing it, by his own Example. The *French*

* It may be proved, that the Price of *Wool* hath abated, from the Time of its being prohibited to be exported.

† Had this Writer given any Instances, in Proof of this Assertion, it would have been more satisfactory, than his manner of reasoning, in order to evince the Truth of it.

French Trade hath every Age grown less profitable to Page 77. our Woolen Manufactures, as the Inhabitants make wherewith to supply both themselves and other Nations, which they COULD NOT DO ^b, were they not furnished ^b Ch. 105. with Wool from HENCE and IRELAND, their OWN §. 12, 14. being UNFIT TO WORK BY ITSELF. *France* is like a Tavern, with whom we spend what we get by other Nations. They prohibit our Manufactures, in order to set up the like among themselves, which we encourage, by furnishing them with Wool.

10. But let due Care be taken to prevent their being supplied with Wool from hence and from *Ireland*, and we shall soon see an Alteration therein: 'Tis true, they have Wool of their own: But they CANNOT work it without OURS or IRISH. As for the *Dutch*, I take them Page 82: to be, as no good Planters, so no good Manufacturers ^c. Ch. 94. The *Flanderkins* were once famous in the Art of Cloth-making, which they carried on by the Wool they fetched hence *. But *Edward III.*, by keeping our Wool at home †, put a Stop to that Manufacture. If therefore the prohibiting our Wool to be carried out, had, at that Time, so good an Effect and Consequence, against those People ‡, why should not our Care to prevent its being carried out now, have the same against the *French*? We cannot, indeed, hinder them from the *Spanish*, but we may from our own and *Irish*.

11. As for *Sweden*, I am apt to think their Manufactures will come to little. And as for *Germany*, the Woolen Manufacture is not so natural to them as the Linen, which they would keep close to, if we gave them Encouragement, by wearing it here, and sending it to Page 83. our Plantations, which would be more advantageous to us, than by the Use of Muslins and Calicoes, to put them upon fencing with us at our own Weapons, which they very unwillingly undertake. The Woolen Manufactures in

* And from all other Parts of *Europe*.

† See this Gentleman's Ignorance of the true History of *Edw. III.* in this Particular; Chap. 5, 6, 7.

‡ This had been a good Argument, if true; but being utterly false, it proves nothing but the Author's Ignorance in this particular Part of the History of the *English Woolen Trade*.

178 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 114.

in Italy are but small, and those chiefly among the *Venetians*, something among the *Genoese*; these we cannot hinder being supply'd with Wool from those Parts of *Spain* which are near them, except we could promote a Con-

tract with the *Spaniard* for all he hath; and if it should be objected, that we should then have too much, 'tis better to burn the Overplus at the Charge of the Publick (as the *Dutch* do their Spices) than to have it wrought up abroad, which we can't otherwise prevent.
Ch. 39. §. 10. Note. Ch. 96. §. 4. Note. Page 88.

12. A Committee of Trade would be of great Use and Service, 1st, to the Parliament, in framing Laws relating to Trade; and 2dly, also to the Government, in the Treaties they make with foreign Nations. As to the first, it hath been thought, that when that great and glorious Assembly hath meddled with Trade, they have left it worse than they found it; and the Reason * is, because the Laws relating to Trade, require more Time to look into their distant Consequences, than a Session will admit; whereof we have had many Instances.

13. To begin with the *French* Trade; In the 22d *Charles II*, a new Impost was laid upon Wines, viz. 8 l. per Ton on the *French*, and 12 l. per Ton on *Spanish* and *Portuguese*. This Difference (with the low Subsidies, put on their Linens, by former Acts, in respect to those of other Places) was a great Means of bringing the Balance of that Trade so much against us, as it was for many Years.
Ch. 103. §. 6. Note. Page 89.

14. In the 14th of *Charles II*, Logwood was charged with a Duty of 5 l. per Ton, and at the same Time, gave a Drawback of 3 l. 15 s. per Ton to all that should be exported, whereby Foreigners use it so much cheaper in their Manufactures, than ours here.
Page 89.

15. By Statute 4, 5 *W. and M.* 20 s. per Ton was laid on *Lapis Calaminaris* dug here and exported, on an Information
Page 90.

* So far as there is Truth in this Observation, the chief Reason, as I take it to be, is a Diffidence, which Gentlemen have of their own Judgment, and their too implicit Reliance on others, who by their Profession, are supposed to be best acquainted with such Matters, but who always governing themselves by some particular Attachments of their own, and never failing on such Occasions, to assert very positively what makes for their Side of the Question, do generally carry the Point.

Ch. 114. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 179

formation given to the House of Commons, that it was not to be had any where else*; the Merchants set forth, that such a Duty would bring in nothing to the Crown, but be a total Bar to its Exportation; yet the Act passed; and we were like to have made a fatal Experiment; for till the Stat. 7, 8 *Will. III.* which reduced it to two Shillings per Ton, the Exportation ceased; and in the mean Time, those Places which had been discouraged from digging and calcining it, because we underfold them, set again to work, and supplied the Markets, where we vended ours.

16. What Injury was done by the Act 9, 10 *W. III.* Ch. 78; for the more effectual preventing the Importation of foreign Bone Lace, &c. doth sufficiently appear by the Preamble of that made 11, 12 of the same Reign, for repealing it three Months after the Prohibition of our Woolen Manufactures in *Flanders* (which was occasioned by it) should be taken off; but I don't understand it is yet done; and it may prove an irrecoverable Loss to the Nation.
Ch. 87. P. S. §. 15.

17. As to foreign Treaties, such a Committee would be highly useful; the Representations made by private Merchants (who generally differ, as their Interests clash with each other) tending rather to distract than to inform the Government; this would not be, if their first Applications

* It appears to have been a favourite Notion of Mr. *Whitelock's*, that *Lapis Calaminaris* (by which Copper is turned into Brass) was not found in other Parts of *Europe*, besides *England*, except in *Bohemia*, so far within the Land, that it would not quit the Cost of Carriage to any Port. This, it seems, proved a Mistake. And is not the Affair, of our Wool, almost a parallel Case? Is not the Exportation thereof prohibited absolutely, upon the like Pretence, and with as little Foundation of Truth? The Exportation of it indeed has not therefore ceased, nor perhaps, upon the whole, abated. And if so; that this Prohibition has only been a Means of increasing the Growth thereof in some other Parts, is, I think, beyond all Question. For Instance, when, as the British Merchant tells us, the *French* by their Demands for Wool in *Turkey*, advanced the Price thereof 150 per Cent. would not that naturally encourage the Breed of Sheep there, and consequently increase their Quantity of Wool?
Ch. 105. §. 6.

cations were made to an experienced Committee, who had Judgment enough to extract out of them what was proper to be offered; by which Means our Demands might be rendered short and comprehensive.

Page 93.

18. We have natural Advantages in Trade, above other Nations, besides the Benefit of our Situation; *the Foundation of our Woolen Manufactures* being, as it were, PECULIAR to our own Growth, and MAY be retained amongst OURSELVES. An Advantage the French HAVE NOT; whose Wealth arising chiefly from the Exportation of Wines, Brandy, Salt, Paper, Silks, Linens; both we, and other Nations, have made such a Progress in them all since the War began, as to render theirs less sought for; whereas, nothing but our Neglects and ill Management can let our Neighbours into our Manufactures, which we may soon put a Stop to, by securing OUR WOOL at home.

Page 96. *Whether the Price of Labour is an Hindrance to Improvements in our Products and Manufactures.*

19. I will here consider a Question that hath arisen, and I have heard debated sometimes by Men of good Understanding, which is, whether the Labour of the Poor being so high, does not hinder Improvements in our Product and Manufactures. I am of Opinion, that both our Product and Manufactures may be carried on to Advantage, without running down the Labour of the Poor.

20. As to our Product, I am of Opinion, that the running down the Labour of the Poor, is no Advantage to it, nor is it the Interest of that Part of the Kingdom, called *England*, to do it; nor can the People there live on so low Wages, as they do in other Countries; for we must consider, that Wages must bear a Rate in all Nations to the Price of Provisions, and Provisions to the Price of Lands*; for it cannot be imagined, that the Farmer who gives 20s. an Acre for his Land, can afford Wheat as low as he whose Lands, equally good and fruitful, cost him but 5s. an Acre; this is the Case of *England*, whose Lands yielding great Rents, require good

* It is a great Mistake to think, that either the Price of Land, or Labour, or Provisions, is arbitrary; there is a Market Rate for them all, which they naturally find; all violent Attempts to limit or alter the Course whereof, are fruitless and injurious.

good Prices for the Product, and this good Price is the Freeholders Advantage. And therefore,

21. As to our Manufactures, I am of Opinion, that Page 98. they may be carried on to Advantage without running down the Price of Labour. Improvements and fresh Devices are far better Expedients. New Projections are every Day set on Foot, as in many other Things, so to render the Woolen Manufacture easy, and which should be rendered cheaper by the Contrivance of the Manufacturers, not by falling the Price of Labour; nor in Order to this, by running down the Price of our Growth and Product, that so Provisions and Materials may be cheap; for that is no Advantage to the *Inland Trade* of this Kingdom, but the contrary. Page 100.

22. If the Shopkeeper, for Instance, has a good Trade*, he spends proportionably in Flesh, Butter, Cheese, Corn, &c. This helps the Farmers Market.— And by this Means, he is enabled to give his Landlord a better Rent, who may then keep a more plentiful Table, spend more Wine, Fruit, &c. with which he is furnished from the City, suit himself and his Family oftner, and carry on a greater Splendor in every Thing; the Farmer, according to his Condition, may do the same, give higher Wages to the Labourers, employed in Husbandry, who may then live better, and buy new Cloaths oftner, instead of patching up old ones; by this Means, the Manufacturers will be encouraged to give a better Price for Wool and Labour; this likewise will encourage the Merchants to increase their Exports, when they shall find a quick Vent for their Imports; but *when Trade deadens in the Fountain, when the GENTLEMEN and FARMERS are kept low, EVERY ONE in his Order, feels it.*

M 3 C H A P.

* Which, by the Way, he cannot have, but through the Landlord and his Tenants.

C H A P. CXV.

Acts and Occurrences 1717---19.

- 1. *AN Act for the further preventing ——— &c. and for the more effectual Transportation of Felons, and unlawful Exporters of Wool, &c.* 4 Geo. c. 11. *
- 2. *An Act against clandestine running of Goods, &c.* 5 Geo. c. 11. †
- 3. *June*

Owlers of Wool, in certain Cases, to be transported, for seven Years.

* *This Statute enacts,* ' That from and after the 20th Day of January 1717, if any Person shall be in Prison for want of sufficient Bail, for unlawful Exportation of Wool and Woolfels; and shall refuse to appear and plead to a Declaration or Information to be delivered to such Person or Persons, or to the Goaler, Keeper, or Turnkey of the said Prison, for the said Offence, by the Space of one Term, Judgment shall be entred against him by Default; and in Case of Judgment so obtained by Default, Verdict or otherwise, and the Person or Persons not paying the Sum recovered against him or them, for the said Offence, within three Months, after entering up of such Judgment, the Court before whom such Judgment shall be obtained, shall by Order of Court, order such to be transported, in the same manner as Felons, for seven Years.

* Ch. 118. §. 6. Note.

† *This Act recites,* among other Things, that ' whereas Ships or Vessels of fifty Tuns or under, laden with foreign customable, or prohibited Goods, pretending to be bound to foreign Parts, but in Reality to run their Goods on Shore, and export Wool, do frequently lie hovering on the Coasts of this Kingdom; ' it therefore enacts in such Case, ' That a Custom-House Officer may go on Board every such Vessel, so hovering within the Limits^k of any Port, and demand to take an Account of the Lading, and Security from the Master, in a Bond of treble the Value thereof, to proceed on such Voyage, Wind and Weather permitting, and land such Goods in, and at some foreign Port; and in Case of Refusal to enter into such Bond, or having entered into such Bond, he shall not depart, and proceed regularly on such Voyage, as soon as Wind or Weather shall permit (unless otherwise suffered by the Collector, &c.) then all such Goods may, by any Officer of the Customs, by Direction of the Collector,

3. *A. D.* 1718. *June* 8. Sir *George Byng*, with the *Salmon's* Fleet under his Command, sailed from *St. Helens* for the *Chron.* Mediterranean. And *July* 31, fell upon the *Spanish Fleet*, *Hist.* 1718. consisting of twenty six Men of War, near *Syracusa*, and took and destroyed about fifteen of them.

4. *November* 11. The Parliament met, when the King acquainted them, that the *Spaniards*, having rejected all amicable Proposals, and broken the most solemn Engagements for the Security of our Commerce, it had been found necessary for our naval Forces to check their Progress.

5. *Dec.* 16. A War was published against the King of *Spain*.

C H A P.

lector, or other principal Officer of the Port, be taken out of such Vessel, and brought on Shore and secured; and in Case the said Goods are customable, the Duties shall be paid for the same. But if Wool or any prohibited Goods are found, the same shall be forfeited, as also the Ship or Vessel, &c.

And whereas in the Preamble to the Act 1 *W.* and *M.* c. 32^l. for the better preventing the Exportation of Wool, &c. Wool, and Woolfels, &c. are enumerated; §. 3. and in the enacting Part, which relates to the carrying Wool Coastwise, *Wool only* is mentioned; which has given a Handle for Evasions. This therefore is appointed to extend the same to Woolfels, Mortlings, Shortlings, Yarn made of Wool, Wool-flocks, Fuller's Earth, Fulling Clay, and Tobacco-pipe Clay carried Coastwise. And, to supply another Defect of 10 *Will.* III. c. 10. enacts, that all *Wool* laid on Shore near the Sea, or any navigable River in *Ireland*, with Intent to be conveyed into foreign Parts, shall be forfeited.

M 4.

C H A P. CXVI.

The Weavers Pretences examined; being a full and impartial Enquiry into the Complaints of their wanting Work, and the true Causes assigned; with some Observations on the Silk, Stuff, and Callicoe Trades in England, Holland, &c. BY A MERCHANT, 1719.*

Page 7.

1. **T**HE Complaints of the Weavers we can know only by their Murmurings in Corners, and their riotous Actions in the open Streets. They say they have not Work; and their Pretence is, that the wearing of Callicoe is the Reason of it.

2. 'Tis plain, indeed, that all of them have not Work, or are not employed in such Work as they ought to be; otherwise, we should not see such Numbers of them committing such brutish Actions in the Streets, as would be a Scandal to any civilized Nation. But, I say, tho' all of them have not Work, yet it does not follow, that they cannot have it; for no doubt they might, were they but as willing, as some Gentlemen are to employ them, as appears by an Advertisement in the *Gazette* on the 13th Instant.

3. But however, to examine the Matter thoroughly, viz. That the wearing of printed Callicoes is the Occasion of their wanting Work. I answer, first, in respect to Woolen or Worsted weaving, it's impossible it should

* Among the various Tracts, which, on Account of these Memoirs, I have had occasion to peruse, I have constantly found those to be most replete with Absurdities, the Authors whereof have thought fit to conceal their Names, and instead thereof, write MERCHANT. Of which we have a flagrant Instance in the Tract before us. Yet is not this to be understood as a Reflection upon that eminent and worthy Body of Men in the gross, however it may prove, as to Particulars, the Truth of what has been observed by the *British Merchants* and others, viz. 'That the MERCHANTS may have a distinct Interest from that of his Country.'

should be so; for if it were, the undeniable Consequence would be, that Wool would fall much in Price, and be but a Drug at Market: But yet it is well known, that notwithstanding the vast Quantities that we have imported of late from *Ireland*, it's quite the contrary; it having been dearer for these two Years past, and scarcer at Market, than it had been for many Years before. Page 9.

4. Beside, the Prices of printed Callicoes do so far exceed the Prices of Woolen or Worsted Stuffs, that they do not interfere with them; for those that buy Stuffs, buy them for Cheapness, which I am sure cannot be said of those that buy Callicoes; of which Truth our Wives make us sensible, to our Cost.

5. And as to Silk-weaving^m, the Price of Callicoe^m Ch. 117. is as much below that of Silk, that it cannot be truly §. 14, 15.

said, that Callicoes hinder the wearing of Silk*; and it's very likely, that many of those that buy Callicoe, would not buy any Thing else instead of it, if there was no such Thing in Being as Callicoe; being induced to buy more for the Sake of Variety, than out of any Occasion they have for it. Besides, Silks that are worn here, may be said to be as much a foreign Commodity, as Callicoes that are printed here; most of which being first made in our own Colonies in the *East-Indies*, at a very small Price, which being (in the common Sense of the Word) so many Times manufactured over again here, as increases their Value to a very great Degree, and maintains Thousands of poor Families: And great Quantities are exported to foreign Parts, to the great Profit and Advantage of this Kingdom; and as to the printed Linens, the major Part of them, are entirely both *British* Growth and Manufacture. Page 10.

6. But the Silks we import, whether wrought or unwrought, we buy at dear Rates of Foreigners, either with Money or Bills of Exchange, which is the same Thing Page 11.

* It is pleasant to observe what Arguments Persons can take up with, rather than forego a Point of private Profit. One would almost have imagined, that a Race of the ancient *Pis* had remained in the Kingdom to these Days, for whose Use only, (because they would be reconciled to no other Cloathing) these painted Callicoes were introduced, which therefore interfered neither with the Use of Silks nor Worseds.

Thing in Effect to the Nation. The Importation of *Dutch, Italian,* and smuggling of *French* wrought Silks, damages the Silk-weaving here, much more than the Callicoes do; and were our Silk Weavers as much concerned for the Improvement of the Manufacture, as they are for their own particular Gain, no doubt, but the Importation of wrought Silks would greatly diminish.

7. But the grand Cause of the Weavers wanting Work, is the Covetousness of both Masters and Journey-men, in taking so many Prentices for the Sake of the Money they have with them; not considering, whether they shall have Employment for them or not. Then again, Journeymen Weavers come from many Parts of *England to London,* for the Sake of easier Work and greater Wages, so that their Numbers are (as I am credibly informed) near double what they were ten Years ago. These Things considered, 'tis no Wonder that some of them have not Work; especially at this Juncture, when our Inland Trade hath been damp'd by the Noise of an Invasion, and the Foreign, by the late Rupture with *Spain.* But as the publick Affairs have so good an Aspect on our Side, we may justly hope, that our Trade will soon return with uncommon Vigour.

8. And there is another Cause yet, which I had almost forgot, though common almost in every Body's Mouth; that is, when they have a Flush of Work, in the Spring, or other Times (as a Flux and Ebb is common to almost all Trades) then many of them will not work above three Days in the Week; running away to Alehouses, drinking and gaming away their Money, and wasting their Time, and getting into ill Habits, so that 'tis no Wonder, that their Families may want, when the Time of Ebb comes.

9. The many Duties on printed Callicoe do very much increase the publick Revenue, and the Monies therefrom are appropriated, by Parliament, for the Security and Reinbursement of great Numbers of Persons who have contracted with the Government at several Times. The Printing of Callicoes and Linens occasions a great Consumption of Gauls, Gums, and many Sorts of dying Wares, to the great Encouragement of the *Turkey* and *West-India* Trades.

10. The

10. The *East-India* Trade in general, and the Importations of Callicoes in particular, does not only increase the Wealth of the Nation, but is a great Encouragement to Navigation, and to building and fitting out large Ships; and they lay in such plentiful Stores, that there is hardly any one Trade in *London,* that does not receive some Benefit by the fitting out of an *East-India* Ship. As I said before, great Quantities of printed Callicoes are exported to our great Profit and Advantage; but there are some Trades especially, which cannot be carried on with any Success without them; as the *Guinea, West-India,* and *South-Sea;* which Trades every one must allow to be highly beneficial to the Nation. And as our own People find by Experience, that nothing will wash so well, or answer their Ends in many respects, near so well as Callicoe, is it not unjust, as well as unreasonable, in any Body, to desire, or endeavour to force it from them?

11. Our Neighbours, the *Dutch*, are a wise People, and without doubt, understand all the different Branches of Trade, and their own Interest, as well as any Nation in the World; and though they have many considerable Manufactories of their own, especially of Silk, yet they have not prohibited, or so much as laid any high Duty upon any foreign Manufacture; well knowing, that excessive Duties are great Encouragements to running; and that Prohibitions make People more eager for that which is forbid.

12. May not many other Trades make Pretences, as well as the Weavers? May not the Malsters and Brewers rise up against the Vintners, because they sell a foreign Commodity, which hinders the Sale of Malt Liquors? And may not the Alehouse-keepers against the Distillers, because their Spirits not only hinder the Sale of their Beer and Ale, but enliven, heat, and fuddle, sooner and more effectually? And why may not the Weavers of *Norwich* and *Coventry* rise against those of *Spittle-fields,* because their Stuffs and Silks hinder the Sale of their Crapes and Tammies? And why not the Butchers against the Fishmongers? And so on, to the End of the Chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P. CXVII.

The just Complaints of the poor Weavers truly represented, with as much Answer as it deserves, to a Pamphlet lately written against them, Entitled, The Weavers Pretences, &c. 1719.

Page 3. 1. **W**HEN an Enemy is conquered in the Field, we never want People at home to kill them over again. Clamour is an useful Weapon; and in the Case of the *poor Weavers*, our Scribblers take Advantage to fall upon them, after the *less barbarous* Trainedbands have done with them. The Business is plain, the poor Men were first wrong in raising a Tumult, that's certain; and secondly, they were beaten, that's as certain; and therefore (which is excellent Logic) they have not the least Reason to complain.

Ch. 116. § 1. 2. The Author of *The Pretences, &c.* says, *their* Complaints can only be known by their Murmuring in Corners, and their riotous Actions in the Streets. But I must take him up *upon his first Head*; for though I agree, that the Weavers have no justifiable Reason to rebel, I must not say, or *let him say unreprieved*, that they have no reason to complain. For nothing is more true than this, that the Complaint of the *Spittle-field Weavers* is a *National Grievance*, a Thing Trade groans under, and which, if not speedily redress'd, our Woolen Manufactures, all over *Britain*, will, in Time, sink under; and it is very hard the *Drapers*, and *East-India* Jobbers, who have thus employed a Mercenary to rail, should go about to prepossess the Nation, in Prejudice of so just a Complaint against their own Encroachments, while the whole Body of the trading Part of the Kingdom are concerned so nearly in the Matter; and while all our Manufactures are in the utmost Danger from the Encroachment of an upstart Importation of foreign Goods, which by the Folly of our Women, is grown up even to a Trade-Plague among us, infects our *Inland Commerce*, and makes the *home Consumption* of our own Manufactures

factures languish and decay, in such a Manner, as bids fair to starve our Poor, and put the whole Woolen Trade of this Nation, which is so considerable, and on which we so much depend, into the utmost Confusion.

3. Is it possible this Man can tell us, that the wearing Page 7. so many printed Callicoes is the Cause of the Complaint of the Weavers; and yet at the same Time, tell us, we should have known nothing of it, but from their Murmurings and Riots? And is it possible, that he can have the Face to say, that the wearing of Callicoes is the Cause of their Complaint, and yet at the same Time, say, that their Complaint is not just? When he cannot be ignorant, that the Complaint against the printed Callicoes, is the Complaint of the whole Nation*; not the

* ' Since most People have been lately employed in giving their Opinions upon this melancholy Subject of the *Weavers*, both in Word and Writing, some imputing the Decay of their Trade to the Callicoes, &c. some to one Thing, some to another; I hope the Reader will allow me to throw in my Mite among the rest; for with humble Submission to their Judgments, I think they have all put it upon the wrong Foot.

' In Order therefore to find out the true Cause of this Decay of Trade, which produces so many Complaints to the Parliament, and indeed every where; that a proper Remedy may be applied, I shall first let the Reader know, why I think those cannot be the just Causes of the Weavers Complaints, which have been lately assigned; and then I shall endeavour to let him know what the true Reason must be, not only of the Weavers Want of Business, and Decay of Trade, but of all other Manufactories whatsoever.

' It is agreed, that the Womens late universal Wear of Callicoe and stamped Linen is the first Cause; not consulting that they have given more Reprisals to the Weavers, by assuming the old *Irisb* Garb, of Riding Hood and Mantle at the same Time; and Quilted Petticoats, which all Ranks and Qualities have run into within these five Years, instead of Scarfs and Hives, which are not worn, ten Parts in eleven, so much as they used to be; and methinks they ought to be thanked for their Hoops too, as making their other Petticoats, which are generally of Wool, at least, lined with it, much wider than formerly.

' And this Answer alone, in Behalf of the Linen, ought to favour the Petitioners from *Scotland* for that End; at least

the particular Complaint of *Spittle-fields*; with this Difference, and no other; that some of the poorer Sort of Weavers in *Spittlefields* have been less patient, and perhaps that too, because more severely pinched by the want of Employment, than the other Manufacturers; and because, their Subsistence here in *London* not being so easy as in other Places, they were less able to support the want of Work.

4. How absurdly then do they argue, who would confine the Grievance of this *Callicoe Plague*, for I can call it no less, to the poor Weavers of *Spittlefields*; as if, because the rest of the *Weavers* and Manufactures in *England* have been less riotous and tumultuous, therefore that the wearing of *Callicoes*, as *Callicoes* are now worn, was no Grievance to them; or that they were less sensible of the Decay of their Manufactures, and the approaching Ruin of their Trade, for their being silent and dutifully submissive, 'till a proper Time comes to speak; this is first intimating that the *Callicoes*, as now worn, are no Grievance, which any Man of common Sense would be ashamed to say; and, secondly, it suggests, which for ought I know, may be true, that if the Country Manufacturers were as unable to support the Decay of their Trade, as the *Spittlefields* Men are, they would be as riotous as they.

Page 12. 5. But I come nearer to the Matter in Hand, *viz.* *The Weavers wanting Work, and the Callicoes being the Cause of it.* Both these he would fain deny: But Truth staring him in the Face, he falters in the first, and is bound to

least prevent all Prohibitions and Restrictions upon it; being the Product of *Britain*, and even *English* Ground more than formerly, and consequently employing as many Hands proportionably in Spinning, Whitening, Printing, Stamping, and even in Weaving, &c. as the other does; so as to relieve the *Wool* at the Expence of the *Linen*, would be to plunder one Subject to relieve another. And what shall be assigned as the true Reason of the Decay of Trade, which may be called universal (for the *Linen-Drapers*, *Printers*, *Stampers*, *Soap-Boilers*, &c. will have as much Reason to cry out very soon, as the *Weavers*, &c.) if we do not reckon the Interruption of our Trade with *Muscovy* and *Spain* to be one, if not the chief Cause.

to acknowledge, tho' as lamely as he can, that some of them do want Work. Now I say, that more of them are without Work, than have been without it, since the Time that *East India* printed *Callicoes* were prohibited; Ch. 87. and I shall add, that as the printing them here met P. S. 14. with Encouragement, so in Proportion, the *British* Manufactures declined and decay'd, and so as the Manufactures decay'd, the *Weavers*, who are the Manufacturers, decay'd of Course. Note.

6. This Thing is not only to be believed, but is capable of Demonstration, and will, I doubt not, be demonstrated in its proper Time and Place, (*viz.*) The prohibiting Importation of *East-India* printed *Callicoes* and *Silks*, in the Year 1701, sensibly recovered and restored the *Weavers*, who, at that Time, were in a most miserable ruined Condition, by Reason of the Loss of their Employment, that Trade being manifestly sunk by the general Use of printed *Callicoes* and *Silks*. Page 13.

7. As soon as the Parliament, in their great Concern for their poor Manufacturers, enquired into the Cause of the Complaints, they found them very just, and that the exorbitant Use of *East-India* Manufactures had greatly injured and impoverished our own; upon which they found, that it was a most just and reasonable Request of the Manufacturers, to have a Restraint put upon the Use of the said foreign Goods, and accordingly the Prohibition was passed.

8. 'Tis easy to demonstrate the Justice of the Demand, by the Consequence of the Grant. No sooner was the Prohibition granted, but the Manufactures revived, the *Weavers* recovered, the abandoned Streets were re-peopled, the Inhabitants, who were fled to seek Bread by other Employments, returned; *Spittlefields*, that looked before like a forsaken Place, and was growing apace into a Wilderness, became fertile, and was filled with Inhabitants like a populous City; nay, the Numbers exceeding the Extent of the Place, they spread themselves to *Hoxton*, to *Bednal-Green*, to *Stepney*, to *Southwork*, to *Canterbury*, and to *Norwich*. It would fill a long History to give an Account of the visible Difference, which this Prohibition of *Callicoes* made on the Countenance of Trade; and how innumerable Families,

lies, by their Diligence and Application, grew rich in the manufacturing of *English Goods*.

9. But as if this Nation was never to want a Set of Men to undo her; no sooner were the *East-India* Chints, and printed Callicoes prohibited from abroad, but some of *Britain's* unnatural Children, who we call *Drapers*, set all their Arts to work, to evade the Law of Prohibition, to employ People to mimick the more ingenious *Indians*; and to legitimate the Grievance, by making it a Manufacture. After which, to clench the Point against the Manufacturers, and perpetuate the Grievance, they prompted the laying a Tax upon the Improvement, so to make a Fund of the Oppression, and entail it on their Country for ever.

Page 15.

10. As this successful Evil increased (the Vanity of the People falling in with it) the *Weavers* and Manufacturers soon felt the Effect of it; and as the restraining of Callicoes had raised them, as above, so the opening a new Sluice which let them in again, immediately affected the Consumption of our own Goods. Trade immediately felt a sensible Decay; and the *Weavers* Ruin came gradually on; the Callicoes and the Woolen Manufactures being like two Balances, when one Scale went down, the other went up, and when one went up, the other went down. Let any one that can support it with Reason, oppose this fair State of the Callicoe Case, if they can. And let our Author's affirming, that the wearing of Callicoes is not the Cause of the *Weavers* wanting of Work, be set in competition with it, for impartial Judges to determine of it.

11. To expose the poor *Weavers*, and make their Complaint for want of Work, appear more unjust, this wise Author tells us of a Publication in the *Daily Courant*, by which Notice was given, that all those *Weavers*, as were willing to work, might be employed by such and such Men at *Hoxton*, *Reading*, and other Places, in making of Sails. This was a good Publication for the Proprietors of the Sail-Cloth Work in those Places, to cry them up for Patriots, make their Undertaking popular, and bring down the Price of their Journeymen. But let any one that understands the Nature of Weaving, and the particular Works Men are brought up to, and capable of performing, judge of the Thing. How can they

they suppose that Men always used to work in Silk and Worsted, could on a sudden turn their Hands to make Sail Cloth; for tho' it be all called *Weaving*, yet there is as much Difference between the one and the other, almost, as between any two Trades; besides, I am informed, that several of our Men have been there to see for Work; and could not get any, but were told, that it was not *Silk* or *Worsted Weavers* that they wanted, but *Linen Weavers*. So that this is but a mere Bluster, contrived as above, to render the poor Men odious, and these sham Patriots popular.

12. The Author, in the next Place, carries on a great Page 174 Way his Insinuations in Favour of the Callicoes; and let us mark one of his Arguments, to illustrate his Judgment in the Question; that is in his tenth Page, where he says, our Silk Manufactures are as much a foreign Commodity, as the Callicoes printed here. The first Thing he says to confirm this, is, to tell us, that most of the Callicoes are made in our *own Colonies* in the *East Indies*.^s Ch. 116; This wretched Piece of Trade-Nonsense either shews the §. 5. Capacity and Sense of the Writer, or his Want of Honesty, to impose such Stuff upon us; and may inform the World how little the Opposers of the *Weavers* have to say for their Cause. This poor ignorant Writer does not understand the Difference between a *Colony* and a *Factory*, and that there is no such Thing as a *British Colony* in the *East Indies*.

13. But next he tells us, the wearing of printed Cal- Page 201 licoes cannot be the Occasion of the *Weavers* wanting Work, so far as it respects the Woolen and Worsted Weavers; for then the undeniable Consequence would be, the Fall of the Price of *Wool*, and the making it a Drug at Market; and to clinch this, he affirms, at the End of it, which he cannot prove, and is in Fact false, viz. That *WOOL* is *dearer and scarcer at Market for these two * Years past, than it has been for many Years before*. He that affirms this, ought to prove it, and he ought to have told us fairly, what Price *WOOL* bore now

* *Wool* was dearer in the Years 1717 and 1718, than it had been for several Years before. (See Chap. 171).

Page 21. now † at Market, and what Price it bore three or ‡ four Years ago. But to come nearer to the Point, I refer the impartial Reader to enquire in *Blackwell-Hall*, and in the Warehouses of all the Wholesale Dealers, and let those Warehouses answer the Question, whether there is not an universal Glut of all our Manufactures at Market? And whether in Spite of the known and general Prosperity of Affairs abroad, there is not a great Damp upon our Manufactures, and the Demand exceedingly lessened? and how should the Weavers have a full Employ, when the Goods they sell have not a full Consumption, but lies upon Hand unfold? And this, I insist upon it, is a more regular, and more certain Rule to judge by, than that of the *Wool*, which has another Incident * attending it, by which we may account for its Dearthness, tho' there was an universal want of Work among all the Manufacturers in *Great Britain*, and that is the excessive Destruction of our Commerce and Waste of our *Wool* by *clandestine Exportation*, in spite of the best Laws and greatest Application to prevent it. Let him assure us, NO *Wool* shall be exported and run into *France*, and then if the Price holds up, and the Quantity is scarce at Market, it would argue something in the present Case, but otherwise it cannot.

14. In the next Place, he undertakes to prove, that the wearing of Callicoes does not hinder the wearing
† Ch. 116. either of Woolen or Silk †; not of the former, because
§. 4, 5. they are much dearer than Woolen; nor of the latter, because

† It was now fallen considerably from the Price of the two foregoing Years.

‡ Much about the Price it gave this Year. (See Chap. 171.)

* In 1717, when *Wool* advanced considerably, an Order of Council issued, requiring the military Officers upon the Coasts, to assist those of the Customs, in preventing the Runnage of *Wool*; which is an Argument of that illicit Practice prevailing much about this Time, and accounts in Part for the then advanced Price of *Wool*, agreeably to the Sentiments of this Writer. But I challenge and defy any one to instance in the Time, when *Wool* selling well in *England*; there was not room to suppose, from other Circumstances, that it was at that very Time, exported, at least as much as at other Times.

† Ch. 113. §. 3.

because they are as much below the Price of Silk. This is only an Argument of his own Assurance and Folly. The very Weavers and Sellers of Callicoe will acknowledge, that all the mean People, the Maid Servants, and indifferently poor Persons, who would otherwise cloath themselves, and were usually cloathed in thin Womens Stuffs made at *Norwich* and *London*, or in Cantaloons and Crapes, &c. are now cloathed in Callicoe, or printed Linen; moved to it, as well for the Cheapness, as the Lightness of the Cloth, and Gaiety of the Colours. The Children universally, whose Frocks and Coats were all either made of Tammies worked at *Coventry*, or of striped thin Stuffs made at *Spittle-fields*, appear now in printed Callicoe, or printed Linen; let any one but cast their Eyes among the meaner Sort playing in the Streets, or of the better Sort at Boarding Schools, and in our Families; the Truth is too plain to be denied.

15. As to the richer Sort of People, Ladies, and even Persons of Quality, the fine Chints and painted Callicoes, as well *India*, as *English*, some of which are even dearer than Silk, have so far superseded the wearing of Silks, that they prefer them to the finest Damasks; and we need do no more, than appeal to the Drapers Wives, some of whom would perhaps think themselves affronted, not to be ranked with the best of our Gentry. I might take Notice here, how the Example of our Gentry was perhaps the first real Occasion of the Callicoes being so universally accepted, and worn among the common People; for there is an invincible Pride in the ordinary People, of being counted what they are not; they are almost led into all their Fashions, in Imitation of the Gentry; and therefore tho' it might be true, that some Ladies of Quality do wear Callicoes, more for the Sake of Variety, than any Thing else; yet the meaner Sort of People were first brought to wear them more, because they saw them worn by the Gentry, than for any Conveniency or real Liking they had to them at first themselves; that is to say, they wear them because it is the Fashion to do so. To say then, that no Body wears Callicoes, but as Superfluities, and that they do not buy the fewer Cloaths of Stuffs or Silk, is too gross a Fallacy to deserve a Reply.

16. It would move us to some Laughter, to hear this Author talk next of the many thousand Families which

are employed in the Printing, and as he calls it, *manufacturing the Callicoes over again in England*, who he seems much concerned for, and would recommend to our Compassion, as Persons not to be impoverished, or deprived of their Business and Employment; but this charitable good Christian does not remember, that at the same Time he is for starving the innumerable Families of the poor *Weavers*, in Favour of the *Callicoe Printers*.

Page 26.

Now as to these great Numbers, I am well assured by those who have made it their Business to go through the whole Trade and examine it, that the utmost Number of Families, that can be reckoned up by the most impartial Men, as employed in the Trade of Printing and managing the said Callicoes, come to some less than 700; whereas the Families of *Weavers* and *Manufacturers* here in *London*, and in several Countries, where they were employed in Work, which this Printing of Callicoes is prejudicial to, amounts to above 100,000; besides that this last is a Work of but Yesterday, and so modern, that very few of those Persons employ'd in it, were originally brought up to it, but acquired it by Habit, having most of them been bred up to other Works, which it is easy for them to re-assume; so that were the Numbers equal, yet the unhinging the Callicoe Printers, who are so few, and have other Employment, can be no Way equal, or so much as to be named with the unhinging the *Weavers*, and sending their Families like a Flood of Beggars, to overspread the Nation.

Page 27.

17. In the next Place, we find he is as ill a Merchant, as he is a Manufacturer, as appears by a most scandalous Falshood affirmed by him, in saying the Silks we import, whether wrought or unwrought, are bought at *dear Rates* of Foreigners with Money. This is utterly false; we buy Silks as cheap as other Nations with our own Commodities*; the *Italian* and *Turkey* Merchants would have told him as much. But, says he, the grand Cause of the *Weavers* wanting Work, is the Covetousness both of Masters and Journeymen, in taking so many Apprentices, for the Sake of the Money they have with them. Then again, Journeymen *Weavers* come from many

Page 28.

* This was the Case formerly, but is less so now. (See Chap. 112. §. 3, 4. Note. Chap. 118. §. 5. Note.)

many Parts of *England* to *London*, for the Sake of easier Work and better Wages. So that their Numbers are said to be near double of what they were ten Years ago. In the first Place, few of the Masters take any Apprentices at all; and as for the Journeymen, where there is one that has Money with an Apprentice, there are fifty that have none at all.

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18. As to the Duty on Printed Callicoes, and the Revenue arising thence, the Parliament, who gave that Duty and made it a Fund, made it redeemable by Parliament. Further, besides the great Quantities of *Dutch* and *Indian* Callicoes, which pay no Duty at all, but are clandestinely run on Shore from *Holland*, the far greatest Part of those printed here, also pay no Duty neither; for the Callicoes are first pretended to be bought white at the Sale, for Exportation; then they are entered at the Custom-House, on Pretence of Exportation, then run ashore again, and carried to be printed, then pretended again to be sent abroad, and so the Duty on the Printing drawn back by Debenture; then they are clandestinely run on Shore again; and thus the Government is cheated both Ways, and this Money, instead of being appropriated to pay the Nations Debts; is put into the Smugglers Pockets, to the great Detriment of all fair Traders, and to the intolerable lessening of the Revenue.

Page 32.

Page 34.

19. Of like insignificant Moment is the Pretence, that the Printing and Painting of Callicoes consumes a great Quantity of Gauls, Gums, * Dying Stuffs; as if the Dying the Wool, and the Silk and Woolen Stuffs, which this Trade of Callicoes destroys, did not consume a much greater Quantity of the same and other Materials. Let us be delivered from the Use of them here, we care not whither they send them, whether to *Africa*, *America*, *Germany*, or any where.

Ch. 116.

§. 9.

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20. But the *Dutch*, we are told, are a wise People, and yet do not prohibit any foreign Manufactures, tho' they have great Manufactures of their own. But differing Circumstances make all Nations walk by different Rules; the Manufactures of the *Dutch* are small and trifling compared to ours; their principal Dependance is upon their being the general Mart of *Europe* for all foreign Goods, as well to export, as import; they lay high Duties upon nothing, and prohibit nothing; but is this a

Ch. 116.

§. 11.

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N 3

Rule

Rule to us, whose Dependance is upon the Woolen Manufacture, for the Subsistence and Employment of our Poor, as well as for the Encouragement of our Navigation and Commerce*? If we were to prohibit nothing, as is the Practice in *Holland*, what would become of our Trade in a few Years? And why do we limit our Fellow Subjects in *Ireland*, from exporting their own Goods? Why prohibit the *French* from importing theirs? The *Dutch* is no proper Example to us. If we were the mere Carriers of the World, as they are, and desire to be, it would be something to the Purpose, and we should do as they do; and if they were the greatest Manufacturers of the World, as we are, they would do just what we hope *Great Britain* will now do, viz. prohibit the Use of every foreign Manufacture, which interferes with their own.

C H A P. CXVIII.

Acts and Occurrences, 1719—27.

- Salmon's Chron. Hist. 1719.
1. *A. D.* 1719. *December.* This Month, a great many Petitions were presented to the Houses of Parliament, against printed Callicoets.
2. *Jan.* 26. The King of *Spain* accepted the Conditions of Peace proposed to him by *Great Britain* and *France*.
1720.
3. *A. D.* 1720. *May* 19. A Proclamation issued, for putting the Laws in Execution, against the Exportation of *Wool*, Fullers Earth, &c.

4. An

* He should have added, that *England* has no little Support by the Rents arising ordinarily from *Wool* itself— Whence follows one of these two Things necessarily, viz. 1. Either it is highly absurd to suffer any Interferings with the Woolen Manufacture for home Use, or for Exportation. 2. Or else it is improper to prohibit absolutely the Exportation of *Wool*; as, in such Case more especially, that must certainly hurt both the *Vent* and *Price* of this Commodity, whereon so much *Rent*, *Consumption*, *Supplies*, &c. is depending.

4. An Act for ascertaining the Breadths, and preventing Frauds and Abuses in manufacturing Serges, Pladings, and Fingrums, and for regulating the Manufacture of Stockings, in that Part of Great Britain, called Scotland. 6 Geo. c. 13.

5. An Act for prohibiting the Importation of raw Silk, or Mohair Yarn, of the Product or Manufacture of Asia, except from Ports within the Dominions of the Grand Seignior. c. 14. *

6. An Act to prevent Frauds and Abuses in the publick Revenues, &c. c. 21. †

7. An

* This Act recites, 'That in the Time of Ch. II. viz. by 12 Car. II. c. 18. it was permitted to continue the Importation of these Commodities from such Places as usual, viz. *Marseilles*, &c. although not of the very Growth of the said Places.' The Reason of which Indulgence, it says, was, 'because *France* at that Time exported very little Woolen Manufacture into *Turkey*, and was then supplied with great Quantities of Woolen Goods from *England*, for their own Use, and likewise with raw Silks and other Goods of *Turkey*, the Returns of *English* Woolen Manufactures.' Since which Time, the *French*, having turned the Tables upon *England*, brought from *Turkey* raw Silk, &c. which being carried into *Italy*, was imported into *Great Britain*, to the Discouragement of the Woolen Manufactures of the same, and the Encouragement of those of *France*; and therefore, this Law of Prohibition was enacted.

† 'Whereas by 5 Geo. c. 11. 2. to prevent the running of Brandy, and the Exportation of *Wool*, Vessels of fifty 2. Tons or under, hovering on the Coasts, within the Limits of the Ports, were subject to certain Orders; and whereas such Ships and Vessels, to elude the Intent of that Law, do lye at Anchor, or hover on the Coasts, as near to the said Limits as may be, whereby the Masters of such Ships or Vessels, have better Opportunities of making their Signals to the Exporters of *Wool*, &c.; it is therefore enacted, that in Case Ships of that Burden, laden wholly, or in Part, with Brandy, &c. are found hovering within two Leagues of the Shore, it shall, and may be lawful, for the Commander of any of his Majesty's Ships or Frigates, or armed Sloops, appointed for the Guard of the Coasts, or for the Commander of any Yatch, &c. in the Service of his Majesty's Customs, to deal with such Vessels, as by

200 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 118.

See Ch. 130. 7. An Act to preserve and encourage the Woolen and Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom; and for more effectually employing the Poor, by prohibiting the Use and Wear of all printed, painted, stained, or dyed Callicoes, in Apparel, Household Stuff, Furniture, or otherwise, after the 25th Day of September 1722, (except as therein is excepted) 7 Geo. c. 7. *

Salmon's Chron. Hist. 1721. 8. A. D. 1721. Aug. 10. The King acquainted the Parliament, that he had renewed all the Treaties of Commerce with Spain, on the same Foot as they were settled before the late War.

9. Oct. 19. He recommended to them, the making the Exportation of our own Manufactures, and the Importation of the Commodities used in manufacturing them, as easy as might be. He recommended also, the encouraging the Importation of naval Stores from our Plantations in America.

10. Feb. 1. It was moved in the House of Peers, that one Occasion of the Navy Debt, was the Ships being victualled abroad, but it was carried in the Negative.

11. An Act giving further Encouragement for the Importation of naval Stores. 8 Geo. c. 12.

12. An Act for the Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom. c. 15. †

13. An

by the said 5 Geo. c. 11. if within the Limits of any Port, it might be dealt withal. Further, a Master of a Vessel suffering Wool to be illegally taken in from the Shore, if convicted thereof, besides former Penalties, shall suffer six Months Imprisonment. A Clause to the same Effect for Ireland.

* This Act recites, 'That the wearing and using of Callicoes printed, painted, &c. did manifestly tend to the Detriment of the Woolen and Silk Manufactures, and to the Increase of the Poor of the Kingdom; and therefore enacted, that after Dec. 25, 1722, none should wear in Great Britain, any Garment of printed, &c. Callicoe, under Penalty of 5*l.* &c. That after this Time, no such Callicoe should be used in any Chair, Bed, &c. unless made up before. The like Prohibition was also extended to all Stuff made of, or mixed with Cotton †, printed, &c. but not to Callicoes dyed all blue.

† Except *Mullins, Neckcloths and Fustians.*

‡ This Act gave large Allowances to the Exporters of Silk

Ch. 118. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 201

13. An Act for the better qualifying the Manufacturers of Stuffs or Yarn in the City of Norwich, and Liberties thereof, to bear Offices of Magistracy in the said City, and for regulating the Elections of such Officers. 9 Geo. c. 9. *

14. An Act to explain and amend an Act (6 Geo. c. 13.) for ascertaining the Breadths, and preventing Frauds and Abuses in manufacturing Serges, Pladdings, and Fingrums; and for regulating the Manufacture of Stockings, in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, so far as the same relates to Serges. 10 Geo. c. 18. †

15. An

Silk manufactured, (which, being the first of the Kind, denotes an Improvement or Increase of that Manufacture, beyond former Times) also of Manufactures mixed with Silk, viz. of all Stuffs made in Great Britain of Silk and Worsted, 6*d.* for a Pound Weight, provided no Allowance should be made or demanded for such Mixture only at the Edges or Ends of the Piece. But this Proviso not being found sufficient to prevent Frauds (in inserting a small Quantity of Silk, not to make the Goods better, but to obtain the Bounty.) A Clause was added, 9 Geo. c. 8. which required, that two Thirds of the Warp, or whole Length, should be either all Silk, or mixed or twisted with Silk, in order to be entitled to the Bounty.

* 'Anciently, the chief Manufactures of that City, were *Ruffels, Sattens, Sattens Reverses, and Fustians*; and the Makers thereof, by 1 and 2 of Phil. and Mary, c. 14, were obliged to become Freemen of the said City; by Means whereof, there was a constant Supply of able Magistrates, and great Good did accrue to the said City in many Respects; but the said Manufactures having been disused for several Years past, and others introduced in their Stead, the good Designs of the said Act were lost; it is therefore enacted, that all Manufacturers of Stuffs, made of or mixed with Wool, and all Makers of Wool into Yarn, who are not Journeymen or Servants for Hire, and all Master Woolcombers, should be made free of the said City, at their Request, within the Time, and for a Sum limited; after which Time, Persons not admitted or made free, presuming to use or exercise any of the said Manufactures, shall forfeit, &c.'

† This Act recites, 'That the Provision made by the formentioned Act, as to the Article of Serges, was not found sufficient for preventing the Frauds and Abuses intended

15. *An Act for the better regulating the Manufacture of Cloth, in the West Riding of York.* 11 Geo. c. 24.

16. *An Act to prevent unlawful Combination of Workmen employed in the Woolen Manufacture, and for better Payment of their Wages.* 12 Geo. c. 34.

17. *An Act for the better Regulation of the Woolen Manufactures, &c.* 13 Geo. c. 23. (*See the Statute, also 1 Geo. 2. Stat. 2. c. 17. **)

C H A P. CXIX.

Atlas Maritimus Commercialis, &c. 1727.

1. **T**HE Woolen Manufactures of *Great Britain*, beyond all Comparison, are the greatest in Value, as well as in the Variety of their Sorts, and the most extensive in the World. The principal Inhabitants in every Part of *Europe*, not *France* itself excepted, are cloathed with them, or would be, if not expressly prohibited. Which last Article respects *France* chiefly. The *Turks*, through their whole Empire, whether in *Europe*, *Asia*,

‘ tended to be prevented; and therefore enacted further, ‘ to ascertain the Breadths, Lengths, and Fineness of ‘ Serges of all Sorts; the Fingrums of the Shires of *Aberdeen*, *Bamf* or *Murray* excepted,’ which were to remain as settled by former Laws.

§. 12. * ‘ Whereas by 8 Geo. 1. c. 15 ^d, certain Allowances ‘ or Sums of Money, are to be paid to the Exporters of Silk ‘ Stuffs made in *Great Britain*, or Silk mixed with, &c. ‘ Cotton or Worsted; and Provision was made in the said ‘ Act, that no Allowance should be demanded or made for ‘ such, when mixed with Silk only, at the Edge or Ends ‘ of the Piece, which not being sufficient to prevent Frauds, ‘ a further Provision was made, 9 Geo. 1. c. 8, which by ‘ Experience has still been found ineffectual. For Remedy ‘ whereof, be it enacted, that the said Acts shall not be ‘ construed to entitle to a Bounty, except the Silk that shall ‘ be mixed in the Warp, shall be *obvious to the View* of the ‘ proper Officers, and shall be *double the Value* of the Bounty, ‘ intended to be paid on the Exportation of the said Ma- ‘ nufactures.’

Asia, or *Africa*, wear *English Cloth*, when they are said to dress, even for their Habits of Ceremony, or Robes of State. The Nobility and Gentry of *Persia*, and the Merchants of *Armenia* and *Georgia* are generally cloathed with it. The *Spaniards*, not at home only, but in *Mexico* and *Peru*; and the *Portuguese*, as well in *Europe* and in the *East Indies*, as in the *Brasills*, are principally cloathed with it. The *Venetians* ^e and *Italians*; the Inhabitants ^e *See* of *Piedmont*, *Savoy*, the *Milanese*, the *Sicilians*, are all Chap. 94. chiefly cloathed with our Manufacture, as also the *Greeks* §. 30, 31. in the Islands of the *Arches* and the *Levant*. Even the *Moors* of *Africa* supply themselves with the *English* Manufactures, as do also the *Egyptians*. All the Merchants (of the *European* Nations at least) planted in the *Indies*, furnish themselves from their respective Countries in *Europe*, with *British* Goods to cloath them. The *Dutch* in *Batavia* and *Sumatra*; the *Portuguese* at *Goa* on the Coast of *Malabar*, and even at *Macao* in *China*; the *Spaniards* at *Mindanas*, the *Philippines* and *Ladrones*; and the *British* at all their numerous Factories, from *Mocha* in the *Red Sea*, to *Chusam* in *China*. As to the *British* Plantations and Settlements, where our Manufactures are carried on in a great, and almost incredible Quantity. I make no mention of them, because I esteem their Produce as our Produce, and our Exports thither as our home Consumption. But thus it appears, that the *British*, or more properly speaking, the *English* Woolen Manufactures, are the most extended Trade of the Kind in the Universe *.

2. The

* If the Person, I have spoke of ^f, who imagined the ^f Ch. 48. *English* Export of Woolen Manufacture, to be at least thirty §. 1. *Note* Times as much as the home Consumption, had seen this Account from the *Atlas Maritimus, &c.* 'tis no Wonder that he had formed to himself such a Gigantic Notion. Books under these Titles, are generally understood to be compiled with some Care and Exactness from the very best Materials, and consequently to convey the most authentic Intelligence. But how must a Man lower his Ideas, conceived from this Account, of the *English* foreign Trade for Woolen Manufacture, great and considerable as it truly is, when he comes to understand, that including what is carried to the *British* Plantations, the whole *English* Exports of Woolen Manu-

2. The Hard-Ware Manufactures, or Things made of Brass, Iron, Lead, &c. are very great in Proportion, tho' not so particularly and singularly extensive beyond the Manufactures of other Countries.

3. The Kingdom of *England* is a populous well planted Country, full of large trading Towns; and as the remotest Counties and Cities in *England*, are severally employed in the Woolen Manufactures, so some Sorts are made in one Part of the Nation, and some in another. But the general Market for them all is *London*. And as by the infinite Numbers of People in *England*, there is a vast home Consumption of all the said Manufactures for their own Use, so no Part of the Nation making every Sort, they are obliged to send for what they want, to those Countries where they are made, or to *London*, which is the Center of the whole Trade of *England*. This occasions a continual Intercourse of Trade and Correspondence among ourselves; and this I call the Circulation † of Trade, which is so great, that no Inland Trade in *Europe* can compare with it. We find it carried on by the Help of innumerable Pack-Horses, Draught-Horses, Waggon and Carts, Ships, Barges, Lighters, &c. maintaining a Number of Mariners, Water-

Manufacture, were never known, before the Year 1700, to amount to three Millions, in any one Year, and since, not ordinarily to much, if any thing, more than three Millions; when he is told, that many Years since (when this Island was far less populous than at present, and its Exports of Woolen Manufacture were accounted but at two Millions) it was computed, that the home Consumption of Woolen Manufacture amounted to six Millions annually? These Things considered, how small a Part of the trading World comparatively, must *England* be supposed to furnish with Woolen Manufactures? and consequently how many other and great Woolen Manufactures must there necessarily be in several Parts of the World besides? Again, the Idea usually conceived of *English* Wool, good as it certainly is, will be greatly lowered, by considering that the finest Cloths of *England*, of which such magnificent Things are justly said, is made, not of *English*, but of the best *Spanish* Wool only.

† And which is indeed the Life of it, and, according to the *British Merchant* ‡, makes more than 19 Parts in 20, of the whole Trade of *Great Britain*.

‡ See
Ch. 100.

Watermen, Carriers, Waggoners, Chapmen, Victuallers, Innkeepers, Alehouses, &c.

4. The Manufacture of Clothing, which is carried on in *Wilts* and *Gloucestershire*, consists chiefly in fine mix'd or Medley Cloths, or fine Whites to dye Black, Scarlet, &c. and these we call *Spanish Cloths*. The Consumption of which is so great at home, that the Value of fine Cloth wore by the *English* Gentlemen and Tradesmen, &c. in *England* and *Scotland*, is said to amount to above a Million Sterling per Ann. besides the Quantity exported to other Parts of the World. This Manufacture only employs an infinite Number of People, and spreads itself so as to be the principal Business of four very large, populous, and wealthy Counties, namely, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Gloucestershire*, and *Worcestershire*. Some affirm it employs near a Million of People; and some who say they have Calculations of the Numbers, say it employs a great many more.

5. All our Clothing Trade, the making of Bays, Says, Perpets, Serges, Druggets, the Goods made now at *Norwich*, at *Bristol*, in *Yorkshire* and *Suffolk*, if they be examined, will prove to be all derived from the original Manufactures of the *Flemings*. The Materials of which Manufactures, particularly the Wool, and Fullers Earth, they had from *England*, where the best Wool, and the greatest Quantity of it was produced, that was to be found in the whole World, as it is to this Day*. But the *English*, tho' their Wool brought them in a great Mass of Wealth, began at last to see their Error; and about the Year 1450, it came to be considered, why the Wool

* This Author speaking of *Poland*, says, 'the Poles have one Thing more, which they do not rightly know the Value of, or at least, have not Industry enough to improve. Their *Sheeps Wool* is the best in all the Northern World (*English* and *Irish* excepted) and this they bring to *Dantzick*, from whence the *Dutch* fetch great Quantities of it; and it is very helpful to them in their Manufactures at *Leyden*. The *French* also bring some of it away; but they find Ways to get the *English* and *Irish* Wool upon such easy Terms, that they decline the *Polish* Wool. See Great Quantities however are carried into *Germany*; and Ch. 36. now of late the *Swedes* also buy it, in order to assist in the §. 2. Note. Manufactures they have set up.

Wool might not as well be manufactured in *England* as in *Flanders*. Upon these Considerations, a Stop was gradually put to the Export of the Wool; the Clothing was encouraged in *England*, also Manufacturers gotten from the *Netherlands* to instruct our People. In the Reign of *Hen. VIII.* Improvements were made; and the *English* having no Tax to pay upon their Wool (which the *Flemings* had) it was a great Advantage to them. All this while the People of *England* made no more than what was consumed at home, nor were they able to supply the Demand of their own Country by a great deal. But the *Flemings* had still the whole Trade to all the rest of the World.

ⁱ See
Ch. 175.
N^o. 1. §. 6.

6. At length came the happy Reign of Queen *Eliz.* when, to compleat the Ruin of the *Flemings* as to Trade, the Exportation of Wool was absolutely^{*} prohibited; and the chief Master Manufacturers came over and set up their respective Manufactures at *Norwich, Leeds, Hallifax, Wakefield, Exeter, Colchester.* This put a full Stop to the *Flemish* Trade, as to their Manufacture of Wool; what they have done since, has been by the Help of such Wool as they could get from *France, Germany, Scotland,* and other Places, and some by Stealth from *England*; which began the *Owling* Trade from *Rumney Marsh.*

* Ch. 26.
§. 6.
Chap. 33.
§. 4.

7. But to Monsieur *Colbert* we owe this fatal unhappy Trade of *Owling*, as it is carried on to this Day, on the Coasts of *Kent* and *Suffex*, and which all the *Lws,* the Soldiers, and the Arts of Custom-House Officers, or of the Government of *Great Britain,* have not been able to suppress, at least not totally. By this Means, the *French* being able to furnish their own People, in a few Years, they not only excluded the *English* Manufacture, but began to rival the *English* in all the foreign Markets of *Europe,* as in *Spain, Portugal, and Italy;* and also in *Asia,* but especially in *Turkey* and *Barbary.*

8. At the famous Manufactory near *Nismes* in *Languedoc,* Cloths are made so admirably well, that some have even thought they outdid the *English;* and certain it is, they are very good, but want the Substance and Firmness and Weight of the *English.* They have likewise imitated the *British* Serges, Says, long Ells, Perpetuana's, Druggets, but not to such Perfection as they have the Cloths, yet to so great a Degree, that they have

have extremely lessened the Demand for those Goods in *Italy* and *Spain;* and we had some Threats that they would throw us out of the Trade at *Cadiz,* for the *Spanish West Indies;* and perhaps they might have gone a great Way towards it, had not the Hand of Heaven interposed, and given the *French* such a Blow by the late Plague in *Languedoc,* as it's thought they will never recover, or at least not in many Years.

9. *France* had several little Manufactures among them in former Times, which by Reason of the great Vent they had for them to *England,* were very profitable to them, but which by the Industry of the *English* and *Dutch* are now greatly lessened, and as to their Exportation, almost ruined, viz. 1. *Hats.* This was a very considerable Manufacture in *France,* made chiefly at *Caudebec* on the River *Scine,* and from thence exported in great Quantities to *England, &c.* But we have not only left off wearing those Hats, but have fallen into the way of making light Hats like those, so much better, and yet so cheap, that there are scarce any Hats now made at *Caudebec;* what they use being made now chiefly at *Roan* and *Paris,* and few or none exported. *England* also now supplies *Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany,* with Hats in an extraordinary Quantity. And the Manufacture is lost to the *French* as a Merchandize, and for Exportation. 2. *Glass.* Their *Normandy Window Glass* was the same for Kind, of which so great a Quantity is now made in *England,* and which we call *Crown Glass.* The *English* formerly had it only from *France,* and imported great Quantities of it Yearly; whereas they now make so much in *England,* that they supply many other Countries with it, and withal, make it so good and cheap, that some say it is better than the *French.* The like is to be said of all Sorts of Plate Glass for Coaches, Looking Glasses, &c. all which the *English* were formerly supplied with from *France.* I might mention several other Articles of the *French* Manufactures, which for want of a Market in *England,* where their principal Consumption was, are very much decay'd, and in a manner quite sunk; I mean as to Exportation, the *English* having set up the same among themselves; such as the Hard-Ware Manufactures in particular, viz. Scissars, Razors, Locks and Keys, and all Sorts of wrought Iron and Brass, of which

The Yearly Value of wrought Silks formerly imported from France. which the *English* now send great Quantities even to *France* itself; also Soap, Bone Lace, and especially wrought Silks; which was once so great a Trade from *France*, that *England* imported to the Value of 700,000 *l.* per Ann. in wrought Silks only; whereas that Part is now reduced to nothing. (See Chap. 103. §. 6. Note.)

10. But the Plague has been a double Blast upon them; for besides the Havock it made of their People in some of the most populous Provinces, where the Manufactures were carried on to the greatest Height, all the Ports of *Europe* have been as it were, shut against them; and so far have their Neighbours been from admitting them to trade, that several of their Ships are said to have perished at Sea, the Men being starved to Death, merely because they could not be suffered to put into any Port for Provisions, or for so much as fresh Water. This at once deprived them for many Months, of all the Trade of the whole Kingdom of *Spain*, as well as of all the Ports of *Italy*; not a Piece of their Goods, whether Linen or Silk, was permitted to go in the Galleons to *New Spain*, or in the *Portuguese* Fleets to *Brazil* for two Years together; in both which consisted the Life and Prosperity of their Manufactures, and by which they were always supplied in ready Money in Specie for carrying them on.

11. And as I said, that *France* is deficient in its Produce, as to some necessary Things, which it cannot be without, and which are not only useful for their home Consumption, but also for the Employment of their People, and Support of their Manufactures, so it must necessarily follow, that they import greater Quantities of such Goods from abroad. First, they have neither Wool nor Silk, or at least had neither, till they learned by their Necessity to plant the last, and get the first by a clandestine Trade from *England*; but,

N. B. We are not to suppose, when we say the *French* have no Wool, that there is no Sheep in *France*; or that the Sheep have no Wool on their Backs; on the contrary, there is a great deal of Wool, and such as they make many Goods and Manufactures of, as particularly the Ruffets and coarse Cloths which their Peasants wear, and which are almost as coarse and as rough as our Blankets; also Rugs, Blankets, Caps, Hats, and several such

such Things useful in their Kind. But when we say they have no Wool, we mean they have it not fine¹ Ch. 105. enough, nor a sufficient Quantity, to carry on their fine §. 12, 14. Manufacture of Cloth, Stuffs, Serges, and such Goods as are made in *England* and *Ireland*. To remedy this, they import Wool clandestinely with great Art and Application, and some Hazard too, from *England*, but especially from *Ireland*. They also import it openly from *Spain*, from *Barbary*, and some from *Germany*, in a word, from all Places where it can be had*.

CH A P. CXX.

The Atlas general, &c.

1. *Iceland* or *Iseland*. The Wool of their Sheep is coarse Page 17. as Hair.—Their Trade is by Barter. Their Product, Butter—coarse Woolen Cloth, &c. The King's Revenue is paid in dried Fish, coarse Cloth, &c.
2. *Norway*. Their Beasts are black Cattle, Horses and Sheep, wild and tame. The tame Sheep fed in Inclosures separated by Ditches. He is accounted a good Farmer who Page 20, 21. has 500 of them: They lose many of them in hard Winters. Most of them, in the West Parts, are white, in the South, black. Knit Hose is their chief Manufacture; 60,000 Pair of which are annually exported. Their Cloaths

* To shew then in what Parts of the World Wool is produced, as also what the *French* have within themselves, I shall, without Regard to the Year when printed, they being modern Books, proceed to give Extracts from the *Atlas general*, and from *Salmon's modern History, or the present State of all Nations*. Which Books are oftener consulted occasionally than read throughout; and if by great Chance they are perused; yet, because they contain great Variety of other Matter, more suited to the general Taste of Readers; Therefore, what lies scattered in these two large Works, upon this Subject, is not so apt to command Attention, as it will be, when collected under one View, as in the two next following Chapters.

Cloaths are generally of a coarse Flannel, and of one Fashion; but they have a finer Sort for Church and Market. Their Bedding is Hay, with a little Flannel spread over it. The Women weave fine Bed-cloaths of several Colours, with fine Stockins and Woolen Waift-coats; they dye all themselves. The Farmers are obliged to keep a certain Number of Sheep and Cattle for the King's Use, and to pay him a fixed Rate for their own.

- Page 26. 3. Sweden. The Wool of their Sheep is very coarse; they have Woolen Manufactures from England; but of late they make coarse Cloth of their own, to supply their Army, and have laid such Taxes on English Cloth, as amounts almost to a Prohibition.
- Page 33. 4. Muscovy in Europe, Horses, black Cattle, Sheep,
- Page 36. (Astracan) plenty of Beef, Mutton, &c. (Nagaisky, or the Country of the Nagrarian Cossan Tartars) their black Cattle large, and the Tails of their Sheep so fat that some of them weigh 30 Pounds.
- Page 37. 5. Poland, Sheep in great Plenty. Lithuania abounds with black Cattle, Sheep, &c. The Western Parts export from Dantzick Corn, Wool, &c.
- Page 40. 6. Germany, its chief Commodities, Wool, &c. Islands
- Page 52. on the Coasts of Pomerania. (Rugen) well stocked with
- Page 64. Sheep. (Brandenburgh Marquisate and Electorate, 170 Miles long, 100 broad) They have great Flocks of Sheep, but not black Cattle in Proportion. La Forest says, were the People as much given to Trade, as to Drinking and good Cheer, they might make considerable Profit of their Sheep. But since his Time, the Trade of that Country is much improved. French Refugees and other Protestants, entertained, privileged and naturalized, have settled there many useful Manufactures. Marquisate of
- Page 81. Lusatia (Gorlitz) a good Trade in Dying and Dressing Linen and Woolen. Wetteravia (Dittingburgh) two annual Fairs for Cattle and Wool. Hesse (Lower Hesse) in the Valleys, Flocks of Sheep, that bear the best of
- Page 92. Wool in Germany, which used to be bought by the English Merchants. (Cassel) the adjacent Fields are covered with Flocks of Sheep. Wool their chief Trade. (Waldeck) plenty of Sheep. (Circle of Suabia) This Country has a good Breed of Horses, black Cattle, Sheep. Circle
- Page 97. of Austria (Dutchy of Silesia 220 Miles long, and 90 where broadest) Their principal Commodities for Trade,
- Page 105. Wool,

Wool, &c. In this Dutchy are many high Mountains, but two Ridges are remarkable; one of them, by the Natives called Jabunca, abounds with great Flocks of Sheep. (Moravia) a good Breed of Horses, black Cattle, Sheep. (Iglaw) the chief Trade, coarse Woolen Cloths and Beer. (Stiria Dutchy 130 Miles East and West, 130 South and North) Upper, abounds with Page 108. Sheep, barters Wool with the Lower for Wine. The seven United Provinces have great Numbers of Sheep, but Page 112. the best are in Zealand. Overysfel (Swoll) its Trade, Cat- Page 64. tle, Wool, &c. (Leyden) the chief Manufacture, Camblets, Cloth; of which 100,000 Pieces have been made here in one Year. (Zealand) good Pasture for Page 120. Sheep, especially on the Shores.

7. (The Spanish, now the Austrian Netherlands) the Flemings lay claim to the teaching other Nations the Way to make Cloth. They claim also the Invention of Worsted, Says, and other Stuffs, which they taught the English, when drove from the Duke d'Alva's Perfe- Page 126. cution. (Ghent) their chief Trade, besides Corn, is in Cloths, Stuffs and Silks, which employs a third Part of their 50 Companies of Tradesmen. (Bruges) they have still a Trade in Spanish Wool, Manufactures of Cloth, Fustian, Stuffs and Tapestry. (Ypres) a large Market Page 127. Place; in which an ancient Hall, a Store-House for their Wool. (Courtray) noted for good Diaper and Cloth. (Tournay) has a considerable Trade in Woolen Cloth, (Dendermond) a considerable Trade in Fustians and other Stuffs. (Malines or Mechlin) their chief Manufactures, Lace, &c. Linen, and Woolen Cloth. Austrian Brabant (Drest) is noted for Manufactures of Linen and Woolen. Hainault (Valencienne) several spacious Halls belonging to Companies of Tradesmen; the chief, that of the Cloth Workers, formerly remarkable for a Trade; not their chief Manufacture now, but rather Silks and Linens. (Maubeuge) has a considerable Trade in Woolen Cloth.

8. FRANCE, their chief Commerce is in Wine, Page 132. Brandy, Oil of Olives, Cloths, Camblets, Silk, and Woolen Stuffs; in short, they have all Things necessary for Life, can easily be without the Commodities of other Nations, tho' few can be without theirs. (Orchies) Page 133. noted for Woolen Stuffs. (Doway) an annual Fair in September, where are sold great Quanties of Worsted Camblets

- Page 134. *Camblots*. (*Abbeville*) a considerable Trade in Linen Cloth, Wool, and Corn. (*Amiens*) chief Trade, Stuffs. *Isle of France* (*Beauvais*) a good Trade in Linen Cloths, Stuffs, &c.; the best Mutton in the Nation. *Normandy* (*Aumarle* or *Albemarle*) noted for Woolen Cloths. *Bretagne*, *Orleanois*, (*Bourges*) great
- Page 139, pag. 140. Flocks of Sheep, whose Wool is famous. (*Chartres*) noted for Manufactures. (*Nogent le Rotrou*) considerable in Serges. (*Poitieue*) the Province abounds in
- Page 141. Cattle, Wool, &c.—*Champagne* (*Chalons*) a considerable Trade in Cloth, &c. (*Meziere*) a fine Manufacture
- Page 142. of Cloth. *Lyonois* (*Lyon*) very antient, the Metropolis of the Country in *Augustus's* Time, and had a great Trade in Cloth. (*Bourbonnois*) abounds in Wine, Wool, &c. *Guienne* (*Pergieux*) abounds with Pastures, Flocks,
- Page 143, pag. 144. &c. (*Drax*) its Product — Cattle, Wool, &c. (*Lower Navarre*) the Valleys have good Pasturage; the
- Page 145. Wool of their Sheep is fine. *Languedoc* (*Castres*) noted for a Manufacture of *Crape*. (*Castle Naudari*) for a Manufacture of Woolen Cloth. (*Nismes*) for a Manufacture of good Serge. (*Uzes*) famous for its Manufacture of Cloth and Serges. (*The Cevennes* and *Vivarreze*) the mountainous Parts abound with Flocks.
- Page 149. 9. SWITZERLAND (Canton of *Zurich*) has a good Trade, especially in *Crapes*, which is their Manufacture.
- Page 152, pag. 157. 10. SPAIN, their Wool the finest in Europe. *Portugal*, excellent Pasturage, great Herds of black Cattle and Sheep.
- Page 159. 11. ITALY (*Savoy*) Cattle of all Sorts; so that they export Hides, Fleth, Wool, &c. (*The Island of Corsica*) Abundance of Sheep. (*The Veronese*) has Plenty of
- Page 162, pag. 163. Wool, &c. (*The Vincentin*) abounds with — Wool, &c. (*Parma*) fine Wool. (*Tuscany* or *Florence*)
- Page 165, pag. 166, pag. 168, pag. 173. Commodities, — Wool, Flax, Serges, Woolen Cloth, &c. (*The Republick St. Marino*) no black Cattle, but Abundance of Sheep. (*Taranto*) furnishes a great deal of fine Wool. (*Calabria citerior*) Corn — Wool, &c. *The Venetian Dominions* on the East Side of the *Adriatick*, and in the *Ionian Sea* and *Archi Pelago*. (*Dalmatia*) abounds with Corn, — Sheep, &c.
- Page 175. (*Cephalonia*) with Oil, Wine, — Wool, &c.

10. HUN-

- 12. HUNGARY, TRANSYLVANIA. (*Hermanstat*) Page 179. the chief Trade, Cloth and Mead. (*Segefwar*) a Manufacture of Cloth.
- 13. TURKEY in Europe. (*Walachia*) Plenty of Page 180, black Cattle, Sheep, &c. (*Salonichi*) considerable for pag. 181; its Traffick in Wool. (*Thermia*) Plenty of — — — pag. 184. Wool, &c.
- 14. SCOTLAND, As to their Wool, they have great Abundance; and tho' it be not generally so good as that in *England*, yet they have some in *Galloway*, *Tweeddale*, Page 234. and the North, which is very fine. The Manufactures they make of it, are broad Cloths, which they had brought to great Perfection before the Union. They also make their Wool into coarse Cloth, &c. The *Glasgow Plads* exceed all that Sort of Manufacture in the *Glasgow* World. The Scots have a peculiar Way of Dying the *Plads* a peculiar Wool for those *Plads* in Grain; which the *Norwich* Manufacturers and others, have endeavoured to imitate, but come very short of. They make Worsted Stockings at *Aberdeen* for Women, from 10 to 30 s. per Pair. They are spun of fine Wool from the *Highlands*, and so much valued, that Mens Stocking of that Sort, are sometimes fold at 50 s. and 3 l. a Pair.
- 15. THE SHIRE of BERWICK. (*Lammer Moor*) Page 237. a Tract of Hills about 16 Miles long and 6 broad, feeds Multitudes of Sheep. (*Shire of Roxburgh*) abounds with Sheep, &c. (of *Selkirk*) here are great Flocks of Sheep. Page 238. (*Tweeddale*) chief Product, Sheep, Cattle, &c. Wool extraordinary good. (*Galloway*) this Country abounds Page 239. with Sheep, which bear very good Wool. (*Carrick*) abounds with Sheep, (*Stirling*) with Sheep. (*Lenox*, or the Shire of *Dumbarton*) the mountainous Parts abound with Pasture, and numerous Flocks. (*Shire of Fife*) the middle Parts have Plenty of Pasture, and numerous Flocks and Cattle, especially Sheep, whose Wool is much esteemed. (*Shire of Aberdeen*) Abundance of Sheep, (of *Rofs*) feeds great Numbers of Cattle; Sheep, &c. (of *Sutherland*) abounds with Corn, Sheep, &c. Here are many commodious Harbours, from whence they export Corn, Wool, &c. (*Strathnarven*) great Herds of Cattle, Page 253. Horses, Sheep, &c.
- 16. The Western Islands in the Shire of ARGYLE Page 255 (*Gigay*) abounds with black Cattle, Horses, Sheep, &c. (*Fura*)

(*Jura*) well inhabited, abounds with black Cattle, *Sheep*. (*Oranza*) Cattle, Horses, and *Sheep* of a low Size. (*Colonia*) not very fruitful; but has Abundance of black Cattle and *Sheep*. (*Mull*, 24 Miles long and 24 broad) here is Store of *Sheep*, &c. (*Lismore*, with several other small Islands) good Pasturage for *Sheep*. (*Skyes* 42 Miles long, from 30 to 20 broad) Abundance of Horses, black Cattle, *Sheep*. This Island yields *Fullers Earth*. (Several small Islands adjacent) with good Pasturage. (*Nor-thoist* and Islands adjacent) Abundance of black Cattle and *Sheep*. (*Lewis and Harns*) *Sheep* exceeding fat.

Page 259. 17. SHIRE of ORKNEY. (The *Orcaes* or *Orkney* pag. 261. Isles) good Store of *Sheep*. (Isles of *Schetland*) more Pasturage than Corn.

Page 263. 18. IRELAND, the Soil is generally fruitful, but fitter for Pasturage than Corn; upon which *Sheep* and other Cattle thrive exceedingly. The *Irish* Cattle of all Sorts, are generally of a small Size. But those brought from *England*, thrive exceeding well, and neither degenerate in Size, nor Goodness.

Part 2:
Page 149. 19. ASIA, *Natolia* (*Prusia*, or *Prusa*, now *Bourfa* or *Bourse*) the chief Trade here is in Silks, Stuffs— fine Wool, &c. (*Sardis* in *Lydia*) the Inhabitants for the most Part SHEPHERDS. (*Miletum*, now *Palatichia*) Page 151. it was famous for Wool and Coverlets.

Page 155, 20. Islands of *Natolia* (*Mytilene*, or *Metelin*) they pag. 156. have Plenty of SHEEP. (*Scio*, formerly *Chios*, 120 Miles in Circuit) one Commodity of the Island, Wool. (*Samo*, or *Samos*) many Beefs; their *Sheep* few in Proportion. The *French* load a Bark with Wool once per *Ann.* and buy two Ounces for two *Sous*.

Page 160. 21. SYRIA (from North to South 300 Miles, from East to West 250) feeds vast Herds of Cattle, and particularly *Sheep*. (*Damascus*) *Lucas* says, the SHEEP here are very large. (*Arabia Felix*) Mutton fine and sweet.

Page 178. 22. PERSIA furnishes most of *Romania* and *Natolia* with SHEEP. (*Hamadan*) near this Place, the Wool of the *Sheep* longer and finer than others. (*Ispahan*) near pag. 183. this City, 1460 Villages, the Inhabitants of which live mostly by Manufactures of Silk and *Woolen*. (*Iesa*, or *Yesda*) a City noted for Manufacture of *Serges*, of a particular Wool, handfomer and better than Silk. (*Chorasfan* Province) here

here are SHEEP of different Sorts; particularly, one Page 184. that has long grey shining Wool. (*Kerman* or *Karman*, 330 Miles from South to North, 180 East and West) their *Sheep* bear the finest Wool in *Persia*. Page 186.

23. INDOSTAN, or the Empire of the Great *Mogul*, Page 187. the fruitfulest Country of all *Asia* (which is esteemed the most fruitful Part of the whole World) in Corn, Cattle, &c. Their *Sheep* have short, but very fine Wool. (*Cachemire*) the Natives excell in varnishing and making Stuffs called *Chales* of fine Wool, or Goats Hair, which last are finer and softer than *Castor*. Both Sexes wear Mantles of them in Winter. (*Multan*) their Manu- Page 188. factures are good white Cloth ——— red Stuffs, &c. (*Lahor*) in the Towns, Manufactures of every Thing made in the Empire. (*Surgat*) the *English East* Page 191. *India* Company export Cloth to *Bantam*; import Gold and Elephants Teeth from *Sumatra*, in Exchange for Corn and Drugs, and *Carmania Wool* from *Persia*. (*Cananor*) the Province abounds with ——— black Page 194. Cattle, SHEEP, &c. (*Calicut*) Goods imported hither ——— Wool, &c. (*Gingi*) the chief Manu- Page 195, facture, Linen and *Woolen* Stuffs. (*Orixa*) Rice, Cot- pag. 197. tons, CLOTHS, &c. (*Narvar*) abounds with Wool. pag. 199. Here are vast Flocks of SHEEP, whose Wool is reckon- pag. 200. ed equal to *Spanish*. (*Sandage*) noted for Manufactures of Wool. (*Bengal*) here are Abundance of SHEEP. (*Hughly* or *Ougly*) Goods of all Sorts ——— fine Page 201. Cloth.

24. The *Peninsula* beyond the *Ganges* ——— Page 202. (*Arracan*) in the neighbouring Country, numerous Flocks of great and small Cattle.

25. CHINA (*Chensi* or *Xensi*) the Inhabitants sheer Page 214. their *Sheep* and Goats thrice a Year. Indian Islands (*Java*) black Cattle, *Sheep*. Page 219,

26. AFRICA, *Barbary* (*New Fez*) the Trade of Im- pag. 227. port, consists of *English* and other *Woolen* Cloth. The Goods exported are, Wax, Skins, Wool, &c. (*Tunis*) 3000 Shops sell Linen and *Woolen*; their chief Trade with the *Venetians* and *Genoese*. Page 228.

27. EGYPT, their *Sheep* usually bring forth twice a Year. (*Caffreria*, which contains all the most Southren Parts of *Africa*) they have Store of Beeves and *Sheep*, which they exchange on the Coasts for Tobacco and Brandy.

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Brandy. They don't value Cloths of Linen and Woolen,
 Page 234. (*Madagascar*) abounds in Fruit. Pasturage, Sheep.
 pag. 240. 28. AMERICA (*Pensylvania*) the Inhabitants send
 Tallow, Sheep, Wool, &c. to our Sugar Islands. (*Maryland*) * little or no Woolen Manufactures, but in *Somersetshire*. (*Carolina*) they make fine Druggets mixed
 Page 241, with Silk and Wool. (*Jamaica*) the Sheep generally
 pag. 243, large and fat, but the Wool good for nothing. (*Bar-*
 pag. 244, *badoes*) the Earl of *Carlisle* obtained a Grant of it from
 King *Charles I.* The Colony prospered, and great
 Ch. 85. Quantities of Indigo, Cotton, Wool, &c. were sent
 §. 7. Note. to *London.* (*Tobago* Island) a perpetual Spring; nu-
 Page 247. merous Herds of tame and wild Beasts, Sheep, &c.
 29. The DUTCH Dominions in *America* (*Bonair*
 Page 250. Island, 17 Leagues round) abounds with Sheep and black
 Cattle. (*Oruba* or *Auruba*) the chief Product — —
 Sheep, &c.
 30. The SPANISH Dominions in *America* — — — —
 Page 251. (*Old Mexico*) Length 2750 Miles South East and North
 West, Breadth unknown) great Flocks of Sheep. (*Pue-*
bla de los Angelos) a large Town of 1500 Families.
 Here's a Manufacture of Cloth as good as any in *Spain.*
 (*Guaxaca*) in a neighbouring Valley, great Herds of
 Cattle and Sheep, which afford Wool to *Clothiers* of *Los*
 Page 253. *Angelos.* (*Chiappa*) good Horses, Goats, Sheep, &c.
 (*Guatemala* proper) some Graziers here so rich to have
 40,000 black Cattle, and as many Sheep. (*Peru*) their
 Page 256. Sheep large, their Wool fine. (*Quito*) the chief Trade
 of Export, is in *Cocoa*, *Hides*, *Tallow*, *Woolen Cloth.*
 Page 257. (*Chili*) Length 1740 Miles, not of equal Breadth. The
 Meadows full of Cattle, and particularly a large Kind
 of Sheep. (The Province of *Rio de la Plata*, South and
 North

Maryland, Aug. 13, 1746.

Gen. Ev. Post, Oct. 25, 1746. * 'European Goods fell here at a monstrous Rate, which
 ' is ruinous to us. — But we can't as yet do without them,
 ' being so entirely taken up with Tobacco, as to neglect
 ' the more useful Commodities, our Cloaths. — How-
 ' ever, we are beginning to manufacture our Wool and
 ' Flax; and I doubt not, shall make good Linen and
 ' Woolen Cloth. And if the War continues, shall be able
 ' to furnish ourselves, without troubling *Great Britain.*
 ' See Chap. 127. §. 24, 27.)

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North 1270 Miles, East and West 1200) excellent Pa-
 sturage, Abundance of Sheep. Page 260.
 31. BRAZIL, the Captain Ship of *Del Rey*, abounds
 with Pepper, Ginger, rich Furrs, Cotton, *Wool* and Wax.

CHAP. CXXI.

Modern History, or the present State of all Nations, &c. By Mr. Salmon. In 3 vols. Quarto.

1. CHINA, Sheep like those of *Turkey.* (*Japan*) Page 21,
 the *Dutch* transport thither Wool. (*Proper In-* 49; 310,
dia and *Tartary*) very fine Sheep with good Fleeces. 385, 394.
 PERSIA (Province of *Kirman*) Worsted Druggets made, 714, 723,
 Sheep many, large, &c. RUSSIA, Sheep, Woolen Ma- 752, 755.
 nufacture. SWEDEN, Sheeps Wool coarse, fit to make
 Cloathing for the common People. The Woolen Ma-
 nufacture of late so far improved there, and *English*
 Woolen Goods under such Discouragements, that it is
 become scarce worth the while to send any thither. PO-
 LAND, noble Meadows and Pasture Grounds; Wool Page 840,
 exported in great Plenty, and tolerably good. 847.
 2. BOHEMIA, a deal of good Meadow and Pasture; Vol. 2.
 abounds in Oxen and Sheep. The Manufactures there, Page 3.
 Linen and Woolen; in which, arrived at no great Per-
 fection. They transport Part of their Wool to other
 Countries. (*Transylvania*) one Manufacture Cloth. (Vi- Page 22,
enna) furnished with Sheep from *Hungary*; in the upper 67, 69,
 88, 92,
Styria the Natives feed large Flocks of Sheep, which 95, 102.
 afford good Wool. (*Brandenburgh*) large Flocks of Sheep. 106.
 (*Island of Rugen*) well stocked with Sheep. (*Prussia*) a
 large Woolen Manufacture. (*Lunenburgh Walstrode*) the
 Trade consists in Wool, &c. (*Bremen*) Commodi-
 ties exported are, Wool, &c. (*Hesse Landgravate*) in Page 113.
 their Plains, numerous Flocks of Sheep, which yeild the
 finest Wool in *Germany*, which is * bought up by the
 English

* Used to be (I presume, it should be said) before *English Wool*

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English Merchants, as equal, if not preferable to their own. (*Dillingburgh and Herbron*) a tolerable Trade in *Woolen Cloth wrought there*, (*Uffen in Westphalia*) considerable for a Manufacture of *Cloth*. (The North Part of *Brabant*) accounted barren, affording only Pasture for Sheep—Except Tin and Lead, Sugar and Tobacco; there are very few Things produced either in *England*, or our *Plantations*, which the *Austrians* and *French Netherlands* stand in Need of. SWITZERLAND (Canton of *Zurick*) a principal Manufacture is *Crape*. (*Italy*) the Wool of *Parma* is not inferior to any in *Italy*. In *Tuscany* there is said to be a *Woolen* Manufacture. The Sheep of the *Paduan* afford a good Sort of *Wool*, little inferior to that of *England*. At *Venice*, the *Woolen* Manufacture is so considerable, that Foreign made Cloths are there prohibited. The *Veronese* abounds in *Wool*, &c. *Cephalonia*, an Island, produces *Wool*, &c. (*Corsica*) Plenty of Sheep. (*Malta*) Mutton and Lambs exquisitely good—In the Year 1726, the Vice-Roy of *Sicily* received Orders from the Imperial Court, to forbid several Species of *English Woolen Goods*, proper for a warm Country, in order to encourage the same from *Germany*.

Page 495, 3. FRANCE (*Picardy*) several good Manufactures of Linen and *Woolen*. (*Chalons*) a pretty good Trade in *Woolen Cloth*. (*Meaux*) the adjacent Country produces *Wool*. The Province of *Champagne*, *Wool*, which is a principal Manufacture there. (The Territory of *Arles*, 30 Miles in Extent) an excellent Pasture for Sheep. (*Provence*) from *Marseilles* to *Italy*, go annually 6000 * Bales of *CLOTH, SERGES, &c.* To *Spain* a vastly greater Quantity. Returns in *Wool* of *Segovia*, &c. to a very great Value. (*Turkey* and *Levant Trade*) of their own Growth or Manufacture, *WOOLEN CLOTH, SERGES.* (From *Constantinople*) *Sheeps Wool.*

To
Wool was prohibited to be exported, but since which, the *English Wool* has been so much cheaper than all others comparatively, that now they import none but the best *Spanish Wools*.

* The Reader may be pleased to observe, that tho' Figures are here used, yet Mr. *Salmon's* Account is in Words at Length.

Ch. 121. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 219

(To *Salonica* or *Theffalonica*) *English Cloth*, or *Cloth* in Imitation thereof, importing from thence *Wool*.

4. (In the *Archipelago*) a particular Company of Merchants trade from *Marseilles* to *Satalia*, a Sea Port of *Pamphilia*, who carry only Silver thither, for which they bring back *Wool, &c.* (To *Alexandria* the Port Town to *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*) go ten or twelve Ships, the Goods carried, are *Caps, &c.* for which they bring back *Wool, &c.* (*Clermont*) a royal Manufacture, where is made most the *Cloth* carried to the *Levant*. (*Ujez* Diocese) feeds great Numbers of Sheep. Page 519. Page 521.

5. Trade of *Languedoc* *Woolen Cloth* to *Germany, Switzerland*, and the *Levant*, and with which they cloath the King's Troops, viz. (*Tholouse Trade*) *Spanish Wool*, coarse Hangings, *Stuffs* of *Silk*, and *Wool*. (In the Diocese of *Alet*) a *Woolen* Manufacture. (Diocese of *Castres*) *SERGES, BAYS, &c.* (Diocese of *St. Pons*) some *Woolen* Manufacture. (The City and County of *Carcassone*) extremely barren, one great *Woolen* Manufactory. (Diocese of *Lodeve*) some fine *Druggets* made, and exported to *Germany*. (Diocese of *Agde*) their *Wool* is fine. The *Wool Trade* is most considerable, which is carried on at *Montpelier*. They import their *Wool* from *Smyrna, Constantinople, Sally, Tunis* and *Spain*, and either manufacture it themselves, or vend it unwrought in the neighbour Provinces. (City of *Nismes*) great Variety of Manufactures. (In the *Vivarez*) the Mountains called *Boutiers*, tho' esteemed barren, afford Pasture for *Sheep*. (The *Gevauden*) the People have a good Manufacture of *Serges* and other *Woolen* *Stuffs*, which they export to *Germany, Switzerland*, and the *Levant*, to the Value of two Millions of *Livres*. (Diocese of *Alais*) the Riches thereof consists in *Woolen* Manufactures, such as *DRUGGETS, SERGES, &c.* reckoned stronger and better than those of *Gevaudan*. Page 524.

6. ROUSSILLON, very fruitful, large Flocks of *Sheep*. (*Guienne* and *Gascony*) some *Woolen* Manufactures; not much to export. (*Bayonne*) a considerable Port; whence *Spanish Wool* is distributed to all the Provinces of *France*, where there are *Woolen* Manufactures. (*Rochelle*) some *Say, STUFFS* and *SERGES*, and other *Woolen* Manufactures to the Northern Kingdoms. (*Poitiers* and the District) Page 526. Page 532. Page 534.

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Page 536. District) the Trade, Worsted Stockings, &c. some Wool also sold at their Fairs; and Druggets, the Manufacture of *Parthenoy*. (*Maxient*) a Woolen Manufacture. (*Niort*) the Manufacture of Woolen Stuffs considerable.

Page 540. 7. BRITANY (*Nants*) its principal Trade to *America*. About 50 Ships go annually, with Necessaries of all Kinds for the Plantations. Returns in ——— Wool, &c. (*St. Malo*) the Merchants send the Woolen Manufactures of *Amiens* and *Rheims* to *Cadiz*, and from thence to the *Spanish* Plantations. Returns, *Spanish Wool*, &c.

8. NORMANDY, the Woolen Manufacture employs several Thousands; but the Cloth and Stuffs are vended chiefly in *France*.

Page 548. 9. MAINE and PERCHE. (*Maine*) a Manufacture of Woolen Serges and Stuffs. (*Perche*) *French Stuffs* made; the Woolen Stuffs of *Nugent* are vended at *Paris*, and exported to other Countries.

Page 552. 10. ORLEANS (*Orleans*) one Branch of Commerce, Wool, a considerable Manufacture of Stockins. (*Blois and Beajeu*) a Manufacture of Serges and Stuffs. (*At Romartin*) more considerable.

11. LYONS; the Merchants send to *Spain* Cloth, import from thence Wool; to *Italy*, Cloth, to *Switzerland*, coarse Cloth; to the great Towns of *Germany*, the same.

Page 558; 559. (*Auvergne*) some Woolen Manufactures, viz. Serges and other slight Stuffs. (*Marche*) their Trade consists chiefly in Cattle, and in the Woolen Manufacture of *Aubusson*, (which is considerable on that Account) as also of *Telletin*.

12. BERRY (36 Leagues in Length, 28 broad) good Pastures for Sheep, that are valued for the *Fineness* of their Wool. The Trade, chiefly Cattle, Sheep: the latter also furnish their Manufactories with Wool; of which, Cloths, Serges, Stockins, &c. (*Touraine*) Cloth once a principal Manufacture; now scarce followed any where, but at *Amboise*, and there only slight *French Stuffs* are made. (*Anjou*) Cattle and Sheep their chief Riches; Manufacture, slight Woolen Stuffs.

Page 560, 561, 562, 567. 13. SPAIN, Wool in general *admirably fine*, and in *great abundance*. Their Settlements in *America* furnish them with prodigious Quantities of ——— Wool, &c.

Ch. 121. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 221

14. PORTUGAL (*Extremio Duero*) great Flocks of Sheep, their Wool and Flesh in good Esteem. (*Alenteijo*, about 36 Leagues long, near as many broad), Mutton and Beef good.

15. AFRICA, (*Ethiopia*, viz. *Abyssinia*) Sheep in Vol. III. great Plenty. (*Caffraria*, the Country of the *Hottentots*) Sheep. (*Congo*) most of the Cattle found in *Caffraria*, Sheep, &c. (*Morocco*) Duty on Wool exported, a hundred Pounds, six ounces of Silver. Sheep, &c. great Plenty. *Europeans* bring them Woolen Cloths, Stuffs, &c. taking in Return ——— Wool, &c. (*Algiers*) Merchandizes imported, Woolen Cloths, &c.; in Return for which, *Europeans* receive ——— fine Wool, &c. (*Tunis and Tripoli*.) In *Tripoli*, exceeding fine Wool. The *Europeans* trade with *Tunis* and *Tripoli* for Wool, &c.

16. AMERICA. (*Mexico*, the Province of *Guaxaca*) great Numbers of Sheep. *European* Sheep so multiplied there, 100 Years ago, that it was an ordinary thing for a *Spanish* *Grazier* to have 10 or 20,000 Sheep. (*California*) Sheep, some white, others black, larger than ours, affording *more* Wool, very good, and easy to be wrought up. (*Peru*) Sheep of the Country, the lesser Sort, their Wool long, and much esteemed for Cloathing. The first *European* Sheep there valued at 40 or 50 Crowns a Head. So much increased in ten Years, that a Sheep might be had for a trifle. Reason of the Increase, no Wolves, &c. The Numbers of Sheep and Quantity of Wool great. (*Chili*.) The Men wear a Garment made of the Wool of their Country Sheep of the *Peruvian* kind; the Women likewise. (*La Plata*) scarce a Canton, which has less than 30 or 40,000 *European* Sheep; one of which is more valued, on account of its Wool, than three Horses, which are indeed not esteemed at above 1 s. 6 d. each. (*Brazill*.) Besides Sheep of the *Peruvian* Kind, *Europeans* now in vast Numbers. (*Virginia*.) All manner of *European* Cattle, Oxen, Sheep, &c. The Product chiefly Stock and Grain — Wool, &c. A Woolen Manufacture. (*New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania*) produce, chiefly Provisions exchanged with *British* and other foreign Colonies for Rum — Wool, &c. The Northern Colonies have set up a great many Manufactories. They make Woolen Cloth, Hats, &c.

page 3,
42,
80,
100,
138,
185,
231,
285,
287,
399,
425,
432,
587,
588,
&c.

page 592, &c. (*Carolina*) Animals the same as in *Virginia*. —

599, Of all that are in that Country, none are a less Charge than Sheep; and there is a particular Sort, whose Wool is not inferior to the finest *Spanish Wool*. (*Jamaica*)

614, Animals, Oxen, Sheep, &c. (*Bermuda*) Beef and Mutton plentiful.

633, 17. *Addenda*: — Scarce any thing in other Countries, which is not to be found in *China*.

652, 18. Abundance of Oxen and Sheep in *Walachia* and *Moldavia*. In short, *Germany* abounds with Corn, Cattle, Sheep, and Wool.

P. S. *The Extracts contained in this and the last foregoing Chapter, may serve to convey another Idea than what the Atlas Maritimus Commercialis gives; they are also some Support to the Testimony of the British Merchant; but a more minute, authentic and satisfactory Account of the French Woolen Manufactures particularly, is yet to be learned from the Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce; an Extract of which will be found nearer the Close of this Work. In the mean time, it is observable, that Wool is no more peculiar to Great Britain and Ireland than is Corn, or Horses, or horned Cattle. At the most, it can only be said, that in some Parts of these Islands, as a Consequence of having Sheep in vast Numbers, there is also Abundance of Wool, such indeed that was the like in every other Part of the World, it could not be a Commodity of any considerable Price.*

But though Great Britain and Ireland do thus abound with Sheep and Wool, we see that these are not rare in almost any Part of the Globe, and that in many large Kingdoms they abound greatly, if not equally so, as in Great Britain and Ireland. So that I discern nothing so peculiar to these Kingdoms in respect of Wool, as this one Circumstance, viz. That while all the other Wools of the whole World besides (those of the British Plantations excepted) have the whole World for their Market, the Wool of Great Britain and Ireland is confined to one Set of Chapmen only; which Chapmen are also at their Liberty to buy Wool from all other Parts of the World whatsoever, except from the British Plantations in America. Of what peculiar Emolument this must needs be to the British Woolgrower, is submitted to the Consideration of those whom it most concerns.

C H A P.

C H A P. CXXII.

The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered; shewing that the surest Way for a Nation to increase in Riches, is to prevent the Importation of such Commodities as may be raised at Home: That this Kingdom is capable of raising within itself, and its Colonies, Materials for employing all our Poor in those Manufactures which we import from such of our Neighbours who refuse the Admission of ours; with some Account of the Commodities, each Country we trade with, takes from us, and what we take from them; with Observations on the Balance.

By Joshua Gee. *

1. **T**HE *English Nation* remained much in the same State, respecting Trade and Navigation, from the Time of *William the Conqueror* to the Accession of *Queen Elizabeth* to the Crown of *England*; which then consisted chiefly in transporting Tin, Lead, Wool, some Leather, Iron, and other Productions sufficient to purchase what foreign Commodities † they wanted.

2. King

* This Author was one of the Gentlemen concerned in writing *The British Merchant*. The Copy, from which I transcribe, is the fourth Edition, printed 1738. From Circumstances †, it appears to have been first printed about the Year 1728. ^a §. 7. Note.

† This Writer, in this Paragraph particularly, hath consulted Brevity, not Truth. (See Chap. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.) which shew the *English Trade in Woolen Manufacture*, to have arrived to a very considerable Pitch, though not to its greatest Height, even before the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*.

Page 2,

2. King *Edward III.* was the first Prince from the Conquest to his Time, that we find took any Notice of Trade; for in the Parliament held at *Westminster* in 1338, the Transportation of Wool out of the Kingdom was prohibited; and for the Encouragement of foreign Cloth-workers, and other Manufacturers, to come and settle here, a great many Privileges were granted. From his Reign to Queen *Elizabeth*, we do not find any one Prince that had much Regard for Trade. In Queen *Elizabeth's* Time many and great Advantages were added to it. King *James I.* concerned himself not much with Trade. King *Charles I.* had too many other things upon his Hands. *Cromwel* and the Rump had some excellent Notions thereof. King *Charles II.* was too indolent in that respect. King *James II.* though his natural Turn of Mind lay that way, was too intent, during his short Reign, to establish Popery. Upon King *William's* coming to the Crown, early Application was made to him for several Amendments in Trade, and for establishing a great many useful Manufactures here, viz. *Lutestrings, Alamodes, Glass, Linen.* In his Time also Manufactures of *Copper* and *Brass* were set on Foot, which now in a great measure supply the Nation. The making of *Sail-Cloth* was also begun, and carried to great Perfection; also *Sword-Blades, Scissars* and *Toys*, made of *Steel*, which we used to have from *France*, but in which we now excel all other Nations. The setting up of *Salt Works* hath proved very beneficial here, and saves a great deal of Treasure yearly: there are besides many other things* which I forbear to enumerate.

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3. At

* *New Acquisitions of Trade and Manufacture.* And as all these contribute to the Employment and Maintenance of the People, and to enrich the Merchants, &c. so they are very comfortable Reflexions, and might serve to allay that Spirit of Murmuring and Discontent, which is too frequent on the Head of Trade and Manufacture. And as many of these *new Acquisitions* do necessarily work upon the more ancient Trade of *England*, the *Woolen Manufacture*, it is rather Matter of Wonder, that it has so well maintained its Ground, as we shall find it has done, as a Branch of our foreign Trade, than that it has made no larger Advances. For in that respect, it will be seen, that no Class of Men in the

3. At present, *Turkey* takes from us chiefly broad Page 12.
Cloths, &c.; and the *English* Merchants frequently buy up *French* and *Lisbon* Sugars, and transport thither, as well as Bullion from *Cadiz*; so that the Balance of that Trade is plainly against us. Yet is this very useful, as taking off our Goods fully manufactured, and in Return, sending us raw Materials for Manufacture and Re-exportation,

4. *Italy* takes broad Cloth, &c. *England* takes from Page 13.
them, raw, thrown, and wrought Silks. Formerly we received a considerable Balance; but the *French* now sup- Page 14.
plying them with Woolen Manufactures, Fish, &c; and as we import great Quantities of thrown and raw Silk from thence, to carry on our Manufactures, it is thought the Balance now against us is considerable.

5. *Spain* takes from us broad Cloth, &c. Stuffs, &c. Page 15.
England from them, Wine, Fruits, &c. And though we are obliged to them for their Custom for our Manufactures, they are no less obliged to us for taking off their Products. Formerly we received a very great Balance from them in Bullion; but since the House of *Bourbon* Page 16.
has filled the *Spanish* Throne, and introduced *French* Stuffs and Fashions, it is presumed the Balance is but very small in our Favour.

6. *Portugal* takes from us broad Cloths, Druggets, &c. *England* from them, Wine in vast Quantities, Oyl, &c. and though we may allow a considerable Balance to be brought us, yet is it not so great as some imagine.

7. *France* takes from *England*, Tobacco, Lead, &c. Page 18.
some *Flannels.* *England* from *France*, Wine, Cambrick and Lawns, Brocades, Velvets, &c. run in upon us, Linens in like manner, and Brandies, for which the Smugglers carry nothing but Gold, Silver, and Wool. *France* above all other Nations, is the worst for *England* to trade with. It produces most Things necessary for Life, and Page 19.
wants little either for Luxury or Convenience, some few Materials excepted, to help to carry on their Manufactures; of which the chief are, *Wool*, and some Dying Stuffs.

the Kingdom have Reason to complain, except the *Wool* GROWERS, who in Truth, as to their Price and Market for that Commodity, have unequal and hard Usage.

Page 20. Stuff. But they have laid down some of their best Lands for Pasturage, to improve the Growth of their Wool. Great Part of their Woolen Manufacture is indeed carried on with *Spanish* and *Irish* Wool; what they import from *Ireland* might be prevented, but instead of that, there is a Duty of 19 d*. Farthing per Stone, laid upon all that comes to *England*. So that the *French* in *Ireland* buy theirs near 20 per Cent. cheaper.

Page 21. 8. *Flanders* takes from us Serges, a few Flannels, a very few Stuffs, Sugar, &c. *England* takes from them Lace, Cambricks, Lawns, &c. to a very great Value. It is difficult to judge, as the Trade goes chiefly through the Hands of the *Dutch*, what Balance we pay them; but it is undoubtedly very considerable, we being their best Customers; and yet they prohibit our Woolen Cloths, which if freely admitted, it is thought, would not amount to one fifth of what we take from them.

Page 22. 9. *Germany* takes from *England* broad Cloth, Druggets, &c. *England* takes from them prodigious Quantities of Linnen, &c. According to the Custom-House Accounts, the Balance was thought to be in our Favour, when we were supplied by *France* with Linens; but since the high Duty upon *French* Linens, the Emperor and other Princes of *Germany* have gained that Manufacture, which has greatly enriched them. And yet, notwithstanding the Advantage they have by importing their Linens upon us, some of them have prohibited several of our Woolen Manufactures, and others have prohibited all; which gives them a very great Balance upon us.

10. *Norway* and *Denmark* takes from *England*, Guineas, Crown Pieces, Bullion, a little Tobacco, and a few coarse Woolens. *England* takes from *Norway*, Timber, Iron. We pay them a very great Balance.

Page 24. 11. *Sweden* takes from *England*, our Gold, Silver, and but a small Quantity of the Manufactures and Production of *England*; which takes from *Sweden* near two Thirds of the Iron wrought up, or consumed in the Kingdom, Copper, Planks, &c. The Balance from us before the late War with *Denmark*, amounted to between 2 and 300,000 l. Yearly, besides the Freight of their own Product.

12. *Russia*

* This Duty was taken off some Time in the Year 1730 or 1731, (See Chap. 126. §. 12.)

12. *Russia* takes from us some coarse Cloths, long Page 25. Ells, Worsted Stuffs, Tin, &c. *England* takes from *Russia*, besides many other Things, Hemp, and having no other Market to go to, where great Quantities may be had, they are paid their own Prices for what we take of them.

13. *Holland* takes from *England*, Woolen Manu- Page 26. factures, and something of almost every Thing the Kingdom produces. *England* takes from *Holland*, fine Hollands, &c. &c. But according to the Custom-House Accounts, we Over-balance them thrice as much as we do *Portugal* or *Spain*. But when the great Number of Smuggling Ships are considered, it is apt to furnish the thinking Part of Mankind with other Notions.

14. *Ireland* takes from *England* broad Cloth, Silks, Page 27. Ribbons, Gold and Silver Lace, almost every Thing they use*, but coarse Linens, coarse Woolens, and Eatables. *England* takes from *Ireland*, Woolen and Linen Page 28. Yarn, Wool in great Quantities, some Tallow—But that which makes *Ireland* so very profitable to *England*, is, that it is thought near one Half of the Rents of the whole, belong to *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen that dwell here. They have an extraordinary Trade for their Hides, Tallow, Beef, Butter, &c. to *Holland*, *Flanders*, *France*, *Portugal* and *Spain*.

15. *Our Sugar Plantations* take from *England*, all Page 29. Sorts of Clothing, Household Goods, &c. They send us Sugar, Ginger, &c. all the Bullion and Gold they can meet with, and doubtless would produce Cinamon and other Spices, &c. if they were planted, also Coffee.

16. *The Tobacco Plantations* take from *England*, their Page 30. Clothing, Household Goods, Utensils of all Kinds. b Ch. 120. *England* takes from them, Tobacco for Use and Re-ex- §. 28. Note. portation.

17. *Carolina* lies in a happy Climate, producing the Page 31. best Rice in the World; no Country would afford better Silk. 'Tis said, that Bohea and Green Tea have been raised there, that it is capable of furnishing good Olive Oyl, Cochineal, Indigo, Iron, Hemp, Flax.

P 2

18. *Pen-*

* But *Quere*, if the Case is not much altered of late Years, since the *Dublin Society* has given annual Premiums to encourage the Industry and Invention of the People there, to Manufacture and Productions of all Kinds?

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Page 34. 18. *Pensylvania*, within 40 Years, has made wonderful Improvements; which has very much enlarged their Demands upon us for broad Cloths, Druggets, Serges, Stuffs, and Manufactures of all Sorts. They supply the Sugar Plantations with Pipe-Staves, Lumber, &c. — But all that not sufficing for their Clothing, they are forced to make something by their own Labour and Industry, to answer that End.

Page 35, 36. 19. *New Jersey, New York, New England*, like *Pensylvania*, buy their Clothing from us, what they can afford*; for the rest, they are their own Manufacturers.

20. Our Trade to *Africa* is very profitable; it carries no Money out, brings in Bullion, Gold Dust, &c. and supplies the Plantations with Negroes.

21. We send great Quantities of Bullion to the *East Indies*, as well as some Manufactures, which purchase there at very low Prices, the Products and Manufactures of *India* and *China*, which are brought home in our own Navigation; out of which we supply ourselves with Calicoes and other Cotton Cloths, sufficient for our own Consumption, as also Coffee, Tea, and raw Silk; and, it is supposed, sell † to Foreigners as many of the said Com-

* Or rather, what they want.

† *Re-export*, (I presume, Mr. Gee should have said,) and sell to Foreigners, *Ireland*, and the *British Plantations*.

December 22, 1733, Mr Alderman French presented to the House of Commons [in *Ireland*] Heads of a Bill, for the more effectual Employment of the Poor, by prohibiting the Use and Wear of all wrought Silks, Bengals, and Stuffs mixed with Silks, Cotton, or Herba of the

Manufacture of *Persia* or *China*, or the *East Indies*, and of all painted Calicoes, except those painted in *Ireland* or *Great Britain*; and the said Heads were agreed to— But as passing such a Bill would have been prejudicial to the *East India Company* in *England*, a Stop was put to it. Quer. *If this was well judged, even for the Woolen Manufacture of England, and particularly if it is any Way consistent with good Sense and Equity (in regard to the Wool GROWER) to prohibit absolutely the Exportation of Wool from Great Britain, and from Ireland to foreign Parts; and at the same Time, to permit the Importation of foreign Manufactures (thought fit to be prohibited in Great Britain) so much as to Ireland and the Plantations?*

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Commodities, or more than pay for all the Bullion shipped out.

C H A P. CXXIII.

Reasons why the Demands for our Woolen Manufactures do not increase.

By Joshua Gee.

1. IT is supposed that *Egypt*, the *Tyrians* and Coasts of Page 97.

Syria, were the first that entred upon the Linen and Woolen Manufactures; and as Wars and Persecutions arose, some of them shifted from Place to Place, Page 98.

and at last carried those Manufactures among the *Flemings*, who raised Flax and Hemp of their own, and have carried the Linen to the highest Perfection of any Place in *Europe*; and also made various and great Improvements in the Woolen. These two Manufactures drew Multitudes of People to settle in the 17 Provinces; and *England* having the greatest Quantity of the best Sort of Wool, they purchased that from us, and great Quantities were exported.

2. *Edw. III.* saw the Advantage of the Woolen Manufacture, and made a fair Push for having it removed hither, and took proper Measures for establishing it here,

as is before mentioned; but for Want of the like Care Ch. 122. in his Successors, it did not take deep Root 'till the Reign §. 2.

of Queen *Elizabeth*^d. In her Time, that Manufactory Ch. 17. was so effectually established, that a mighty Progress was P. S.

made therein, and it increased so considerably, that they gained the Reputation of being the best in *Europe*; and a

Market was opened for them, not only into *Spain*, Page 99. *France*, *Italy* and *Germany*, but into *Russia*^e, the *Bal-* Ch. 18.

tick, &c. and by way of *Archangel* into *Persia*, and also §. 8. a Trade was settled into *Turkey*^f.

3. *England* carried on her Trade in the Woolen Ma- §. 7. nufacture, a considerable Time, and the rest of *Europe*

carried on the Linen and other Manufactures, and exchanged them with us for our Woolens^g. — But the Ch. 26.

P 3 French §. 6.

French endeavouring to enlarge the Trade and Manufactures of that Kingdom, found out several Ways to prevent the Importation of our Woolens into *France*, by causing them to be thrown into Water, and then to be shrunk and new dressed, before they were admitted to be sold; those vexatious Ways, together with the high Duties imposed upon them, soon tired out the *English* Merchant, and amounted to a Prohibition.

4. Those Proceedings gave Spirit to *Sweden* and several *German* Princes, to follow the Example of *France*; they were also willing to try whether they could not lay the *English* Woolen Manufactures under such Prohibitions and Difficulties, as to exclude the wearing them in their respective Dominions. How far they succeeded *, is too well known.

Page 100. 5. We may judge what Part *France* has gained from us, by examining into the mighty Demand there was for our Woolen Goods, when *France* was visited with the Plague, and were stopp'd from supplying foreign Markets:
☞ The Demand for our Woolen Goods increased to so great a Degree, that the like has not happened for many Years †; but as soon as that Country was freed from the Plague, they again supplied those Markets as formerly, and the Demand for ours gradually sunk.

6. Now as we have greatly increased in our Buildings and Inhabitants within these forty Years, and have so many Competitors in the Woolen Manufactures; and *France, &c.* has gained so great a Part from us; and so many Places endeavour to keep out our Woolen Manufactures, and still continue to import their Hemp, Flax, Pot-ash, Iron, Timber, &c. upon us, which draws a very great Treasure annually out of this Kingdom; some Methods must be found out for establishing other Manufactures, for employing our Poor; otherwise our present

* But could they possibly have succeeded in any Degree; or would it have been Policy to have attempted it, had it been true, (what modern *English* Writers say) ' That our Wool for Clothing, is to all the World as much a Necessary of Life, as any Thing else?'

† May we not expect, according to this Account, that the Price of Wool in *England*, was hereby considerably advanced? This has been said; but we shall prove the contrary.

present Riches will decrease, our Lands sink in Value, and our Manufacturers be forced to go into other Countries to find Employment; which would be a Misfortune severely felt. But this may be prevented; for if we will examine into the Conveniencies we have for carrying on the greatest and most profitable Manufactures, we shall find that by a right Regulation of the Improvements that may be made, especially in our Colonies, we may equal, if not exceed, any Nation in *Europe*, in raising Materials for Silk, and Linen Manufacture; either of which is thought to be as considerable in the World as the Woolen, and no Way inferior to it in Point of Profit. The making and supplying ourselves with Pig and Bar Iron from the Colonies, is also very material, since Foreigners draw between two and three hundred thousand Pounds per Ann. from us for that Commodity, and all, to a Trifle, in ready Money.

7. Sometimes indeed there is a mighty Enquiry into Trade, and Persons are called upon to give their Thoughts, but commonly those Enquiries dye. 'Tis true indeed, that a considerable Number of Merchants are always chose into the House; but then it has been observed, that by the mutual Opposition of those who are engaged in different Interests, they rather puzzle than give Light to the Argument in Debate; and I must confess, that I have usually found Gentlemen more ready to entertain right Notions of Commerce, as it respects the Advantage or Disadvantage of the Publick, than most Men in Trade; few of whom, though otherwise knowing and well skilled in their own Way, give themselves Trouble to look further than what concerns their own particular Interest.

C H A P. CXXIV.

Traacts concerning the present State of Ireland, wrote in England, but first printed at DUBLIN 1729.

Page 25. 1. **I**T is a received Opinion, that it were better for England, if Ireland were no more; but if we consider (apart from Prejudices and particular Interests) how greatly we are already Gainers by the Trade and Industry of that Country, poor as it is, we shall begin to think (however the Notion is exploded) that the Wealth and Prosperity of Ireland is not incompatible with that of England, but highly conducing to its Riches, Grandeur, and Power.

2. It is more than probable, that Ireland sends us, at present, for Coals per An. 100,000 0 0
 For Corn ————— 80,000 0 0
 For broad Cloths, East India Goods and Mercers Wares, Hops, Toys, &c. 250,000 0 0
 We have all their Wool raw and unmanufactured; which as appears by the Register thereof at the Custom-House, for the Year ending at *Midsummer* 1723, amounts to, Yarn included, 271,291 Stones; which because of the Monopoly thereof, we buy at 6s. per Stone; in all 81,282 l. first Cost. This by the Art and Labour of English Men, is converted into Cloths, &c. and by a reasonable Computation, is a Means of saving or gaining annually, over and above the first Cost ————— 750 0 0
 By Expence of Irish Outliers among us 600 0 0
 So that we are Gainers by our Dealings with that Country, per Ann. ————— 1,780,000 0 0

Page 28. 3. It is true, that in Parliaments, every Member may be supposed to labour with a more particular Assiduity, the Advantage and Emolument of that Corporation which sent him; but every other Member does the same, and this Distraction of Affairs (as I may call it) brings the Matter quicker to an Issue, and by a Majority of Voices, determines which is the common Good. But however,

however, it sometimes happens, that the Designs of particular Societies are so gilt and varnish'd over with specious Pretences and Insinuations, that it is almost impossible to distinguish the real from the fictitious Good, and they are led into Mistakes. Instances of this might be given in many Particulars, but I shall only mention one, which has respect to our Trade with Ireland, and which occasioned no small Loss to us. I mean that which forbade the Importation of Irish Beef.

4. Before the Restoration, we were in the sole Possession of the Beef Trade, which being a bulky Commodity, afforded no small Occupation to Ships and Sailors, and no inconsiderable Profit to the Nation in general, on the Articles of Trade and Navigation. But by our suffering ourselves to be led by the Insinuations of a particular Society, we have lost those Benefits.

5. I should be glad to know with what Face a Petition from the *Shepherds of England* * to prohibit the Importa-

* *With what Face ——— Shepherds of England, &c. ——— In the Holy Scriptures* ^h Gen. we read, that every Shepherd was an Abomination to the ^h Gen. 34. EGYPTIANS; which the learned Dr. Shuckford ⁱ interprets, ⁱ Connected to mean no more than that they 'thought meanly of the Eton, 'Employment, as a lazy, idle, and unactive Profession.' pag. 342. And this learned Writer observing, that notwithstanding this, the Egyptians themselves were, some of them, Shepherds, as well as the Israelites: And as these Egyptian Shepherds could not be an Abomination to themselves, so it follows, that they were meanly thought of, only by some of their Brethren and Fellow Subjects, who were of a different Profession; and most probably, among others, by such Merchants of Egypt, as traded in the human Species, young Slaves ^k, &c. Commodities fit for a rich and luxurious People; and by which Traffic those Merchants themselves being in course made rich, were insolent enough to despise Persons in that primitive, home-bred, simple Profession, of Herdsmen and Shepherds. And thus our Author, whom I conceive to have been a Merchant of some Denomination, by a Similitude of Sense and Manners, making light of the Landed Interest, treats it contemptuously; and says equally of the whole Nobility and Gentry, 'with what Face could the Shepherds of England, &c.? ——— As if this was a Matter that concerned those only that were literally Shepherds, the poor Hirelings retained to follow the Flocks,

Importation of Wool, would at this Day be received in our Parliament; *it is certain it would greatly raise the Price of that produced here* *; and the same Arguments † might be framed for it, that were made Use of to procure the Prohibition of Beef; but I am sure a very indifferent Politician might however see, that the Gain of that particular Society, could in no Measure compensate the Injury it would do to our Woolen Trade, and to the Nation in general.

Page 62. 6. The nearer Commodities are bought to the Place of their Growth, the more advantageous they are to the Country importing; because Ships, Freight, Sailors Wages, &c. being but a Commutation within themselves, are no Drain to the Nation. So likewise, the farther off we can sell our own Commodities, the more advantageous is it to the Nation, the Expence and Hazard of the Navigation adding considerably to their Price at such Markets.

Page 64. 7. Premiums on the Exportation of Goods, enable the Merchant to sell them so much cheaper at foreign Markets, than he could otherwise afford them, and are of singular Use in Cases where we are undersold by others; for which Reason it is a Nations Profit to give Premiums, where the Sale of their Manufactures would otherwise be lessened.

C H A P.

Flocks, and not the *Land-owners*, who subsist by their Rents, and the *Flock-Masters*, whose Property the Sheep are, and who, besides supporting their own Families, pay those Rents with the Produce thereof. ——— And as if the most brilliant Appearances in the Kingdom, and the several polite and gainful Trades thereon depending, had not their chief Support out of the Rents paid from those Lands, on which the Sheep of *England* particularly are depastured; the same affording Wool to an extraordinary Value. ———

* However, besides some other Things that are well enough to be approved of in this Tract, I commend the Ingenuity of the Writer, in acknowledging, *that the Importation of Irish Wool and Yarn to England, does contribute to sink the Price of English Wool there.*

† And I further agree with him, that the *same Arguments* which shall be esteemed good, for prohibiting *Irish Cattle*, hold equally for prohibiting *Irish Wool and Yarn*; yet in my Opinion ought none of them to be prohibited; the same admitting of another Regulation, as I think, more agreeable to *Equity and good Policy*.

C H A P. CXXV.

The English Woolen Manufacturers Remarks on the present declining State of their Trade for Exportation, and the Necessity there is of preventing the Irish Wool being run; humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament 1730.

1. **T**R A D E in general does now feel the Effects of a Page 3. long and gradual Decay * in our Woolen Trade for Exportation, as the Woolen Manufactures abroad have took Place; which is evidently owing to their getting the *Irish Wool*, and not only working it up, but with it also great Quantities of their own Wool (*intermixing it with the Irish*) into *English like* † Goods, much cheaper than *England* can.

2. 'Tis

* *A long and gradual Decay in our Woolen Trade for Exportation.* 'The Exports of the *English Woolen Manufactures*, at a Medium of the last four Years, exceeded 'their Exportations, about 16 or 18 Years ago, about '200,000 l. per Ann.'

An Essay on Trade and Improvement of Ireland (pag. 77.) By Arthur Dobbs, Esq; Dublin printed 1729.

† *English like Goods*, an Expression, we shall see, borrowed from the *French*, now made use of for the first Time, *understood*. by this, but repeated hereafter by other *English Writers*, in order to convey a very different Meaning from that in which it is used by the *French*.

Some of the *English*, it seems, being ashamed any longer to insist upon that egregious Falsehood, 'that *French* and 'other foreign Wool was *useless* without a Mixture of '*English or Irish*', endeavour to amuse their Countrymen with a Distinction, which they conceive may answer the Purposes of their Argument for the Possibility of something near a Monopoly in the Woolen Trade; which is this, 'that 'Foreigners, without some *English or Irish Wool*, can 'make no *English like Goods*, or Goods fit for a foreign 'Market.' But this we shall shew has as little Truth in it, as any former Assertions calculated for the same Ends, *i. e.* to deceive the People of England. The

236 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 125.

Page 5. 2. 'Tis fully demonftrated by the great Charge and Risk * *England's* Rivals run in getting the *Irish Wool*, that as they do not need it for Quantity, having Wool of their own, 'tis for Quality, without which they cannot work up their own, into fuch Goods that they rival *England* in.

Page 6. 3. At prefent, the Intereft of *England* and *Ireland*, as to their *Wool*, does very much differ; and it is *England's* abfolute Intereft, that none of her own nor *Irish Wool*, be run, but that all more than *Ireland's* own home Confumption does call for, be manufactured in *England* for Exportation. But 'tis *Ireland's* prefent Intereft, that all her Wool, more than fhe mannfatures herfelf (not all for home Confumption) be run, rather than exported in *Wool*, to *England*.

Page 7. 4. All *Irish Wool* exported to *England*, does pay a Duty in *Ireland* of upwards of one Penny per Pound; and likewise all *Irish Woolen Yarn* imported, pays a Duty of above

4. All *Irish Wool* exported to *England*, does pay a Duty in *Ireland* of upwards of one Penny per Pound; and likewise all *Irish Woolen Yarn* imported, pays a Duty of above

The *French*, it's true, make Goods which they call (what may be rendered) *Engliſh like*, viz. *facon de Angleterre*. And tho' it will appear, that ſome fuch Goods are made in *France*, either all, or in Part, of *Engliſh Wool*; yet it will alfo appear, that there are many more Goods of the ſame Denomination and Kind, made in *France*, without any *Engliſh Wool*, or *Irish*, and thoſe alfo for a foreign Market, viz. both the *Spaniſh* and *Levant Trade*, *Italy*, &c. (See Chap. 151. §. 11. Chap. 157. §. 10. Chap. 158. §. 3, 5, 7, 9. Chap. 164. §. 7. Chap. 165. §. 1. Chap. 167. §. 9. Chap. 170. §. 7.)

* This Writer in particular, ſupports his Hypotheſis (of a leſs Quantity of *Engliſh* or *Irish* mixed with a greater, of foreign Wool, for making *Engliſh like Goods*) by the Riſks which he tells us, Foreigners run, in order to the obtaining of fuch *Engliſh* and *Irish Wool*; which they would not do, for the Advantage of manufacturing that Wool ſingly. But this is miſ-ftating the Caſe. The Subjects of *England* and *Ireland* chiefly run thoſe Riſks, to convey it to Foreigners; and their Motive is evidently, the Proſpect of Gain, which attends that illicit Trade; which Gain in a great Meaſure ariſes from the Price of Wool, both in *Ireland* and *England*, being depreſſed conſiderably below its natural Value; as alſo, at this Time (1730) by reaſon of the Duties both in

¹ See *Ireland* and *England*, on Wool and Woolen Yarn imported Chap. 126. thence to *England*; which Duties were ¹ eſtimated at a §. 11. Premium of 36 per Cent. on clandestine Exportation.

Ch. 125. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 237

above a Penny per Pound in *England*, beſides what it pays, as *Wool*, in *Ireland*.

5. 'Tis to be feared no Law will put a Stop to running *Wool* in *Ireland*, 'till the *Irish* ſee it their Intereſt to become ſubſervient with their *Wool* to the Intereſt of the *Engliſh Woolen Trade* for Exportation.

6. Taking off the ſaid Duty on the *Irish Wool*, will not introduce it into *England* cheaper ^m than now; the ^m See Price in *Ireland* advancing as the Duty is taken off; but Ch. 124. it would be a very great Means to induce the *Irish Traders*. §. 5. to think it their Intereſt to put in Force ſuch Laws, as our Parliament may find needful to prevent its being run, as *England* will be 20 per Cent. a better Market than now, and their Gains will not be *England's* Loſs.

7. Money earned by the *Engliſh Spinners*, is now the Page 8. deareſt earn't of any in the whole Manufacturing. Every Pack run, robs *England's* Poor of manufacturing three. Taking off the Duty on *Irish Woolen Yarn* imported; then by encouraging the *Irish* Poor in Spinning a Part of the *Wool* now run, into white Yarn for *England*, as now for *England's* Rivals, would be much more for the Advantage of *England's* Manufacturers, and inſtead of leſſening either the Price of *Wool*, or of the Labour of our *Engliſh* Poor, be an abſolute Means, by the great Increate of Trade, fully to employ them, though ſo numerous, much more to their own and Kingdoms Advantage, than bare Spinning can*.

8. More

* In ſhort, ſome *Engliſh Dealers* in Woolen Manufacture, obſerving that ſince the Interruption of Commerce for Wool, between *France* and *Ireland*, (which had happened in Conſequence of the Plague at *Marſeilles*) was removed, there went more Wool from thence to foreign Parts, and conſequently leſs ⁿ was brought from *Ireland* to *England*, ⁿ See than during ſuch Interruption; and finding that the Price Ch. 126. of *Engliſh Wool* in *England* (which had for ſome Years §. 10. (c) been very low, and probably the lower, for the Quantities of *Irish Wool* and Yarn in that Period ordinarily imported) began to look up ^o a little again; from this Time they caſt ^o See a greedy Eye upon the Wool and Yarn of *Ireland*, hoping, Ch. 171. I make no Queſtion, by Means thereof, to have *Engliſh* N^o. 5. Wool in *England* ſo much the cheaper; but at the ſame time arguing, ' that the more *Irish Wool* and Yarn was brought to

Page 9: 8. More than that, taking off the Duty on the said *Wool* and *Yarn*, and turning the *Irish* low Labour in *England's* Favour, would not only make them that are now employed for *England's* Rivals, see it their Interest, that such a Law be executed, but even the whole Kingdom (the clandestine Traders excepted) would assist therein, and consult the Interest of *England* as to her Woolen Manufactory for Exportation; which at once would enable *England*, not only to continue a living Price to her Poor, but also fully to employ them, and that to more Advantage than now she can, and yet to sell

Page 10: ' to *England*, the more Trade the *English* would find for Woolen Manufacture abroad, not barely in a *single*, but in a *treble* Proportion; and that the Price of *English* Wool in *England*, would advance accordingly.' And to make this more feasible, not only the Doctrine, of every *one* Pack of *English* or *Irish* Wool exported being the Occasion of *three* Packs of Woolen Goods meeting the *English* at foreign Markets, is constantly repeated, with great Strefs laid upon it; but (which is another Absurdity) to make the *Irish* Yarn less unacceptable to the People of *England*, the Benefit to the Poor of *England*, by Spinning Wool, is very lightly spoke of; altho' other Writers make Spinning to be half the Business of, and the most considerable Advantage from, the Woolen Manufacture, as it is an Employment, and a Maintenance for, otherwise helpless, Women and Children.

Ch. 126. §. 16.

Now tho' I myself am, Things being once put upon an equitable Foot, against either prohibiting, or even taxing Wool, or Yarn, from *Ireland*, yet cannot I subscribe to those who plead, that (as the Law stands) the bringing in of *Irish* does not contribute to lower the Price of *English* Wool in *England*, and that the Importation of *Irish* Yarn, is not a Means to bring down the Price of Spinning in *England*. Notwithstanding their Plea to the contrary in this Case, those who know any thing of the Matter, are well assured, that they are a Means to reduce the Price, both of Wool and Spinning; and tho' for the most Part they chuse to insinuate the Reverse, yet at Times we find them admitting the 'Thing' and defending the publick Utility of it. For thus it is frequent in these Kind of Tracts, to find Writers suiting their Argumenis to their Convenience, without regarding the Truth of Things; and if what they advance, serves but the Purpose of a *single* Job, they are not solicitous for the Figure their anonymous Performances shall make in future Times.

Ch. 124. § 5.

sell so cheap, that she would be able to cope with the whole World in Woolen Goods.

9. N. B. As dying and fitting white Woolen Goods for Exportation, does, on an Average, cost 50* *per Cent.*; preventing such Goods being exported white (that is not worn so) would greatly add to the Labour of the *English* Poor and Trade in general †.

C H A P. CXXVI.

Some Thoughts on the Woolen Manufacture of England, in a Letter from a Clothier to a Member of Parliament 1731.

1. YOU are too clear-sighted to approve of their Policy, who are for creating an imaginary Distinction between the Interest of *England*, and that of *Ireland*: For you readily perceive, that Men who look on Things in this wrong Light, frequently form Opinions that prove hurtful to the Interest of *England*.
2. The Wars of *Ireland*, after the Revolution, ending in the peaceable Settlement of that Country, in the Year

* This seems to be a very extravagant Way of reckoning; but be that as it will, it would add still more to the *English* Trade, if Foreigners could be obliged to buy the Trimming, viz. Buttons, Thread, Silk, &c. from *England*, as well as the Cloth; and the Argument which shall be good, for absolutely prohibiting such Goods being exported white, will be equally good, for not suffering them to be exported without the necessary Quantity of proper Trimming.

† An Act for further encouraging the Manufacture of British Sail Cloth. 4 Geo. 2. c. 27.

This Act recites, 'that many of his Majesty's Subjects were employed in making Sail Cloth; that this Manufacture by proper Encouragement might be greatly improved and increased, therefore permits undressed Flax to be imported without Duty on Entry, &c. takes off the Drawback before allowed on Re-exportation of foreign Sail Cloth, and allows a Bounty of one Penny per Ell on British Sail Cloth exported.'

Year 1691. People betook themselves to some Industry. Thus they naturally fell into Breeding of Cattle and Sheep; and they again manufactured Wool, as they had done in former Reigns. This bred such a Jealousy in us, that in June 1698, Addresses were presented to the King by both Houses of Parliament; beseeching his Majesty to 'take effectual Measures to prevent the Growth of the Woolen Manufactures of Ireland*.

3. Hereupon the Commons of Ireland, fully inclined to satisfy us in that Matter, resolved to regulate their Woolen Trade after what Manner might be most agreeable to England. To this end, they had under Consideration, Heads of a Bill to limit the Number of Sheep to be kept by any person in that Country. *But that was not what We sought after: It was not OUR BUSINESS to lessen the Quantity of † WOOL in Ireland; but to prevent the manufacturing it there for foreign Markets.* Therefore the Lords Justices and Council, pursuant to Instructions from England, framed Heads of a Bill, whereby

* See Chap. 85.

† Is not this the very Thing I have said? 'That the single Point laboured by certain Persons in a certain Interest (all Pretences to the contrary notwithstanding) is, to make WOOL and YARN CHEAP; imagining that to be of more Service to themselves, than possibly they can receive Injury from the clandestine Exportation of Wool; altho' this is what they chuse generally to keep out of Sight, as much as possibly they can, in Complaisance to the Landed Interest, whom they find it necessary to endeavour at least to cajole occasionally, in order to carry their favourite Points. Notwithstanding which, out of the Abundance of their Hearts, they will now and then discover their real Views and Sentiments; as in this present Instance.

The Generality of People who have entertained that Horror about the Consequences of exporting WOOL, which naturally arises from a Belief of the Representations of these Writers concerning the same, have seriously condemned the Irish Act, as the great Cause of increasing the Growth of Wool in Ireland; which Increase is equally a Cause of English Wool being a worse Commodity in England, by what Irish Wool is imported, and also of furnishing some Wool to Foreigners, Rivals to the English in that Trade; and therefore, as Persons meaning well to their Country, and speaking as they meant, they have been ready to wish, that

by four Shillings on the Value of twenty Shillings, of old Draperies, and two Shillings on the like Value of all new Draperies (except Freezes) was imposed as a new Duty on all those Manufactures of Wool, to be exported between the 25th of March 1699, and the 25th of March 1702. And although the Manufacturers of Ireland petitioned the Parliament against this Bill, yet it was readily passed into a Law; so willing were the People of Ireland to remove all our Apprehensions of their rivalling us in this our darling Manufacture.

4. And it is certain, this Duty (which was calculated to divert the Manufacturers by Degrees, from the Woolen to the Linen and Hempen Manufactures) would have effectually prevented the People of Ireland from frequenting

that there were fewer Sheep in Ireland, as well for the Sake of the English Manufacturer, as of the English Wool Grower. But here, a Person, under the Name of a Clothier, says for himself and his Fraternity, 'it was not what we sought after; it was not OUR BUSINESS to lessen the Quantity of WOOL in Ireland.' And I believe he spoke the Sense of certain Dealers with equal Sincerity and Frankness.

Nevertheless, every considerate Person will believe, that the more Wool is produced in Ireland, the more, in Proportion, will be exported to foreign Parts. — But, because the more Wool there is in Ireland, the more also in Proportion may, and probably will be brought to England; and because that, it is conceived, will be a Means to lower the Price of English Wool in England: THEREFORE, say ALL the English Woolen Manufacturers in their Hearts, (what this Writer has said for himself and them) we don't want to lessen the Quantity of Wool in Ireland; altho' we are sure the French will come in for a Share of it; and the MORE the Irish have, for the GREATER Quantity thereof.

This is a terrible Circumstance upon the English Wool Grower; by which I apprehend the Irish Act has stood, contrary to the Opinion of Sir Will. Temple, who thought it could not; and which Act is contrary to the Sentiments of many Writers; for many there are, who have mentioned that Act, only for the Sake of condemning; nay, (which is much more to be remarked) out of a vast Number of Tracts on these Subjects, not a single Sentence has occurred in Favour thereof, unless this, or the like may be accounted one, viz. 'that was not what we sought after; it was not OUR BUSINESS, &c.

ing the Markets we supplied with Woolen Manufactures. Or if on Trial, it had proved insufficient, other Methods might have been pursued to that End. But we did not wait the Success of this Law. Even the Concurrence of the People of *Ireland* with the Method proposed on the Part of *England*, seems to have heightened our Jealousy, by making us imagine the Manufactures of *Ireland* were arrived at a dangerous Pitch of Improvement; since they could be supposed capable of bearing such an extravagant Duty as was laid on them by their own Parliament: And therefore an Act was passed in *England*, in the Year 1699^s, prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures from *Ireland* to any other Place but the few *Wool Ports* of *England* and *Wales*. But such Importations being left liable to Duties laid on Cloth, &c. by Acts antecedent to this I am now speaking of, that Part of the Woolen Trade which our Legislature seemed willing to allow to the People of *Ireland*, became impracticable.

Ch. 85. §. 7.

5. By this Means, it's true, we subverted the Woolen Manufactures of *Ireland*; but it is apprehended we, at the same time, raised more formidable Enemies to our Trade: For Numbers of Workmen being at once deprived of Employment, were drove out of *Ireland*, to seek their Bread in other Countries, (as the *Flemings* were formerly forced into *England*) and being encouraged (especially by *France*) to set up their Trades, we were soon deprived of several Markets for our *Woolen Goods*, to the very great Detriment of the general Commerce of *England*.

Page 7.

6. It is probable, these Mischiefs could not have been brought upon us, had not Means been found to carry great Quantities of *Wool* from *England* and *Ireland* to the foreign Factories. But no Prohibition could prevent the Material from following the Manufacturers, when sufficient Profit was allowed to compensate for the Risk of the Exporter. And it is certain, though no Part of *Europe* yields such large Quantities of *Wool*, proper for fine neat Drapery, as *England* and *Ireland*: Yet *Spain* has finer *Wool* than ours; and all Countries afford some Sort of *Wool*, which though much coarser, answers the Use of their common People, and when mixed with the *Wool* of these Kingdoms, serves for several Sorts of Manufactures

nufactures fit for general Use in all Countries. So that we find by sad Experience, that we acted too precipitately, in destroying, instead of regulating the Woolen Trade of *Ireland*; and perhaps the best Remedy we can apply to the Mischiefs hereby brought upon ourselves, is to tread back the Steps wherein we have so long wandered.

7. I would not have you from hence to imagine, that I think it proper to allow the Exportation of Woolen Manufactures from *Ireland* to any other Parts but *England*; for that is not my Purpose. On the contrary, the Advantages arising from the Woolen Trade, are what we ought to confine as much as possible to *England*. In order to which, it may be worth considering, whether by the Assistance of *Ireland* we might not recover those Branches of our Trade, out of which the *French* and other Nations have very near beat us, by the Cheapness of their Labour. And if, to effect this, it may appear necessary to shew some Favour to the Poor of *Ireland*, we ought not to grudge it them.

8. That you may have a more perfect View of the State of this Case, I must entreat you to cast your Eyes on the following Abstract, taken from the Custom-House Books of *Ireland* for five Years, immediately before the Revolution, and five Years after the War in *Ireland*, Page 104 viz. from 1693 to 1697 inclusive — — — — It appears, that tho' the People of *Ireland*, before the Revolution, had made some Progress in the Woolen Manufacture, yet in the Year of their greatest Exports, viz. Ann. 1687, the Value of all their Manufactures (except Yarn that came to *England*) did not exceed 70,521 l. 14 s. and of that Sum, 56,485 l. 16 s. was in Freezes^c, a Manufacture we never trouble our Heads with, and 2,520 l. 18 s. in coarse *Irish* Stockins; both amounting to 59,006 l. 14 s. So that the old and new Draperies, which alone could interfere with our Trade, did not exceed 11,514 l. 10 s. And it is observable, that more *Wool* and Yarn was brought into *England*, that Year, than in any of the preceding Years. For Instance, the Quantity of Yarn, that Year, brought from *Ireland* to *England* at 18 Pound to the Stone, was 3668 Stones; of *Wool*, 256,592 Stones. From whence it is evident,

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Ch. 84 §. 15.

Q. 2

that

that our Manufacture increased * in Proportion as the Trade of *Ireland* prospered.

9. From the Custom-House Accounts, for the five Years after the War in *Ireland*, it appears, that in the Year 1697, being the Year before we complained of their Manufactures, tho' they had been every Year increasing, yet they had not recovered above one third Part of the Woolen Trade which they had before the War, (*viz.* the total Value of Manufactures this Year exported, was 23,614*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* namely, in Freezes and Stockins, 14,625*l.* 12*s.*; in old and new Drapery, 8988*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* Yarn to *England*, 13,480 Stones, Wool, 217678 Stones †.) Also, as before, so after the Revolution, the Manufactures exported from *Ireland* were mostly Freezes and coarse Stockins: And in Proportion as the People of *Ireland* improved in these Manufactures, so the Quantities of Wool ‡ and Yarn exported from thence to *England*, increased. And perhaps you will from these Observations conclude, that since we thought proper to grasp at all this Trade, and declare our Jealousy even of our Fellow

Page 11.

* This in itself is no Evidence of the Increase of the *English* Manufacture. For tho' more Wool and Yarn was imported from *Ireland* to *England*, than in some preceeding Years, yet, as that would naturally reduce the Price of *English* Wool and Yarn, so it would only increase the Temptation in *England* to export Wool clandestinely. Accordingly, we find it to have been so notoriously the Case in the short Reign of King *James II.* that the Clothiers of several of the clothing Countries petitioned the said King *James II.* for the Redress of that Grievance; upon which he gave a Commission to the *Merchant Adventurers of England*, to prevent the Exportation of Wool, and to collect a voluntary Contribution towards the Expence of the same, as see (Chap. 112. §. 7. Note.)

† Which was 9812 Stones of Yarn more, in 1697, than in 1687, and 38913 Stones of Wool, less.

‡ The Connection here, is much like that of the *Goodwin Sands and Tenterden Steeple*. Our Author had been nearer the Truth, if he had said, that in Proportion as their Stock of Sheep increased in *Ireland*, so the Quantities of Wool and Yarn exported from thence to *England*, increased likewise. For thus in 1693, when they had but few Sheep, they imported, of Yarn, only 1897 1/2 Stones; of Wool, no more than 37888 Stones.

Fellow Subjects of *Ireland* enjoying such a small Pittance of it, it had been more prudent to have proceeded by Methods proper to turn the Industry of the People of *Ireland*, by Degrees, from the Woolen to other Manufactures, than to have followed the Course we took with them.

10. It is true, that for some few Years after we had destroyed the Woolen Manufactures of *Ireland*, we seemed to engross all that Trade; but this Appearance of Benefit abated, as the foreign Factories, which were raised out of the Ruins of the *Irish*, acquired Strength, and Means were contrived to draw the Material after the Manufacturers. This is but too evidently our Case; however, to shew you how it stands with regard to *Ireland*, I give you some Abstracts of the Wool and Yarn exported from thence for *England* in several Periods of Time.

And first, for the four Years after the Destruction of the *Irish* Manufactures, we find exported.

(A)				
	Wool	Yarn	Total	
	Stone at	Stone at	Wool and	
	18 lb.	18 lb.	Yarn.	
Year ending at	1700	336,292	26,617	362,909
Christmas.	1701	302,812	23,390	326,202
	1702	315,473	43,648	359,121
	1703	360,862	36,873	397,735
Total for 4 Years.	1,315,439	130,528	1,445,967	
Medium for each Year.	328,859 3/4	32,632	361,491 3/4	

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The next Abstract of the Exports of the Wool and Yarn is for four Years taken at the Time of the Peace of *Utrecht*, viz. for the Years,

(B)				
		Wool Stone at 18 lb.	Yarn Stone at 18 lb.	Total Wool and Yarn.
Year ending at <i>Lady-day</i> .	1711	310,136	55,273	365,409
	1712	263,946	60,108	324,054
	1713	171,871	68,548	240,419
	1714	147,153	58,147	205,300
Total for 4 Years. —		893,106	242,076	1,135,182
Medium for each Year.		223,276½	60,519	283,795

(C)				
		Wool Stone at 18 lb.	Yarn Stone at 18 lb.	Total Wool and Yarn.
Year ending at <i>Christmas</i> .	1726	51,371	87,261	138,632
	1727	58,182	72,047	130,229
	1728	49,784	80,428	130,212
	1729	38,667	91,854	130,521
Total for 4 Years. —		198,004	331,590	529,594
Medium for each Year.		49,501	82,897½	132,398½

Thus it appears, that the Imports of Wool from *Ireland*, gradually decreased, from the Year 1703 to this Time; and 'tis worth observing, since it seems to point out the Cause of this Decrease, that on the Peace of *Utrecht*, the Exports of Wool from *Ireland* to *England*, fell short of what they were, during the War. Inso-much, that the Decrease from the Year 1711 to the Year 1714, was 162,983 Stones; which it is more than probable

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probable found its Way into *France* *. And from these Abstracts it appears, that the Difference between the Total of Wool and Yarn, exported in the Year 1703, and 1729, is 267,214 Stones. So that upon the whole, we may conclude, that (which was before-observed) as the Trade of *England* increased, and our Imports of Wool from *Ireland* grew greater, in Proportion as the People of *Ireland* improved in their coarse Manufactures: So we have diminished in our Imports of Wool from *Ireland*, and I am afraid in our Manufactures at home, and our *foreign Trade* † also, in a very strong Degree, ever since we destroyed the Woolen Manufactures of *Ireland*. So true is it, that *England* can never fall into Measures for unreasonably cramping the Industry of the People of *Ireland*, without doing herself the greatest Prejudice.

11. The Duty, and extraordinary Charges, attending the legal Exportation of Wool from *Ireland*, amounted, in all, to about 2 s. 4 d. per Stone. And as the Price of Wool in the Farmers Hands in *Ireland*, by a Medium, from the Year 1703 to 1729, did not exceed 6 s. 6 d. per Stone, the saving of 2 s. 4 d. a Stone, Duty, amounted it, I may so call it, to a Premium of 36 per Cent. on clandestine Exportation, which with other Encouragements in the Countries to which they carried the Wool,

* Very probably it did; nevertheless, *English* Wool rose in this Period critically, from 15 s. to 18 s. a Tod. (See Chap. 109. P. S.) and whoever reads the *British Merchant* (See Chap. 104, 108.) will be more apt to impute the Rise of Wool in *England*, at that Time, to a Deficiency of the usual Quantity of Wool from *Ireland*, than to any real Advance or Increase of the *English* Trade. The Difference between 1711, and 1714, was upwards of 10,000 Packs, less, in the latter, than in the former Year; which Quantity of *Irish* Wool, more, or less, in the *English* Markets, is, I am persuaded, sufficient to give some Turn to the Price of Wool in *England*, in any Year.

† This is a Matter which the Clothier was only afraid of, would not say certainly. And whoever looks into the Custom-House Accounts (such as have by any Means come to Light) of the Woolen Exports from *England*, in, and since the Year 1699, will either think him very ignorant on that Head, or strongly inclined to impose upon his Readers.

Wool, was an Incitement to, and Compensation for the Risks run.

12. A due Consideration of this Matter prevailed with his Majesty to pass an Act, the last Session of Parliament in *Ireland*, whereby the Duty on Wool exported from that Kingdom to *England*, was taken off. Thus the clandestine Trader is deprived of Part of the Advantages he had over the Fair-Dealer. And when more Ports are opened in *Ireland* and *England* for exporting and importing Wool, it is evident, the Fair-Dealer will be put on a more equal Foot of Trade than formerly; and this will of Course prove a great Obstruction to the running of Wool from *Ireland*.

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13. The next Article that requires our Attention, is the Woolen Yarn * imported from *Ireland*. This Produce of the Labour of the Poor of that Country, has always been found useful to us in carrying on our Manufactures. Yet, I know not by what Policy, it has been charged with Duties, both on the Exportation from *Ireland*, and Importation to *England*. But the Duty payable in *Ireland*, was released by the same Act which took off the Duty of Wool. However, Yarn imported from *Ireland* is still liable to a Duty here, which with the Charge of License †, and the Inconvenience of a few Ports for Exportation and Importation, amounts to 2 s. 7 d. a Stone, of 18 Pound; so that each Pack of Yarn weighing 240 Pound, is liable to a Charge of 1 l. 15 s. 6 d. which amounts to about 18 per Cent. so that we ought not to hesitate at easing our Trade from this Burthen. Our own Interest calls upon us so to do; and the Policy of *France* (who finding now that the Duty on Wool exported from *Ireland* to *England* is taken off, she cannot get raw Wool as formerly, admits the Importation of Yarn, which before she would not receive) makes it

* Now we come to the main Point at which this Writer is driving, *viz.* to get the Duty taken off from *Irish* Yarn. All he has said before, is but a Parenthesis to this.

† ' We pay for a License (together with the Fees) to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for every Thousand great Stones of Wool, exported to *England*, about Twenty-three Pounds.'

A Scheme to prevent the running of Irish Wools to France: By a Merchant, 1745. (p. 40.)

it absolutely necessary we should give this Ease to the Importation of *Irish* Yarn, in order to prevent our Rivals from reaping the Benefit, which is to be made of the Wool and Labour of the Poor of *Ireland*.

14. But it is objected, that, as, by falling into these Courses, larger Quantities of Wool will be imported from *Ireland* than formerly; so the Price of that Commodity will be thereby lowered amongst us, and consequently the Value of our Land abated. And that by admitting *Irish* Yarn Duty free, we shall deprive the Poor of a great Means of their Subsistence. These, it must be confessed, are popular Objections, and apt to take with Men who consider this Matter superficially; but when they are duly weighed, they will be found altogether groundless. Nay, it will appear, that encouraging our Manufactures in these Particulars, must, on the contrary, raise the Price of our Wool, and give fuller Employment to our Poor. Page 17.

15. To make this appear, it is necessary to observe *, that every Stone of Wool clandestinely exported from *Ireland*, enables our Rivals in the Woolen Trade, to work up two Stones more of their coarse hairy Wool, into a Manufacture, which supplants us in foreign Markets. Consequently, if there are 200,000 Stones of Wool clandestinely exported from *Ireland*, then it follows, that we lose by that pernicious Trade, not only the Benefit of manufacturing those 200,000 Stones of *Irish* Wool, and the consequential Profits thereon, but our Farmers, a Demand for 400,000 Stones more; and our Manufacturers are deprived of Employment in working up this Quantity of Wool also. And thus it is, that the clandestine Exportation of Wool has always lowered the Value † of *English* Wool, by destroying our

* To believe, what is as credible as Transubstantiation.

† If the Case was really so, as is thus commonly represented, touching the Mixture of *English* or *Irish* Wools with foreign, methinks it might not be difficult (and which would carry more Conviction along with it) not only to instance in what Sort of Goods this Mixture is used, but also to explain after what manner it is performed.

Or, if Persons, rather than shut their Eyes, to have this Notion crammed into them, would consult their Reason and

our Trade, robbing our Poor of Employment, and depriving our Farmers of a Demand for double the Quantity of Wool run, and transferring all these Benefits to other Countries. If therefore we can prevent this destructive Trade, and thereby bring the Wool of Ireland, suppose, 200,000 Stones more than formerly, into England; it is evident, that tho' this increases the Quantity of Wool in England, yet as it restores to us a more extended Trade, and a Demand for Manufactures to be made, not only by these 200,000 Stones, but also by 400,000 Stones more of our Wool, it must raise, instead of lowering the Price of Wool in England.

Page 18. 16. As to the Objection, that the admitting of Irish Yarn, Duty Free, will deprive the Poor of Employment, the contrary will appear, on a full Examination of this Question. Experience hath taught us, that our Neighbours daily encroach on this Branch of our Trade. But if we prevent their getting the Wool or Yarn of Ireland, we shall soon recover our Commerce*, to the general Advantage of England. And as thereby we shall have Occasion for many more Hands in every Branch of this Manufacture; so it is necessary we should employ the Poor of Ireland in Spinning their Wool, which was formerly carried out of that Kingdom into other Countries. And as the Article of *Spinning* is an *inconsiderable* † Part of the Woolen Manufacture, when compared

* See Ch. 125. §. 7. Note.

and their Senses, they would consider whether *English* and *Irish* Wool can be to foreign (in order to the producing of good Manufacture) what *Lapis Caliminaris* is to Copper, for the making of Bras; whether it is, as Varnish to common Paint, or capable of being used in the Loom, as Ebony and fine Woods are, for Finiere, in Cabinet Work. In short, whether there is a natural Possibility of so mixing finer and coarser Wools, as that the coarse shall not take as much from the fine, as the fine can possibly add to the coarse; and whether in Manufacture, from mixed Wools, the Quality of the Cloth or Stuff will not most resemble the Quality of that Wool whereof it contains the greatest Quantity.

* This, upon the Supposition of what is by no means true, viz. that Wool and Yarn is not to be had elsewhere, (See Chap. 105. §. 12, 14.)

† A Pack of short Wool made into Cloth, is computed to

pared with the other *valuable Trades* it employs, we ought in Prudence to discharge the Duties which were formerly laid on the Importation of Yarn from Ireland. For thus it appears, that the Importation of large Quantities of Wool and Yarn from Ireland, instead of lowering the Price of Wool, and depriving our Poor of Employment, will have quite contrary Effects.

17. P. S. This Author, having given us (§. 10.) the Remark. Imports of Wool and Yarn to England from Ireland, in three several Periods, of four Years each, within the Space of Thirty, proceeds to make his own Use thereof; and whereon I desire also to offer some Remarks; having first subjoined the following further Custom-House Accounts, wherewith Mr. Dobbs has obliged the Public (in his Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, printed at Dublin, 1729).

18. The Medium^w of the Importations of Wool and^w Essay, Yarn from Ireland to England, for 8 Years, to Lady-day, 1728, was, each Year, 227,049 Stones. By Arthur Dobbs,

19. The Value of the whole Exports from Ireland to England were, Esq; p. 76.

	l.	s.	d.
In the Year 1720	363,529	10	05
1721	440,964	17	06
1722	544,002	7	08
1723	554,431	1	04
1724	476,632	14	00

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20. The

to employ 63 Persons a Week, whereof are 35 Women and Girls to spin it, eight Men to sort, dry, &c. scribble and Stock card it; in the whole, 43 Persons, of the 63. For the same Quantity of long Wool made into Stuffs, &c. the Wages is said to amount to 43 l. 10 s. whereof the Combers and Spinners Share is 21 l. 10 s. For the same Quantity wrought into Stockins, the Wages are 56 l.; whereof the Combers and Spinners earn 20 l. 17 s. (See Chambers Dictionary, Woolen Manufactory.) But as every Thing is evident which this Writer sees necessary to advance, so nothing is considerable that happens to stand in his Way.

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20. *The Value of the Produce of Sheep exported from Ireland.*

		l.	s.	d.
Page 17.	In the Year 1720	89,401	10	00
	1721	135,196	11	01½
	1722	162,476	3	04½
	1723	187,284	03	04
	1724	132,148	19	01½
	1725	95,730	13	01¼

* §. 19. 21. Observe here, a great Exceeding^x in the whole Exports of Ireland to England, from 1721 to 1724 inclusive, and the like^y in the Value of the exported Produce of Sheep particularly, from Ireland; and that in both^z Instances, such Exceeding rose highest, in the Year 1723. Now, the exported Produce of Sheep from Ireland (so far as that is legal, and, as such, can appear at the Custom-House) is chiefly WOOL and YARN sent to England. So that here is plainly an excessive Importation of Irish Wool and Yarn to England, from 1721 to 1724 inclusive; and that Excess was greatest in the Year 1723. And this (we^a Ch. 174. shall see^a) is to be accounted for, from the Incident of the Plague at Marseilles, which first broke out in June 1720.

22. But whereas our Clothier the Author of this^b Ch. 126. Tract, has said^b that from his Account^c it appears, §. 10. 'that the Imports of Wool from Ireland, had gradually decreased from the Year 1703 to 1729;' and thence infers (rightly enough) that what did not, as usual, come to England, 'probably found its Way into France:' I observe that the gradual Decrease by him alledged, does not so plainly appear, from his Account, neither in Truth was it altogether, and constantly, the same as HE has represented it.

^c §. 10. (B) (C) 23. For, ift, there is in his Accounts^c, one particular Chasm, larger than the rest, viz. eleven Years together omitted; not (I apprehend) without Design; namely from 1715 to 1725 inclusive. And we have seen a Custom-House Account in this Case, for one of those Years (1722, ^d Ch. 124. i. e. one Year, ending Midsummer 1723^d) by which it §. 2. appears, that of Wool and Yarn, in that Year, was imported from Ireland to England, 271,291 Stones; which exceeds

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exceeds the Medium of the Years 1713, 1714^e, by 48,432^e See Stones. Moreover, Mr. Dobbs (§. 18.) having given the Ch. 126. Medium of those Importations from Ireland (from the Custom-House Books there) for eight Years, to Lady-day, (B) 1713, 1728, the same appears to be 227,049 Stones; which still^f 1714. exceeds the Medium of 1713, 1714, by 4,190 Stones. These, indeed, do all exceed the Medium, from 1726 to 1729^f inclusive. And so far it is true, that there has^g Ch. 126. been a Decrease; yet not so constantly gradual, but that §. 10. these Imports have been also desultory, and sometimes vastly (C) exceeding, not only the Medium of the eight Years, to Lady-day 1728, but possibly, the Medium of the whole Period, from 1711 to 1714^g inclusive; as may be thus^h Ch. 126. made out. §. 10.

24. The Medium, for eight Years, to Lady-day 1728, (B) was (as above-observed) 227,049 Stones; which Quantity multiplied by eight, produces 1,816,392 Stones. That is, so much was the whole Quantity imported from Ireland to England, in eight Years, to Lady-day 1728; whereof, in 1722, i. e. one Year, ending Midsummer,

1723 ^h	271,291 Stones	^h Ch. 124.
1726 ⁱ	138,632	§. 2.
1727	130,229	ⁱ Ch. 126.
<hr/>		§. 10.
Total in these 3 Years		(C)
		540,152 Stones

Which deducted from the whole Quantity — 1,816,392 Stones (for eight Years) there remains, for the other five Years — 1,276,240 Stones Which divided by five, is, — 255,248 Stones for each of the remaining Years, viz. 1720, 1721, 1723, 1724, 1725.

25. But, the Year 1722 (i. e. ending Midsummer 1723) being 271,291 Stones, it exceeds such Medium of 255,248, by 26,043 Stones, as the said Medium, of 255,248, exceeds the Year 1727 (which was but 130,229^k) by^k Ch. 126. 125,019 Stones. §. 10.

26. Now, there being, as has been said, and as we (C) 1727. are ready to allow in the main, a gradual Decrease (tho' not so constantly regular as has been alledged) from 1703 to 1729: In order to find out what was the probable Quantity

Quantity in 1724 and 1725, two of the five Years in Question; suppose we take them at the Medium of the Year ending, Midsummer 1723 (which was 271,291

^k Ch. 126. Stones) and the Year 1729 (which was 130,521 ^k Stones) in the whole, for the Years 1724, 1725, 401812 Stones.

^l §. 10. (C) 1729. Deducting then 401812, the Quantity thus given for the two Years (1724, 1725,) from 1276240, the whole Quantity of the five Years, 1720, 1721, 1723, 1724, 1725, and there will remain 874428 for 1720, 1721, and 1723. Which 874428 Stones, for three Years, is 291476 Stones, for each of those Years, upon a Medium; and which exceeds the Medium of the whole Period^l, from 1711 to

¹ Ch. 126. §. 10. (B) 1714 inclusive, by a Medium of 7681 Stones.

^m §. 19, 20. 27. But then, it appearing ^m that both the whole Exports from Ireland to England, and the Value of the Produce of Sheep particularly, exported from Ireland, in the Year 1723, did vastly exceed the same in the Year 1720, or even in 1721; and (which is most to be observed) it appearing also that the Value of the exported Produce of Sheep from Ireland, was more than twice as much in 1723, as in 1720.—Hence it follows ⁿ, that the Importation of

ⁿ See §. 21. WOOL and YARN from Ireland to England, was more than double, in 1723, to what it was in 1720.

^o §. 26. 28. Allowing therefore twice 291486 Stones (the Medium, for one Year, of the supposed Total for three Years^o) to two of them, 1720, 1723, (which is 582972 Stones) and of that, allotting two Thirds to 1723, for the Reason already^p given; and thus we have, in that one Year (1723) imported from Ireland to England, 388648 Stones of

^q §. 10 (A) Wool and Yarn; which is more than the Medium of ^q Ch. 52. 1700--3 by 27157 Stones; more than in 1698^r; and (of all

^r §. 4. Note. the Accounts we have seen) only less than in the single Year ^s §. 10. 1703^s (which was 397735 Stones) viz. more than we

(A) 1703. have hitherto supposed for the Year 1723, by 9087 Stones.

^t §. 21. 29. But if, besides that the Value of the exported Produce of Sheep from Ireland (i. e. of Wool and Yarn^t from thence to England) was more than double, in 1723, to what it was in 1720, we add this further Consideration, that the Exceedings in that Respect, of the Year 1723, were to those of 1721, as ^u 187,284 l. to 135,796 l.

^u See §. 20. viz. a Difference of no less than 51488 l. chiefly in Wool and Yarn, (as before observed.) And if consequently we abate, in the Year 1721, what may reasonably be accounted

accounted of) on the Score of that Difference) from the 291,476 Stones (the Quantity allotted on a Medium to that Year) and, of such Abatement, add so much as is reasonable, to 388,648 Stones, the Quantity already assigned (in this Computation) to the Year 1723 (as being more than double to the Year 1720) Here is then, tho' not a clear Demonstration, yet a very strong Presumption that the Quantity of Wool and Yarn, imported from Ireland to England, in the Circle of 12 Months, commencing or ending some Time in the Year 1723, did exceed 400,000 Stones. A Sign that IRELAND does in Reality produce MORE Wool, and has MORE of that Produce to spare, than some (we shall find ^x) are willing to acknowledge.

³⁰. And this is to be urged, in Abatement of what Mr. Dobbs particularly hath suggested^y, 'that the Decrease in the usual Imports, of Wool and Yarn, from Ireland to England, of late Years, is an Indication that the Stock of Sheep in that Kingdom, and consequently the whole Quantity of Wool grown there, has been for some Time decreasing.' Whereas, I think, we are rather to impute such Decrease to a growing Excess (as one Cause) of Wool and Yarn transported thence to FRANCE and other foreign Parts; and (as another) to an Increase, at the same Time, of the Woolen Manufacture in Ireland, both for home Use, and for clandestine Exportation^z.

³¹. Further, the extraordinary Importations of Irish Wool and Yarn to England, from 1721 to 1724 inclusive, is to be noted, as one Cause why the Price of English Wool in England, fell as we shall see^a it did, in that Period, notwithstanding an Increase in the English Woolen Exportation Trade, and contrary to what this Clothier has taught (§. 13—16, and more particularly §. 14,) viz. 'That a larger Importation of Wool and Yarn from Ireland, is a Means to raise the PRICE of OUR WOOL.' Which, though it be not true, yet is it granting, tacitly at least (what Dr. Davenant^b and some others, have occasionally and publickly denied, with great Assurance) viz. that 'it is the Benefit and Interest of ENGLAND in general, that OUR WOOL should bear a good Price in our Markets at home.'

C H A P. CXXVII.

Report from the Commissioners of Trade to the Lords, 1731-2.

P. S. Also from the same to the Commons, 1732.

May it please your Lordships,

1. HIS Majesty having been pleased, in Consequence of your Lordships Address, of the 6th of *May* last, to direct the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to receive all such Proposals as should be laid before them, for preventing the pernicious Practice of running Wool from *England* and *Ireland*, and to consider of, and to propose proper Methods for preventing the same for the future, to be laid before your Lordships in this Session of Parliament: We did thereupon give publick Notice in the *Gazette* of the 12th of *June* last, that we were ready to receive any Proposals which should be made to us on this Head, from all Persons whatsoever.

2. Since the Publication of this Advertisement, which was often repeated in the *Gazette* and other publick Papers, we have been attended by several Persons, and many Schemes have been transmitted to us from different Parts of this Kingdom, and from *Ireland*; containing various Proposals upon this Subject; some of which are come but very lately to our Hands; and it has been with great Satisfaction, that we have observed the Zeal with which so many Persons have applied themselves to consider of proper Methods, for putting a Stop to a Practice so very pernicious to the trading Interest of their Country.

3. Those who seem to have most maturely considered this Matter, concur in Opinion, that nothing can put so effectual a Stop to this Evil, as the finding out some certain Method of knowing the whole Quantity of Wool that may be in the Kingdom, whether in Warehouses or on the Sheeps Back, and tracing it through the Hands of the Wool Stapler, and all the Traders who deal in this Commodity,

Commodity, 'till it shall be finally wrought up by the Manufacturer.

4. In order to this, it has been proposed, that Warehouses should be erected at the publick Expence, in such Counties of *England* and *Ireland*, where considerable Numbers of Sheep may be fed, or where the Woolen Manufacture may be carried on in any great Extent, into which the Wool of the two Kingdoms should be brought within a certain Number of Days after it is shorn, in order to be afterwards transported, under proper Regulations, from *Ireland* to *England*, and from one County of *England* to another, in Proportion to the Demand there may be for it among the Manufacturers.

5. Others have proposed, that general Registers should be established in *England* and *Ireland*, for entering the exact Number of Sheep and Lambs, with the Yearly Quantity of Wool shorn from them, or pulled from the Skins, together with the Names of all such as deal in the Commodity.

6. In Addition to the Proposition for public Warehouses, it has been offered by another Hand, that all the Wool produced in this Kingdom, should be bought in the King's Name at certain Prices, to be ascertained at a Medium, upon the different Growths of Wool, for so many Years past, and that the Product of the first Year's Growth, and the Value of the Stock in Hand, should be paid for by a small Land-Tax, of three * Pence or six Pence in the Pound; by which Means, the Growers would receive ready Money for their Wool, which would be very beneficial both to Landlords and Tenants. But if this should be thought impracticable, it is further proposed by the same Person, that Payment for the Wool may be postponed, till it be sold in Part, or in the Whole, or that the Growers should be left at Liberty, to sell it themselves to the Manufacturers, provided they deliver it to the Storekeeper, under proper Regulations.

7. Many

* The present Land Tax of 4 s. (as it is commonly called) in the Pound, does not raise two Millions in *England* and *Wales* * But the Wool of *England* and *Wales* was long since ^a Ch. 48. estimated at full two Millions yearly. §. 1. Note.

7. Many of the Proposers concur in Opinion, that the best Method of preserving an exact Knowledge of the Wool in its Progression, from the first Growers to the Manufacturer, will be to put it under the Inspection of the Officers of Excise; and different Methods have been suggested for putting this Proposal in Execution.

^b Ch. 114.
§. 6.
Ch. 146.
N^o. 3.

8. It has been said under the same Head, That all Dealers in Wool, may be obliged to enter the Ware-houses and Store-rooms, wherein they keep their Commodities, with the Excise Officer of their Division; into which the Officer shall have free Admission at any Time, and no Wool should be brought into the Ware-house, before Notice given of it to the Excise-Office, under a certain Penalty.

9. That every Owner of Sheep shall give Notice when he intends to shear his Flock, that the Officer may be present, to take an Account of the Number of Sheep, and Weight of Wool shorn, and that every Felmonger may be obliged to inform the Officer of that Division of the Weight of the Wool which he shall pull from Skins, and in general, that all Dealers in Wool shall be obliged to give an Account to their Excise Officer of all the Wool in their Possession; that no Wool shall be removed from Ware-houses so entered, except by virtue of a Permit from the Excise Officer, to be renewed as often as the Wool shall pass from one Dealer to another, till it comes to the Hands of the Manufacturer.

10. It has been likewise suggested, that the Excise Officer may take a Bond from the first Buyer, whereby he shall oblige himself to manufacture the Wool he buys; but if the Purchaser be not a Manufacturer, that then Notice should be given to the Officer of the Division, whenever the Wool should be re-sold, either in the Whole, or in Part, and fresh Bonds be given by the Buyers, till the same shall be finally manufactured; and some have thought that for the better Security of this Matter, the Manufacturer should be obliged to make Oath, that he will manufacture the Wool he buys.

11. Without doubt, the keeping Sight of the Wool, from the Time it is shorn, till it is brought into the Hand of the last Manufacturer, might greatly contribute to the putting a Stop to the running of Wool. *But all the foregoing Proposals would probably be attended with a Multiplicity*

Multiplicity of Accounts, besides other Difficulties, and great Expence. We would therefore humbly offer some other Methods to your Lordships, which seem liable to fewer Difficulties, but may nevertheless be very conducive to the Cure of this Grievance.

12. With regard to *Great Britain*, we would propose, That the Law ^b now in Force in *Kent* and *Suffex*, intituled, An Act, &c. ^c may be extended to all Parts of the Kingdom within ten Miles of the Sea Coasts. ^d See 9, 10 W. III. c. 40. ^e Ch. 78. §. 5.

13. That no Wool be brought or imported from *Ireland* into this Kingdom, or Coast-wise in *England*, except in Vessels registered ^d and appointed solely for that Purpose; and that all Wool shipped on Board any other Vessel, shall be liable to Seizure, by the Captains of his Majesty's Ships of War, by the Commanders of the Register Ships, and Custom-House Officers, and Excise Officers, and by all others Persons duely authorized; and that Officers be appointed to put the Laws in Execution against the running of Wool, with ample Encouragement to the Informers, easily to be recovered, and proportionable Penalties laid on Offenders. ^e See 12 Geo. II. c. 21. (Ch. 142. P. 5.)

14. But as every Thing that may be proposed for the Cure of this Evil in *Great Britain* only, would be far from answering the Design upon the whole, unless proper Methods should at the same Time be found to prevent the Exportation of Wool, and of Woolen Manufactures from *Ireland* to foreign Parts; so many of the same Persons who have considered this Matter, with respect to *Great Britain*, have also extended their Thoughts to *Ireland*.

15. And some of them have proposed to apply the foregoing Expedient of Country Ware-houses, general Registers, and the Inspection of the Custom-House Officers, as proper to be put in Practice in *Ireland*; with this Addition, that certain Staple Towns should be appointed in that Kingdom, for the Reception of Wool grown there.

16. But we are of Opinion, That the most likely Means, and most attainable for these Purposes, would be absolutely to prohibit the shipping of Wool in *Ireland*, except in Ships and Vessels registered and appointed for that Service only; and no Wool Licenses should be

granted for shipping of Wool aboard any other Vessel.

^a See (Ch. 87. §. 17. Note.) 11, 12 W. III. c. 13. See (Ch. 127.) §. 22. P. S.

17. That the explanatory Clause contained in an Act passed in the 11th and 12th of his late Majesty King William^d (whereby Leave was given to every Mariner, or Passenger on Board the Ship, to furnish himself with the Woolen Manufacture of *Ireland*, to the amount of 40s.) may be repealed; since it is highly probable, that under this Pretence, the Woolen Manufactures of *Ireland* first found their Way to foreign Markets in large Quantities.

18. That the Captains of *English* Men of War, and Sloops, as well as the Commanders of the Register Ships, and all Officers of his Majesty's Customs and Excise, may be invested with full Power and Authority, to seize all *Irish* Woolen Goods, which they shall find on any Ship or Vessel whatsoever, and all Wool which shall be found on Board of any other but the said Register Vessels.

19. And these Provisions are the more necessary, because we have been credibly informed, that of late Years, *British* Merchants have given no small Encouragement to the *Irish* Woolen Manufactures, by buying up and exporting great Quantities from that Kingdom, on their own Accounts, to foreign Parts.

20. And provided an effectual Stop could be put to the Exportation of *Irish* Woolen Manufactures, and of *Irish* Wool to foreign Parts, we should conceive that it would be highly for the Benefit of *Great Britain*, freely and without Duties, to admit the Importation of their Yarn.

21. And in order to make this Benefit more extensive, we would beg Leave to submit to your Lordships Consideration, whether it may not be proper to open all Ports of *Ireland* and *England*, for the Exportation and Importation of *Irish* Wool and Yarn, but more particularly the Ports of *Galway* and *London*; for we are informed that great Quantities of the best Wool in *Ireland*, are produced within thirty Miles round that Town of *Galway*, which is above 100 Miles distant from any Sea Port now open for the Exportation of Wool from that Kingdom; so that the Land Carriage in *Ireland* creates an Addition of about six per Cent. upon the prime Cost of the Wool, before it comes to any of the Ports from whence it can be

be sent to *England*, as the Law now stands; and in the same manner, the Charges of carrying a Pack of *Irish* Yarn from the Port of *Bristol* to *Colchester*, or *Norwich*, has been computed to be no less than 5 per Cent. * at a Medium, upon the prime Cost of the Yarn; and the Charge of carrying a Pack of *Irish* Wool between those Places, is computed at near 15 per Cent. upon the prime Cost of the Wool; which being impartially considered, we conceive it will appear unreasonable to your Lordships, that the Manufacturers in one Part of the Kingdom, should remain under the Necessity of working up the *Irish* Wool and Yarn, near 10 per Cent. dearer than others: A Difficulty that would be entirely removed, by opening the Port of *London*, which lies conveniently for supplying the Manufactures of *Essex*, and the adjacent Counties.

22. These are the principal Matters that have occurred to us upon this Enquiry; to which we would beg leave to add, that those Provisions as shall be approved of, and more particularly what relates to the Register Ships, may be extended to the Isles of *Man*, *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, *Alderney*, and *Sark*.

All which is humbly submitted to your Lordships great Wisdom.

<i>Westmoreland,</i>	<i>M. Bladen,</i>
<i>Whitehall,</i>	<i>P. Docminique,</i>
<i>Feb. 25,</i>	<i>Orl. Bridgeman,</i>
<i>1731--2.</i>	<i>T. Pelham,</i>
	<i>Ar. Croft,</i>
	<i>Edw. Ashe,</i>
	<i>James Brudenell.</i>

P. S. An additional Act for the Encouragement of the Woolen Manufactures of this Kingdom, by the more effectual preventing the unlawful Exportation of the Woolen Manufactures of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to foreign Parts †. 5 Geo. 2. c. 21.

Extract

* There are vast Quantities of Yarn carried by Land, from *Leeds* in *Yorkshire* to *Norwich*. So that five per Cent. gained to the latter, in Carriage of *Irish* Yarn, would be just so much taken from the Yarn in *Yorkshire*; which must have been so much Loss between the *English* Wool Grower and Spinner; but their Interest is too seldom considered!

† By 10, 11 Will. III. c. 10, certain Ships and Sloops stationed on the Coasts of *England* and *Ireland*, had Orders

Extract of a Report from the Commissioners of Trade, touching the Manufactures of the British Colonies, to the House of Commons. 1732.

A State of the Silk, Linen and Woolen Manufactures in the British Plantations.

23. We beg leave to acquaint this House, that, pursuant to an Order of the Committee of Council, this Board did on the 5th Day of December 1728, make a very particular Enquiry into the State of the Plantations at that Time, with respect to Silk, Linen, and Woolen Manufactures established there; and having then discoursed with many Persons who had either been Governors of some of the Colonies, or were by other Means well acquainted with their Circumstances, it appeared to this Board, and we did accordingly represent,

24. That in the Colonies of *New England, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania*, and in the County of *Somerset in Maryland*^f, the People had fallen into the Manufacture of Woolen and Linen Cloth for the Use of their own Families; but we could not learn they had ever made any for Sale in those Colonies, except in a small *Indian Town in Pennsylvania*, where some *Palatines* had been lately settled.

^f Ch. 120. §. 28. Note.

25. The Reason why these People had begun this Manufacture, were,

1. That the Product of those Colonies being chiefly Stock and Grain, the Estates of the Inhabitants depended wholly upon farming; and as this could not be carried on without a certain Quantity of SHEEP, their WOOL would be entirely lost, were not their Servants employed

^g Orders to take and feize, &c. Ships, &c. exporting any Wool to foreign Parts, but were not authorized to feize such Ships, &c. as were exporting Woolen Manufacture from Ireland to foreign Parts. And therefore the Admiralty is empowered to appoint three Ships, and eight or more armed Sloops, to cruize on the Coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, with Power to feize Vessels having Woolen Manufactures on Board, from Ireland, for foreign Parts. And whereas by a Clause of a former Act^h, Mariners and Passengers were allowed to have Woolen Goods on Board, for their own Use, to the Value of 40 s. each; under Pretence of which Exemption, great Quantities have been exported. Therefore the said Clause is repealed.

^g 11, 12 W. III. c. 13. See Ch. 87. §. 17.

employed at leisure Times of the Year, but chiefly during Winter, in manufacturing it for the Use of their Families. That these Settlements had no Opportunities of a Market for Grain, and therefore as they did not raise more Corn than was sufficient for their own Use, they had the more Time to manufacture both WOOL* and Flax for the Service of their Families, and seemed to be under a great Necessity of doing it.

26. Upon a farther Enquiry into this Matter, we do not find that those People had the same Temptation to go on with those Manufactures, during the Time that the Bounty on naval Stores subsisted. That the Height of Wages, and great Price of Labour, made it impracticable for the People there to manufacture Woolen Cloth at less than 50 per Cent. dearer than that which is exported from hence for Sale.

27. But several Alterations have happened since that Time; and we find Trades carried on, and Manufactures set up there, detrimental to the Trade, Navigation and Manufacture of Great Britain.

28. Colonel *Shute*, Governor of the *Massachusetts Bay*, informed us, that in some Parts of this Province, the Inhabitants worked up their WOOL and FLAX, and made an ordinary coarse Cloth for their own Use, but that the Merchants could afford what was imported, cheaper than what was made in that Country.

29. Colonel *Hart*, formerly Governor of *Maryland*, who lived many Years in the Neighbourhood of this Government (*Pennsylvania*) informs us, that their chief Trade lay in the Exportation of Provisions and Lumber; having no Manufactures established.

2. The Country People who used formerly to make most of their Cloathing out of their own WOOL, do not now make a third Part of what they wear.

30. Mr. *Belcher*, Governor of *New Hampshire*, informs us, that the Woolen Manufacture of that Province was much less than formerly, the common Lands on which the Sheep used to feed, being now divided into

R 4 parti-

* And a stronger Inducement to the depasturing of their Lands with Sheep, to the Increase of the Produce, WOOL.

particular Properties; and their Exportation being naval Stores, Lumber †, Fish, &c.

31. Mr. *Rip Van Dam*, President of the Council of *New York*, acquaints us, there is yearly imported a very large Quantity of the Woolen Mnnufacture of this Kingdom, which they could not pay for, and should be reduced to the Necessity of making, themselves, if they were prohibited from receiving from the foreign Sugar Colonies, in Return for Provisions,—Wool †, &c.

32. Major *Gordon*, Deputy Governor of *Pensylvania*, informs us, that they do not export any Woolen or Linen Manufactures; all they make (which are of a coarse Sort) being for the Use of themselves and Families.

33. By some Accounts we find, that the Produce of *Connecticut* is Timber, *English* Grain, Hemp, Flax, SHEEP, Cattle.

34. There are more Trades carried on, and Manufactures set up in the Provinces of the Continent of *America*,

† But *Query*, whether, reducing common Lands into Severalties, is any where, a Means of lessening the Number of Sheep, or however, the Quantity of Wool, from this and other Provinces? and whether Wool may not probably be exported hence, clandestinely, to the Streights, &c. in what is called the Lumber Trade?

† There is something very particular in this Account, which merits the Notice of an *English Wool Grower*. He must not export his Wool, nor wish to have it exported; because this, he is told, would be like selling Powder and Ball to an Enemy; for that Wool is the PECULIAR Growth of *England* and *Ireland*; of which peculiar Produce the like monopolish Advantage is to be made by the *English*, as by the *Dutch*, of their Spices.

And yet we find here, that not only the *British*, but foreign Colonies in *America*, produce Wool. And we are further told here, that a *British West Indian* Colony could not pay for the Woolen Manufacture imported to them from *Great Britain*, if they did not take Wool from the foreign Colonies, in Return for Provisions. And so much is intelligible.—But considering that the *British* Colonies are not permitted to export either Wool or WOOLEN Manufacture, being of the Product or Manufacture of any of the *English* Plantations, it is not easy to reconcile this Trade of *New York*, in the Wool of foreign Colonies, with a strict Observance of the Statute 10, 11 *Will. III. c. 10^h*.

^h Ch. 85. §. 7.

rica, to the Northward of *Virginia*, prejudicial to the Trade and Manufactures of *Great Britain*, particularly in *New England*, than in any other of the *British* Colonies; which is not to be wondered at; for their Soil, Climate, and Produce, being pretty near the same with ours, they have no Staple Commodities of their own Growth, to exchange for our Manufactures, which puts them under greater Necessity, as well as greater Temptation, of providing themselves at home. To which may be added, in the Charter Governments, the little Dependance they have upon their Mother Country, and consequently the small Restraints they are under in any Matters detrimental to her Interest.

C H A P. CXXVIII.

The Interest of Scotland considered, with Regard to its Policy in employing the Poor, its Agriculture, Trade, Manufacture, &c.
Edinburgh 1733.

1. **E**VER since the Beginning of the Confusions in Page 5: the Reign of *Charles I.* our Linen Manufactures have been upon the Decay; as also, our Manufactures of Silk Goods, fine broad Cloths, and several others of less Moment, which were introduced at a great Expence, and too long carried on with Loss to the Nation, have in a great Measure totally failed; 'till an Act of Parlia- Page 16: ment, *anno 1727*, for Encouragement more particularly of the Linen Manufacture, gave a new Turn in Favour of the same. It has done us infinite Good in many Respects. Our Linen Trade is in some Measure already retrieved.
2. Every trading Country has some particular Branch Page 76: of Business, which depends partly on some particular Product of their own for Manufacture, but more upon their Skill and Dexterity in making their Goods.
3. Woolen Goods are the Staple Commodity of *Eng-* Page 77: *land*; in which they have the natural Advantage of great Quantities

Quantities of very good Wool of their own. But this bears no Proportion to the Skill of their Workmen, their Diligence, and the great Stocks of particular Clothiers, &c.

4. The Wool of all the Growths of *Europe*, was for many Ages, bought up and manufactured by the Inhabitants of the *Netherlands*. The Woolen Trade was first set on Foot in *England*, in the Reign of *Edw. III.* but it made small Progress until the Reign of *Phil. II* of *Spain*. Now, they not only manufacture their own Wool, but also the Wool of *Spain*, and the best Growths of other Countries, and, in great Measure, may justly be called the sole Masters of the Woolen Trade.

5. The People of the low Countries taught us to sort, wash, and dress Wool; to spin it, and weave Cloth, &c. But this was not pursued to any Purpose.

6. From *England* we are served with Broad Cloths of all Kinds, from the best *Spanish* Wool Superfines, to the lowest Price *Yorkshires*, with *Norwich* Goods of all Kinds, &c. The first Article we have, to answer all these Demands, consists of Product, namely, our black Cattle and Sheep, and some of our Wool, when the Woolen Trade in *England* is quick. This Article cannot well be increased, unless our low Grounds were inclosed, and more of them turned into Grass. Our chief Care then ought to be, to advance the Manufacture of those Goods, which we sell in *England*; or which comes to the same, to promote the Manufacture at home, of such as we now have from *England*.

7. At *Kilmarnock*, are made of our own Wool, low priced Serges. These are partly for home Consumption, and partly for the Markets of *Holland*. And by the Help of a little Care and Encouragement, burying Crapes; at least those of a low Price, might also be made there for home Consumpt. — At *Sirling*, and its Neighbourhood, large Quantities of Serges are made, and several other low priced Goods for Furniture; all for home Consumpt, and rather cheaper than such Goods can be purchased in *England*. This Business is much improv'd of late. At *Aberdeen*, and Countries adjacent, large Quantities of our own coarse tarred Wool are manufactured into Serges, called *Fingrams*, and knit Stockins of all Prices. Some of these Goods are consumed

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sumed at home, some of them exported to *Holland*; and some of them sold at *London*, and from thence exported to foreign Parts. At *Edinburgh*, fine Shalloons are made of our best Wool, for home Consumption, and cheaper than they can be had in *England*. At *Musleburgh*, there is a considerable Manufacture of low priced narrow Goods, for home Consumption, and Export to the Plantations. — At *Gallowshiels*, are made a few coarse Kerfies. At *Kirkudbright*, *Hawick*, *Monygaff*, and other Places near the Wool Countries, several Packs of tarred Wool have been washed and cleaned, and some of it sorted and combed, spun and wrought up into Blankets, and other coarse Goods by private Hands for their own Use; all done by the Help of publick Encouragement, to advance the Price of Wool in those Parts, but as yet to little or no Purpose.

8. The Gentlemen who procured a publick Fund for encouraging the Manufacture of our coarse Wool, seem to have been Strangers to the Business, when they adjected this Condition, to limit the Encouragement to those Counties where the Wool is produced; the Consumption of that Wool can only be made by the Encouragement of its Manufacture, in those Places already mentioned, where it now is; and where it has been carried on for many Ages; for in the Wool Countries there are not Hands for Manufacture. All that can be proposed there, is to clean and wash their Wool, and send it to the Market sorted; and in this they will save a great deal of Carriage.

9. One Branch of our Woolen Manufacture ought to be altered, and that is our Bed Blankets. We have always been used to furnish ourselves with these; but we spin them too fine, and make them after the manner of Kerfies; they consume little Wool, and as they require much Manufacture, they become dear; and this is a Reason that of late, several have furnished themselves with *English* Blankets.

10. As for the Manufacture of broad Cloth, that consists of so many Parts, that we cannot carry it on without evident Loss. First, we have no such Thing as an Wool-Stapler in the Country, which lays the Clothier

* A very slender Reason this, against cultivating the Woolen

under

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§. 8. Note.

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under a Necessity to buy his Wool in the Fleece; and unless he works up all the Sorts himself (which no Clothier can do without great Loss) he must lose by the Sorts he does not use. The washing, cleaning, and drying Wool, by beating it on the Flecks, we understand pretty well; but we neither dye so well, nor so cheap as the *English* do; and we have but few Scriblers, who understand the close mixing of Wool on the Cards for Medleys. Our Women are all bred to spin Linen Yarn, and are not so fit to spin Woolen, especially carded Wool for Cloth. We understand the picking of Cloth, and the thickening of it pretty well; but we are not so adroit at the tasselling it on the dubbing Boards, and are at a Loss that we have no Tassels* of our own Growth fit for this Work, but are obliged to bring them from *England* in large Quantities to lye by us, as we have occasion to use them. The most curious and difficult Operation of the whole, is the cutting on the Shear Board, and finishing in the hot Press. We have no Shear-men of our own, that understand their Business to Perfection, and as few Press-men; and must bring our Press Papers from *England*; and the Profits of the whole Manufacture depend upon the close and equal cutting from End to End, and upon proper and clean Papers for every Staple of Cloth, and a just Degree of Heat and Pressure in the hot Press, neither too much, nor too little of either.

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11. The *English* have been long Masters of the Woolen Trade; their Clothiers and Piece-buyers are Men of Stocks, able to carry it on; whereas we have no Stocks equal to so great an Undertaking. We must also be at the Expence of Workmen from *England* for several Branches, at higher Wages than they get at home; and we

Woolen Manufacture in *Scotland*; nor are those which follow, Impediments of any more considerable Force^l. But this Author seems to have been wholly immerged in the *Linen Trade* of that Kingdom; consequently, like too many others, will rather argue weakly, than divest himself of Partiality to his own more immediate Interest.

* *Teazel, Carduus Fullonium*, or the *Fullers Thistle*, a Kind of Plant much used by the Fullers, Cloth Workers, and Stockin Weavers, to card or draw out the Wool or Nap from the Ground. (See *Chambers's Dictionary*.)

^l Ch. 71. §. 18. Note.

^m Ch. 173. §. 3.

we cannot expect to get the best Workmen. These and many other Difficulties hinted at, not easily to be conquered, render it absolutely impossible for us to succeed in the Woolen Trade, at least, in Broad Cloth, Druggets, fine Kerfies, and the Woolen Goods of *Norwich*; nor is this any Loss to us, since we have a Staple Manufacture of our own; at least, may have the Linen, in which the *English* deal not. They are too wise to encourage any Manufacture in the weaving Way, that might interfere in the great Staple, the Woolen. And we should learn of them to discourage every Trade that may interfere with, or hinder the Progress of our only Staple.

12. We may then reasonably suppose, on the lowest Computation, that we can buy (and from daily Experience we know it to be so) those Woolen Goods 10 and 15 per Cent. cheaper in *England* than we can make them at home; and if we can make Linen Cloth, and sell it in *England* from 5 to 10 per Cent Profit, and purchase in Exchange for it, Woolen Goods 10 and 15 per Cent. cheaper than we can make them at home, then are we Gainers by this Trade, from 15 to 20 per Cent; and of Page 112. Consequence just so many Hands as are employed in the Woolen, who might be employed in the Linnen, just so much does the Country lose by their Labour.

13. What puts this Position (of itself sufficiently evident) beyond all Question, was the Experiment we made of a Manufactory of Broad Cloths at *New Mills*^m near ^m Ch. 71. *Haddington*, before the Union. As good Superfines were there made, as ever were made in *England*; but by reason of the Disadvantages we laboured under in this Trade, already mentioned, the Dealer paid for them 25 per Cent. more than he could have bought them for in *England*. As this Trade was carried on by a Company, no doubt their Loss was greater than if it had been carried on by private Hands; but if 10 per Cent is allowed for Management, and that is a great deal more than any Business can bear, the Trade was still unprofitable, though it had been carried on by private Hands, and a great Loss to the Country. *English* made Cloths were contrabandⁿ; ⁿ Ch. 71. but as all the Cloths we could make ourselves, bore no §. 12. Note. Proportion to our Consumption, great Quantities of *English* Cloths were clandestinely imported; for the great Profits

Profits the Dealers made then by them, was sufficient to answer the Risk of Confiscation, if taken.

Page 118. 14. Thus we see plainly how far our Woolen Manufacture may and ought to be encouraged, and what Branches of it ought to be given up as a Loss to the Country. All our other home-made Goods are mostly for home Consumpt, and are all made in *England*, fully better, and sold cheaper than here; which must be owing to the superior Skill and Diligence of their Tradesmen; since living is easier here than in most Places of *England*.

Page 128, 129. 15. Linen is a Commodity of universal Use. The Linen Trade of *Europe* is at this Time in the Hands of the *Russians, Germans, &c.* The Balance of Trade betwixt *England*, and all those foreign Linen Countries, is

Page 130. now against *England*, by Reason of high Duties imposed by them on *English* Woolen Goods, and other Incumbrances, which, in some of those Parts, is near equal to

Page 142. a Prohibition. This State of our Trade calls loudly upon us to improve and extend the Manufacture of home-

Page 143. made Linen. At *Darlington* in *Yorkshire*, some Linen is made; but it lies too near *Leeds* and other clothing Towns. In *Lancashire*, the Linen Trade may safely be carried on; it interferes not with the Cotton, but is the Warp of all their Fustians, and several other Cotton Goods. In short, the Linen Manufacture is of the next

Page 144. Consequence to that of Woolen; it may employ near as many Hands, and equally deserves the same Care, Countenance, and Encouragement. The Act of Parliament, made in 1727, hath done a great deal, but we still want further Assistance from the Publick, in order to its being carried to its full Extent and Perfection.

C H A P.

C H A P. CXXIX.

An Argument upon the Woolen Manufacture of Great Britain, plainly demonstrating, that Ireland must speedily be employed therein, as the only Means to recover its Decay, and to prevent its Ruin. Dedicated to Robert Willimot, Esq; Chairman of the Committee for the Woolen Manufacture, 1735.

1. TO forbid the Export of any Commodity to another Country, is to command it to be sold at your own Price, to yourselves, which is nothing better than downright Robbery*. *England* has never exercised her Power over *Ireland*, but she has suffered for it. The whole World see it in two Instances. 1. The Act to prohibit *Irish* Cattle. 2. The Destruction of the Woolen Manufacture of that Kingdom. The first is generally now, allowed to be destructive. The second begins by its fatal Consequences somewhat to open the Eyes of Men. The Consequences of it were, 1. The Expulsion of 30,000 Manufacturers from that Country. 2. Their Retreat into foreign Countries. 3. The Establishment thereupon of the Woolen Manufacture in almost all Parts of *Europe*. 4. The Exportation of *English* and *Irish* Wool. 5. The gradual and notorious Decay of our Trade from that very Hour †.

2. From

* Apply this to the Case, of prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool from *England*.

† Here are five Sentences, every one of which contains more or less of Untruth.

In the Year 1697, (the Year but one, before the Act complained of) the total Value of Woolen Manufactures exported from *Ireland*, was 23,614*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*; accounting the Wool whereof to be one fourth of that Sum, viz. about 6000*l.* the Value of the Labour was about 18,000*l.* But could 18,000*l.* support 30,000 Manufacturers, for a Year? Supposing therefore (which is not credible) that every individual Manufacturer employed in *Ireland*, in making Drapery

Page 7.
Page 9.
Page 10.

Ch. 126.

Page 11. 2. From these Consequences we ought to observe, that the Decay of our Trade does not arise from the Exportation of *Irish* Wool. That were to make an Effect a Cause. To ascribe the Misfortune of the Retreat of Manufacturers from *Ireland*, and the Establishment of foreign Manufactures, as a Cause, would be equally wrong. These are but the Effects of one fatal Cause, the vain Expectation of engrossing the Woolen Manufacture to ourselves; narrow Principles, which in proving too much, prove nothing but their own Absurdity.

Page 14. 3. Those, whose Estates rise from Wool; those who manufacture Wool, imagine, that by admitting *Ireland* to a Share in the Woolen Manufacture, their Estates must fall, and also the Price of Labour. But their *Estates* * are now raised *too high*, to suffer any Commerce to thrive, or to continue in our Favour, and their Labour

pery, in the Year 1697, to the Value aforesaid, had left the Kingdom; yet is N^o. 1. a great Exaggeration, and consequently N^o. 2. is the same. N^o. 3. is no less erroneous, in supposing the Woolen Manufacture to have been a new Thing at this Time, in almost any Part of *Europe*. N^o. 4. is egregiously out, in dating from hence only the Exportation of *English* and *Irish* Wool. And N^o. 5. which supposes a Decay of the *English* Trade, is an equal Falshood; since besides an Increase in *England* of all other Manufacture and Trade, even the Woolen Exportations from *England* have maintained their Ground, nay advanced, from that Time.

* As if the Price of Land and Labour was arbitrary, not subject to the common Market, and governed by the general State of the Commerce of the Nation. Or as if there was any real National Interest distinct from that of the main Body of the People, the Landholders and Labourers; or as if that could be for their Interest, which is not to their Benefit; or that their Benefit consisted in something different from their Profit, viz. the Price of their Land and Labour respectively. But thus nothing is too much, no Gain sufficient to satisfy the Luxury or Avarice of certain particular selfish Wholesale Dealers. I say their Luxury or their Avarice; for whose Advantage does this Sort of Argument consult, besides that of their own dear selves? Commerce (say they) is beneficial to the Nation; it brings Money into 'the Kingdom.' And they say true. But then, upon the Terms of this Writer; who besides themselves are to partake

Labour is too dear. If they will have Commerce then, they must suffer their *Estates to fall*, their *Labour to lower its Price*.

4. Can we keep our Manufacture as we are? If we can, why so much Noise and Clamour upon the Subject? why such Complaints of Manufacturers? Applications to Parliament, and Committees appointed to consider these Complaints and Applications? Why Bills brought in, for many Years together, to secure it? If we cannot keep our Manufactures, as we are, how would the Gain of the *Irish* be out of the Manufacture of *England*? The Gain of the *Irish* must be out of the Woolen Manufacture of those Countries which will succeed us in it. And who will succeed us in it? or rather who has already got it from us? *France* in the principal Part. The Gain of the *Irish* then, in the Woolen Manufacture, must be a Gain upon the Manufacture of *France*. The *Irish* can under-sell the *French* in that Manufacture; and if they were allowed a full Liberty of trading in their own Manufacture, they would export no raw Wool or Woolen Yarn; and without Wool, or Woolen Yarn of their Growth, the foreign Manufactures, our Rivals, cannot exist. Is it doubted that the *Irish* Wool and Yarn be necessary to the Manufactures of *France*? We are told by all that are conversant in this Business, that they cannot carry on their Trade without it.

5. Moreover, in whatever Branches of Manufacture the *Irish* or *English* Wool is employed in *France*, it works up twice as much of the *French* Wool. Thus, one thousand Stone of *Irish* or *English* Wool, produces three thousand Stones of *French* Manufactures. If the *Irish* therefore were now allowed to work up all their Wool, they could but manufacture one third of that Quantity. This

take of this Benefit? Not, it seems, the Landholders, nor the Labourers, who (excepting the Merchants) are the whole Nation. Yes! they will tell you, and very truly, the Benefits of Commerce are diffusive, and passing through the Hands of the Labourers, center at last in the Landed Interest. But then must it not be, if at all, in the Shape of the same or more, not of less Rent, and less Wages?

This is the only Quantity, or only Kind of *Cloth* * in France, for Exportation, and the greatest Part of it is employed in Exportation. All the *CLOTH* of France, for Exportation, is thus capable of being destroyed; yet the *Irish* can gain but one third of that Exportation. The Demand for Cloth must continue the same. There must then remain two Thirds of that Demand unsatisfied. Who can satisfy this Demand? Foreigners cannot, from the Nature of their Wool. The *Irish* cannot, because they have not Quantity sufficient. The *English* therefore must. Thus will the *English* plainly benefit as much again by opening the *Irish* Commerce, as the *Irish* can do themselves; for of the Ruins of the *French* Manufacture, two Thirds must necessarily fall into our † Lap.

* Here observe the Word *CLOTH*. We shall soon find another Person strongly vouching the same marvellous Qualities in *English* and *Irish* Wool, when mixed with that of *France*, in all other Manufacture, except *CLOTH*.
† This Gentleman would at last persuade us, that he is no *Irish* Man. And perhaps he was not, considering what is said (Chap. 127. §. 19.) of some *British* Merchants.

Be that as it will, his Arguments are the main Object of Attention. And first, we are to understand from him, that nothing less than a Liberty to manufacture their own Wool, and to export that Woolen Manufacture directly to foreign Parts, will so far content the People of *Ireland*, as to restrain them from exporting Wool clandestinely and illegally. And so far he is in the right. But I will go farther, and say, that even that Liberty will not effectually restrain the *Irish* in this Case. It will, it's true, put them upon the same Foot with *England*; when they having the like Temptation, will (some of them) act just as some Persons in *England* do. Where the Situation is convenient for the Purpose, an illicit Trade will be carried on, for Gain; for as Dr. *Swift* said, 'Silver and Gold was neither *Whig* nor *Tory*;' so neither is it *English* or *Irish*.

But the *Irish*, according to this Writer, are to be let into the foreign Woolen Trade, because they can under-sell the *French*. Well! and in what Place are the *English* to be then, since the *French* (it's said) can under-sell them? Oh! says he, if the *Irish* keep their Wool at home, they will get the selling of their own Wool in Manufacture, which used to go out raw; and the *English* will gain a *Vent* extraordinary, viz. for twice the Quantity of Woolen Goods, which

Lap. I conclude with these Sentiments, though they appear contrary to the Judgment of the Nation. 1. A Nation will not grow Poor by an Increase of Money. 2. A Nation will not grow rich, by refusing to employ any of her Subjects. 3. A Nation will never thrive, by Means, which have brought her to Ruin. 4. A Nation may attempt Impossibilities, but will never succeed.

C H A P. CXXX.

The Act commonly called, The Manchester Act, 1735—6.

1. AN Act *, to amend an Act passed in the seventh Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King Geo. I. §. 7. intitled an Act to preserve and encourage the Woolen and Silk

which the Increase of the Manufacture in *Ireland* shall by that Means amount to. How so? Why, because *Irish* or *English* Wool in *France*, works up twice its Quantity of *French* Wool; and is, in that Respect, so very necessary to the *French*, that they cannot carry on their Manufactures even of their own Wool, without it. Thus does the Utility, to *England*, of what this Writer contends for, depend altogether upon the Truth of that which we have already been told, and which we shall see most clearly hereafter, is certainly false, viz. That the *French* cannot carry on their Woolen Trade without *English* or *Irish* Wool.

* This Act recites that 'whereas great Quantities of Stuffs, made of Linen Yarn and Cotton Wool, have for several Years past, been manufactured, and have been printed and painted within this Kingdom of Great Britain; and the said Manufactures, so printed and painted, are a Branch of the ancient Fustian Manufacture of this Kingdom; and have been, and are now used and worn in Apparel and Furniture. And whereas some Doubt hath arisen, whether the Use and wearing of the said Stuffs, when the same are so printed and painted, be prohibited by the said recited Act; whereby the said Manufacture is discouraged, and may be utterly lost, and great Numbers of his Majesty's Subjects and their Families, whose

Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom, and for more effectually employing the Poor, by prohibiting the Use and Wear of

‘ Livelihood intirely depends thereupon, may be ruined, and the Poor greatly increased, if not timely prevented. Therefore enacts, that nothing in the said recited Act shall extend, or be construed to prohibit the wearing or using, &c. any Sort of Stuff made of Linen Yarn and Cotton Wool, manufactured and printed or painted with any Colour or Colours, within the Kingdom of Great Britain; provided that the Warp thereof be entirely Linen Yarn.’

N. B. *This is what goes under the Name of the Manchester Act. The Act, thereby said to be amended, commonly called the Callico Act (7 Geo. c. 7.) was made at the Instance of all the Silk and Woolen Manufacturers in the Kingdom; and was chiefly solicited by the Citizens of Norwich. And the Landed Interest, under the Notion of Benefit to the Grower, as well as to the Manufacturer of Wool, came heartily into it.—But it is since said,*

‘ Serious Considerations on the several high Duties, &c. 1743. pag. 23.’

‘ that this [Callico Act] has done a World of Harm to some of the Manufactures of England, and particularly to those of the City of Norwich, for whose Benefit it was chiefly intended; and that the People of that City are now sensible of it themselves. For that the prohibiting of them here, made them so very plentiful in foreign Markets, where there used to be a Demand for Norwich Stuffs, that when the People abroad found they could purchase Callicoes for a small Matter more than Norwich Stuffs, they preferred the former, as the neater Apparel, and upon the whole, cheapest.’

In this, there is, no Doubt, some Truth; and the Reason is very apparent. For tho’ the Act prohibited the Use of Callicoes in Great Britain, for Apparel or Furniture; yet were they not prohibited in Ireland or in the British Plantations. Again, tho’ all Stuffs made of, or mixed with Cotton, had been prohibited, in like Manner, as Callicoes, yet was there an Exception made as to Fustians. And this present Act (9 Geo. 2. c. 4.) says, that the Manufacturers at Manchester, under the Cover of that Exception, had contrived to furnish Great Britain, with a Manufacture of Thread and Cotton mixed, which supplied in a great Measure, the Place of Callicoes. And now, when this Manufacture at Manchester, was grown to a very considerable Pitch, and the People there, were become so rich and numerous by it, as for several Years*

‘ See Ch. 118. §. 7. Note.’

‘ successively (we are told) to have expended 30,000l. per Ann. in new Buildings; the Silk, and Woolen Manufacturers of

of all printed, painted, stained, or dyed Callicoes (except as is therein excepted) so far as relates to Goods made of Linen

of the Kingdom began to take Umbrage at the same. But by this Time, the Number of these Manufacturers at Manchester, of Cotton and Linen mixed, was too great, and their Interest too considerable, to be suppressed: On the contrary, we find they had Influence sufficient to get this succedaneous Manufacture (concerning the Legality of wearing which, in Apparel or Furniture, some Doubts had justly arisen) established by this Law (9 Geo. 2. c. 4.) So that these Cottons are not only become a common Wear and Use in both, as, before the Year 1720, Callicoe was, but there is so much Likeness between the latter, and such printed and painted Cottons, that Callicoes, not only manufactured, but painted in India, are become no very uncommon Wear also in Great Britain. And thus the Callicoe Act of 1720, is in some Measure superseded; or rather defeated, as also, in respect of Chints, the Act 11, 12 Will. III. c. 10. And tho’ on this Account, we sometimes find the Spittlefields Weavers expressing a Degree of Uneasiness, yet most of all is the Interest of the BRITISH WOOL GROWER affected by it. For tho’ there may be Employment for an equal Number of Hands, in making Manchester Cottons for home Consumption and Exportation, as if those Goods were wrought from Wool; and tho’ other Places besides Manchester, may fall into the like Cotton Manufactures, yet cannot it be expected that there should be an equal, either Consumption at home, or Exportation abroad, of British Woolen Manufactures, as if Things had been otherwise. The Manufactures of Stuffs from British Wool, have undoubtedly lost some Markets abroad, as the Author of serious Considerations, &c. says they have done; and this, without gaining one at home, tho’ that was an Acquisition principally intended by the Callicoe Act; but, first evaded by an Exception therein, for Fustians; and that Evasion, since confirmed by this, which is called the Manchester Act. The Consequences of this Act were so well foreseen by the People of Norwich, that very soon after the passing thereof, a Committee of Trade there, came to the following Resolution, viz. ‘ Experiment having been made by some of the principal Woolen Manufacturers of this City, of Cotton Yarn spun here; it is very probable, if they proceed on that Manufacture, that this City will be as famous for Cotton, as it is for Worsted Stuffs. Resolved therefore, that a Subscription be made for raising a Sum of Money, to be given to such Persons as shall produce to the Committee of Trade, at the Guild-Hall in this City, on Midsummer Day next, the best Piece of Stuff, 20 Yards long,

‘ Ch. 87. P. S. 14.’

Linen Yarn and Cotton Wool manufactured in Great Britain. 9. Geo. 2. c. 4.

C H A P. CXXXI.

The Golden Fleece; Or the Trade, Interest, and well Being of Great Britain considered; with Remarks on the Rise, Progress, and present Decay of our Woolen Manufactures, &c. 1737

Page 3.

1. OUR native Merchandize consists in Wool, Butter, Hides, Tallow, Timber, Lead, and Iron. And if our worthy Ancestors would not suffer the first and best of these (the Wool) to be carried out in the Infancy

‘ long, and one broad, weaved of Cotton Wool and Linen Yarn, within this City— And to encourage Workmen to excel in weaving Cottons, Stuffs— Resolved that a Guinea be given to the Journeyman or Person who shall weave the Piece, so judged the best as aforesaid.’ (G. M. 1736.)

What ensued upon this Resolution, I know not; but undoubtedly the Manufacture of Cottons, is, ceteris paribus, alike practicable in every Part of Great Britain; and it is further certain, that this Cotton Manufacture not only does at present, but that it will yet more, rival the British Woolen Manufacture for home Consumption. And whatever good Reasons may be assigned, in regard to the East India Trade, &c. first, for permitting Calicoes in the British Plantations, and in Ireland; secondly, for suffering, nay encouraging the Manufacture of Cotton and Thread, at Manchester and elsewhere, as a home Manufacture: Yet, how all this, in Equity and good Sense, can consist with prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of British Wool, I am utterly at a Loss to conceive; especially, considering how Europe and other Parts of the World at large, are circumstanced in regard to Wool—that tho’ we do abound therewith, yet is it very far from being a Produce so peculiar to England and Ireland, as several Writers of this Kingdom have successively represented it to be.

fancy of its Manufacture, how much stronger are the Reasons now for keeping it at home, when we are thus improved in it, and by being Masters of the Seas, have it in our Power, from a peculiar Growth of Wool (which all other Nations stand in need of) to be the ONLY Sellers of it to Foreigners.

2. It would be endless to recite the many Laws made at different Times by our Ancestors, to prevent the unlawful * Exportation of British and Irish Wool to foreign Parts. The Rise of our Woolen Manufactures took their Date from the Reign of the renowned Queen Elizabeth, by settling the Walloons and Flanderkins in several Clothing Countries and Boroughs in England. Page 4.

3. Upon the Improvement of our Woolen Manufactures, Fullers Earth was found very useful, which occasioned several Laws to prevent the Exportation of that also, not only to foreign Nations, but to Ireland. Soon after our Woolen Manufactures came to Perfection, great Quantities were sent to Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and many other foreign Nations; and Great Britain tasting the Sweets of this Trade, several additional Laws were made, to prevent the Exportation of Wool and Fullers Earth.

4. The Customs, Laws, Practices, and Exigences of former Ages, are standing Proofs of this Truth, that the Exportation of all Commodities prejudicial to our home Manufactures, have been constantly forbid by the Legislature; and our Ancestors, from the earliest Times, were always so sensible of the many ill Consequences that attended the illegal Exportation of Wool, from the several Coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, that the Laws before-mentioned were by them purposely made to keep our Wool at home. They wisely foresaw, how fatal and destructive the exporting unwrought Wool might prove to these Kingdoms, if our Neighbours, by our Help, should set up Woolen Manufactories, and by living more frugally than the English, and having Labour and Provisions cheaper, could supply not only themselves, and other remote Page 5.

* Here note, he does not say, to prevent absolutely (which would have been false) but to prevent the unlawful, &c. which in this Place, is Nonfense, or equivocal.

remote Nations with Woolen Goods at a lower Price; which WITHOUT OUR WOOL, MUST have been purchased of us at OUR OWN PRICE.

5. The great Decay of our Woolen Manufactories is, beyond Dispute, owing to the illegal Exportation of *British* and *Irish* Wool, and Woolen Goods thoroughly manufactured in *Ireland*, to foreign Parts. Foreign Wool, for the most Part, is so coarse and hairy, that it cannot make several Assortments of *British* or *Irish* Wool. The Wool of *Spain* is so exceeding fine and short, that it cannot be mixed with the coarse, harsh Wool of foreign Growth; nor can they be manufactured together, without the Wool of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* ^a. These are Facts so well known to the Manufacturers, that they petitioned the Parliament from all the Clothing Counties and Boroughs in *England*, Anno 1731, and every Year since, complaining of the illegal Exportation before-mentioned. The Manufacturers are the first that feel the Effects of a decaying Trade, and being not only an useful, but necessary People to the State, seem therefore entitled to all reasonable Protection and Encouragement.

^a Ch. 41.
§. 4.

Page 6. 6. Upon a moderate Computation, one Pack of Wool made into Broad Cloth will give full Employment, for one Week, to 58 Persons, who will earn 19*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.*

Page 7. One Pack of the long combing Wool of *Lincolnshire*, &c. made into fine Stuffs, &c. for the *Spanish* and *Portugal* Trades, will give Employment, for one Week, to 158 Persons, who will earn ——— 33*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* One Pack made into Stockins for the *Spanish* or *Portugal*, or any other Trade, will give full Employment for one Week, to 150 Persons, who will earn 55*l.* 00*s.* 0*d.* Thus 366 Persons, on 3 Packs of Wool, will earn 108*l.* 00*s.* 0*d.* in a Week.

Page 8. 7. By the aforesaid Computation, it must follow, that as often as 50,000 Packs of Wool are clandestinely exported, so often will *Great Britain* lose 1,800,000*l.* And so often will the Number of Persons, yearly deprived of Employment, be 117,353. Besides it is a received Opinion, that 300,000 Packs of Wool are ship'd yearly to foreign Nations, from the several Coasts of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, through Neglect and Connivance. But if we suppose it were but half that Quantity, it must follow

follow by the said Computation, that *Great Britain* will lose yearly 5,400,000*l.* And also the Number of Manufacturers yearly deprived of Employment, will be 352,059, besides the Diminution of the Merchants Profits, and the Hurt done to our Navigation; and although the Quantity may be more or less, yet it will bear the same Proportion, touching Profit or Loss to the Nation.

8. Let us consider another great Damage done to this Nation by suffering this illegal Exportation. One Pack of *British* or *Irish* Wool will work up two, besides itself, of the coarse harsh Wool of foreign Growth, which otherwise would be USELESS, and lye on their Hands, in respect to their Trade with *Turkey*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other foreign Parts. It may, perhaps, seem a Paradox to some People, till rightly understood *, that the more unwrought Wool we suffer to be exported, the MORE † we shall be overstocked with it at home †.

9. If

* 'Till rightly proved.

† This Paradox reminds me of what I remember to have seen, as an Argument against Inclosures (published in the Reign of *Edw. VI.*) viz. *The more Sheep; the dearer the Wool.*

† For Example, suppose 150,000 Packs of Wool (being but half the Quantity generally thought to be ship'd off to Foreigners, from the several Coasts of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*) should be yearly exported unwrought; these added to 300,000 Packs of foreign Wool, produce a Manufacture of 450,000 Packs; if then 150,000 Packs were kept at home, *Turkey*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other foreign Countries, would want from *Great Britain* the Manufacture of 450,000 Packs, in the room of the like Quantity furnished by neighbouring Nations, who in this Case, could have NONE of THESE manufactured Goods to send to foreign Markets; therefore, as the Demand for Goods in foreign Parts would continue to be the same (the Question being, not what is the Quantity demanded or consumed, which is certain, but who shall furnish that Quantity) AS MUCH less as Foreigners are enabled to work up (by the Assistance of *British* or *Irish* Wool) SO MUCH MORE must be manufactured by *Great Britain*; and consequently the first Year a Law were made, to put an effectual Stop to the unlawful Exportation of *British* and *Irish* Wool, the Quantity of Woolen Goods for foreign Trade,

9. If the Landed Gentlemen of Great Britain were cooly to consider, how much it is their Interest to refrain the Wool of Great Britain and Ireland from being sold to Foreigners, they could never be prevailed upon to lend a helping Hand to prohibit the Importation of Irish Wool, Worsted, or Yarn; for if Ireland is overstocked with a Commodity, which we will not allow them to bring to Great Britain, we put them under a Necessity to look out elsewhere for a Market; the Con-

Page 10. sequences whereof we have experienced too long, and too much to our Cost; for by taking their Wool, Worsted, and Yarn, we should then engross the whole Woolen Trade to OURSELVES, without a POSSIBILITY of being rivalled, and have it in our Power (as the Hollanders do by their Spices ^b) to fix OUR OWN PRICE.

Ch. 06. §. 4. Note. 10. While Great Britain is so loaded with Debt, and oppressed with Taxes, no Manufactures can possibly flourish, except that of OUR WOOL; and had not Providence been more careful of us than we deserve, in bestowing a PECULIAR GROWTH OF WOOL (of which ALL OTHER NATIONS stand in Need) it would probably be out of the Power of human Understanding, to remedy the ruined Condition our Trade is in, which can no Way be recovered, but by keeping our Wool at home. It is to be noted, that every Pack of Wool manufactured in Ireland, over and above their home Consumption, is almost the same * Loss to Great Britain, as if manufactured in foreign Countries, and contrary to many

Page 14. Laws in Force. Therefore it might be proper his Majesty should be addressed, to order proper Instructions to be given to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for Prevention;

' Trade, would be so much lessened, as is at this Time work'd up in France and other foreign Parts, which would naturally increase the Demand, more than double it is at present, from Great Britain, and by keeping our Wool at home, they could ONLY be supplied from HENCE; and by the same Rule, our Woolen Goods must increase in their Value, in Proportion to the Demand for them; for where the Wool is, there must be the Manufacturers, and there the Demand for the several Assortments proper for each Country.'

* How does this agree with what was said above? (See §. 8.)

tion; and in Return, to allow the Importation of Irish Wool, Worsted and Yarn, into Great Britain free of all Duty. This by some, may be thought to hurt the Poor of our own Country, who do not consider we shall have Occasion for many Thousand Hands in every Branch of our Manufactures, and for a much greater Quantity of Wool than at present, when we come to engross the whole Woolen Trade to ourselves [in Consequence of the Scheme following, viz. by]

11. Either a separate and distinct Commission for re- A Scheme, gistring Wool both in Great Britain and Ireland, or, or Heads the Officers now employed on Leather, Soap, Candles, of a Bill &c. to be appointed to this Work, and that Duty taken to prevent off from those Articles; and in Lieu thereof, a small one the illegal Exportation of British and

12. Instead of three Men of War and eight Sloops station'd on the Coasts of Ireland, as in Anno 1732, Irish Wool, twenty-four Register Ships or Sloops of different Bur- &c. thens; they, and no other Vessels, to bring the raw Wool and Yarn from Ireland, and carry it Coast Ways in England, and to carry Wool to Guernsey, Jersey, &c.

13. Staple Towns in Ireland to receive and lodge the Wool, Worsted, and Yarn of Ireland convenient for the Register Ships.

	l.	
N. B. Total Charge of the Register Ships	} 23,920	
annually,		
Of the three Men of War and eight Sloops	} 53,560	Page 21.
employed at this Time on the Coasts of		
Ireland,	}	
The latter exceeding the former,	29,640	

The Sums wanted in Lieu of those raised on	} 497,347	Page 24.
Leather, Soap, Candles, &c. are	} —	
In Great Britain is supposed to be Packs of Wool	500,000	
In Ireland	300,000	

Allow for home Use in Ireland — 100,000
Then there will remain to be wrought up in
Great Britain 700,000 Packs, but say — 600,000
This, at a Medium of 1d. per lb. will be £ 600,000
Let the Duty be ½d. per lib. Weight, on all Wool grown in Great Britain, of the coarser Sort. Also one Penny per

per lb. on the second Sort; and one $1d. \frac{1}{2}$ on the finest and best*.

C H A P. CXXXII.

The sinking State of the Woolen Exportation Trade, humbly represented by the British Woolen Manufacturers, to the Members of Parliament, 1737.

May it please your Honours.

Page 3. OBSERVING in the printed Votes, towards the latter End of the last Sessions, without any Petition from the Traders, a Committee of the whole House, to prepare Heads of a Bill, to prevent the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured; and that giving us Hopes; that you will early this Sessions reassume a Consideration of such Importance: We your humble Petitioners, *British Woolen Manufacturers*, in Behalf of ourselves and Brethren throughout the Kingdom, beg leave to represent the Loss, both to the Landed and Trading Interest, and to the King's Revenue, by the Wool exported out of both

* As this Writer only repeats the same false History, which has been already noted in others; offering no new Argument; but, upon the same Foot of Calculation with many that have gone before him, exceeds them in his Reckonings: As this Tract is but a Series of Romance and Extravagance (in which, nevertheless, we shall find others going still greater Lengths) so I think it needless to make any particular Remarks in this Place; and therefore shall leave the Reader to form his Judgment of this Production, *The Golden Fleece* (in Truth, a *Golden Dream*) by what has gone before, and that which follows, particularly from the *Dicti-*

Ch. 151. *onnaire Universel du Commerce* &c.

N. B. This same Tract, *The Golden Fleece*, which tho' without a Date, seems to have been first published Anno 1736, has since, in Substance, been re-published Anno 1745--6, under the Title of *The Danger of Great Britain and Ireland becoming Provinces of France, &c.*; but without any Correction of the Author's Sentiments, historically speaking; without bringing Things nearer to the Standard of Truth.

both Kingdoms unmanufactured, and Woolen Goods also exported out of *Ireland*, to foreign Parts; which prevented, would be to this Kingdom a much greater Fountain of Riches than ever the Gold and Silver Mines of the *Indies* were, or ever will be to Old and New *Spain* together.

2. 'Tis Fact, that most Countries have Wool, and some very valuable; but to none in a happy Climate hath God been so indulgent, as to *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; their Wool mostly is in its native Goodness adapted for making all Sorts of neat Woolen Goods; the Wool in other Countries being either, if fine, very short, or, if a good Staple, harsh, brittle, or coarse; they cannot make Quantities of tolerable neat Goods, without *British* or *Irish* to mix with it. Which evinceth, that keeping ours and the *Irish* Wool at home, for our own manufacturing, would at once secure the Demand of THE WHOLE WORLD on us for neat Woolen Goods, as the *Dutch* have for their Spices.

3. Your Honours are fully apprized even by your Page 4. Tenants*, that the Effects of a declining Trade are now generally felt; and no general Cause can be ascribed, but the great decay of our Woolen Exportation Trade; and that evidently owing to the *British* and *Irish* Wool exported.

4. Those

* It was true, that at this Time, Wool was excessively cheap^d. But it was egregiously false, to say that the same^d See was owing to a Decay of the *Woolen Exportation Trade*. Ch. 127. For in this very Year, viz. from *Christmas* 1737, to §. 8, 40. *Christmas* 1738, the *English* Exports of Woolen Goods amounted to 4,158,643 *l.* 17 *s.* which is above a *Million* more than in 1699, which was then accounted an extraordinary Year; above twice as much as they had been estimated at, upon an Average, before the Year 1700, and full one fourth more than they had ordinarily amounted to before the Year 1720; so far as appears by any Custom-House Accounts which have occurred. Nevertheless, in Regard to the low Price of Wool at this Period^e (1737) I remember^e See a certain honourable Person conspicuous in the *Woolen* Ch. 176. Trade, to have spoke of the same, as a *Calamity*; whereas P. S. I rather esteem it to have been, in some Degree, the Effect of an Abuse and monopolish Oppression on the *Wool Grower*, and the *Landed Interest* in general.

Page 5. 4. Those who are Agents for *France*, in this Kingdom, would persuade us that *France* wants no Wool, their own being so good; and *France* encourages the Importation of it. The *Irish* would persuade us, they have not much more Wool than supplies their own Manufactures (that is, for Exportation) and the clandestine *English* Traders and their Abettors, would persuade us, that exporting our Wool is a Gain to the Kingdom; for that otherwise it would be cheaper. But though 20 per Cent. should be gained in the Price of Wool, by encouraging the exporting of it, such do not consider that the Wool exported does, on a Medium, enable the foreign Manufacturers to work up double that Quantity of their own Wool into neat *English*-like Goods, which otherwise they could not.

Page 7. 5. Now the general Gain to the Kingdom, by manufacturing a hundred Pounds Worth of Wool, and exporting it in Goods, is 1080 *l.** But considering that each Pack exported, is the Occasion of our losing the Manufacture and Sale of three Packs; the Loss by exporting a hundred Pounds Worth of Wool, is to lose the gaining of 3140 *l.*

6. We cannot agree with the Author of the *Golden Fleece*†, that the Quantity of Wool yearly grown in *Great*

* This Tract pretends to speak the Sentiments of 2 Number of real Woolen Manufacturers; and at the same Time supposes Wool, to the Value of a 100 *l.* to make Goods to the amount of 1080 *l.*; which is near three Times more than is commonly accounted of, upon an Average. The *British Merchant* reckons the Manufacture, on a Medium, at but four Times the Price of the Material. And I observe, that in the Arguments on this Head, at the Bar of the House of Lords ‡, on occasion of the Bill for prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, that Wool in *Ireland*, Value 12 *s.* made a Piece of Serge of 1 *l.* 7 *s.* 11 *d.* which is but a little more than twice the Value of the Wool; and that the like Piece of Serge made from *English* Wool (in *England*) of 18 *s.* amounted to but 1 *l.* 19 *s.* 3 *d.* which also is but a little more than twice the prime Cost of the Wool. Again, we are informed from *Exeter* (See *British Merchant*, vol. 2. pag. 16---19) that Perpets, Worsted Chain, are valued at 2 *s.* a Pound, and Stuffs all Worsted, but at 3 *s.* on a Medium, at the Custom-House.

† Ch. 84. §. 23.

Great Britain and *Ireland*, is so much as 800,000 Packs; but we think that in *Great Britain* there is no more than 430,000 Packs: In *Ireland* 143,333 Packs; that from the former 40,000, and from the latter, 20,000 Packs are yearly exported unmanufactured; the general Loss whereby to the Kingdom, we compute at 11,304,000 *l.* This is a real Truth, unless it can be proved, that our Wool does not work up, on a Medium, double its Quantity abroad, or if it does, we should not supply those Markets, if the foreign Manufacturers did not; or if so much Wool is not exported †.

7. But if our Loss was but barely 3,096,000 *l.* the single Value of the Loss in 60,000 Packs of Wool exported, even that is considerable enough to deserve the Notice of the Nation. Thus as we have with great Faithfulness laid before your Honours the Greatness of our Loss, we beg Leave to offer what we think would be an effectual Means to prevent exporting, not only ours, but the *Irish* Wool.

8. Your Honours will observe, that the many different Proposals, which have of late Years been made, do all center in a Register. And indeed that would render the Exportation of it impossible, without discovering the Quantity, and by whom. Yet the Method of executing such a Registry by his Majesty's Officers, is pleasing neither to the Landed nor Trading Interest. But executing a general Register by the Traders themselves, would be pleasing to all, as it would be done in a friendly manner.

9. And therefore we pray, ' That a Power may be granted to the Merchants and Traders, and Dealers in Woolen Goods, Wool, Woolen Yarn, and Skins with the Wool on, and to all Manufacturers thereof, and Tradesmen, whose Trades depend thereupon, in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, to become one incorporated Company *, invested with a Power to put all the Laws in Execution, against exporting Wool out of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and Woolen Goods also out of *Ireland* to foreign Parts; and to Register all Wool

† These Gentlemen forget to put another possible Case, viz. whether Foreigners, ceasing to have the Quantity of our Wool here supposed, could not furnish themselves by some other Means, of Growth or Importation.

* *Monstrum horrendum ingens, cui lumen ademptum!*

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Wool in each Kingdom, and all grown yearly, &c. in such Manner, and by such Servants, as to the said Company shall be most agreeable to Trade in each Kingdom. And that the Members of the said Company in *Great Britain*, may have Power to make *By-Laws* for both Kingdoms, for executing such Power, and to give to *Ireland* such Encouragement, as to her Wool and Yarn, as will be for advancing the Woolen Exportation Trade, and to raise the needful Charges of both Kingdoms, in *Great Britain*, from and within themselves, by a Quarterage, or otherwise, as may be agreed: *Ireland* to be at no Charge. And that all Postage be free; that the civil Magistrate may be assisting, as Need may require; and that the present Duty on Irish Woolen Yarn imported, may be taken off.

C H A P. CXXXIII.

Debates in Parliament *.

1. **B**EFORE the Peace of *Utrecht*, we had no Rival in the *Woolen Manufacture Trade* but the *Dutch* †; and over them we have many natural Advantages, both as to our Situation, the Goodness of our Ports,

* The Subject of this Debate was concerning a proposed Reduction of the Interest of the National Debt, *i. e.* of the redeemable Funds. But I have here taken only so much of the Argument as relates to the Woolen Trade of *England*. As it is well known, who it was that bore a principal Part in this Debate, on one Side of the Question especially; so it is not difficult to guess, to whom these Sentiments belong. If they are not historically correct, 'tis only to be imputed to his taking this Affair too much upon Trust, according to common Belief, and that general Corruption of Truth, which has prevailed in the Case of this, more than, I almost think, on any other Subject whatsoever.

† Some *Turkey* Merchants also know 'their [*the French*] *Carcaffone* Cloths find good Prices and many Buyers in the *Levant*.' N. B. *This was an Observation so long before the*

h Ch. 56. §. 26.

Ports, and the principal constituent Materials of that Manufacture; all of which they are obliged to furnish themselves with at second Hand *.

2. To this I shall add, that when the Woolen Manufacture was first chiefly established in *England* (which was in the long and happy Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*) the Interest of Money was pretty much the same in both Countries; and the *Dutch* were engaged in a bloody and dangerous War, &c. So that their People had not much Time to think of improving any Sort of *Manufacture*. By these Means we got ourselves riveted in the Possession of all the principal Marts for Woolen Manufacture both in *Asia* and *Europe*; and that Possession was in good Measure kept till the Beginning of the last War with *France* and *Spain*, when we were so wise as to prohibit Trade with both. During that long Period, the People of *Turkey*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and even in *France* † too, till the Revolution, became so accustomed to the wearing of *English* Cloths and Stuffs, that it was not easy to make them change their Merchant.

3. Thus by getting Possession of the Trade, and keeping that Possession, we acquired an Advantage which could not easily nor speedily be taken from us; and this acquired Advantage is, I am afraid, the chief Support of our present Exportation. But in a long Course of Time we may entirely lose this Advantage; and we are in the more Danger, because we have now got a Rival in the *Woolen*

the Peace of Utrecht as the Year 1677. See also (Ch. 59. §. 8). *France*, in that Period, not only prohibiting *English* Drapery in that Kingdom, where before it was used to have a very large Vent, but rivalling *England* in all foreign Markets with the same Commodities. (See further, Chap. 99. §. 2. Chap. 101. §. 3. Chap. 102. §. 5. Note. §. 7. Note. Chap. 103. §. 5. Note. §. 7. Chap. 108. §. 2.)

* Wool I suppose to be principally meant here; which, as the *English* Manufacturers are seldom the Growers thereof, they, strictly speaking, purchase as much at second Hand, as the Woolen Manufacturers of any other Country do. But this is a Figure of Speech, denoting another Difference, which some Persons don't chuse to mention in so many plain Words. (See Chap. 47. §. 3. Note.)

† See Chap. 59. §. 7.

Woolen Manufacture Trade much more formidable than the *Dutch*, and of much more Danger and Consequence.

4. Before our late happy Revolution, they had but few Manufacturers of *Woolen Cloth* in *France*; and such as they had were of the coarsest Sort; so that they were furnished with all their fine Cloths either from *Holland* or *England*; but after the Revolution, we found ourselves, it seems, under a Necessity of prohibiting all Manner of Trade and Intercourse with that Kingdom. This prevented its being in their Power to have any *Woolen Manufacture* directly from *England*, which laid them under a Necessity, and at the same Time furnished them with the Means of improving what they had of their own; so that before the second War broke out, they had come some Length in the Manufacture of *Woolen Cloths*, especially *Stuffs* or *Camblets*; and by our prohibiting Trade with *Spain* as well as them at the Beginning of that War, we furnished them not only with a new Opportunity of improving their *Woolen Manufacture*, but likewise with an Opportunity of introducing it by Degrees into the Kingdom of *Spain*; and the Peace of *Utrecht* confirmed their Manufacture in the Advantage it had reaped in the War.

5. Ever since that Time, they have enjoyed almost an uninterrupted State of Tranquillity; during which Time, it must be confessed, they have made the best Use of the Benefits we bestowed upon them; for they have now brought their *Woolen Manufacture* to such Perfection, that they make superfine *Woolen Cloths* almost as fine and as good as we can do, and sell them much cheaper; by which Means they very much interfere with us in *Turkey* as well as *Spain*; in both which Places they as yet meet with some Difficulty, by Reason of the Attachment the People have in general to the Manufactures of this Kingdom; but that Attachment will at last wear off, and then it will be out of our Power to preserve any Share of the Trade, unless we can sell all Sorts of *Woolen Manufacture* as cheap as the *French* or any other Nation can do.

6. Now with respect to the Rivalship in this Trade between the *French* and us, it is very different from that between us and the *Dutch*. The Situation of the *French* is

is rather more convenient for that Trade than ours; and their Ports are as good; then as to the Materials, the only Advantage we have over them consists in our *Wool**; but they lye so conveniently for stealing it away from us, that 'tis hardly possible to prevent it; and as to *Spanish Wool* which is the chief Material in the Manufacture of all superfine Cloths, they lye more conveniently for having it, and may have it at a cheaper Rate than we can. From all which I must conclude, the chief Advantage we now enjoy in this Manufacture, is the superior Skill, Dexterity, and Numbers of our Workmen, and the old Attachment to the *Woolen Manufactures* of this Kingdom; something of which still remains in *Turkey*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; but this will wear off by Degrees, if we cannot sell as cheap as any other Nation; and the *French Workmen* will be every Day improving and increasing. These are our Circumstances, and they shew what bad Effects our present State of high Interest may have upon our foreign Trade and home Manufacturers.

In

* And wherein does this Advantage consist, which the *English* have from their *Wool*? Have not the *French Wool* of their own? Yes, they have; but it is not so good, generally speaking, as *English Wool*. Well! but cannot the *French* be accommodated elsewhere with *Wool* as good as the *English*? Yes! for the Purpose of making Cloth especially, with much better, from *Portugal* and *Spain*. What then can be the Advantage to the *English* in respect of their *Wool*? Why, 'tis cheaper than any other *Wool* of equal Goodness. What! considerably cheaper than other *Wool*, beyond the Difference of Freight and Factorage? O Yes, considerably, BECAUSE (by the Law) *English Wool* can be purchased by *English Persons* ONLY; the like to which does not appear to be the Law of any other Country. Why then it is not the *French* who steal our *Wool* from us; but it is we, who steal it to them, in order to have a *Market Price* for it (as will be demonstrated). But tho' the *French* could not steal it from *England*, or rather, tho' the *English* could not steal it into *France*; yet, whether this Gentleman knew so much or not, the *British Merchant* hath assured his Countrymen, that the *French cannot want Wool* for ANY KIND OF WORK; FOR ANY PART OF THE WOOLEN MANUFACTURE.

Ch. 105.
§. 12, 14.

In Answer to this it was said,

7. The French have not any natural Advantage in Trade over us, worth mentioning, but that of the frugal and penurious Temper of the People, especially their Labourers and Manufacturers. For the Freight of a Ship from any Port in *England* to *Spain* or *Turkey*, is very near as cheap as from any Port of *France*; at least, the Difference can have no Influence upon a rich Cargo; and if it could, the Expence of their carrying their Goods to their Ports, for Export, is generally much higher in *France* than in *England*; which will more than atone for any Difference there may be in Freight: And for the same Reason, a Quantity of *Spanish* Wool may always come cheaper to the Manufacturer in *England*, than the same Quantity can come to the Manufacturer in *France*. But then, as to the Advantages we have over them, they are innumerable, and the single one, of OUR WOOL, is such a one, as we may by proper Care and Diligence, make insurmountable. For the more careful and diligent we are to prevent its Exportation*, the greater the Risk of exporting it will be; and the greater the Risk, the higher its

* The more it is confined to be purchased by *English* Manufacturers only, the more will they be able to beat down the Price thereof in the Markets of *England*; consequently, the greater will be the Temptation to carry it abroad clandestinely; and as Sir *Josiah Child* has rightly observed^k, the Effect will be accordingly. So that this is a Remedy, like that of Drinking, for a Dropsy; I know that a contrary Doctrine has been wisely enough, but not so truly maintained by several Writers on this Subject, namely, that confining our Wool entirely, is in itself a Means to advance the Price of it. But Facts in this Case, fairly stated, are against them, as also the Nature and Reason of Things: As we shall be able to give Proof, even to Demonstration, viz. that preventing absolutely the Exportation of Wool, by prohibitory Laws, a Register, &c. (was that practicable) can in itself answer no End at all to the *English* Woolen Manufacture and Exportation Trade, but as it would make the Wool of Great Britain and Ireland so much cheaper. And that Cheapness of Wool is an Advantage to the Exportation Trade, will admit of no Dispute; but how far a particular Advantage, thus obtained, (viz. at the Expence of one so very considerable Body of Men, the Owners of Sheep Lands)

* Ch. 48.
§. 3.

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its Price will be in *France*, so that at last, we may raise its Price so high as to make it impossible for their Manufacturers to work it up with Advantage.

Here it was replied.

8. I am surprized to hear it said, we can carry on any Trade in the Mediterranean, so cheap, or so easily, as the French can do at their Ports of *Marseilles* and *Thoulon*; or that we carry on a Trade with *Portugal*, or any Part of *Spain* without the Streights, so cheap as the French can do from their Ports on the Bay of *Biscay*. Then as to our Wool, I wish with all my Heart, we could render the Exportation of it impracticable; but I believe the only effectual Way of doing so is, to enable our Manufacturers and Merchants to work it up at home, and sell it so wrought up in foreign Markets, as cheap as such Manufactures can be sold by any of our foreign Neighbours*; for if we should once lose the Sale of such Manufactures at foreign Markets, we cannot

is of general Benefit to the Community, may be doubted; for that it is a particular Injury to the Wool Grower, is beyond all Question. And these are Points worth Consideration; how to give every Interest its just Due, with Advantage to the whole; which I reserve to be discussed hereafter, when every Circumstance and Fact shall have been set in a true Light.

* This Gentleman has touched upon the right Scent, for rendering the Exportation of Wool impracticable.—But for Want, either of pursuing the Thought, or of explaining himself sufficiently, he has left the Matter just where it was.

Had he said, 'to enable our Manufacturers to give as much for the Wool of Great Britain and Ireland, as foreign Manufacturers will give for the same, or for Wools of equal Goodness; and to enable our Merchants to sell it, when wrought up, in foreign Markets, as cheap as such Manufactures can be sold by any of our foreign Neighbours,' he would have spoke clearly and intelligibly, and fully to the Purpose.—But, if by 'enabling our Manufacturers and Merchants to work it up at home, and sell it so wrought up in foreign Markets as cheap, &c.' he meant that this was to be effected by Means of having the Wool any thing considerably cheaper; in that Case, such comparative Cheapness

not make Use of all our Wool in working up for home Consumption; and if we cannot work it up at home, it will, like *Spanish* Gold and Silver, find its Way out, in Spite of the several Laws, and the greatest Care we can take for preventing it. Our Laws will then serve only for running down the Price upon the Farmer; for as he *must* sell; if he cannot find a Buyer at home, he must take what Price he *can* get from the Smuggling Exporter, who in that Case, will be sure to make the Farmer pay for the Risk he runs in exporting.

C H A P. CXXXIV.

Reflections and Considerations, occasioned by the Petition presented to the Honourable House of Commons, for taking off the Drawback on foreign Linens, &c. 1738.*

1. THE Petition sets forth, ' That the Manufacturers of Linen now labour under several Discouragements, but more particularly on Account

of Wool would have the very same Effect, which he himself mentions, from *losing the Sale of such Manufactures at foreign Markets.* A Share of the Wool would in Course (like *Spanish* Gold and Silver) find its Way out to the better Market.

* I meddle not with this Tract, and what further I meet with wrote upon the same Occasion, but as the Argument, some Way or other, respects the Woolen Trade. The Drift of the Petition, we may perceive, was to get the Drawback, of foreign Linens exported to our Plantations, taken off, in Favour to the *British* and *Irish* Linen Manufactures. In the Course of which Controversy will be seen the Progress of these Manufactures in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; also how they do in some Degree impair the Woolen Exportation Trade of *England*; and as the Increase of the Linen Trade is one Proof among many others, that in general, the manufacturing Interests of these Kingdoms have been in no unprosperous State; so it accounts in some Measure (as the Laws are) for *Wool* having been, for several Years together, at an extreme low Price; a peculiar Hardship on the Grower!

' of the Drawbacks allowed on Exportation of foreign Linens, Threads, and Tapes; by Means whereof considerable Quantities have been, and are still sent to Parts beyond the Seas, to the great Hinderance of the Consumption of our own Produce and Manufactures, and therefore praying, &c.'

2. Except in the Article of Linen, I cannot say that the *British* Subjects in *America*, are under any Temptation to deal with Foreigners for Goods or Manufactures of any Kind; otherwise, like the rest of Mankind, they would buy at the cheapest Hand, and if it was worth their while, manufacture more than they do. And if Page 12. the Drawback was wholly taken off, so that they were to pay 14 per Cent. more than they do for Linen; would it not be in Effect, a Bounty of 14 per Cent. for Encouragement of their own Manufacture*?

3. But there is a more weighty Consideration still behind; and that is, supposing us able, in Time to come, to manufacture Linen sufficient for our own Consumption, what will become of the *Woolen Manufactures*, which those Countries took from us, from whence we were supplied with foreign Linens †? If they take off our Woolens, with other Product and Manufactures, as of *Sheffield* and *Birmingham*, and the Goods we import from *India*, to as great a Value, as we take from them, which I really believe they do, and greater; can we have the least

* ' And to shew that this is no chimerical Imagination; upon Inquiry, it will be found, that both coarse and fine Linen are manufactured there already.

† ' Are they not as capable of manufacturing WOOLEN, as we are of Linen? Or can we oblige them to take none any where else, or prohibit their manufacturing for themselves? Or can we be sure that in Resentment they may not impose a Duty on our Manufactures, equal to what we lay upon them, or totally refuse to make Use of them, as *Russia* did not long ago? If we can do neither of the first, nor be sure of the last, why must we lose or destroy so considerable a Branch of our *Woolen* Manufacture, not to mention many others, for the bare Chance of raising and encouraging another Manufacture, which neither by Nature, or Art, we are so capable of excelling our Neighbours in?'

Russia refused to make Use of English Woolen Manufacture.

least Reason to desire a Change in so profitable a Branch of Commerce?

C H A P. CXXXV.

The Case of the British and Irish Manufacture of Linen, Threads and Tapes fairly stated, and all the Objections against the Encouragement propos'd to be given to that Manufacture, fully answered.

In a Letter, 1738.

1. THE chief Methods of gaining Riches are, Agriculture, Fishery, Manufacture; and of these, Manufacture is the most advantageous to a Nation, because employing and maintaining most; and of all Sorts of Manufacture, Linen and Woolen are, for the same Reason, most beneficial, and because they are most necessary in Life. Which of these two ought to have the Preference, I shall not determine. Nevertheless, every Nation ought to turn their Lands and Hands chiefly to the Produce of that which employs the greatest Number of Poor, and may be raised to the highest Value by Manufacture. According to this Rule, let us examine this Affair, upon the Foot of the Calculations of the accurate and ingenious *Arthur Dobbs, Esq;* in his *Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland*, who makes the Profits from Wool completely manufactured, amount to near 6*l.* per Acre, but from Hemp and Flax, to 27 and 28*l.*; hence it is easy to judge which deserves most to meet with publick Encouragement.

2. In a Country, where any Manufacture has been long established, the Workmen are so dexterous and numerous, that they can make cheapest and best. They have the Name, and common Opinion; established Custom and Correspondence of Dealers is on their Side; which makes it very difficult for any neighbouring Country to set up such a Manufacture even for home Consumption.

Consumption. From hence we must be convinced, that when any Nation has a Mind to set up a Manufacture, which a neighbouring Nation is in Possession of, they must particularly encourage it, 1. By Bounties; 2. by loading *its Rival*, the foreign Manufacture, with Duties; and 3. by making it the Fashion to wear it.

3. Now though no actual Encouragement has been given in this Case, yet the People of *England* have taken Advantage of the high Duties our Necessities have obliged us to lay upon foreign Linen imported and consumed here at home, to push the Linen Manufacture further than is commonly imagined, as the following Piece of political Arithmetick * will probably shew. And I think it beyond all Question, that a greater Quantity of Linen is manufactured in *England*, than either in *Scotland* or *Ireland*. 'Tis true, the *English* Manufacture of that Commodity is not publickly known, because a great Share of it is made in private Families for their own Use, or made and consumed in our Country Towns and Villages, and that Part of it which comes to *London*, is brought hither by Land-Carriage, so that it is seldom

* Let us imagine 14 Millions of People in the three Kingdoms and the Plantations; that they consume annually, at 5 Ells or 6 Yards $\frac{1}{4}$ per Head	} 87,500,000 Yds.
By the Custom-House Books, our Importation from foreign Parts, on a Medium, from 1728 to 1734, is	} 32,000,000 Yds.
The Consumption in <i>Scotland</i> probably, is	} 12,500,000
Exportation thence, to my best Information	} 4,000,000
Consumption in <i>Ireland</i> , probably	} 12,500,000
Exportation thence, on a Medium, to <i>England</i> , according to Custom-House Accounts	} 5,000,000
	<hr/> Total 66,000,000
Remains of the whole Consumption; every Yard of which must be made in <i>England</i> .	} 21,500,000

dom heard of but among our Manufacturers and Dealers in Linen.

4. It has been observed, that Duties on foreign Linens, like other Duties, were only imposed for the Support of Government, not with a View of encouraging the Manufacture at home; for which Reason, Drawbacks were allowed upon foreign Linens transported to our Plantations, as to any other Parts. But if the Affair had been well considered, tho' upon the Foot of common Policy, of encouraging Trade and Navigation, the Drawback of all the Duty should have took Place, in Case of Re-exportation to foreign independent Countries; yet to our Plantations, the whole Duty should have remained, as if for home Consumption; and that by Way of Encouragement to our own *home Manufactures of Linen*. But we did neither, *i. e.* we neither took it all off from independent Countries, nor laid it all on, to the Plantations; so by the former hurt our Navigation Trade, by the latter, our own Manufacture. The Effects are evident, from the small Quantity of foreign Linens we export, except to our Plantations; and the vast Quantity of coarse foreign Linens exported to our Plantations, shew how prejudicial that Export is to our *home Manufacture*.

¹ Ch. 134. §. 3.

5. 'Tis said ¹ with regard to *Germany*, we take their Linens, they take our Woolen and other Manufactures, particularly of Iron, some of the Produce of our Plantations, and *East India* Goods, to an equal or a greater Value. As to Woolen Manufactures, they have certainly set up several of their own in many Parts of *Germany*, particularly in *Prussia*, and which interferes with our *Woolen Trade to Russia*. Even at *Altena*, which tho' under the Dominion of *Denmark*, may be called one of the Suburbs of *Hamburgh*; they have lately set up a Woolen Manufacture, which prospers exceedingly, and is greatly carested and encouraged by the whole Neighbourhood. Thus our Trade to *Germany* may soon become a losing Trade to *England*, if it is not so already.

6. But to pretend that any the greatest Advantage by *Commerce* with any foreign Country, should make us neglect to improve our own *Produce and Manufacture*, is most ridiculous. Upon such Principles, we should never

never have had any Sugar, or Tobacco Plantations; because *Spain* and *Portugal*, where we had a beneficial Trade, and especially for Woolens, furnished us with those Commodities. But Queen *Elizabeth* judged it better, and settled Colonies in *America*. *Sweden* and *Denmark* are both allowed to be great Gainers by their Trade with *Britain*; yet both have lately begun to rival us in the *East India* Trade; and the latter has lately begun to rival us in our *Woolen Manufacture*.

7. But say these Gentlemen, If you take no Linen from *Germany*, they can take none of your Goods, because they will have nothing to give you in return. They might not, perhaps, be able to purchase so many of the *Superfluities*; but what we furnish them with, are chiefly the *Necessaries* or *Conveniencies* of Life. They would still be able to purchase *Yorkshire Drabs, Norwich Stuffs, Birmingham and Sheffield Wares, &c.* It is more than probable, that if we did not take a Yard of Linen from *Germany*, they would take from us as much as they do at present. Thus the frightful Apprehension, of diminishing our Woolen Manufacture, must entirely vanish. They will never want something to give us in return for our Woolen Manufactures. Our only Danger is, lest they should be sufficiently enriched by selling us Linen, to set up Woolen Manufactures; which, when they are, they will certainly do, and then lay high Duties upon, or prohibit the Importation of our Woolen Manufactures, and leave us to do as we *will, or can*, in the Article of Linen.

8. As to the Objection, 'That foreign States may hereby be provoked to lay high Duties, and perhaps, Prohibitions upon the Manufactures of this Kingdom.' As to those of them, which any of our Neighbours can make at home, they have already done this; nor can we blame them. But for what they cannot, that would be only laying a Tax upon their own People. Besides, they would have no more Reason to resent our taxing foreign Linen consumed in our Plantations, than those consumed in *Great Britain*.

9. I cannot quit this Argument without desiring you to recollect the great Incroachments that have been made, of late Years, upon our *Woolen Manufactures*. The *French* not only supply themselves, but send large Quantities

ties to *Spain* and *Turkey*. The *Prussians* not only supply themselves, but send large Quantities to *Russia*, and several Parts in the *North-Germany*. The *Danes*, as I have already mentioned, are taking all the Measures they can think of, for setting up *Woolen Manufactures*. And even in *Flanders*, since that Country came into the Hands of the Emperor, they have been, and are still at vast Pains to re-establish the *Woolen Manufacture*, and have lately resolved to cloath their Army with the *Woolen Manufactures* of their own Country only. All these Nations formerly made Use of very little else but the *Woolen Manufactures* of *England*; therefore the Consumption of our *Woolen Manufactures* in *Asia* and *Europe* must certainly have decreased within these forty or fifty Years. And this Decrease would have been more severely felt, if it had not been for the Increase of our Plantations abroad, and our *Linen Manufactures* at home. We have therefore great Reason to take every Measure we can think of, for encouraging home *Manufactures* of every Kind *.

C H A P.

* *The Sentiments of another Writer on this Head, when the Subject was again brought upon the Tapis in 1740, run thus.*

'Tho' no Man living wishes more warmly the Improvement of the *Scotch* and *Irish* Linen than I do, yet I cannot agree that we should sacrifice our whole Trade to *Hamburg*, and other Parts of *Germany*, in Complaisance to our Brethren of the *North* and *West*; who in such Cases would not fail to make *England* pay what Rates they pleased for this Manufacture. But this would be the least Evil attending such a Prohibition of *German* Linen, as was intended by the Bill. If we deal with the Inhabitants of *Silesia*, *Saxony*, *Bohemia*, and *Poland* (whence alone we have all the Linens called *German* Linen) we must be contented to barter our *Woolen* and other *Manufactures*, our *East India* Commodities, and the Growth of our Colonies for their Linens; for they have neither Bullion nor other Commodities; and either we must give up the whole Trade, or make our Returns in such Goods as that extended Country affords.'

I desire to remark here, as follows; first, that according to the Opinion of this Gentleman (which accords with the Sentiments of many others, and wherein there is undoubtedly some Truth) when the Parliament, in order to suppress the *Woolen*

C H A P. CXXXVI.

An Essay on Riots, &c. * 1739.

1. THE Riot of the poor Weavers and other *Woolen* Manufacturers in *Wilts*, is said to have been occasioned by Oppression, in various Shapes, practised towards them by some Clothiers. The Badness, or rather the Decay of the *Woolen Trade*, acknowledged by all, and occasioned by the Rivalship of *France* and other neighbour Nations, must needs be attended with fatal Effects to Masters as well as Workmen.
2. The Progress of our Neighbours in that Trade, is said to be owing to our *Run Wool*, and to their underselling our Merchants at foreign Markets. Be these Things

Woolen Exportation Trade from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, gave the People of that Kingdom such ample Encouragement in the *Linen Trade*; whatever Benefit may have accrued to both Kingdoms, from such *Irish Linen Trade*, particularly; yet was there no clear Gain by it, to the *Woolen Trade* of *England*.

Further, I observe, that if the Trade in *Poland*, for Instance, is best carried on by Barter^m: As *Wool* is a principal Commodity of *Poland*, so it might be an Advantage to the Trade of *England*, to be in a Condition of importing *Polonia Wools*. This we know the English Merchants did formerly. But since *Wool* from *England*, has been absolutely prohibited to be exported, the English *Wool*, in Consequence of the Monopoly occasioned by such Prohibition, has been so much cheaper, comparatively, than the *Wool* of *Poland*, that this Trade has wholly ceased. In which View, the Advantages to be accounted of, from prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of *Wool*, are no more all clear Gain to the English Merchants, than the Purchase, of prohibiting *Irish Woolen Goods* from going to a foreign Market, at the Price of the *Linen Manufacture* there, has been, to the English *Woolen* Manufacturer.

* In the Month of *December* 1738, was a Riot in *Wiltshire*, in which the Goods of Mr. *Coulthorst* and other Clothiers, were destroyed, &c. and their Dwelling-houses attempted to be pulled down; for which Fact, three Persons, viz.

Things as they will, they are no Justification of the late Riot, and I could wish that a mixed Commission might be appointed, consisting of *Gentlemen* and *Clothiers* of the *best Character* that can be picked out in the Country, to examine impartially into the Causes of the late Riot, as

- 1. *If any Combinations have been entred into, to lower the Price of Weaving, Spinning, &c. and by whom?* —
- 2. *If any Masters have forced the poor Manufacturers to take Truck, and at what Prices?* —
- 3. *If any Masters have obliged their Work People to buy Bread, &c. at any particular Shops, and how they have been served?* —
- 4. *If some particular Manufacturers do not give extravagant Rents for their Tenements, &c. and if they are not under Compulsion from their Masters in that Article?* —
- 5. *Who were the Heads of the late Riot? what Damage is done? and what Sums may be raised through the Country by the Statutes against Truck or Combinations, towards paying the Damages?*

3. I cannot conclude without wishing some Publick-spirited Person well skilled in all the different Branches of a *Clothier's Trade*, would publish a short Essay, to shew the Prices now commonly given by our *ready Money* Clothiers to their several Sorts of Work People; that so the Publick may judge what *clear Profit* a Clothier has. My Reason for it is; that as Money is sunk to three *per Cent.* Interest with many People, the Profits might appear so considerable, as would probably prevail on some to employ their Money in that. No body can think the *Mystery of Cloth-working inscrutable*, when he sees how many People practise it, who never served a regular Apprentice-

viz. a Weaver, a Sheerman, and a Bricklayer, were executed at *Sarum*.

° Ch. 137. §. 5. N. B. *It seems by what follows °, that the Master Clothiers had lately fallen the Rate of their Workmens Wages; and that this was looked upon as having furnished a Pretence for the Riot.*

And what was the Pretence for falling Wages at this Time? a supposed Want of Trade for Woolen Goods. And this, tho' generally believed about that Time (we have learned since) could not be the Case, in Regard to the *Woolen Exportion Trade*; forasmuch, as the *English Woolen Exports*, from *Christmas 1737*, to *Christmas 1738*, were remarkably great. (See Chap. 176. P. S.)

prenticeship to it. And one that has Money of his own in his Pocket, may make a *better Master*, and get as much, as those who make Cloth on other Peoples Stocks*.

C H A P. CXXXVII.

Remarks on the Essay on the Weavers Riot, &c. 1739.

1. ONE Cause of these Riots is said to be, Oppression of the Poor by their rich Masters. 1. By entering into Combinations to lower Wages. 2. Not paying their Wages. 3. Or else paying them in Truck, by Goods at an advanced Price. As to the first and second of these, I must declare myself an absolute Stranger to any such Methods of Practice.

2. But, that the Workmen are able in a dull Season of Trade, &c. when Work is scarce, &c. to make their Wages as comfortable, as in a quick Time of Trade, when their Hands are full, is not to be supposed; for in the Clothing Trade, as in other Employs, the Value of Labour has its Ups and Downs, according to the Demand for it. If the Necessity of the Times require it, and the Master advertises his Servants that he can give but 14 *d.* instead of 15 or 16 *d.* per Yard, must this be called Oppression? When at the same Time, the Workman is at full Liberty to make the most of his Labour elsewhere? Again, when the Workman has finished his Piece of Work, if the Master pays him his agreed Price, what Ground of Complaint has the Workman? If the Master refuses, the Remedy is easy, by Recourse to a Magistrate.—But if on the contrary, the Workman has ill wrought that Piece, or feloniously detained from the Master any Part of his Stuff, every Master has a Right

* In this Chapter we have seen many Things insinuated to the Disadvantage of the Master Clothiers. In the next, we shall see how far the Charge is denied, and in what Instances confessed, and how vindicated, or excused.

Right to exact Reparation, to be settled by a Magistrate, unless (as is frequently the Case) the Workman (rather than be exposed) chuses to agree the Damage with the Master at a small Allowance. But will this be called *defrauding, or oppressing the Servants?* So far from it, that I am apt to believe, the Lenity shewn to Workmen, on these Occasions, has been a great Cause of the several Riots and Insults made upon them of late Years; and that if the Clothiers, instead of this false Pity shewn, had put the Laws in Execution against Felony, we had ere now got rid of the greatest Number of those idle immoral Wretches, that generally turn out the Ring-Leaders of such Assemblies.

3. As to the honest and industrious Part of our Work People, no doubt, the Decay of Trade must affect them. And it's well known, the Impoverishment of many reputable Masters is to be ascribed to their keeping on Business, in Tenderness to the Poor, without any View but their Employment and Service. But the Clothiers are not obliged to ruin themselves, as has been the Misfortune of a great many within these few Years.

4. Some Branches of our Woolen Fabrick are quite lost; others going along with our Wool. And indeed there seem to be but two Remedies; the one is, securing our Wool from falling into our Rivals Hands; and the other, by lowering the Prices of our Workmanship. If the Clothiers apply for the former, they are answered; that will sink the Price of Wool, disable Tenants from paying Rents, &c. And if a Reduction in the Price of Labour is attempted, we are charged by our Author with Injustice, and are said hereby to be driving the Poor on to this riotous Method of revenging themselves upon their Masters for their Oppressions, &c.

5. But one Thing I am led here to observe, which must affect the Poor much more than the Penny per Yard abated, and contribute more to the late Disorders, *viz.* That at the Time of the rising, there was not less than 60 Looms standing still, for want of Employment, in that Neighbourhood.—And without some Regard to be had for the Preservation of our *foreign* Trade, I despair of seeing our Hands better filled.

6. As to the clear Profits of the Clothier, if the Author has Courage enough to make the Purchase, I will insure

insure him, the neat Produce on 4 Fifths of the Woolen Goods that have been made for seven Years past in the three Western Counties of *Wilt, Somerset, and Gloucester*, for 3 per Cent. per Ann. on the Stock employed in those Trades. Nay, I will go farther, and engage to deliver him several hundred thousand Pounds worth of Woolen Goods at 5 per Cent. less than Prime Cost.

7. As to the Article of *Trucking*, I own it to be a Practice not only illegal, but scandalous; yet it is attended with worse Consequences by far to the Fair-Trader, than to the Workman that complies with it, who as he knows before-hand the Disadvantages thereof, so he knows how to suit his Workmanship thereto. I am very glad to hear that a large Body of Clothiers are so heartily disposed and engaged to put a Stop to *Truck*, but am afraid the Work People are but too well reconciled to the Payments of their *Trucking*, or they would have accepted the Offer * made them. But were the Author to consider this in his own Light, as an Oppression, yet it's stupid to affirm it the Cause of the Riot at *Melksham*; seeing neither Mr. *Colthurst*, nor any Gentleman upon whom Depredations were committed, ever made any other Payments, that ever I could learn, than in Money; and if this was the Cause of Complaints, why was any other struck at but Delinquents?

C H A P. CXXXVIII.

The Case between the Clothiers and Weavers,
1739.

1. **I**N Towns where the Woolen Manufacture is carried on, proper Employment is to be found for every Sort of People. In these Parts, Wages are much greater, and Employment more constant, than in most other. The following is no mean Proof of the high Wages as well as Luxury of the Manufacturers. In the
Town

* What that Offer was, does not appear.

Town of *Trowbridge*, where the Inhabitants have been computed at about 3000 Men, Women, and Children, there are near 2000 Hogheads of strong Beer drank in a Year, as appears by the Excise Books; and yet we have no great Market, but for Flesh and Greens and Roots, and no great Thorough-fare from or to any Place. To this we may add thirty or forty Gin-houses. Their high Wages furnish them with the Means of Debauching. The only Way to make the Poor sober, industrious, &c. is to take away those Means, and that of the Beggars Song, *The Parish is bound to find us, &c.*

2. [To shew that there is Room for the lowering of Wages.] A Weaver and his Family may subsist as well as the Poor do in many Countries in *England*, by only working one Half of his Time. A constant Labourer in Husbandry, and his Family, don't earn above Half the Money as a Weaver. But the Parsimony and Sobriety of the former keeps him and his in much the better Plight. You shall see far better Accommodations in his House than in the Manufacturers, although the latter is so much better paid for his Labour.

3. Let us see how far the Clothier may fall the Price of Labour, without incurring the Odium of Oppression. Our Laws are so tender of the Poor, that where a Man cannot maintain himself, the Parish must. This Law has been condemned by several, as the Bane of Manufactory. The *Dutch* have their Poor under another Regulation; and yet there is scarce a Beggar to be seen. The Poor never want Relief or Work, as their Case requires. They take Care to afford Employment, and don't so much regard the Cheapness of Provisions, well knowing that Hunger and Cold will make People work, in order to eat, &c. *Flanders*, and *Hamburgh*, pursue the same Measures for suppressing Idleness and Beggary.

4. How different is the Policy of the *Dutch* from the Opinion of the Author of the *Essay on Riots*. *Dutch Policy* lades all the Necessaries of Life, to make the Poor diligent and sober. Our Politician is for taking off all Taxes which affect the Poor, though they have already the Means of Luxury and Idleness. One Argument against lowering the Wages of the Weavers, &c. is built on a Presumption, *That no Nation will ever arrive at the same Perfection in manufacturing Cloth, as ourselves;* and

and therefore we shall always have a Market, tho' other Countries manufacture and sell much cheaper. This appears to me an egregious Piece of Vanity! We had our Skill from the *Louvainers*, &c. and why they and the *French* should be for ever incapable of arriving at the same Perfection as ourselves, must appear to every thinking Man an inscrutable Mystery.

5. A Gentleman who now resides at an *English* Factory at *Lisbon*, told me, that their House had consigned to it as good fine *French* Cloth made of *Spanish* Wool, for 13 s. per Yard, as they could buy from *England* for 15 or 16 s. That the *Portuguese* preferred the first, on Account of its Cheapness*; wherefore they were obliged to import the *French* on *English* Bottoms, and sell it as *English*, in order to have somewhat to do. Thus the *French*, by Dint of low Wages, are running away with our Manufactures, while we are buoying up ourselves with vain Boasts and empty Imaginations, that we out-trade and out-sell every one.

6. Another Argument against lowering of Wages, is, that it would sink the Goodness of Manufactures, by obliging the Poor to work quicker and slighter. Answ. *The best Goods are made in the worst Times*. When Employment is scarce, every Manufacturer endeavours after Perfection in his particular Branch, for Fear of being dismissed. In Dearness of Provisions it is just the same. If Wheat sells for 10 or 12 s. a Bushel, the Manufacturers are obliged to work more, and debauch less.

7. Another

* Admitting, what is here alledged, to be true in some Degree; nevertheless observe, tho' it is first said, 'as good fine Cloth for 13 s. per Yard as they buy from *England* for 16 s. Yet it being here said also, that the *Portuguese* preferred the former for its Cheapness:' Thence I think is to be concluded, not that *French* Cloth, at 13 s. was as good, Yard for Yard, as was the *English* at 16 s. Because in that Case, it was no Choice in the *Portuguese*, to resolve to buy *French* rather than *English* Cloth; since that would have been, in Effect, only resolving rather to pay 13 s. than 16 s. for the very same Thing. And therefore what I understand is, that the *French* Cloth, tho' in Fact, not so good as the *English*, yet being thought as well worth 13 s. as the *English* was worth 15 or 16 s. THEREFORE, the *Portuguese* preferred it, as coming for less Money.

7. Another Argument against lowering Wages, is, that the Poor hereby would be incapable to make such great Consumption in Provisions; which would be an Injury to the Farmer. But this is a Mistake, the Poor in the manufacturing Countries will never work any more Time in general, than is necessary just to live and support their weekly Debauches. Upon the whole we may justly aver, that a Reduction of Wages in the Woolen Manufactures would be a national Blessing and Advantage, and no real Injury to the Poor. By this Means we might keep our Trade, uphold our Rents, and reform the People into the Bargain.

8. The *French*, the *Dutch*, the *Flemings*, the *Irish*, work much cheaper than we; they live, many of them, exceeding hard, and labour for very low Wages. Had not the Legislature interposed, the *Irish* would have run away with all our Woolen Trade long ago, merely by the Dint of manufacturing at low Prices.

9. Mr. Wood argues thus, 'The Woolen Manufacture is undoubtedly by Laws, and all possible Care to be encouraged; but 'tis its Exportation abroad, and not the Consumption of it at home', that must bring Profit to the Kingdom. And indeed the best Way of promoting the *Woolen Manufacture*, is not to force its Consumption at home, but by wholesome and good Laws to contrive, that it might be wrought and manufactured cheaply; which only can enable us to command the Markets, and truly make this Kingdom a Gainer by it. It is certain, no Country in *Europe* manufactures all Kinds of Goods so dear as the People of this Kingdom; which gives the *French* and other Nations, a vast Advantage in carrying their Manufactures to Market, and enables them to become, tho' not in Goodness, yet in the Cheapness of them, our Rivals in Trade to almost all Countries.'

^p Ch. 79.
§. 2. Note.

10. The *Spectator* says, 'it seems a Paradox, that the Price of Labour should be reduced without an Abatement of Wages, or that Wages can be abated without any Inconvenience to the Labourer; yet nothing is more certain, than that both these Things may happen. The Wages of the Labourers make the greatest Part of the Price of every Thing that is useful; and if in Proportion with the Wages, the Prices of all other

'other Things should be abated, every Labourer with less Wages would still be able to purchase as many Necessaries of Life; where then would be the Inconvenience?' Here I would remark, that putting our Manufacturers under a Necessity of working constantly, would perhaps in the Woolen Trade, amount to the same Thing, as an Addition of one Third more Hands.

Ch. 145.
§. 3. Note.
Ch. 177.
§. 29. Note.

11. But to consider this as a domestick Affair only between the Clothier and Manufacturer. Supposing Trade, from a Glut of Goods unfold, so bad, that the Clothier should resolve to drop the greatest Part of his Business, or give less Wages, in order to make himself amends for a dead Stock lying upon his Hands; where is the Injustice or Oppression? are not both Parties free? A superfine Cloth costs 30 or 40 s. more the completing, than it did twenty Years ago, and yet it sells for sometimes 20 s. less. Is it reasonable that the same Prices be given for Labour now, as were given formerly, when the Profits of the Trade were double what they are now? The Gentlemen and Magistrates ought to aid and encourage the Clothier, in the Reduction of the Price of Labour, so far as is consistent with the Laws of Humanity, and necessary for the Preservation of the foreign Trade. We must by some Means or other reduce the Price of Labour, that our Manufactures may find a Vent in foreign Markets. For it is on our foreign Trade or Exports, the Riches of the Nation depend. For, suppose we should lose but one half of our Exports of Woolen Goods, which have been valued at 4,000,000 l. * per Ann. the Amount

* Whatever may be the real Value of Woolen Goods ordinarily exported from *England*, within the Circle of one Year, the Custom-House Accounts, upon an Average, do not, in this Case, amount to any Thing near that Sum; altho' those of the Year 1737—8 exceed it. And yet remarkably great were the Complaints of that very Time, concerning a supposed Decay of the *English* foreign Trade, and yet more particularly, with Regard to the *Woolen Exportation Trade*. Nor is it less to be remarked, how extreme low was the Price of *English* Wool in *England*, at the same Time also. (See Chap. 176. P. 8.)

Amount of the Wool unfold, the first Year, would be 251,000*l.* which will lie by on Hand, and sink the Price exceeding low; and the Amount of the Labour of the People (thereby lost) would be 1,750,000*l.* which at 6*l.* per Head per Ann. will maintain near 300,000 Persons.

12. I come now to the Charge against the Clothiers, of combining together, to lower the Wages of the Manufacturers. If there be any Combination (which is what I know not of) why are not the Authors prosecuted according to Law? The Manufacturers have, by their Clubs, a Stock of several hundred Pounds Capital; so that they are not incapacitated to prosecute Combinations, or to put down the Business of *Truck*, if they had Inclination; and therefore I conclude, that *Trucking* is no real Grievance to the Manufacturer, whatever they may pretend.

Ch. 62. *The Tyranny of the Blackwel-Hall Factors*.
§. 6. Note. 13. The Sufferings of the Poor employed in working up Spanish Wool, are not owing to the Unmercifulness of the Clothiers, but the Tyranny of Blackwel-Hall Factors; who though originally but the Servants of the Makers, are now become their Masters, and not only theirs, but the Wool Merchants and Drapers too.

14. Perhaps, Sir, You may ask how it is possible that these Men, who stile themselves but Factors or Agents, could find Means to Lord it as Tyrants over their Employers? Why thus: They have managed it so, that the Merchant dare not sell his Wool to the Clothier, nor the Clothier presume to buy it of the Merchant. On this grand Point their whole Power is founded. To make this clear, Sir, you are to understand, that in the Year 1695, the Clothiers finding themselves in much the same Circumstances they are at present, by their Credit given to the Drapers on one Hand, and their being obliged to purchase Wool of the Factors, on the other, applied in a Body to Parliament for Relief, and an Act was accordingly pass^d for restoring to them *Blackwel-Hall* for a

Ch. 78. §. 1. Note. Market, limiting the Credit to be given for their Goods, to six Months; obliging the Factor to demand Notes of Hand of the Draper, payable in that Term, for the Use of the Clothier, on Penalty of forfeiting Double the Value of the Debt; and in Case the Draper refused to give such Notes, so demanded, fining him 20*s.*

15. For

15. For a little while, this Act had its desired Effect; these Notes were immediately returned to the Clothier, who carried them to Market for Wool, &c. and by that Means, made them answer in Trade almost as well as Cash itself. The Factors thus stripped of the most valuable Part of their Business, immediatly concerted such Measures as rendered the whole Act ineffectual, and put it in their Power to tyrannize over the Clothiers as much as ever. This was done, by tampering with those of the Trade, whose Circumstances were most precarious, who induced by the Promise of a speedy Sale for their Goods, prior to those of any other Maker, were easily prevailed upon to forgo the Advantage of the Notes granted them by Parliament. This fatal Precedent being once set, the Factors instantly exacted a like Compliance from all the rest; and if any refused, not one Piece of their Cloth was sold. By which Means, being obliged to keep their Workmen employed in the Interval, their whole Stock, though ever so large, was exhausted; and the more Stock they had, the more it became their Interest to truckle to their old Oppressors, and again take off their Wool on what Terms they pleased.

16. This important Point carried, like true Politicians, they resolved to pursue their Blow, and add some new Acquisitions to what they possessed before. Accordingly, they again allowed the Drapers such unreasonable Credit, that it was impossible for the most substantial Clothier to carry on the Trade, while the Returns were so slow and precarious. On an universal Complaint therefore of this Grievance, they graciously condescended to insure the Debt to be paid, twelve Months after it was contracted; but in Return of so great a Favour, insisted on two and a Half per Cent. as a Reward; and if any was rash or stubborn enough to disrelish or oppose this new Imposition, he had the Mortification to wait six Months longer for his Money, that is to say, a Year and a Half in all; which together with the three Months the Cloth is in making, and three that (one Piece with another) it continues in the Hall, before it is sold off, make two Years in the whole. Now let any one judge how large a Stock is absolutely necessary to carry on a Trade, under all these Disadvantages, particularly when 'tis recollected, that the Clothier is obliged to pay his

U 4

Workmen

Workmen ready Money all this while, whether his Goods are vended or no; and that the modest Factor always insists on his being paid for his Wool, with the first Money he receives for the Cloth.

17. Neither is even this all. — But if the Clothier, hard drove by so vast and so continued a Charge, should be compelled, as too many are, to draw upon the Factor for Money before 'tis due, according to their Calculation; one Misfortune makes Way for another; and he must pay an extravagant Premium for the Advance, probably, of his own Money. Nor are you to wonder, Sir, that these worthy Gentlemen are so sollicitous to monopolize the whole Market of *Spanish Wool*; since, on a Medium, they get four Pounds on every Pack. Now a considerable Clothier may be supposed to work up 80 Packs a Year; which is in a manner a Rent Charge of 320 *l.* to the Factor annually; for 'tis more than probable, that this very Wool is purchased with the Clothiers Cash; and while the Factor grows rich without any Risque, and with very little Trouble; the Clothier is doubly Excised, both for what he receives, and what is not only with-held, but employed so manifestly to his Prejudice.

18. 'Tis farther to be observed, that as by far the greatest Part of a Clothiers Stock must of Necessity be lodged in the Factors Hands, if he (the Clothier) happens to break, or die insolvent (as in Spite of a whole Life of Toil and Industry, many of them do) the Factor immediately seizes on the Whole; it being (says he) a *Pledge for Money advanced, Wool sold, &c.* So that the rest of the Creditors seldom receive a Farthing, while he to whom the poor Man's Calamity is principally owing, runs away with all.

19. Besides these capital Grievances, there are several others, which tho' inferior in Degree, are, when added together, no small Increase of the Load; such as the Factors lumping the Charges for Warehouse-room in the Hall, Portage, Pressing, Packing, &c. every Article of which ought to be particular; as likewise sending out Cloths to the Drapers at the Expence of the Clothier, not for Sale; but one would be almost tempted to think, to supply the Shops with the Paper and Packthread they are secured with; since they are returned stripp'd of both, tumbled from End to End, exposed to all Weather and Accidents,

Accidents, and in such a Condition as renders it absolutely necessary to have them cleaned, pressed, and packed anew. And all this, after they have been out of the Hall six or eight Weeks; tho' the above quoted Act of Parliament provides, that every Cloth shall be reputed sold, after it hath been detained eight Days.

20. One would think, Sir, I had already mentioned Grievances enough, not only to justify the Clothier, but to excite the Concern of the whole People in their Favour, and the Aid of the Legislature in their Redress. But there is yet another behind, which ought not to be omitted. 'Tis this — These worthy Factors, not content with all these various Methods of Oppression; to crown the Whole, often set up People to act as Master Clothiers, on their Stock, during any little Glut of Business; and as 'tis easy to imagine, give all the Cloth so made, the Preference of the Market, though perhaps in all Respects, least deserving of it: Hence, those that trade on their own Bottoms, and employ the Poor in good and bad Times alike, are liable to all the Disadvantages of the one, with little or no Share in the Benefits of the other. And hence, more People are admitted into Trade, than the Trade can possibly maintain; which opens a new Door to the Tumults and Riots so lately felt.

21. Now, Sir, I say again, let the Publick judge whether this miserable State of the Clothiers deserves Pity or Blame; whether the Distresses of the industrious Poor are to be placed to their Account; and in one word, whether 'tis their Fault that our Woolen Goods come dearer to Market than those of other Nations. Sure I am, I have heard many of them say, that if the Legislature would deliver them from this insupportable Yoke, they would oblige themselves both to increase their Wages, and lower the Price of their Goods. And why the Interest of these useless Drones in the human Hive, should interfere with two such great and national Advantages, is beyond my Wit or Judgment to resolve. I hope however, on this plain and unaffected Representation of the Case, and at a Time, when the whole Manufacture of *Great Britain*, is like to come under the Consideration of Parliament, that some Patriot will arise to do Justice to the Oppressor and the oppressed.

C H A P.

C H A P. CXXXIX.

The late Improvements in Trade, Navigation, and Manufactures considered, &c. 1739*.

1. **I**F we compare the present State of our *Trade* with what it was about twenty Years ago, it will be found, that far from having Reason of Complaint, we ought to exult. The Increase of our Trade and Industry is as visible, as the Increase of our Wealth, in Consequence of them, is certain and undoubted.

2. Before the Year 1718, our foreign Trade was chiefly confined to *London, Bristol, and Liverpool*; but 'tis now become so general, that not one Sea Port, and scarce an Inland Town in the Kingdom, is without *Adventurers*, who export considerably, and correspond directly with most of the trading Countries of *Europe and America*.

3. The Number of Adventurers is not only increased in the Out Ports, and Inland Towns, where such were never heard of till of late, but likewise in the three principal Marts mentioned before. In *London* alone, I will take upon me to say, that the Number of Adventurers is trebled within these twenty Years; and if I am rightly informed, 'tis the same at *Bristol and Liverpool*. The Number of our Natives and Agents abroad, of our trading Ships and Tunnage, bears a just Proportion to the Increase of our *Adventurers*. And as an Increase of *Seamen* is the natural Consequence of an Increase of Shipping, there is little Room for doubting that we have at this Time one Third more Sailors than we had in 1718. The same may be said as to Shipwrights, and other Artizans dependant upon Navigation. The necessary Consequences of so happy and visible an Increase of Adventurers, Shipping, and Seamen, is an Increase of Commerce,

* We have had for some Time, in several of the foregoing Chapters, an extraordinary Run of Complaints, in Regard to Trade in general, particularly foreign Trade; and more especially concerning that Part of it, the *Woolen Exports from England*. But in this Chapter, we shall hear another Story, in every Respect.

merce, which must as naturally produce an Increase of Manufactures, as an Increase of both must necessarily increase the national Wealth.

4. But to obviate the mistaken Notions of the *desponding*, who think that our Manufactures are lessened, because some Manufacturers mutiny for an Increase of Wages, and therefore are unemployed: Let it be observed, That the Number of Manufacturers is equal, if not beyond the aforesaid proportioned Increase of Merchants, Shipping and Seamen. This being considered, it won't be admired, that the Wages of Manufacturerers should lessen, as the Wages of Seamen have, before the late Call for the latter, to man the Royal Navy. I must add, on this Occasion, that it were to be wished the Price of Labour could be lowered, beyond what we see it; as the Cheapness of Labour is the only Advantage which the *French* and other industrious Nations have over us. And here let me add, that nothing but the Luxury of our working People could prevent our being able to undersell our Rivals, considering the Advantage we have of them in Plenty and Cheapness of Provisions, every where, but near the Metropolis.

5. 'Tis true, that some of our ancient Manufactures are lessened, and some quite disused; but 'tis equally true, that there is a very considerable Increase of some Manufactures, and that others are invented within these twenty Years. For Instance, the Manufacture of what the Clothier calls *Spanish Cloth*, worth from 5 s. to 8 s. per Yard, is greatly lessened, if not quite disused; but the Manufacture from 2 s. 6 d. to 4 s. per Yard, of Kerfies, Welch Plains, Druggets, Sagathies, *German Serge*, Stockins, Hats, Camblets and Stuffs, of various Kinds, is augmented far beyond what it was, when *Spanish Cloth* was call'd for from abroad.

6. The Adventurer must accommodate himself to the Taste of the Nations he deals with. As that changes, he must vary his Orders to the Manufacturer; to which this last must conform, or become idle and unhappy. From hence it arises, that some Manufactures are lessened, some disused, whilst others are increased, and many invented. But to argue from the Decrease or Disuse of certain Manufactures, that there is a Decrease of our Woolen Manufactures in general, would be as absurd, as
to

to say, that such an extraordinary Increase of our Merchants, Seamen, and Shipping, as has been mentioned, was no Indication of an Increase of our Trade and Riches.

7. Another Proof in Favour of an Increase of our Woolen Manufacture, is, that we have no Quantities of raw Wool lying on Hand, from one Year to the next; tho' it be certain, that we grow one Third more Wool now, than we did twenty Years ago. The great and surprizing Improvement of our Lands throughout the whole Kingdom, during that Period of Time, is the happy Cause of the aforesaid Increase of our Wool: And that these Improvements and the consequential Increase of Cattle of all Kinds, is one Proof of the Increase of our national Wealth, I think, won't bear being controverted.

8. Many other Manufactures, besides the Woolen, and particularly those of Silk, Iron, Bras, and other *Metals*, have been immensely increased within these last twenty Years. Before that Time, we were obliged to *Holland* and *Italy* for all, or most of our wrought Silks: But the Case is now so altered, that we not only work more elegantly than they, but are able to export of this Manufacture, besides furnishing for our own Consumption.

9. As for our Manufacture of Iron, Bras, Copper, Gold and Silver, and other *Metals* of late Invention, 'tis brought to that Perfection, and so generally esteemed abroad, that there is scarce a Retailer in the known World, that has not a constant Supply of it for the Use of his Customers. 'Tis incredible what large Quantities of this Manufacture are annually exported. I have known it computed by some of our most intelligent Adventurers, at some *hundred thousands* of Pounds; and yet five and twenty Years ago, 'twas scarce known abroad, and hardly accounted a Commodity for Exportation.

10. There is another Manufacture sprung up; at least, wonderfully improved within these twenty Years; which though it be not immediately of *English* Growth, is not less beneficial to us than that of *Metals*: This is that of *Linen* and *Sail Cloth*, so happily improved in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, that it is valued at no less than 700,000 *l.* Though Improvements in any Part of the King's Dominions

minions may be looked upon as an Addition to the Wealth of this Nation; yet as the Produce of all or most of it, *viz.* Of the *Linen* of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, centers in this *Metropolis*, it may be said to be an Improvement that regards us immediately. This happy Improvement of the *Linen* Manufacture, and those lately established here, of *Paper*, *Threads*, *Tapes*, and many other minute Articles, have lessened our Importations from *Holland* and *Germany* considerably, every Year.

11. The Manufacture of *Cotton* mixed and plain, is arrived to so great Perfection, within these twenty Years, that we not only make enough for our own Consumption, but supply our Colonies, and many of the Nations of *Europe*. The Benefits arising from this Branch are such, as to enable the Manufacturers of *Manchester* alone to lay out above *thirty thousand Pounds* a Year, for many Years past, on additional Buildings: 'Tis computed that *two Thousand* new Houses have been built in that industrious Town, within these twenty Years.

12. The Exportation of all our native Commodities, natural and improved, has increased within these last twenty Years, in Proportion to the Increase of our Navigation. It has been objected, that this Increase of our *Exports* bears no Proportion to that of our *Imports* of many Articles that administer to Luxury; such as *Wines*, *Fruits*, &c. 'Tis admitted, that our *Import* of *Wine*, though not of *Fruit* is increased; but I deny that 'tis increased in Proportion to the Increase of our *Exports*; and if it were, there are two other beneficial Articles, the Appendages of Trade and Navigation, not yet mentioned, which more than compensate for any Increase of our luxurious *Imports*. These are the Benefits arising from *Insurances* made here for Account of *Foreigners*, and from *Freights*, as being for many Years, the Sea Carriers of most of the trading Nations of the Continent.

13. If further Proof should be required of the Increase of our Manufactures *, *Exports* and *Navigation*, and the

* This Representation, at the Time when it was first published, passed with many, for a Piece of State Flattery, or as a ministerial Puff; and it was undoubtedly intended to do Honour to the Administration, of that Period; as such, zettier. wanted for no proper Embellishments. But (which is more to

the Wealth accruing from our Trade, for twenty Years past; let the doubtful recur to that infallible Test, the Increase of the National Stock; this will prove it beyond Contradiction. The Increase of this Stock in every Thing that can constitute *National Wealth*, is so visible, that they who would contest it; must be blind and insensible, or obstinate and perverse to an Infatuation. The Reduction of *Interest*, and the present, and late settled State of *Credit*, are other Proofs, and the strongest, of the Increase and Advantage of our Trade and Navigation.

C H A P.

to the Credit of the Author, and of the Times and Persons he meant to praise) the single Point, which from the *Price of Wool* at that Time, seemed to be a mere Paradox, was indeed most eminently true. For, notwithstanding the Complaints which were then so loudly echoed throughout the Kingdom, that the *English Woolen Trade was wholly decayed*, it has since turned out, by Custom-House Accounts, exhibited to Parliament, *Anno 1745*, that the *English Woolen Exports* never had been, I will not say greater, for that they never had; but seldom, if ever, any Thing near so great, as in that Period, the Year 1737—8 particularly. What shall we say then for those confident Complaints in that very Year (Chap. 132. especially) of the *sinking State of the Woolen Exportation Trade*—for the remarkable low Price of Wool, at that particular Juncture, and the Effrontery of the Clothiers (Chap. 138) when combined, under the same Plea of a *decayed foreign Trade*, for reducing their Workmens Wages? I am here strongly reminded of an Observation we have met with in a former Chapter, viz. 'There is that general Malignity in Commerce, that the rich Buyer does set the Dice upon the necessitous Seller; as in the most plentiful Years of Corn, the Ingrosser never thinks the Market low enough.'

Ch. 59. §. 7.

C H A P. CXL.

*Observations on British Wool, and the Manufacturing of it in this Kingdom; with Remarks on the Wool and Woolen Manufactures of France, Flanders, and Holland: By a * Woolen Manufacturer of Northamptonshire, 1739.*

1. OUR long combing Wool is the Sort of Wool our Rivals covet most. I know that it is generally believed, that the making of *Cloth* abroad of our Wool, is that which destroys our Woolen Trade: But that is a Mistake. The Wool of *France* is for the most Part very coarse, and short in general, not above three or four Inches long, and of a harsh sower Nature; and great Part of it hath a *Stichel Hair* in it, like some of our Wool that is of the Growth of *Norfolk, Suffolk, &c.* and in some Parts of the North of *England*. This *Stichel Hair* is of a bright shining Colour, not like the other Wool that grows along with it on the same Sheep, it being more like *Dogs Hair*; this Hair will not twist along with the other Hair when it is spun, but continues to stare out, make it into what Goods they will: neither will it dye into any proper Colour; but still will continue of a whitish Colour.

2. There is a little long Wool that is growed in *North Holland* and *Lovaine* in *Flanders*; but this is not fine, like the Wool of *England* and *Ireland*; the *French Wool* is pretty much like the *Flemish* and *Holland Wool*; but the combing Wool of *England* and *Ireland* is fine and long, free from this *Stichel Hair*, and the natural Strength of it makes it valuable, as well as the Softness and Fineness of it; and the Manufactures of Stuffs and Stockins made thereof, are preferable for Goodness and Beauty,

* Compare this Account of *French Wool* with Ch. 89. §. 17. and then judge of the Advantage to be made by mixing fine *English* with these *Stichel haired French Wools*.

to any Goods that they can make of their own Wool, either in *France*, *Flanders*, or *Holland*. Even as our Stuffs of the finest Quality, that are made of the best and finest Wool, surpass the Goods that are made of the coarsest Wool.

3. The Wool of *Warwickshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, and *Rutland*, with some Parts of *Huntingdon*, *Bedford*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Cambridgeshire*, and *Rumney Marsh*, with some Parts of *Norfolk*, have been accounted the longest and finest combing Wool. But of late Years, there have been Improvements made in the Breed of Sheep, by changing of Rams, and sowing of Turneps, Grass Seeds, &c. and now there is some large fine combing Wool to be found in most Counties in *England**, which is fine, long, and soft, fit to make all Sorts of fine Stuff and Hosiery.

Page 5.

4. This long combing Wool, is either used alone in Stuffs, Stockings, &c. or mixed with carding Wool, wherein the former is the Chain or Warp, and the latter, the Woof or Shoot; as in Bays, Serge, Druggets, Perpetuanoes, &c. or with Silk, Mohair, or Cotton, such as Crapes, Druggets, Plush, &c. But none † of these Goods can Foreigners make with their own Wool only, fit for a foreign Market; but when mixed with the Wool of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, then they are enabled to do it. This makes Foreigners covet our Wool; hence is the Temptation to *Owling*; by which Means we lessen the Demands for our Woolen Goods, in those Countries where they are now made, which formerly were served by us, and must again, if we can be so good to ourselves, as to keep our Wool at home. Nay, we not only lose the serving of them, but by giving them our Wool, we put them into a Condition to furnish the very Markets to which we send our Woolen Goods.

Page 6.

5. It

* And may not some other Countries, think we, be capable of equal Improvements by the like Means?

† What! Foreigners make no Bays, Serges, Druggets, Perpetuanoes, without a Mixture of *British* or *Irish* Wool? We read the contrary in the *Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce*. See (Chap. 151) Serges, of *French* Wool, very fine, See (Chap. 156. §. 14, 15, 16.) Perpetuanas (§. 17.) Bays (§. 19.) Crape (§. 21.)

5. It is not above seventy Years, since *France* began to make Cloth*. Before, we used to send large Quantities of Woolen Goods thither. But since the clandestine Exportation of our Wool hath been carried on so vigorously to that Country, the *French* King hath prohibited all our Manufactures, and they are so far increased in *France*, that they send vast Quantities of Stuffs, Stockings, &c. to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, &c. But this Prohibition of the *French* would do us no harm, if we could be so wise and good to ourselves, to keep our Wool at home, and manufacture it ourselves.

6. *Hamborough*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, *France*, &c. are able to manufacture divers Sorts of Stuffs and Stockings; which makes our Manufactures a Drug in those Parts; the *Dutch* and *Flemings* buying of us only what is wanted to make up proper Assortments; the Foreigners not yet making all Sorts so neat as we do. But if they continue to have our Wool; in a few Years, they will be able to make as well as we do. It is not long, since the *Hollanders* came to be supplied with Woolen Goods, from some Part of the *German* Dominions, which are made with our Wool †, and are made near as good as our Stuffs. In the short Space of a few Years, the Woolen Manufactories of the *Low Countries*, and some Parts of *Germany*, &c. are so improved and increased, by the Help of our Wool, that *Holland* is chiefly served from them

* It is now about 80 Years, since the *French* set up certain Woolen Manufactories, under the Cover of Letters Patents, with Charters exclusive, for fine Cloth of *Spanish* Wool. But what is that to the Business of *British* Wool? The *French* were Makers of common Cloth and other Drapery, long before this. For Instance, in * 1511, they sent into the Dominions of the Emperor *Maximilian* in the *Low Countries*, as much in Value, of Woolens, as the *English* and *Scotch* both together did. More than that, we find that fine Cloth, of *Spanish* Wool, was a Manufacture in *France*, before the Year 1603.

† A very unlikely Story this; altho' it may be true that the *Hollanders* are supplied, from some Parts of *Germany*, with *English-like* Goods, not only near, but full as good, as if they had been made of *English* Wool. (See Chap. 101. §. 2. Ch. 153. §. 1. Ch. 168. §. 2—5.)

them with these Sorts of Goods, which they mix with a few they buy from *England*, and then they call them all *English* * Goods, because *English* Woolen Manufactures have had the Vogue and Name for many Years past.

Page 10, 11. 7. Thirty of our best Artificers have lately gone to *Denmark*. The Manufacture begun at *Altena*, near *Hamburgh*, about six Years ago, by one *John Hudson* from *Yorkshire*, has now above one hundred Looms in it, for Stuffs, Stockins, narrow Goods, &c.

Page 19. 8. At *Abbeville* is a large Manufactory, of fine Broad Cloths, in which is used no Wool but *Spanish*. The Looms are 108. It is carried on by three Partners, Nephews to old *Van Robais*, who first begun it. They live in as much Grandeur as any Peers in *France*. But tho' there is none of our Wool used in this Fabrick, there is too much used in the Town of *Abbeville*. I believe there is above 1000 Looms going in this Town on Paragons, besides a great many employed in Druggets, Serge, Cloth Serge, &c. Those Goods are chiefly sent to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, and sold for *English* Goods.

Page 21. 9. There is another pretty large Manufactory carried on in this Town by four Partners, with good Success. They make Serge Royals, Druggets, Shalloons, Cloth Serge, mostly with *Irish* and *English* Wool. As near as

Page 23. I could learn, there are about 300 Wool Combers in this Town; and a great deal of Wool, combed here, is sent to *Amiens*; at which Place is made a great many Silks and Stuffs in Imitation of those at *Norwich*. Those Goods

* This is true, or it is not; if it is, could the giving of a Name to Goods, so far impose upon People, that they should not discern a Difference, if it was material? But if there is no material Difference between Goods, really *English*, and those which are only *so called*, to what Purpose serveth all this, but to shew that the Writer is a Well-wisher to a *Lye* that has been often told, altho' he cannot support it? He says indeed, that all this is effected, *i. e.* these Goods are packed off, for *English*, chiefly in virtue of a small Mixture of *English* Wool. But I think he has said enough of the Properties of the *Stichel Hair* ² in foreign Wool, to destroy the whole Credit of his Doctrine about the great Advantages of mixing fine *English*, with such coarse foreign Wools.

² §. 1.

Goods are generally mixed with our Wool; but the finer Page 24. Sort made of all *English* or *Irish* Wool, mixed with Silk, Mohair, &c.

10. At *Montdidre* in *Picardy*, within these two Years, is a Factory set up; and yet they could not carry on their old ones, if they were not furnished with *English* and *Irish* Wool.

11. At *St. Omers* is a Manufactory of Cloth, increased Page 25. within these seven Years, double what it was before. There are 350 Looms, besides Stockin Frames. They make Hose very good, some of *all* * our Wool, some are mixed with about half their own. In the making of their Duroys, Sagathies, Druggets and Serges, they mix about one third of our Wool, and two thirds of their own, and make their Goods much stronger and heavier than we do ours in the same Kind. Their fine Cloth is all *Spanish* Wool. The second is about half *English*, and half their own Wool; the coarse is made of all their own Wool, and worn by the Poor of their Neighbourhood.

12. At *Lisle* they make some broad and narrow Cloths, Page 26. and a few Druggets, but vast Quantities of Stuffs and Stockins. There are near 1000 Looms employed in making Camblets; some Ell wide, some three Quarters; all made of *English* or *Irish* Wool; and a much greater Number with mixed Wool, in making the same Sort of Goods. Besides, a great many hundred Looms are employed in making Callimancoes and several Sorts of Worsted Stuffs. They comb a great deal of Wool in this Town; but send more to *St. Paul* and *Fruges*; where it is comb- Page 27. ed, spun, doubled, and twisted for them. One Madam *Dislobbes* ², a great Manufacturer at *Lisle*, told me, that ^a §. 16. in all Callimancoes and Camblets, they use more or *Note.* less

* This single Instance ^b (which will be confirmed by ^c *See also* other Testimonies) is sufficient to overturn all that is said ^d §. 14. touching the great Advantages to be made from *English* Wool, by mixing it with *French* particularly: Because was that true, the *French* would be more than mad Men, to work up any *English* Wool *alone*; in doing which, they could have but the single Benefit of their Labour; whereas by working it up, mixed with their own, the Benefit would be more than treble to that of common Labour.

less *English* Wool, and could not do without our Wool †.

Page 30, 31,

13. *Turcoin* is well stored with Woolen Manufactory; many thousand Hands there, are employed in combing, spinning, &c.; and the greatest Part of the Wool wrought up there, is either *Irish* or *English*, brought by the Way of *Holland*. I was told by the riding General of the Customs of this Town, that there is fourteen Persons there, that make Wool Combs, tho' I suppose they do not wholly depend on that particular Branch of Business; if they did, there must be a vast Number of Wool Combers in that Neighbourhood; for there is but two Wool-comb Makers in this great City of *London*.

Page 22.

14. At *Roubaix*, four or five Miles from *Turcoin*, and at *Lanay*, four Miles from *Roubaix*, they employ many hundreds of Hands in making fine Callimancoes, Camblets, &c. the finest, all of *English* or *Irish* Wool; a great Number mixed with our Wool and theirs. I have named but three Towns; but the whole Country (like the West of *England*) abounds with Combers, Spinners, Weavers, &c. and these all well clothed, and their Families. And as the Case stands at present, it is my Opinion, that the *French* have all the Wool they have Occasion of, from us, for *nothing*; that is, they pay the Owlers for it with Wines, Teas, Brandies, &c.

c §. 12. Note.

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Page 35.

15. *Tournay* has a small Manufacture of Silk and Worsted Stuffs, and Stockins made of *English* or *Irish* Wool. At *Bridges* is a great Manufactory of broad Seys; some few made of all their own Wool, but many more of our Wool, and their own, mixed. I was told by one that was twenty-five Years in the Sey-making Trade, he had his Wool drawn through the Comb in *England*; and that it came to him from *London*; and he said *so long as he could find Money, he never should want English Wool.*

16. At

† *More or less, &c.* I should be glad to see this *Northamptonshire* Woolen Manufacturer explain himself touching this Sentence, so as to answer the Purpose of his Argument, and satisfy any one who will give himself the Trouble of consulting, for a single Moment, his own Reason and Senses.

16. At *Liege* are made several Sorts of Stuffs, but Page 43. principally Seys and Shalloons, which are sent white to *Holland*; and in Return, they take some of our *English* long fine Wool, to make their Warp for their fine Seys and Shalloons. But the chief Assortment is a middling Shalloon, heavier than ours, of the same Quality; which makes the *Hollanders* and *Flemings* chuse them before ours. At *Antwerp*, a few fine Hose and Stuffs are made Part of *English*, Part of their own Country Wool. At *Middleborough* in *Zealand*, *English* Wool ready combed, and *English* Worsted and Yarn are prohibited Goods, liable to be confiscated*; though sometimes they got Wool from *Scotland* in the Fleece, as I was there informed.

17. At *Leyden*, is made a great deal of Broad Cloth, all with *Spanish* Wool, also some Drabs, mixed with some of ours, and some *Spanish* Wool. About thirty Years ago, they had upwards of nine hundred Looms; and now there is but four hundred. But the Mer- Page 55. chants of this Place employ six hundred Broad Looms at *Tilborough*; so that upon the Whole, they have increased their Trade about one Tenth more than it was, thirty Years ago. The *Hollanders* purchase Wool from *Spain*, *Portugal*, *England*, *Germany*, *Hamborough*, and several other Places; and being very curious Sorters, they take Care to do it well; and when so done, they send not only Worsted, but some of the Wool to *Germany*, and several other Places that they buy Wool from themselves. But the *English* and *Irish* Wool is the Support of all

* Can it be imagined, that *English* Wool is so great a Jewel to all the manufacturing World besides; and yet that its being spun, or so much as combed, should so far change its Nature, and make it so very obnoxious to any Place, as to render it confiscated? For what tho' the Province of *Zealand* has, besides good Wool of its own, many Combers and Spinners employed? don't the *Dutch* avoid, more than any People, Prohibitions of all Kinds? and don't they know how to make Merchandize of whatever is marketable? And therefore is not the Truth of this Article to be doubted? and does it not bring, if not the Author's Veracity, yet his Knowledge and Judgment both into Question? might not Madam *Dislobbes* impose upon and banter him? d §. 12.

all the Wool † they buy for combing; that being a thick, fine, full, long, strong, Staple, and is fit for mixing with other Wool, such as *German, French, Flemish, and Holland Wool.*

Page 52. 18. Many Towns in *England* might be named, where the Trade is in a manner lost. But some may say, the Trade has only shifted from one Part to another in the

Page 53. Kingdom. This is not the Case; but it is returning back to *France* and *Flanders*. Our Trade, in several important Branches, is considerably decreased. This is owing to Wool run from *England* and *Ireland*. And even the Land-holder finds the Inconvenience thereof, by the present low Price of Wool*. Of which we may be convinced by a plain Matter of Fact, namely, the *flourishing State of Trade*, the *high Price* of Wool, and Wages to the Poor too, which we found to be the Effect of the Plague at *Marseilles*. Our Wool was then, one Third ‡, more in Value, than it is now; we had a current Demand for all the Goods we manufactured, notwithstanding the foreign Demand for Wool ceased, and *all the Wool and Yarn of Ireland* was brought to us, because it could not be run abroad. From hence it's evident, we could work up and sell the Woolen Produce of both Kingdoms, if the foreign Markets were not stocked with Goods manufactured by our Neighbours; which that Calamity

† *The Support of all the Wool, &c.* Another dark Expression, which wants to be cleared up, for the Satisfaction of any Person, who considers at all, and is not endued with a *Roman Faith*.

* This was true with a Witness: Wool was sold at this Time, for less Silver than was called the ancient Price, in 1581, and for less Silver by one third at least, than it actually did sell for, in that Year 1581. (See Chap. 23. P. S.)

‡ Had our Author stopp'd here, he had said nothing but the Truth, in Regard to the Price of Wool; which was one third more at the Time of the Plague breaking out at *Marseilles*, than in this Year 1739. But whereas he adds †, that this was an Advance occasioned by that Incident, that Addition is a direct Falsehood; for Wool did not advance at that Time; but, on the contrary, it fell; and did so, most probably, *because*, as he says, all, or however a greater Share than usual, of the Wool and Yarn of *Ireland*, was brought to *England*. (See Chap. 174.)

§. 19.

Calamity prevented in *France*; and at that Time, the Manufactures of *Flanders, &c.* was not come to any Maturity.

19. Such a plain evident Fact as this, must convince every impartial Person, that if our Wool could be effectually secured to ourselves, the Price of it *must* rise, as it's certain it *did*, when the Demand for it was stopped by the aforesaid Occurrence.

20. It has been imagined by some, that the prohibiting Page 57. the Wear of Calicoes about the same Time, occasioned this prosperous Juncture of the Woolen Trade; but this will appear to be only Imagination, if we consider two Circumstances; the one is, that no sooner were Calicoes out of Use in *England*, but they were immediately sent to our foreign Plantations, and many other Places, where our Woolen Goods had been formerly wore; so that we sent Calicoes instead of Woolen Good abroad, though we wore, for a little while, Calicoes instead of Woolen Goods at home. We were far from gaining any Advantage to the Woolen Trade thereby. The other Circumstance is; had the Prohibition of Calicoes influenced the Demand, it would have been confined to such Stuffs as are peculiar to the Womens Wear; whereas the Demand was universal, for Stuffs, Cloth, Hose, and all Sorts of Woolen Goods; which indeed proves we are undermined by Foreigners in every Branch of our Manufacture; which could never be hurt, had we but some effectual Method found out to keep our Wool from them.

21. The Case above also proves, it is not the Yarn or Wool from *Ireland* can hurt * us, if we secure them from

* The Case truly stated, proves, contrary to the Assertion of this Writer, that the Wool and Yarn of *Ireland* did, at this very Period (1720—24) † hurt the Price of *English* † See Wool and Yarn in *England*. And there is all imaginable Reason to think, that on this very Account it was, namely, for §. 31. the Sake of keeping down the Price of *English* Wool and Ch. 174. Yarn (for surely they could not but think them, the former §. 18. especially, low enough at this Time) that the Manufacturers were so very solicitous to carry a Bill, for taking off the Duty on *Irish* Yarn imported; in which they succeeded, before † See the Conclusion of this Year 1739; ‡ a Point that had been la- Ch. 142. boured P. S.

from our Neighbours; 'tis the Exportation thereof that lowers the Price here; for every Pack they obtain from us, in common, works up two of their own. So that suppose a Pack of Wool makes ten Pieces in *England*, these ten Pieces are sent to the Market abroad. But if Foreigners get this Pack of Wool; by mixing it with two of their own, it produces thirty Pieces in the same Markets; this gluts the Markets abroad, and sinks the Price of Wool at home, and nothing else.

C H A P.

^a See
Ch. 125.
§. 7. Note.
Ch. 126.
§. 3. Note.
§. 13, 16.
Note.
Ch. 127.
§. 20, 21.
Ch. 131.
§. 10.
Ch. 133.
§. 9.

boured almost incessantly^b, for near ten Years together; and a Thing highly reasonable, upon certain proper Terms, altho' the Arguments that had been commonly urged for the same, were altogether fallacious.

Upon the Whole, tho' this Writer has given us a View, and that but an imperfect one, of only a small Part of the *French Woolen Manufacturies*; yet there is Reason enough to conclude from his Account of the same, and of the several Woolen Manufacturies he has mentioned, of *Flanders* and *Holland*, that either the Prohibition on *English* and *Irish* Wool is not so necessary, as is commonly imagined, or else that it does not at all answer the pretended Purpose, of confining the Wool of *England* and *Ireland*. If the many large Manufacturies here mentioned, are carried on chiefly by foreign Wool; in that Case it is plain, that the Wool of *England* and *Ireland* is not such a *Rarity* as many have represented it to be.—BUT, if these MANY and LARGE Manufacturies are upheld by *English* and *Irish* Wool, 'tis plain that the Prohibition is to *no Effect*, and that by not preferring to such Prohibition a competent Duty on Wool exported, a considerable Revenue at least, is lost to the Public.

I for my Part, am persuaded, that there is neither *that Occasion* for an absolute Prohibition in this Case, which is commonly alledged, nor *that Effect* from it which is intended. I believe, that the Runnage of Wool from *England* and *Ireland* is not inconsiderable in itself, but very much so, in respect of the many very large Woolen Manufacturies mentioned by this Writer; and yet vastly more, in regard of the still more and greater Manufacturies in the Southern Parts of *France*; an Account^c whereof will occur in these Memoirs; and where no *English* Wool is suspected, or so much as pretended to come. And particularly, I cannot think that the 14 Wool-comb Makers at *Turcoin*^d (which are 12 more than in the City of *London*) would want Employment, if no *English* or *Irish* Wool escaped to *Flanders*.

^f Ch. 151,
—166.

^g §. 13.

C H A P. CXLI.

A short Account of the State of our Woolen Manufactures from the Peace of Ryswick (1697) to this Time (1739) their former flourishing, and their present ruinous Condition; shewing, that they always flourished when FRANCE could not get OUR WOOL, but declined in Proportion to the Quantities of OUR WOOL exported;

To which is added,

An effectual SCHEME to prevent the Exportation of OUR WOOL, by an Universal Register. London: Printed 1739.

Dedicated to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London: By Samuel Webber.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

1. THE Exportation of our Wool to *France* is the *Dedica.* chief Cause of our Weakness, and their Strength. p. 4—5. An effectual Remedy for this fatal Evil has been often studied, but never before invented. I here offer you [*A Scheme*] which I may venture to call an effectual one, by the Help of which I undertake to bring, from Foreigners, into the Treasury, a Million yearly; and, into the Interest of *Land* and *Trade*, above seven Millions; so that the King and his Subjects have lost above sixty Millions; and *France* has gained twice as much, by my Schemes not being accepted, when I offered it near nine Years ago, recommended by the Hands of above 600,000 Traders. His Majesty, when I applied to him, was most graciously pleased to give Directions to the *Attorney General*, to Report or form a Charter; but an Act of Parliament being thought to be necessary, I have ever since

since been making a fruitless Application for such an Act, though my Scheme is so greatly beneficial to his Majesty and the Nation.

A short Narrative, in some Letters.

Page 4.

LETTER I.

Mr. Web- 2. I shall not go back further than my own Know-
ber's Nar- ledge and Experience can carry me, as far as the Peace
rative. of *Ryswick* (1697) at which Time I was an Apprentice*,

Page 5.

and a Witness to the flourishing Condition of our Woolen Manufactories; of the vast Demand for our Goods, and of the Flow of *Spanish* and other Gold in this Nation. At this Time, Wool yielded the Sheep Master from 12 to 14 and 16 l. a Pack. And from hence I would observe two Things, in Answer to two Objections that I have heard made against my Scheme for preventing the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured, viz. 1. That we might find Hands to manufacture our own Wool at home. 2. That we might have from abroad, a Demand for all the manufactured Goods that we could spare.

3. There are as many, and I believe, many more People in the Nation now, than there were then, that might be employed in our Manufacturies. The Nature of our Goods, and the Wants of Foreigners for such Goods would be the same. So that were there proper Care taken to prevent the Exportation of our Wool, and proper Means used for manufacturing it ourselves, we should recover those Markets, which being formerly supplied with our Manufactures, are now filled with others. But if we do, as we may do, prevent the Exportation of Wool, we shall put it out of the Power of Foreigners to make those Goods, and consequently oblige them to buy them of us.

LETTER II.

4. The Year before the Peace of *Ryswick*, the *English*, jealous lest *Ireland* by being able to work Woolen Goods cheaper than they could do, would by that Means supplant

* In Course, a competent Judge of the general State of the *English* Woolen Trade, in the Time, nay in the Beginning of such his Apprenticeship. (See §. 8.)

plant them in foreign Markets; took the following Occasion* to cramp their free Trade with other Nations; viz. *England* having reduced *Ireland* at the Expence of nine Millions; and restored to the Protestants their Estates there, it was agreed, that *Ireland*, instead of bearing any Proportion of that Charge, should lay a Tax of four Shillings a Pound on all Woolen Goods exported to foreign Markets.

5. Upon this, *England* became fearful that the *Irish* not having, as before, the Opportunity of the foreign Trade, might prejudice the *English* Manufactures, by importing Woolen Goods to *England*, cheaper than we could make them here. And therefore they prohibited the Importation of Woolen Goods from *Ireland*, except only to the five Wool Ports; and subjected all such Goods to Duties laid on them by antecedent Acts.

6. What now could the *Irish* do? Not having proper Vent for their manufactured Goods, they were glad to seek out for foreign Customers for their unmanufactured Wool. FRANCE took this Opportunity of getting Wool combed, from the *Irish*. The Method was, by skewing it into Casks, with Shot covered with Butter, in Order to reduce it to a proper Weight. And as the *French* thus got Wool, so upon disbanding the Army at the Peace of *Ryswick*, of whom, several Soldiers had been brought up to the Woolen Trade, they got useful Hands, to assist in the Work, and ingenious Heads, to instruct and manage them.

7. This was the Beginning of the Growth of their Manufacturies, and of the Decrease of ours. Their Goods at foreign Markets lessened the Demand for ours, and lowered the Price so much, that Wool fell from 14 and 16 to 9 and 11 l. a Pack.

8. Soon after this, a War ensued, and the *French* were *viz. in* at a Loss for Wool; they had little or none but what 1703. they took with their *Privateers*. I was at that Time in (See §. 9.) Trade for myself, and had considerable Dealings, so that I was a Judge of the then State of our Consumption, and the Price of Goods.

9. We

* Mr. Webber, about this Matter, is not only mistaken as to the Time, but in Regard to other Circumstances. (See the whole Affair Chap. 82, 83, 84, 85. also Chap. 126.)

9. We had at this Time (1703) to ourselves, the cloathing of ALL THE KNOWN WORLD, except those with whom we were at War. Goods were demanded as fast as we could make them. We had OUR OWN PRICE for them; and Wool rose again from 9 and 11, to 12 and 14 *l.* a Pack.

10. I desire the Reader to bear one Thing in Mind all the Way, that not only the Demand for our Goods abroad was greatest; but the Price of them, and of *unmanufactured Wool* was highest, when the least Wool was exported unmanufactured.

LETTER III.

11. As I observed, the War which hindered the *French* from having any *Quantities* of our *Wool*, raised the Price of it at home, and increased the Demand from abroad, for our *manufactured* Goods; and the Demand continued for three or four Years, so that we had a Sale for ALL that we made; but then, about 1707, the Prices of our Goods sunk; and Wool was fallen, from twelve and fourteen, to nine and eleven Pounds a Pack. I could not immediately discern the Cause of this Fall, but soon found that by Means of *French* Passes to be had for 3 *l.* each, from an Agent, as I remember at *Edinburgh*, Merchants were fallen into a Method of carrying Wool plentifully to *France*; and which explained to me the Reason of its falling (in 1709) to 8 *l.* 10 *s.* and 9 *l.* a Pack.

12. By these Methods, as well as by Captures, the *French* got a Quantity of our Wool, to mix with their coarse Wool (not worth above 2 *l.* or 2 *l.* 10 *s.* a Pack.) So that they were able, at a cheaper Rate, to supply foreign Markets which used to buy our Goods. Thus stood the State of our Wool and Woolen Manufacturies, in *Great Britain*, about the Year 1712. And thus it continued to decline, 'till the Plague broke out in *France*; at which Time, Wool was fallen to 7 or 7 *l.* 10 *s.* a Pack.

13. From 1712, to this Period 1719, or thereabouts, besides the Wool exported *wholly unmanufactured*, Numbers, Thousands of Combers were employed (a great many of them I myself knew personally) by the Papists in *Ireland*; which [combed Wool] they sent to *France*; and

and if any happened to be seized by inferior Officers, it was as constantly discharged, and suffered to go abroad. But the Plague above-mentioned, put a Stop to all Inter-course with *France*; during which Time, while they could get none of OUR WOOL, it rose from 7, and 7 *l.* 10 *s.* a Pack, to 11 and 12 *l.* a Pack. Our Goods were again called for, as fast we could make them; and we sold them at WHATEVER PRICE we thought fit to set upon them. THESE are UNDENIABLE FACTS, and THESE FACTS UNDENIABLY SHEW, not only the TRUE Causes of the Decay of our Trade, but the CERTAIN Method by which it may be redeemed.

14. Thus have I brought down my short Narrative of the Rise and Fall of the Price of *Wool*; of the Growth and Decrease of the Woolen Trade, to the ceasing of the Plague. After the Plague was over, and Commerce with *France* renewed, our Wool sunk again from 11 and 12 *l.* a Pack; and has since been gradually sinking, 'till it is now fallen to 4 *l.* 10 *s.* or 5 *l.* a Pack. For Wool has been exported in much greater Quantities for several Years last past, chiefly occasioned by the Conivance or Neglect of Officers; and it is computed, that at this Time, *France* has of our Wool Yearly, 300,000 Packs; from which Computation I can demonstrate, that they get Yearly, while we lose Yearly the getting of 8,000,000 *l.* But if, according to Calculations formerly made, *Great Britain* and *Ireland* produce Yearly 800,000 Packs of Wool, which I believe is true; then *France* has Yearly from us 500,000 Packs of Wool. What shews my Calculation to be right, is this; I suppose no Body imagines any of our Wool to be destroyed. What is not manufactured at home, is sold to Foreigners. There can be no more manufactured, than what is combed and scribbled and carded; but there are not now a third Part of the Number of Combers, Scribblers, and Carders, in *England* and *Ireland*, which we had in the Year 1698; and even that small Number has not full Employment. From hence judge of the present flourishing State of the Woolen Manufacturies of our Enemies the *French*, and of the Riches arising to them from their Trade. The deplorable Condition of our own Manufacturies, with the dreadful Consequences of their Decay,

cay, it is very melancholy, but necessary to consider, as it is timely to repair.

LETTER IV.

15. If Wool was sold, at home, for 14, and 16 l. a Pack, when our Trade was in a flourishing Condition; and has continued to rise and fall, ever since, regularly, in Proportion to the Exports of our manufactured Goods; the present low Price of it shews the great Decay of our Trade. As I observed, it now sells, unless it be such as is made fit for manufacturing (and that may fetch 6 l.) for 5 l. and 4 l. 10 s. per Pack; from whence it is evident, that we have not one third Part of our Wool manufactured at home, or one third Part of the Quantity of Goods carried to *foreign Markets*, which we formerly had; and might have again carried thither, if the Exportation of our unmanufactured Wool was effectually prevented.

16. But, which is the worst of all, That the *French* get the Trade which we lose, is undeniable; because, whenever we have been at Variance with them, and they could not get our unmanufactured Wool, our Trade has been quick and great. These Facts already cited in this Narrative I know to be true. And therefore, in the Room of Officers, who, besides their Liableness to Corruption, are very expensive to the Nation, I have offered my Scheme of an universal Registry.

A Scheme to prevent the Exportation of unmanufactured Wool.

Mr. Web- 17. It is humbly proposed, 1. That a Registry be
ber's established in every Parish throughout *Great Britain* and
Scheme. *Ireland*. The Officer for that Purpose to be
as shall be thought proper by Parliament. The Charge
of registering, from one Pack to any Number, if one
Man's Property, to be but Two-pence, and for Permit,
Two-pence. 2. All Sheep Masters in Hours
after Sheering their &c. on Pain of
shall repair to the Register of the Parish, and give a
true Account of the Number of Fleeces and the Weight,
&c. to be registred to his Account, with a Duty of 5 s.
a Pound

a Pound (which is about the Value * of the Labour to manufacture it) and there remain chargeable till sold; and before the Property is altered, on Pain of to Buyer or Seller, to repair to the Register's Office of that Parish where bought, and register it to the Buyer's Account, with the same Duty, discharging the former Proprietor; and if altered out of the Parish, to take the Register's Permit: And so from Hand to Hand, as bought and sold, 'till it is made appear that it is thoroughly manufactured, and then to be fully discharged. 3. All Felmongers to do in like manner †.

CHAPTER CXLII.

Mr. Webber's Narrative examined.

MR. Webber, in his several Letters, of the foregoing Chapter, undertakes to give a History, from his own personal Knowledge, of the Price of Wool in England, and of the State of the English Woolen Trade, from the Peace of Ryfwick (1697) to the Year 1739; and in order to be the more clear and circumstantial, has divided that Tract of Time into seven distinct Periods; 1. At, or rather before the Peace of Ryfwick. 2. From the Peace of Ryfwick to the breaking out of the second French War (1702). 3. From 1702 to 1707. 4. From 1707 to 1712. 5. From 1712 to the breaking out of the Plague in France. 6. During the Time of the Plague there. 7. From the ceasing of the Plague in France to the Year 1739.

From

* Will Mr. Webber, as a Manufacturer, say that this is any Thing near the Case upon a Medium? (See Ch. 132. §. 5. Note.)

† This is the Substance of Mr. Webber's Scheme of Registry; the rest is Form, or the Method of executing it; in which there seems to be no Thought taken concerning the proper Proof, from Time to Time, of Wool being thoroughly manufactured; which yet is the grand Point of all.

From the supposed Occurrences of which several Periods, he has laid down one Maxim, as an invariable Truth:

Ch. 141. §. 10.

That not only the Demand for English Goods abroad were always greatest, but the Price of them, and of unmanufactured Wool were always highest, when the least Wool was exported unmanufactured. That the Price of Wool in England has constantly rose and fallen regularly, in Proportion to the Exports of our manufactured Goods.

§. 15.

To prove the Truth of this Hypothesis, seemingly, in the most decisive Manner, he has fixed more particularly upon the Time when the Plague was in France, as a proper Criterion in this Case (and no Doubt it is so) and taking for granted what he has said of that Period, to be true; he has thence endeavoured to deduce, not only the general Expediency of prohibitory Laws, in regard to the Exportation of Wool, but (to render the same effectual) of his own Scheme, of an universal Registry in Charter.

AND, as in all Disquisitions relating to this Subject, much depends upon a due Knowledge of Facts; and but little Care has heretofore been taken to transmit any good Memoirs concerning the same: SO, tho' this Narrative of Mr. Webber's comprehends but the Space of a little more than forty Years; yet if his Accounts are formed with any Degree of Truth, his Country is indebted to him for them. To see therefore how well he has acquitted himself in that respect, I propose to examine his Narrative, according to the several Periods into which he has divided it, and to put his several Assertions to the Proof; whence it may be judged, whether he really formed his Hypothesis (as he says) upon his own Knowledge and Observation of the Facts by him alledged, or whether he invented those Facts, to serve a favourite Hypothesis of his own.

NUMB. I.

First Period, viz. At the Peace of Ryswick, i. e. (to make Sense of him) during the first French War.

See Ch. 141. §. 6, 7.

1. Mr. Webber's first Assertion. Little or no Wool was exported.

2. For Proof, The Reader may be pleased to turn back to certain Passages in this Collection, cotemporary with the Events here mentioned by Mr. Webber; and which

which therefore may be looked upon as Evidence very fit to be confronted with his Testimony; altho' he undertakes to give the same, not from others, but of his own Knowledge.

3. The Statutes 1 W. and M. c. 32. for the better preventing the Exportation of Wool, recites, 'That former Laws in this Case had not been duly observed; but that great Quantities of Wool had been exported through Neglect of Officers, &c.'

4. Mr. Coke, 'Tho' the French had assisted the Irish above three Years [after the Revolution] yet it may be a Question, whether they did not gain more by their Trade with Ireland for WOOLS, &c. than their Expence, for carrying on the War against the English, amounted to.'

3. The Author of the Tract intitled; The Linen and Woolen Manufactory discoursed (1691) assigns for one Reason of a then supposed Decay in the Woolen Trade of England; 'the Increase of the Woolen Manufacture in neighbouring Countries, by the Help of English and Irish Wool,' and was of Opinion, that the Way to retrieve that Trade, would be, 'to prevent the Exportation of Wool;' which, though to that Time not effected, yet, he thought, might be done.

6. Another Author, in 1694, 'The first Grievance, I humbly offer to Consideration, is, the Exportation of Wool to France and Holland; which Practice is so well known, that I need not spend Time to make any Discovery; whilst of 3000 Packs of long Wool supposed to grow annually in Rumney Marsh, it is credibly believed, that 2000 of them are carried into France.'

7. The Statute 7, 8 Will. III. c. 28. viz. Anno 1695, for the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wool, and for encouraging the Importation thereof from Ireland, recites, 'that notwithstanding former Laws, the Exportation of Wool was still continued.'

8. The Statute 9, 10 Will. III. c. 40. viz. Anno 1697, (the Year of the Peace of Ryswick) for the better Execution of former Acts made against Transportation of Wool, recites, 'that notwithstanding several Laws made to prevent the Exportation of Wool, yet nevertheless, the said Exportation was NOTORIOUSLY CONTINUED.'

Ch. 85. §. 6. Note. 9. A. D. 1698---9. Upon the Report of a Committee (Sir Rowland Gwyn Chairman) the Commons resolved, 'that a destructive clandestine Trade had been carried on, DURING THE WAR, and that the same Vessels which imported *Alamodes* and *Lutestrings*, exported GREAT QUANTITIES OF WOOL.'

Ch. 88. §. 7. 10. 'During the late War', one *Roach* of *Yaughal*, brought nine Ships laden with WOOL, &c. into the Port of *Nantz*; at another Time, four Ships laden with Wool, &c. at the same Port.'

11. A. D. 1695, 1696. 'I had an Office that occasioned my being alternately on our South Coasts opposite to *France*, from *Kent* to *Cornwal*; and in all these Countries, tho' in Time of War, I found Plenty of *French* Wine and Brandies, &c. and was credibly informed that Wool paid for it; and I perceived that *French* Passes were easy to be had in Time of War.'

The pernicious Practice discovered, of selling Wool to Foreigners, &c. printed 1743. (p. 2.)

12. Mr. *Webber's* second Assertion. The Woolen Manufacturies were in a very flourishing Condition, during this Period, of the first War with *France*.

Ch. 141. §. 2. Ch. 79. §. 13. 13. Proof: Dr. *Davenant*, in his *Essay on the East India Trade* (printed 1696---7) says, 'there happening of late a great Call for Woolen Manufactures, &c.'

14. 'The Interruption which the War brought to the Tillage, Labour and Manufactures of other Countries, produced a great Call from abroad for our Commodities.'

Davenant of the publick Revenues 1698. Part 1. page 229.

15. 'Not only now, but during the whole War, our Product and Manufactures have sold well at home and abroad.' Part 2. pag. 56.

16. [During the War] 'The Landlord received his Rent duly, the Farmer sold the Product of his Land at a high Rate. WOOL, &c. bore a great Price, and, which was of Consequence, the Manufactures of the Kingdom went on chearfully.' Pag. 166.

17. Mr.

17. Mr. *Webber's* third Assertion. Wool in this Period, yielded the Sheep Master from 12 to 14 and 16 l. a Pack^a.

18. Proof: Besides what we have seen from Dr. *Davenant* (§. 16.) Tradition favours this Account, in regard to some Part of King *William's* Reign. And as that appears^w not to have been the Case, after the Peace of *Ryswick*; so it is to be concluded, that WOOL was at Numb. II; the highest Price in *England*, nominally at least, during the first War, and that, for the following Reasons, besides the clandestine Exportation of Wool, as already shewn, viz. 1. The great Havock made of the Sheep in *Ireland*, during the War there (1688---91) 2. An extraordinary Rot, probably, in *England* (Ann^y 1692^z) 3. The bad State of the Silver Coin*, which made a Guinea equal to thirty Shillings; and, with all this, a Competency of good Trade^a, foreign and domestic.

So that, in regard to this first Period, Mr. *Webber* has chiefly failed, only in asserting that Wool was not exported^b, as in after Times; and that therefore it was dear, viz. from 12 to 14 and 16 l. a Pack. Whereas there is more room to think that it was dear, as one Cause, by reason of its being so MUCH exported.

NUMB. II.

Second Period: From the Peace of *Ryswick* (1697) to the breaking out of the second *French* War (1702)

1. Mr. *Webber's* first Assertion: FRANCE getting Wool and Hands from *Ireland*, it was the Beginning of the Growth of their Manufacturies.

2. Proof: It has appeared already, that the Runnage of Wool to *France*, was not a new Practice at this Period, nor the Woolen Manufacture, a new Business there.

3. Mr.

* The Product of our Lands hath bore a very considerable Price for seven or eight Years last past, occasioned by the Badness of our Coin, &c. (See Ch. 86. §. 1.) 'Tis true, the Price of Gold, and Badness of our Silver Coin, did influence [the Price of Wool, &c.] Davenant of publick Revenues, Part 2. (pag. 166.)

3. Mr. *Webber's* second Assertion. 'The English Woolen Trade declined.'

Ch. 141. §. 7. 4. Proof: There have occurred two clear and positive Testimonies to the contrary. 1. The Woolen Exports from *England* (1699) amounting^s to 2,932,292 l. 17 s. 6 d; which exceeded all that were before or after, to the Year 1713 (the Time of the *British Merchants* writing) and which Year therefore was pitched upon, to shew in the strongest Light, the Advantages to *England*, by prohibiting Trade with *France*. 2. We are further assured by the *British Merchant*, that after the Peace of *Ryswick*, 'the Demand for our Woolen Goods was then so great in *Spain* [particularly] that *Colchester* Bays rose from 17 d. to 23 d. per Ell.' Againⁱ (says he) 'let any one look back to the Peace of *Ryswick*, and he will find, that notwithstanding we had been in Amity with *Spain* during that War, and carried on a Trade with some Difficulty, by Convoys and Runners; yet, on that Peace, as soon as we were able to go free, and Freight and Insurance were easy and reasonable, all English Goods proper for the *Spanish* Markets, advanced considerably.'

Ch. 104. §. 6. 5. Mr. *Webber's* third Assertion. Wool fell from 14 and 16 to 9 and 11 l. a^k Pack.

Ch. 141. §. 7. 6. Proof: Dr. *Davenant*, in his *Discourse of the public Revenues*, dated 1698 (Part 2. pag. 413) estimates the Wool of *England* at 28 s. per Tod, or 12 d. per Pound, upon an Average. A Pamphlet, dated in the same Year 1698^l, containing, 'The Substance of the Arguments offered, at the Bar of the House of Lords, for and against the Bill for prohibiting the Exportation of Woolen Manufacture from *Ireland* to foreign Parts,' in an Estimate, which we are to suppose was offered at the Bar of the House on that Occasion (and with a View to represent the Difference, at that Time, between the Price of *English Wool* in *England*, and of *Irish Wool* in *Ireland*, and how much cheaper the latter was than the former) makes 9 d. a Pound the then medium Price of *English Wool* in *England*. But the aforementioned Book of Dr. *Davenant's*, from which I transcribe, tho' dated 1698, appears by a written Memorandum, to have been presented by the Author, To *Robert Harley*, Esq; Jan. 14. 1697. And in the Body of the Book it is said to have

Ch. 87. §. 4. Note. 6 d; which exceeded all that were before or after, to the Year 1713 (the Time of the *British Merchants* writing) and which Year therefore was pitched upon, to shew in the strongest Light, the Advantages to *England*, by prohibiting Trade with *France*. 2. We are further assured by the *British Merchant*, that after the Peace of *Ryswick*, 'the Demand for our Woolen Goods was then so great in *Spain* [particularly] that *Colchester* Bays rose from 17 d. to 23 d. per Ell.' Againⁱ (says he) 'let any one look back to the Peace of *Ryswick*, and he will find, that notwithstanding we had been in Amity with *Spain* during that War, and carried on a Trade with some Difficulty, by Convoys and Runners; yet, on that Peace, as soon as we were able to go free, and Freight and Insurance were easy and reasonable, all English Goods proper for the *Spanish* Markets, advanced considerably.'

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have been wrote about the Months of *September* and *October* preceding.

So that upon the whole, we may conclude, that in 1698 (when the Affair of the *Irish* Woolen Manufacture was before the *House of Lords*) 9 d a Pound was a medium Price for *English Wool* in *England*, as 12 d. a Pound, had been, some little Time before. And for which Fall in the Price of Wool, may be assigned, as Reasons; 1. The Regulation of the Coin; by which, *Guineas* had fallen to their old Value, of 21 s. 6 d. 2. *Ireland* was again in full Stock. And, notwithstanding the Woolen Exportations had increased, yet we shall prove by a stronger Instance (*Ann.* 1737—8^m) that the Price of Wool in *England* is not so much governed by the Quantity of Woolans exported, as Mr. *Webber* says it is, and as has been commonly imagined.

So then, Mr. *Webber* is mistaken, in concluding a Decay of the Woolen Exportation Trade, and an excessive Exportation of Wool in this second Period, from a Fall in the Price of Wool, during the same.

N U M B. III.

Third Period, viz. From the Commencement of the second *French War* (1702) to 1707.

1. Mr. *Webber's* first Assertion: The *French* were at a Loss for Wool: Theyⁿ had little or none but what they took with their Privateers.

2. Proof: 1. A. D. 1702^o, The Queen recommended to the Parliament the preventing the Exportation of Wool*. 2. Captain N. P in June 1704, being a Prisoner at St. *Malo*, and having the Liberty of the Town, saw great Quantities of Wool brought thither. There were given to the Lords in Parliament, in 1704, an Account of many Ships then in the Port of *Rochel*, *Nantz*, and *Bourdeaux*, laden with Wool, &c. 4. Mr. *Crawley*, Register of the Court of Admiralty, had many Informations of the same Kind. 5. In April 1705, several

* Hence it seems, as if the Government did not think with Mr. *Webber*, that there was but little Wool exported at this Time.

ral Prisoners, *Irishmen*, taken by Sir George Byng in a French Man of War, being examined, confessed a constant Trade and Practice, as is before-mentioned. 6. A Scotch Writer, *J. Spruel*; *A. D.* 1705, says, 'There has been no little Money exported, and paid for Wool into *England*, and this again exported into *Holland*, besides what is exported of our own Wool; inasmuch, that I am credibly informed, that there is above 10,000*l.* worth Sterling, of Wool lying over the Year into *Holland*, unfold; and yet here many is buying, and exporting it, this Year also.'

Ch. 89.
§. 18.

3. 'In *Ireland*, *Ann.* 1702 to 1705, I perceived a more general and open Exportation of Wool to FRANCE.'

The pernicious Practice discovered, of selling Wool to Foreigners, &c. Printed 1743. (pag. 3.)

4. Mr. *Webber's* second Assertion: Trade was very good in this Period, particularly in the Year 1703.

5. Proof: The whole Exports from *England*, *Ann.* 1703 (when according to Mr. *Webber*, the Woolen Trade of *England* was at the highest) amounted nearly, but not fully, to the whole Exports of 1699: So that there is Reason to believe, that the whole Woolen Exports of this flourishing Period, were not quite so much as in 1699, when, according to him, the Trade drooped.

6. Mr. *Webber's* third Assertion: Wool rose again from 9 and 11*l.* to 12 and 14*l.* a Pack.

7. Proof: I have not met with any positive Evidence touching the Price of *English* Wool in *England*, at this Period, except in one Instance (to be mentioned presently) viz. in the Year 1706 ——— But it appears from Mr. *Spruel* above-mentioned N^o. 3. §. 2.) that about the Years 1704 and 1705, Wool of *Scotland* was sold by the Store Masters there, for 9 and 10*l.* Scots per Stone, viz. 30, and 33*s.* 4*d.* Sterling per Tod, at 16*lb.* to the Stone. This, there is Reason to think, was an advanced Price, occasioned in some Measure, by an Act passed August 1704, in the Parliament of *Scotland*, allowing the Exportation thence, of Wool and Skins. As to the single Instance, of the Price of Wool in *England*, *Ann.*

Ch. 141.
§. 9.

Ch. 89.
§. 20.

Ch. 88.
§. 8. Note.

Ann. 1706; it was but 17*s.* 6*d.* per Tod, from the same Farm, which in 1717, had 1*l.* 3*s.* per Tod.

So that Mr. *Webber* seems to have mistaken Things N^o. 1. again, in concluding the Woolen Trade to have been considerably better in this Period, and the Exportation of Wool proportionably less, than in the last; because in some Part of it, Wool gave a better Price; whereas the Woolen Trade of this Period, though good, was not, in all Probability, equal to the former; and the clandestine Exportation of Wool from *England*, by Reason especially of the Fracquir with *Scotland*, must be thought to have exceeded, for a Season, what had been practised, ordinarily, at other Times.

NUMB. IV.

Fourth Period: From 1707 to 1712.

1. Mr. *Webber's* first Assertion: Merchants fell into a Method of carrying Wool plentifully into *France*, by French Passes obtained from *Edinburgh*.

2. Proof: I shall not say this is not true; but more probably it was most the Case, in the last foregoing Period, while *England* and *Scotland* were in a State of Disagreement on many Accounts; and while the People of *Scotland*, not being bound by the *English* Laws, nor entitled to the same Privileges with *English* Men, in Trade, were more at Liberty, as well as more inclined to make their Country a Back-door for the Passage of *English* Wool beyond Sea. But the Union commencing May 1, 1707, the Case was somewhat altered. We may also here remember, what has been mentioned before, from a Book intitled, *A Tour through Great-Britain*.

3. Mr. *Webber's* second Assertion. Wool fell to 8*l.* 10*s.* and 9*l.* a Pack.

4. Proof: It fell considerably lower. Wool, of the same Farm, which in 1706, sold for 17*s.* 6*d.* was sold 1707, for but 16*s.* 6*d.* and in 1711, for 13*s.* Wool, which upon the Peace, advanced to 18*s.* was during this Period, sunk to 15*s.* per Tod; therefore, Mr. *Webber's* Mistake in this Period, seems to be, assigning a wrong Reason for the Price of Wool falling in supposing (as the Cause of that Fall) an Excess of clandestine

Ch. 141.
§. 11.

Ch. 141.
§. 11.

N^o. 3.
§. 7.

Ch. 171.
N^o. 1.

§. 1, 2, 3.
Ch. 109.

P. 8.

clandestine Exportation; when more probably, that Practice received an extraordinary Check by the Union; and the Wool of Scotland being no longer tolerated to pass beyond Sea, a Part thereof, which was wont to be so disposed of, did actually recoil upon England.

N U M B. V.

Fifth Period: From 1712 to the breaking out of the Plague in France (which was in 1720.)

^h Ch. 141. ^{§. 13.} 1. Mr. Webber's first Assertion: Besides the Wool exportedⁿ unmanufactured, Thousands of Combers were employed by the Papists in Ireland [which combed Wool] they sent to France.

^{Ch. 126.} ^{§. 10.} 2. *Proof*: 1. 'The Decrease in the Exports of Wool from Ireland to England, from the Year 1711 to the Year 1714, was 362,983 Stones; which, it is more than probable, found its Way into Franceⁱ.' 2. An Act^k for the more effectual Prosecution of Persons exporting Wool. 3. *Geo. c. 21.* 3. *Aug. 22, 1717.*

^{Ch. 113.} ^{§. 2.} ^{§. 3.} An Order^l of Council issued, requiring the military Officers on the Coasts, to assist those of the Customs, in preventing the Exportation of Wool.

^{Ch. 141.} ^{§. 12.} 3. Mr. Webber's second Assertion. The Price of Wool^m continued to decline, till the Plague broke out in France.

^{Ch. 171.} ^{N^o. 1.} ^{§. 4-10.} 4. PROOF (OF THE PRICE OF WOOL DECLINING, in this Period, from Mr. Webber's OWN KNOWLEDGE,) viz. Wool of the same Farmⁿ, which in 1711, sold for 13s. per Tod, was sold in the Year 1714, at 18s. 1716, at 19s. 1717 at 1l. 3s. 1718 at 1l. 2s. 3d. 1719 at 1l. 2s. 1720 at 1l. per Tod. Will Mr. Webber call this continuing to decline? Or, in this last Assertion, has not he taken very nearly the Reverse of Truth? But, I suppose, this appeared best to suit his Hypothesis.

N U M B. VI.

Sixth Period: during the Time of the Plague in France.

^{Ch. 141.} ^{§. 13.} 1. Mr. Webber's first Assertion: FRANCE could get none of our Wool^o.
2. *Proof*:

2. *Proof*: This has been saidⁿ by many, as also, thatⁿ Ch. 123. a great Share of the Irish Wool, which before that Time, §. 5. used to be carried to France, was at this Juncture, Ch. 140. brought to England; and that consequently the English §. 18, 19. had more Wool and Yarn from Ireland than at other Times.

3. Mr. Webber's second Assertion^o: Our Goods were^o Ch. 141. called for as fast as we could make them, and we sold §. 13. them at whatever Price we thought fit to set upon them.

4. *Proof*: Much has been said^p to this Effect, by^p Ch. 174. many other Writers; and the Woolen Exports were §. 3-8. actually more in 1721, 1722-3-4, than in 1718^q - Ch. 174. §. 8. 1719.

5. Mr. Webber's third Assertion: WOOL^r rose from^r Ch. 141. 7 and 7l. 10s. to 11 and 12l. a Pack. §. 13.

6. *Proof*: Wool DID NOT rise in Price, at this Juncture^s; but on the contrary, it fell; and consequently^s See Mr. Webber's darling Hypothesis falls, and the whole Ch. 171. Credit of his Narrative, along with it. N^o. 1, 2.

I shall take another^t Occasion to shew how, and^{3. 4.} why, this egregious Falsehood, the supposed Advance of^{Ch. 174.} Wool in England, during the Effects of the Plague in France, has since been so far adopted for a material and fundamental Truth, as that, but by a particular Chance, followed by a seasonable Detection, it must have passed upon the present Age, and to future Generations, with a Doctrine built upon it, flattering, indeed, the Humour and pre-conceived Opinions of the People, but tending only to continue them under a very gross Deception (derived from their Fathers) and to entail the same upon their Posterity.

N U M B. VII.

Seventh Period: From the ceasing of the Plague in France, to the Year 1739.

1. Mr. Webber's first Assertion^s: Wool sunk again^s Ch. 141. from 11 and 12l. a Pack, till in the Year 1739, it was §. 14. fallen to 4l. 10s. and 5l. a Pack.

2. *Proof*: The Price of Wool, at the Time of the Author's Writing, it was as impossible for him to mistake, as it would have been vain in him to have misrepresented very much.

The

The Plague broke out at *Marseilles*, June 1720. It raged near two Years in that City, and the Province of *Languedoc*; which brings us down to the Year 1722. But it may be considered, that the Effect thereof, in regard to the Trade and Manufacture of that City and Province, could not be supposed to cease with the Distemper. Allowing then but two Years more for the re-peopling of that Part of *France*, and for the re-instating, in any tolerable Degree, the Manufactures and Trade thereof; that brings the Account to the Year 1724: By which Time, *English Wool* in *England*, was fallen considerably from the Prices of 1719, and 1720; lower than it was from 1728 to 1733, though not quite so low, as from 1735 to 1742 inclusive.

w. 820.
Ch. 171.
N^o. 5.

** Ch. 141.* 3. *Mr. Webber's second Assertion*^x: Wool has been exported in this last Period, in much greater Quantities than at any Time heretofore. *France* gets certainly 300,000, but more probably, 500,000 Packs of Wool yearly, from *England* and *Ireland*.

4. *Proof*: It is impossible to ascertain the Measure of a Practice, which in its Nature must be secret. And though it is not to be doubted, but that the illicit Trade was carried on in this Period, as in others, in some Degree; yet, I think, this Affair has been much exaggerated by *Mr. Webber*; and that the Medium he has pitched upon, though conclusive, if true, will not make good this his second Assertion; which Medium is,

y Ch. 141. 5. *Mr. Webber's third Assertion*^y. There are not a third Part of the Number of Combers, Scriblers, and Carders, in *England* and *Ireland* (1739) which were in 1697: Consequently, the Woolen Manufacture of *England* and *Ireland*, is so much decayed; and two Thirds, at least, of the Wool grown in *England* and *Ireland*, are in Course exported, unmanufactured.

6. *Proof*: This Assertion, whether true or false, is very extraordinary; as requiring the most implicit Belief imaginable; since he has not vouchsafed to give the least Shadow of a Reason, to induce his Readers to think, that he himself had so much as the Means of knowing any Thing nearly, the whole Numbers employed in this Way, either in 1697, or in 1739, or at any other Time.

How

How far the *Woolen Manufacture*^y was really decayed^y See at this Time (1739) I am not able to say. It is well known that very great Complaints were made on this Head, and that there were sundry Applications to Parliament on Account thereof: Nevertheless, by Custom-House Accounts^z since then, exhibited to Parliament, it appears^a, that *Ann.* 1737--8, the very Instant when these Complaints became loudest, the *English Woolen* N^o. 5. Exports were more than one Fourth greater than in the Year 1699^b; which Year had exceeded all others, to the Year 1713, the Time of the *British Merchants* Writing; nor was this a Year so far, by Chance extraordinary, but that the five subsequent Years^c (each of them) exceeded that great Year of Woolen Exportations, 1699, and, most of them, considerably. — Consequently, the Decay of the *English Woolen Manufacture*, (if indeed there was any) must have been, as before, in 1699, so now (1739) not in what is called the *Woolen Exportation Trade*, but in the *home Consumption of Woollens*; of which (if so) the very low Price of *English Wool* in *England* at this Season, must have been one Cause; because, as has been before observed, what the *English Wool-Growers* do receive, that, and no more, can they possibly pay or expend. And if this Part of the Landholders are abridged of a Third, or one Half of the Money, which they have been wont to receive from Wool; no Persons in the Kingdom, in the last Result of Things, are more likely to participate in that Loss, than the Drapers and the Mercers; and so in Course, the Weavers, &c. For tho' Raiment (like Food) is a necessary of Life; yet, as has been said before, the Difference of Expence is sensibly great, between purchasing new Cloths and having a Variety or Change of the best Sort, and patching up old ones, and putting off with few and meaner.

P. S. In this Year passed, as follows, viz. An Act for taking off the Duties upon Woolen and Bay Yarn imported from Ireland to England, and for the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wool, from Great Britain, and of Wool and Wool manufactured, from Ireland to foreign Parts. 12 Geo. II. c. 21.

This

This Act recites several Duties upon Woolen and Bay Yarn imported from Ireland; and that taking off the same, may be of Use to prevent the exporting of Wool and Woolen Manufactures from Ireland to foreign Parts, and may be of Use to the Manufactures of Great Britain; and therefore enacts, that the Payment of the said Duties be discontinued. It recites further, That whereas, notwithstanding the several Laws made to prevent the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured from this Kingdom and Ireland to foreign Parts, such Exportation is NOTORIOUSLY * CONTINUED. And therefore enacts, That all Wool, Yarn or Woolen Goods exported from Ireland, shall be shipped off at certain Ports only in Ireland, to certain Ports only in England; and that only in such Ships and Vessels as shall be of the Built of Great Britain or Ireland, and wholly owned and manned by the Subjects of the same. The Person claiming Property therein, to register the same, and take an Oath, or if a Quaker, an Affirmation, &c. and to receive a Certificate of so doing, &c. (for which, see the Act at large, containing 34 Sections.)

C H A P.

* Thus, after racking the Invention both of the People and Parliament, for near 80 Years, viz. from the Restoration (1660) to this Year (1739) it stands here confessed upon Record, that the Practice in this Case, designed to be prevented, was still notoriously continued. And upon a Supposition, that the same would be conducive to prevent the Exporting of Wool and Woolen Manufacture from Ireland to foreign Parts, by increasing the Importation of Wool and Yarn from Ireland to England, this Act was passed. But

P. S. to his short Account. Ch. 171. N^o. 5. (besides what Mr. Webber said, viz. 'The Woolen Manufacturers justly observed, this Act would not prevent the Exportation of our unmanufactured Wool.') We shall see that it has not increased the Importation of Wool and Yarn from Ireland to England.

C H A P. CXLIII.

Extracts of Letters, &c.

N U M B. I.

Daily-Post, Thursday Feb. 21, 1740.

Extract of a Letter from Dublin, dated Feb. 9, 1739—40.

1. THE House met on the 28th of January, which was the Day appointed to take the Woolen * Affair under Consideration, but adjourned to that Day seven-night, on Account of the Severity of the Weather, and then adjourned again till the 8th of February; when a Motion was made, That a Permit, under proper Regulations, would be conducive to prevent the clandestine Exportation of the Wool. The Debate was managed principally by the Prime Sergeant, the Attorney General, and Solicitor General, in Favour of the Motion. The opposite Party all joined earnestly in expressing their Abhorrence of this Practice, so injurious to both Nations; but urged, from a Computation which had been made with

* While the Act (12 Geo. II. c. 21.) was debating in Parliament, it was not only argued in Favour thereof, that it was, in its Nature, conducive to prevent the Exportation of Wool and Woolen Manufacture from Ireland to foreign Parts, by increasing the Imports of Wool and Yarn from Ireland to England; but there was also Hopes entertained, and some Assurances likewise given, that in return for this Civility to Ireland, a Bill would pass in the next Session of Parliament there, to prevent effectually the Runnage of Wool from thence to foreign Parts. Accordingly, we perceive by this Letter, that such a Bill was set on Foot, but that the Reception it met with, was very different from what England had been made to expect; that the Concession in England (12 Geo. II. c. 21.) had served only to make Ireland rise in its Demands upon the English in this Case, and to shew us that the Irish meant to be content with nothing less than a free foreign Trade for their Woolen Manufacture.

0426

A Computation, of the Wool of Ireland.

The English cannot work so cheap by 16 per Cent. as France or Ireland.

with great Accuracy, and was acquiesced to by all Parties, that the Evil was much less than passionate, ignorant, and interested People had represented, particularly, on the other Side of the Water. This Computation was, that 1,000,000 Stones of Wool were grown in Ireland [a Stone of Wool in Ireland is 16 lb. or thereabouts] which amounted to one Third of the Rents of the Kingdom; of which 700,000 were consumed at home, 150,000 exported into *England* in Wool and Yarn, 50,000 exported in Manufacture to foreign Parts, and 100,000 in raw Wool: That whatever some might think of the Damage done to the Woolen Manufacture of *England*, by the 50,000 Stone of manufactured Wool exported from *Ireland*, it was far from being a Loss to that Nation; since that Branch of Trade, which was carried on only at *Lisbon*, would be carried on by the *French*, if *Ireland* was deprived of it; the *English* not being able to work those Stuffs by 16 per Cent. so cheap as either *France* or *Ireland*; and that this appeared evidently from what had lately happened in *Ireland* upon the Reduction of the Coin; which having raised the Price of the *Irish* Woolen Goods near 3 per Cent., the *French* had already deprived us of one Half of that Trade, and yet the *English* had not sold one Bale of Goods the more. That the real Loss of *England* and *Ireland* therefore, in this particular of *Ireland*, was singly to be computed from the 100,000 Stones of raw Wool clandestinely exported; which at 7 Shillings per Stone, the greatest Price it could be computed at, amounted but to 35,000 l.; which, though when manufactured abroad, with the Addition of foreign Wool, was undoubtedly a great Loss to both Nations, could by no Means be reckoned the Cause of the Decay of the *English* Manufacture. That therefore other Causes must be sought, which must either be the immense Quantities exported clandestinely from *England*, of which we could not pretend to form an Estimate; or the high Rents of Land and other Inconveniencies which affected the Commerce of that Country.

2. They then inveighed bitterly at the Passion, which had ever been shewn against this Country, in *England*, where the Majority sought our Ruin, from Prejudices that possibly had some Foundation, when *Ireland* was in Popish Hands and in an opposite Interest; but cruel, when

when there was no Difference in our Interests, civil or religious, and when the Nation was in the Hands of the Offspring of their Families. They said that this Passion had, in every Instance, hindered the *English* from seeing their true Advantage, which certainly was, to consider us as the *same People*; and in a general Consideration to make Use of us in Trade, as Merchants made Use in private Commerce of the poorest and cheapest Manufacturers. That we had now, for near one whole Century, suffered the heaviest Restraints upon every Branch of our Trade; insomuch, that it was well known, that no Man could see one Third of that Profit from his Fortune, which he might do, if our Government was upon an equal Footing. That if these Sufferings were calculated truly to maintain the Interest and Prosperity of *England*, we were so much concerned in its Welfare, and so sensible of the Right of all Nations, who have the Power to enforce their own Advantage before that of others, that we could endure it all without Resentment; but that it was a Severity of the most galling Nature, to be thus sacrificed to false Maxims, and the Pursuit of Schemes grounded upon nothing but on the Prejudices and Ignorance of the State of this Country, and so destructive to the whole, that *England*, as well as *Ireland*, would inevitably be ruined by it.

3. That this being the Case, it would be absurd in us to saddle ourselves with new Officers and new Powers, which were always abused in a scandalous manner in this Country, from the Weakness of our Government, and the Authority of those who are set over us, without any Knowledge of our Interests or Constitution, and commonly without any Qualifications, but that of making hasty Fortunes out of the Publick; and who could, and always did, screen themselves from any Complaints by their Interest on your Side of the Water. That the Thing proposed had innumerable Inconveniencies in it in any Shape; that it subjected Men to many Inconveniencies of an *Excise*, which their Neighbour Country had with great Reason lately opposed, tho' you were much more able to prevent the Abuses of those employed in it than we are; that it would create a slavish Dependance on little People, which would induce all Men to court them, to prevent the Effects of their malicious Infor-

Informations, or to connive at their *Male Practices*, which would inevitably be continued by the Corruption of those employed to prevent them. That it would be surprizing if the People of *England* themselves should wish a Regulation, which would only encrease the Influence of Places and Employments, which operated upon the Mother Country, wherever they were established; nor could they imagine that *England* could think it reasonable for us to bring a State of Slavery upon ourselves, without a Prospect of preventing any Evil: But that if it was our Fate to be destroyed, it was a less Crime for a Nation to receive its Ruin from a Violence imposed upon it, than to be the *Felons* of its own Constitution, and to destroy itself; and that they were certain, the Means of that Violence, if ever it should be exercised on us, either by civil or military Means, would retort with a dangerous Force upon the Promoters of it.

4. They then earnestly entreated those who urged the Motion, to withdraw it, and to concur in a Representation, to the Government, of the true State of the Wool and Woolen Manufactory; and to give the most sincere and solemn Assurances that every Man, both in a public and private Capacity, was truly sensible of the Evil, and fully resolved in every Way that was possible to prevent it; but at the same Time, to shew that no METHOD but *Indulgence* could effect it; to desire, if possible, that Means might be used to try the Effect of the late Act^b for the Importation of *Irish* Yarn to *England*, for one Year or two, before it should be repealed; because they were confident it would have a considerable Effect; and finally, to insist in the strongest Manner, upon a Permission, to manufacture in such Goods as might be thought proper, the Quantity of 100,000 * Stones of *Irish* Wool, which, as they had seen, was the Quantity clandestinely exported; and that the Permission of this Quantity would so effectually engross all that Wool which created the Complaint against this Country, that there would not remain afterwards the Possibility of any material

^b Ch. 142. P. 8.

* He should have said (to have been consistent with himself) 150,000 Stones, because so much he had allowed to be at present clandestinely exported, manufactured and raw. (See §. 1. *A Computation, &c.*)

terial Injury to be done by us to the Woolen Trade of *England*.

5. And thus by an Indulgence of only 150,000 *l.* per *Ann.* in this Commerce, which that Quantity of Wool worked up, might amount to, the *French* and other foreign Nations would be deprived of twice as much; it being well known, that they add at the Rate of two Pounds of their own Wool to any Quantity they can obtain from *Ireland*; by which Means there would be an immediate and demonstrable Gain to *England* of 300,000 *l.* worth of Woolen Manufacture, besides the 150,000 *l.* allowed to *Ireland*, the Profit of which would likewise center in *England*.

6. The Debate was carried on with the greatest Decency, and the most sincere Disposition to the general Advantage, that ever I observed in this Parliament; and it was at length agreed by all Parties, (after we had sat six Hours,) at seven in the Evening, to adjourn 'till *Monday*, to give Men more Time to consider maturely of this important Affair; which was the more necessary, because those that made the Motion were either not well prepared to open all the Consequences, or thought Matters not ripe enough to discover the whole of their intended Scheme.

7. I am very sensible that some wise Politicians on your Side, will think that the Opposition to this Motion proceeded from our Insincerity, to do any Thing to prevent the clandestine Exportation of our Wool; but I can solemnly answer for myself, and so I may venture to do for the whole House, that there is nothing so earnestly desired here as to prevent this Evil, by any safe and reasonable Means; for we are all sensible that it is, if possible, more ruinous to us than to *England*; for we never receive one Shilling in Return for the Wool thus exported; we are repaid in *French* Brandies and *Aigre* Wine, which is run in upon our Coasts without Duty, and hurts the Revenue to that Degree, that we are under the greatest Difficulty to maintain the present Establishment, which yet we cannot do, without running considerably in Debt. But there is yet a greater Evil in it, which is the private Correspondence carried on between the *French* and the Papists in our remote Counties, which may extremely hazard, in an unfortunate Conjunction, VOL. II, Z the

the Security of the Protestant Interest in this Kingdom; an Interest, which you know how much it is our peculiar Business to support, as all our Fortunes depend upon it.

I shall add nothing more at present upon this Head, but will certainly acquaint you with the further Progress of this Affair.

N U M B. II.

Daily-Post, Feb. 25, 1740.

Dublin, Feb. 14.

S I R,

I promised to acquaint you with the further Proceedings of our Parliament in Relation to the Wool. This Affair has taken a short unexpected Turn, and is dropped, I believe, for this Session. The Question proposed, was, *That a Permit, under proper Regulations, would be conducive to prevent the Exportation of Wool.* Hereupon, after great Debates, it was moved, that the Regulations hinted at, should be made a Part of the Question; which the Promoters vehemently opposing, the House fell into Heats, and the Chairman left the Chair, without asking Leave to sit again.

N U M B. III.

Daily-Post, Feb. 28, 1740.

To the Author, &c.

S I R,

1. It is universally allowed by all who have any Notion of our Staple Trade, that the Decay of it is owing to the Exportation of *Irish Wool* to *France*, and that this is occasioned by *Ireland's* being shackled and confined in its Trade; which consequently lays it under the greatest Temptations to carry on these illegal Practices.

ⁱ Ch. 142. P. S.

2. The *British* Parliament hath lately made a Law, to prevent such illicit Trade, and thereby taken off the Duties from raw Wool, and Yarn, imported from *Ireland*

to *England*. So far, this Act is undoubtedly wisely calculated to answer the End intended; but by a particular Clause in this Act, which Sir *John Barnard* greatly opposed, the whole is rendered insignificant. *Ireland* still lies under its former Confinement, with regard to manufactured Goods; THEREFORE, an *Irish* Parliament will never pass this Law in the Shape that now it is in; consequently it will never be executed, and therefore avail nothing.

The Stat. 3 Geo. II. c. 21. *in-* significant; the Reason of its being so.

3. From the Conduct of the *Irish* Parliament then, it is plain, that *Ireland* is determined to dispose of its manufactured Goods to the best Advantage it possibly can, and therefore will not pass a Law that so severely prohibits the Exportation of them; from whence we may easily infer, that whilst the *Irish* are thus cramped and fettered, they are resolved to carry on a contraband Trade, though never so destructive to the *English* Nation.

4. And supposing the Parliament of *Ireland* could be prevailed upon to pass this Law; unless the *Irish* were to receive some Encouragement in this Affair, it would assuredly be to no Purpose; for where a lucrative Trade presents itself, the most penal and coercive Laws, have always proved insufficient to restrain Mankind from the fair Temptation.

5. It remains then, I humbly conceive, in order to obtain our Desires, that *Ireland* be allowed to import her manufactured Goods into *England*, but under such Duties as shall bring them upon a Par with the *British* *.

6. Nothing

* If such Duties are laid upon the Woolen Manufactures imported from *Ireland* to *England*, as will bring them upon a Par with the *British*, the *French* will still be able to under-sell us, because they can afford to give a much higher Price for Wool than the *English* Manufacturers, on account of the Cheapness of their Labour, and their working up one Third of our Wool with two Thirds of their own. Besides, the *French* have large Stocks of *English* and *Irish* Wool by them, sufficient in all Probability to keep up their Manufactory, for three Years at least; and whenever they find themselves debarred from the Wool of *Ireland*, by the Proposal above mentioned, they will bid high enough to procure large Quantities of it from *England*, and chuse rather to carry on the Trade

* §. 4.

6. Nothing but Harmony and Unanimity amongst us, Nothing but a mutual Trade and Commerce established between the two Nations, can possibly shut out the grand Enemy, and compleatly accomplish this desired Work. It is not my single Opinion, that it would be vastly conducive to the Interest of both Nations, if all the Ports of *England* and *Ireland* were open for Trade, under the Conditions above-mentioned¹. And when such just and natural Privileges are granted to *Ireland* (which will certainly be the only effective Means of securing the Woolen Trade to ourselves) *England* may undoubtedly have the Pleasure of seeing *Ireland* willing to shake Hands with it, and ready to embrace and execute such Measures as the *British* Parliament shall think wholesome and salutary for the Preservation of both.

§. 5.

N U M B. IV.

Daily-Post, Feb. 29, 1740.

To the Author, &c.

S I R,

1. Whether the *Irish* export more unmanufactured Wool to foreign Parts than the *English* do, is likely to remain a controverted Point. The latter affirm, that the greatest Blow to our Woolen Manufactory comes from *Ireland*; and the *Irish* are no less positive that *England* runs more Wool to *France*, and other foreign Countries, than they do. But let that be as it will, it is nothing to the present Purpose, nor can the Quantities clandestinely exported by both Nations be certainly known: The Question is now, what must be done to recover the Woolen Trade.

2. As

without any Profit at all, than let it drop. In which Undertaking, they will not fail to receive all possible Encouragement from their Court, to support them under these Difficulties, 'till we grow weary of carrying *Irish* Manufactures to foreign Markets upon a Par with our own.
 We ask our Correspondent's Pardon for making this Remark upon his Letter, which we don't doubt is wrote with a sincere Desire to serve the Nation.'

2. As the Case stands, the *English* cannot recover it (tho' they might have preserved it by good Management) because their Labour is too high, and their Taxes too heavy on the labouring Part of the People; for, supposing that the *Irish* should bring over to us all that Wool which they now sell to Foreigners, the *French* would nevertheless find Means to get enough of that Material from *England*, and by the Cheapness of their Labour, as well as their working up our Wool with twice as much of their own, they would still have it in their Power to undersell us in foreign Markets.

3. The only Remedy then to this Evil is, to leave the Woolen Trade, or, at least, great Part of it, open to *Ireland*. Experience has taught us, that the more the *Irish* are cramp't in that Article, the more it redounds to the Advantage of the *French*, our most formidable and inveterate Enemies

4. By the Folly, not to say the Injustice of *England*, *France* has rival'd us these many Years with a Witness, in the *Spanish*, *Portugal*, *Italian*, and *Levant* Trades, besides the great Vent she finds for Woolen Goods in the *Austrian Netherlands* and some Parts of *Germany*: This prodigious Increase of Trade has raised her to such a Pitch of Grandeur, that she is become more terrible than ever to her Neighbours.

5. The *London Gazette* tells us, that *France* is contracting with the *Danes* to furnish her with Salt Beef: Whether she expects that the *Irish* will breed more Sheep, and consequently furnish her with greater Quantities of Wool, when they find the Demand for black Cattle decreases, a little Time will shew us. However it be, it is certain, that since our Rupture with *Spain*, *France* has a much greater Demand upon her for Woolen Goods; and if her Contract with the *Danes* does not procure her larger Supplies of Wool from *Ireland*, it will serve at least to curry Favour with *Denmark*. The *French* have always more than one String to their Bow.

6. In short, Sir, it is high Time to think of doing something to destroy the Woolen Manufactures. ^m of ^m Ch. 179. *France*; and until I see a better Scheme offered for that Purpose, I must persist in my Opinion, that the safest and most effectual Means to destroy it, is, to take *Ireland*

land into the Union, and allow that Kingdom a FREE TRADE, or at least a *very extensive one*.

7. As soon as the Spaniards see us take the Business in Hand, they will sue to us for Peace, and let France become the Dupe of her own Schemes. But supposing that her Catholick Majesty should be so obstinate as to prefer the Gratification of her own Views, to the Interest of the Spanish Nation, these three Kingdoms, when under one and the same Form of Government, will be able to baffle all the Attempts of the House of Bourbon, and bring her down to our own Terms in a very few Years.

8. As to the Balance of Power in Europe, it will then be the immediate Concern of the Princes and States on the Continent to take Care of it; and if they should want our Concurrence, we may engage in their Measures upon very easy Terms: But whatever becomes of the Balance of Europe, by the Supineness of any of our Neighbours, I will venture to say, that the Union of the three Kingdoms will make us entirely Masters of the Balance of Power in America.

9. This, Sir, is what I think absolutely necessary to recover our Woolen Trade, and give new Life to some of our Friends abroad, who seem dejected at the over-grown Power of France: But whenever we go about this Business, I am humbly of Opinion that no Blackwell-Hall Factors, nor Woolen Manufacturers, need be consulted, for Reasons which are obvious to every Man of Sense.

I am, Sir, &c.

G. A. P. B.

10. Since I finished this Letter, I have read, with the utmost Concern, the Account of the Proceedings in the Parliament of Ireland, relating to the Wool, but shall make no Remarks upon them, for several Reasons; nevertheless, I can't help concluding with the following Queries.

11. Whether it is not more eligible to let the Irish share with us in the Woolen Trade, nay, to throw even all our Trade into their Hands, than to raise up France upon the Ruins of the whole British Empire?
12. Whether

12. Whether those foreign Princes and States who are uneasy at the exorbitant Power of France, will not be very backward in forming any Alliances with us to reduce that Power, if they see us neglect the Means which can do it most effectually?

13. Whether the late Motion in the Parliament of Ireland, was not made with a Design to make ignorant prejudiced People here think, that it is entirely owing to the Obstinacy of the Irish, that no Stop can be put to the clandestine Exportation of Wool?

NUMB. V.

Daily-Post, March 7, 1740.

To the Author, &c.

S I R,

1. There being a seeming Objection to a Letter in your Paper of the 28th of last Month, we shall endeavour to give it an Answer.

2. We allow the French may under-sell us, if they can possess our Wool; and possibly they may have English and Irish Wool sufficient to support their Manufactory for three Years to come. But when their present Stock is consumed, how will they obtain more? Why, we are told, that when the French find themselves debarred from the Wool of Ireland, by our Proposal, they will bid high enough to get large Quantities of it from England, &c.

3. The chief Point in Question then seems to be, whether 'tis possible to keep our Wool from France. The Author of the Objection seems to allow, that by our Proposal, the French will be debarred from our Wool; we would willingly ask then, why not from the English? The same Laws will be in Force in England as in Ireland; and we have but little Reason to imagine they will be better executed in Ireland than in England. And if the present Laws, after being well executed, should prove insufficient to exclude our Seducers, we are pretty confident, with a hearty Concurrence of Ireland, that such Measures may be embraced and executed, as will effectually do the Business.—We believe

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believe such a Method hath already been proposed, without yoking or galling the Woolen Interest in the least.

4. But supposing we cannot stop all the Channels, whereby our Wool is conveyed to *France*, is it not highly incumbent on us to block up as many as possibly we can? The Author of the Objection allows of our Proposals being a Means to distress the *French*; if so, 'twill undoubtedly be no ill Policy in us, to subject them to all the Difficulties and Disadvantages, we possibly can.

N^o. 3. 5. As to '*France chusing rather to carry on the Trade without any Profit at all, than to let it drop,*' 'tis, we imagine, not to be credited, that People can carry on a Trade with such Spirit and Vigour, without Profit, as with it; and tho' they may at first make a Stand, and struggle hard for it, it will assuredly in Time decay and dwindle to nothing.

6. And how sanguine soever the Court of *France* may appear in this Affair, we believe it will grow weary of supporting its Subjects under such Difficulties and Disadvantages, as it must be liable to, before we shall grow weary of carrying *Irish* Manufactures to foreign Markets upon a Par with our own.

N^o. 3. 7. We would beg Leave to ask the Author of the Objection, if he thinks our Woolen Trade is irretrievably lost? If not, we thinking him sincerely attached to the Interest of these Kingdoms, hope he will lay down some easy and familiar Scheme, better calculated to answer the End intended, than the before mentioned Proposal *.

N U M B.

* Since our Correspondent desires us to lay down a Scheme to retrieve the Woolen Trade, we refer him to the plain Method proposed in the *Daily Post* of the 29th past; which we think the only one practicable in this ticklish Conjunction. For as all Nations have a Right to make the most of their own Product, it is very much to be feared at this Time of Day, the *Irish* will not come into any Measures for retrieving the Woolen Manufactory, unless they are allowed a direct Exportation to foreign Markets; and if they won't, how can *Britain* compel them, while she has her Hands full with the *Spanish* War? The People of *Ireland* are sensible that *England* cannot destroy the Commerce of *France*, without their Con-
rence;

N U M B. VI.

Extract of a Letter from a M—r of P—t to the Author of these Memoirs, 1745.

S I R,

1. I should sooner have answered yours, had I not been in Hopes of having it in my Power, to write more to your Satisfaction. The H— of C—ns have been so very inattentive to the Business of Wool (it being a Subject no way concerning the Landed Interest) that the C—t—e has not sat above twice or three Times, and then, not thirty M—s present, where they did nothing but

2. L— Son to — (and who has a considerable Estate in *Ireland*) tells me, 'He is very sure there is but little Wool run from that Kingdom;' which he makes out in the following Manner.

3. 'In the Year 1699, when *Ireland* was first prohibited from exporting their Woolen Manufactures' (and he supposes they sent all their Wool into *England*, besides

rence; and can any impartial Man blame them for striving to be admitted to equal Profits, in bringing about an Event, on which the Preservation of the *British* Nation depends? When the WHOLE GLOBE can be supplied with valuable Woolen Goods ONLY from *Great Britain* Ch. 105. and *Ireland*, the *English* Manufacturers need not fear the want of Employment, there will be Work enough for both Kingdoms; and it is evident, that the greatest Part of the Gains of the *Irish* will center here at last.

4. Had our Correspondent's Proposal been made to the *Irish* about a dozen Years ago, it would have been accepted, but it is somewhat too late now; for the more our Trade decays, the higher will they rise in their Demands; because, as I have observed, we cannot recover it without their Assistance. Remarks,

We were unwilling to say so much in our Paper of the 28th of the last Month. (See N^o. 3. §. 5. Note.) but since our Correspondent returns to the Charge, we cannot help speaking plain. However, if his Scheme be thought practicable, we don't doubt but the Legislature will soon put it in Execution; and then the Success of it will soon decide who is in the Right. Pen.

befides what was used for their own Consumption) ' there ' was, for some Years, annually imported into *England*, ' 360,000 Stones of Wool at 16 lb. per Stone; now, ' 100,000 Stone;' admits the same Quantity grown there now, as at that Time, and that there remains to be accounted for, 260,000 Stone; which is done as follows, viz.

' By Increase of Inhabitants, 800,000 ' Souls (in the Year 1700 there being ' only 1,200,000, now 2,000,000) at ' four Pounds of Wool per Head —	200,000 Stone
' 100,000 Pounds worth of Manufactures ' clandestinely run, which at 5 Times ' the Price of the Wool, consumes ' 20,000 l. worth of Wool, or at 10 s. ' the Stone — — —	40,000 Stone
' By the same Calculation then, at 10 s. ' per Stone, there is now annually run ' 10,000 l. worth of Wool, or —	20,000 Stone
	Total. 260,000 Stone

N U M B. VII.

Sept. 1740.

G. M. 1. A Correspondent in *Ireland* has acquainted us with some Proposals made in that Kingdom, neither unworthy of Notice, nor the Imitation of Gentlemen of Fortune, &c.

2. The first which we shall mention, is made by the Reverend Dr. Madden, who in order to encourage a Spirit of Improvement; among other Benefactions, hath given the annual Sum of 100 l. to be distributed to the Inhabitants of *Ireland* only, by way of Premium in the following Manner, viz. 50 l. to the Author of the best Invention for improving any useful Art or Manufacture, &c. which shall be approved of, as such, by the *Dublin* Society, on or before the 20th of *January* next, and so every Year.

3. The Second is by the said *Dublin* Society, who, in order to promote such useful Arts and Manufactures, as have not hitherto been introduced in that Kingdom, in-

tend

tend to encourage by Premiums, annual Contributions or other Methods, any Persons who are well skill'd in such Arts and Manufactures, and will carry them on in the most skilful Manner; and have invited Gentlemen or Others, conversant in Husbandry, Trade, or Manufactures, to favour them with their Advice, that they may be better enabled to judge what Improvements are to be encouraged, &c. for the Benefit of the Public.

N U M B. VIII.

Remarks on certain Passages in some of the foregoing Letters.

1. As much of the Arguments contained in some of the foregoing Letters, is of a Piece with what we have before had, over and over again: So I shall not descant thereon particularly in this Place; but content myself with remarking on some few Things therein, as given for Facts; only first, by the Way, observe of Letter, N^o. I. That supposing it to be the genuine Epistle of a Member of the *Irish* Parliament, it is very extraordinary, that he should say, ' That they' (*the Irish*) because restrained in the Article of Woolens to foreign Parts, ' had ' suffered the heaviest Restraints in every Branch of their ' Trade,' after so great Indulgence shewn, and Encouragement received from *England* in respect of their Linen Manufacture, and that (according to all Writers on this Subject) at the Expence of some Part of the *English* Woolen Trade.

2. The Concessions of *England* to *Ireland*, in regard to the Linen Manufacture, thus plainly standing for nothing, it is the more credible (which this Letter-Writer says) ' That the Male-Practices of *Ireland* with regard ' to Wool, would inevitably be continued,' notwithstanding any Indulgences from *England*, save that of a free-Woolen Trade.

3. But granting them a free Woolen Trade for 100,000 Stones; and this same Person tells us, ' the ' *Irish* would sincerely endeavour to prevent the Exportation of Wool.' Yet should I doubt, even in that Case, both the Sincerity and the Success of such Endeavours; because, under the Monopoly, of an absolute Prohibition,

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hibition, a lucrative Trade would still present itself; in which Case, this Gentleman has said, and I think, very truly, 'that penal and coercive Laws will avail little.'

^b N^o. 1. 4. It is to be further noted, that this Letter ^b speaks with Confidence of the extraordinary Effects to be expected from the Act ^c (12 Geo. II. c. 21.) By which I suppose him to mean, that greater Quantities of Wool and Yarn would certainly be imported from Ireland to England, in Consequence of that Act, than afore-times.

This, indeed, was the Plea made for the Bill; and upon that Supposition, it passed. And how has it answered in the Event? From 1726 to 1729 ^d inclusive, were imported from Ireland to England, in Wool and Yarn, upon a Medium, each Year — — 132,398 $\frac{1}{2}$ Stones

^e See From 1741 to 1744 ^e inclusive — — 128,911 Stones

^f See Ch. 171. N^o. 5. Less in the Period, since the Act (12 Geo. II. c. 21.) than in that before. — — — 3486 $\frac{1}{2}$ Stones

5. Again, with regard to some other Facts, as according to this Letter (N^o. 1.)

^g See (N^o. 1. §. 1.) The whole Quantity of Wool ^f produced Yearly in Ireland, at 16 Pound to the Stone, is 1,000,000 Stones.

The whole Value at 7 s. per Stone, is — 350,000 l.

This, the Letter Writer says, is 'one Third of the whole Rents of all Ireland.' So that the Rent of all Ireland (we are to believe) is not more than — 1,050,000 l. And consequently, the whole Rents of Ireland, are not more than equal to the whole Rents of Yorkshire †.

6. But

† The Land Tax of Yorkshire, when at 4 s. per Pound, is 91,514 l. 3 s. Which being generally accounted to be much less, upon a Medium, than 2 s. per Pound *, of the real Rents of Yorkshire; it is supposed that the said real Rents of Yorkshire do exceed a Million per Ann.

* 'The great Counties of York, &c. pay about one Shilling and six Pence.'

Essay on the Inequality of our present Taxes, 1746. pag. 13.

Ch. 143. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 365

6. But it being incredible that the Rents of the whole Kingdom of Ireland should not very much exceed the Rents of Yorkshire: And the Wool of England being heretofore accounted equal to one Fifth of the Rents of England: And the Stock of Ireland consisting more, in Proportion, of Sheep, than the Stock of England does: Consequently, it being the more probable, for that Reason, that the Wool of Ireland is equal to one Third of the Rents of Ireland; HENCE it is credible, that the Wool of Ireland does very much exceed † 1,000,000 Stones.

7. However, let us see the Disposition which our Letter Writer makes of these supposed 1,000,000 Stones of Wool Yearly growing in Ireland; whence, and from other Circumstances, it may be better judged, whether or no that be indeed the whole Quantity; and we should the rather examine it, because, he says, it was a Computation made with great Accuracy ^g, and acquiesced to by ^h N^o. 1. all Parties. §. 1. A Computation.

8. This Computation supposes to be used in Ireland — — — 700,000 Stones. To be exported to England, in Wool and Yarn — — — 150,000 In Manufacture, to foreign Parts — — — 50,000 In raw Wool — — — 100,000

Total. 1,000,000 Stones.

9. Next, let us see the Computation of another Irish Gentleman (N^o. 6.) who supposes 2,000,000 Souls (the present Number in Ireland) to consume of Wool, at four Pound

† 'Ireland contains near half as much Territory as England—and may be brought to produce near half as much Wool as England yields.'

An Essay on the Balance of Trade, &c. pag. 80. By Dr. Davenant, 1700.

'Ireland has about one Third of the Number of Inhabitants of England, and near a Fourth in the Value of Lands.'

Essay on the Inequality of our present Taxes, 1746. (pag. 32.)

'I compute that the Yearly Rents of Lands [in England] are eighteen Millions.' (pag. 33.)

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Pound <i>per</i> Head, 8000,000 Pounds, which at 16 Pound to the Stone, is	_____	500,000 Stones.
Imported to <i>England</i>	_____	100,000
In Manufacture, to foreign Parts	_____	40,000
In raw Wool	_____	20,000
Total.		660,000 Stones.

10. According to this latter Computation, to make up the whole Quantity of 1,000,000 Stones, as by the Computation of (N^o. 1.) there wants to be accounted for, 340,000 Stones, which (if the one was true, as to the whole Quantity produced, and also the other, as to the home Consumption, and the Importations to *England*) must be looked upon, as so much exported clandestinely, more than our second *Irish* Political Arithmetician^b is willing to bring to Account.

^a N^o. 6.
ⁱ §. 6, 7.

11. But, besides what we have seen alreadyⁱ to induce us to believe, that the whole Quantity of Wool produced yearly in *Ireland*, does far exceed 1,000,000 Stones: And whatever may be the whole Quantity yearly produced in that Kingdom, there are Reasons for thinking that neither of these Gentlemen compute rightly the Quantity of Wool exported, raw or manufactured, from *Ireland*.

12. The former (N^o. 1.) will allow but 300,000 Stones to be produced in *Ireland*, more than serves for their home Consumption. The latter (N^o. 6.) admits that after the Year 1699, when *Ireland* was first prohibited from exporting their Woolen Manufacture, the spare Wool of *Ireland* for some Time, was 360,000 Stones and NO MORE. (So much being brought to *England*, and none, as he would have it believed, at that Time, carried elsewhere.)

13. But in Contradiction to both these Opinions, touching the spare Wool of *Ireland*; and to induce us to believe (notwithstanding the pretended Accuracy of their Computations) that the spare Wool of *Ireland* (when in full Stock) was then, and is now, more than 300,000 Stones (according to N^o. 1.) or than 360,000 (according to N^o. 6.) we are to remember what has occurred before, viz. that in 1687, when the *Irish* Woolen Manufacture was at the highest, there was imported

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ported to *England* in Wool and Yarn, at 18 lb. to the Stone, _____ 260,260^k Stones^k Ch. 126. which at 16 lb. is _____ 292,792 Stones. §. 8. Also in 1697, when the Woolen Trade of *Ireland* was again grown considerable, the Wool and Yarn imported thence to *England* was, at 18 lb. _____ 231,158^l Stones^l Ch. 126. which at 16 lb. is _____ 260,052 Stones. §. 9.

14. 'Tis true, the Medium, of Wool and Yarn imported from *Ireland* to *England*, from 1700 to 1703 inclusive, was _____ 361,491^m Stones^m Ch. 126. And there is a double Account to be given of this Increase beyond the Years 1687, and 1697. First, the Discouragement which the Woolen Manufacture of *Ireland* had received in 1699, by the Stat.ⁿ 10, 11 W. III. Ch. 85. c. 1. Secondly, the Stock of Sheep in that Kingdom had probably increased very much; and probably, in Proportion, much more than the Number of the People there. But to take for granted, that no Wool was used to be exported clandestinely from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, before the said Stat. 1699, is begging the Question extremely. On the contrary, we find it as much a common Complaint in the general*, for forty Years at least, before, as it has been, since the Year 1699; and with regard to those particular † Years, 1687, 1697 and

* As to Complaints in general, on this Head, prior to the Year 1699, See Chap. 32. §. 18. Note. Ch. 51. §. 2, 11. Chap. 55. §. 2. Chap. 56. §. 20. Chap. 57. §. 4. (Fig. 4.) Chap. 58. §. 12, 23. Chap. 61. §. 15. Chap. 64. §. 3. Chap. 66. §. 7, 21. Chap. 67. §. 5, 7. Chap. 75. §. 9, 13. Chap. 76. §. 2. Chap. 82. §. 7. Chap. 88. §. 1.
† As to the Year 1687, See Chap. 88. §. 7. Captain Joseph Brooks, &c.

For the Year 1697, See also Ch. 88. §. 7. Mr. B. M. And for the Period 1700—3. Captain N—. Again, the Author of a Tract intitled, *Pernicious Practices discovered of selling Wool to Foreigners*, printed 1743 (p. 3.) gives this Testimony. 'In *Ireland*, Anno 1702 to 1705, I perceived a more general and open Exportation of Wool to France.'

And thus we see, of what Use is this Collection of Memoirs towards ascertaining the Truth, or Falseness, of Things occasionally mentioned and insisted upon, as the Ground or Foundation of some political System, relating to Wool, &c.

For

and the Period 1700--3, we have seen Reasons to convince us, that, besides what was brought to *England*, Wool was exported from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, no less, then, than at other Times, before, and since.

Consequently, it is to be concluded that *Ireland* produces more spare Wool than according to either of these Gentlemen, and also sends out clandestinely, in Wool or Yarn, or Woolen Manufacture, more than they are willing to acknowledge. (See Ch. 126. P. S. particularly §. 30.)

C H A P. CXLIV.

A Scheme for a Trade through Ruffia to Persia.

Captain Elton's Paper.

1. *A Paper* * was given to Mr. FINCH at PETERSBURGH by Captain Elton, relating to the opening a Trade through Ruffia to Persia.

2. Captain

For Instance, the honourable Person (N^o. 6.) Heir to a great Estate in *Ireland*, as an Advocate for a free Woolen Trade from that Kingdom, endeavours to persuade us, that such a Liberty would effectually prevent the clandestine Exportation of Wool from thence; and to convince the English Gentlemen of this, he would have it believed, that the clandestine Exportation of Wool from *Ireland*, commenced since the Stat. in 1699, against exporting Woolen Manufacture from thence to foreign Parts, and by Reason thereof, and that it would therefore cease with the repealing of that Act; which is a Conclusion drawn from false Premises.

St. Petersburg, July 1740.

* The Northern Provinces of *Persia*, produce the most and best Sorts of raw Silk; which supplies not only the Manufactures of *Musbad* and the Southern Provinces, but, in a great Measure, *Turkey*.

Musbad, now made the Seat of the *Persian* Empire, hath almost drained *Ispahan* of its Inhabitants; and being not quite 14 Days Journey for the Carravan, from the Port of *Asrabath*, is a very lucky Circumstance for the British Merchants to *Russia*; who on this Occasion have it in their

2. Captain Elton delivered also a second Paper * to Mr. FINCH.

3. Mr. FINCH having transmitted these Papers to the Duke of *Newcastle*, his Grace, by the King's Order, laid them before the Commissioners of Trade, who made

their Power wholly to supply that Capital with *European* Commodities; particularly, with Woolen Goods, which the *Persians*, from the highest to the lowest, all esteem, and that so much that they wear Stockins of no Sort, but what are made of Woolen Cloth; and not only that Part of *Persia* might be served by British Merchants, but all the Cities in great and little *Bucharia*. In which it is evident they can have no Rivals, nor those Countries be supplied with *European* Commodities any other Way. It would be entirely a new Branch of Trade, and might shortly become a most important one; in which they could never be supplanted, so long as they can secure a Passage through *Russia*, and a Freedom of Navigation on the *Caspian*; both which it will ever be the Interest of the Sovereigns of *Russia* to grant to the Subjects of *Great-Britain*. It would create a vast additional Consumption of our Woolen Manufactures, for which the Returns may be made in Gold, raw Silk, Cotton, fine Wool, Silk, Yarn, and other manufactured Commodities. It is also more than barely probable, that when the British Merchants shall have well established themselves in this Trade, in a few Years only, it must become a more beneficial Trade to *Great-Britain*, than the *Turkey* Trade is at present; as in this Trade a greater Quantity of Woolen Goods may be vended at a better Price, and that to Countries where the British Commerce hath never yet been extended, or ever can be extended by any other Canal, than that proposed; and from whence may be imported, besides others, the very same Commodities the *Turkey* Company now imports into *Great-Britain*, full Fifty per Cent. cheaper than they can do; and this last Consideration alone, surely might suffice to entitle the British *Russia* Merchants to the Freedom of importing such Commodities into *Great-Britain*, altho' therein they should chance to interfere with the Privileges of the *Turkey* Company.

* Which contained an Account of the Privileges, &c. necessary to be obtained of her Imperial Majesty's Cabinet Council, in order to facilitate this new proposed Trade.

made a Representation † to his Majesty, which was followed by an Act of Parliament, viz.

4. An

† Viz. ' To the King's most excellent Majesty.

' *May it please your Majesty,*

Representation of the Commissioners of Trade, &c.

' In Obedience to your Majesty's Commands, signified to us by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c. We have taken into Consideration two Papers put into the Hands of Mr. Finch at Petersburg, by Captain Elton; and do find that they contain a Proposal to the Russia Company, for supplying Musbad, the present Capital of Persia, and the Countries adjacent, with all Sorts of Woolen Goods, to a far greater Degree, and at easier Rates than they are now vended there; and for investing our Returns to Great-Britain, in the best raw Silks and other Commodities produced in those Countries, near 50 per Cent. cheaper, than at present by the Way of Turkey.

' Having on this Occasion been attended by Sir John Thompson Governor of the Russian Company, and also by several of the principal Merchants concerned in that Trade, we communicated to them Captain Elton's Project, and have received their Opinion in Writing, on the Subject Matter thereof; wherein they inform us, that they conceived his Proposal deserved the utmost Attention.—

Opinion of the Russia Company.

' That a Trade through Russia to Persia is certainly practicable, forasmuch as the same is at present carried on by the Armenians, between Holland and Persia through Russia.—

' That this Branch of Trade, which will consist principally in the Exportation of Woolen Goods, and Importation of raw Silk, must be of singular Benefit to this Kingdom.—

' That the Sophy of Persia may possibly prohibit all Trade with Turkey, provided he can have a sufficient Demand for his Silk through Russia.— That the French do now chiefly supply Turkey with Woolen Goods, and gain upon us in that Trade every Day, and probably do and may, thro' them, supply Persia; whereas by this easy Conveyance, we shall be enabled to under-sell them, and carry our Woolen Manufactures into all Parts of Persia, cheaper than they can.—

' *Views,*

4. An Act for opening a Trade to and from Persia. 14 Geo. II. c. 36 *.

CHAP.

' Views, nor any exclusive Trade from the rest of his Majesty's Subjects (any Person having a Right to be made free of the Company for five Pounds) that they should meet with Encouragement in their intended Application to Parliament, for an Exemption from that Clause in the aforesaid Act of Navigation, from whence the present Impediment arises.'

' Whereupon we humbly beg Leave to represent to your Majesty, That it appears to us, as well from Captain Elton's Papers, as from the Representation of the Russia Company, and our Discourse with them thereupon, that this Scheme for opening a new Branch of Trade to Persia through Russia, may be very beneficial to this Kingdom, and may deserve your Majesty's Royal Protection; but as no Steps can be made therein, till the Company shall have applied to Parliament, for an Exemption from that Clause in the Act of Navigation (whereby no Goods or Commodities that are of foreign Growth or Manufacture, can be brought from any Place or Country, but only from those of the said Growth, Production or Manufactory, or from those Ports where the said Goods and Commodities can only, or are, or usually have been first shipped for Transportation) we shall at present only observe to your Majesty, that when the said Application shall be made, the Advantages or Inconveniences that may attend this Channel of Commerce, will be thoroughly weighed and discussed.

Ch. 118. §. 5.

* This Act recites, ' That whereas it may be of Advantage to this Kingdom, to open a Trade too and from Persia, through Russia, by promoting the Consumption of Woolen and other Manufactures thereof, if raw Silk and other Goods of the Growth, Produce and Manufacture of Persia, be permitted to be imported into this Kingdom, from Russia, in Return for such Woolen and other Manufactures, as shall be exported from hence into Russia, and from thence carried into Persia, and not otherwise.

' And therefore enacts, ' That the Russia Company may import Persian Commodities, being purchased by Barter with British Manufactures, or with the Produce of such Manufactures exported to Russia, on the Oath of the Importer, any Thing to the contrary notwithstanding, in the said Clause of the Act 12 Car. II. c. 18.—with

A a 2. Proviso

C H A P. CXLV.

*The Consequences of Trade, &c.; of the
Woolen Trade in particular, &c.*

By a Draper of London, 1740.

1. OUR WOOL for Clothing is, to ALL THE WORLD, as much a NECESSARY of Life, as ANY THING ELSE, and more PECULIARLY the Growth of OUR OWN COUNTRY than any Thing; because, the middling Sort of CLOTHS, for the Use of the *Bulk of Mankind*, CANNOT be made *without it* (NOR ANY SORTS manufactured to any Perfection) and THEREFORE if we be wise enough to manufacture OUR OWN WOOL at home, we MUST have the Serving of ALL THE WORLD with *this Kind* of Woolen Manufacture.

2. Let us enquire into the Nature of the Woolen Manufactures, and we shall easily perceive how the Advantages

‘ Proviso against *Persian* Manufactures to be worn in this Kingdom.’

N. B. It has been said in the Public Papers (and, upon Enquiry, I find it true) that Captain *Elton*, the first Projector of this Scheme of Trade, being entrusted by some of the *English Russia* Merchants, with one or more Ships upon the *Caspian*, containing a rich Cargo of Goods for *Persia*, did run away with the whole.

But this shews only that these *Russia* Merchants were deceived in the Man; not they, or the Lords of Trade, &c. or the Legislature, in the *Thing itself*.

And as an Infant Trade is never without its Oppugners, and on the Score of *Self-Interest*, has constantly its secret as well as open Enemies; and (like an Infant Child in the Birth or Cradle) is too easily smothered; so this Miscarriage in the first Instance, brings to my Mind the Story of the *Phœnician Pilot* and the Requital he met with: It induces me to suspect that some other trading Body in the World might, upon *Phœnician Principles*, think it worth their while to tempt Captain *Elton*. to his egregious Perfidy, with some considerable additional Bribe, beyond that Booty which he had in his own Power and Custody.

Ch. 3.
§. 10.

vantages of them come to be so Superior to those of any other Branch of Business. The Riches of a Nation arise out of the Labour of the People exported to foreign Markets. If our People can be employed, and we can find Custom abroad for the Goods manufactured by them; then the more populous we are, the richer we are. But a Number of People unemployed, are a Burthen, as this Nation feels very sensibly at present. But if our Wool were kept and manufactured at home, all our People might be employed in the Woolen Manufactures, and the Wages paid by Foreigners in the Purchase of the Goods. I shall give the Reader a small Specimen of the Number of Hands employed in manufacturing our Wool, which by Multiplication would shew him, how many the whole Growth of our Country would employ.

3. For Instance, three Packs of Wool manufactured into Broad Cloths, &c. on a moderate Computation, one Sort with another, employ 450 Persons a Week (I might say a great many more, almost 600, but I am willing to keep within Bounds) who upon an Average, will earn, each Person, 5 s. a Week, the whole amounting to 112 l. 10 s. Now the Growth of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* being above a Million of Packs (as will be proved) if three Packs will employ 450 Hands, and their Labour produces 112 l. 10 s. a Week, any one that understands Figures may soon see how many * a Million of Packs will employ, and how much they will earn in a Week.

4. I appeal

* If three Packs of Wool, upon a Medium, will employ 450 Persons a Week, in that Case (accounting 50 working Weeks in a Year, which I think is one Fifth more than can be accounted of, all Accidents and Avocations considered) a Million Packs of Wool will be Employment for *three Millions* of People; which probably is one Fourth of the whole Number in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. But if we reckon, upon an Average, only 40⁹ working Weeks in a Year to this Class of People, then a Million Packs will employ 3,750,000 Persons; nearly, if not fully, a Third of the whole Community. ⁹ See Ch. 177. §. 29. Note.

In this View of Things, and considering how positive this Writer is, that 500,000 Packs of raw Wool was then
A a 3 Yearly

4. I appeal now to the Gentlemen in the Silken Business, whether that can employ so many, and whether we had not better employ all the Hands we can spare, in the Woolen Manufacturies, and purchase Silken Goods manufactured, than manufacture them ourselves; forasmuch as the Labour of the Hands employed in manufacturing Wool, would be more than we should give Foreigners for their Labour in manufacturing Silk. Besides, the Silken Goods that we make at home, are only for

Yearly exported; moreover, observing some other Appearances not unfavourable to such an Opinion (and something like which is to be found among Writers on this Subject) I

* *Grafiere* was once, under a Persuasion that there could not immediately be found Hands sufficient to work up all the Wool &c. 1742. of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, with what is usually imported from *Spain*; consequently that a *Revulsion of so extraordinary Opinion of nary a Quantity as 500,000 Packs*, must be attended with very bad Consequences to the Grower and to the whole of these *Landed Interest*, indeed to the whole Kingdom.

Memoirs: But having took up that Opinion from reading this *The Ground* AUTHOR, the first Book that fell into my Hands or *Founda-* concerning W O O L (and by which Tract I was induced to study the Subject, not imagining that any Person *Heretracts* could write under such a Title (THE DRAPER OF LONDON) the same; in Terms so positive and peremptory, touching the Numbers of *gives his* Sheep commonly depastured, and the Quantity of Wool usually Reason for grown in England, and so large a Part thereof ordinarily so doing. exported; and that, seemingly, with so much Countenance from the Cities of London and Westminster, and other great trading Places, without being a Person of Credit, and without some good Authority, as a Foundation to go upon: So I here lay down this same Opinion again, upon a Conviction that *The Draper of London* had no good Authority for what he had advanced, either about the Number of Sheep depastured, or the Quantity of Wool produced Yearly in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, or of Wool ordinarily exported from thence; but that having taken the Affair wholly upon Trust, from *Messieurs Webber* and *London*, he was grossly imposed upon, and by that Means induced to employ a good Pen in very bad Work.

But though I have thus freely given up my — Opinion aforesaid, yet I do it, not from a Belief that any near Calculation can be made, either of the whole Quantity of Wool grown, or of the whole Number of Persons necessary to the Manufacture thereof. These being Difficulties, in which

for our own Consumption; consequently, none of them being exported, no Profit can arise to us from the Labour employed in them.

5. To shew this Matter in another Light; the highest Price that Wool bears at present, is 5 l. a Pack; the Product therefore of twenty Packs exported to *France*, unmanufactured, will be no more than 100 l. But twenty Packs in King *William's*, and *Queen Anne's* Reign, when we manufactured it ourselves, sold for 12 to 16 l. a Pack.

which neither the *Smithfield Toll Books*, nor the Number of Acres, nor the Knowledge of what Number of Hands a Pack of Wool will employ in this or that Kind of Work, will afford sufficient Light; because different Lands produce very different Quantities of Wool, and different Sorts of Manufacture employ a very different Number of Hands; and as it is impossible to ascertain Proportions any Thing nearly in this Case: So, tho' some of these Extremes are, or may be tolerably well known, yet there is no fixing a Medium.

And THEREFORE I give up my former Opinion, not to any particular Calculations, but BECAUSE I am morally persuaded that there is nothing like either 500,000, or even 300,000 Packs of Wool in any one Year exported unmanufactured. And the Ground of this my Persuasion is, BECAUSE I am sensible that other Countries, besides *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, do abound in W O O L, and that, for this Reason, there is no concluding any Thing certainly concerning the Quantity of Wool run from *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, from the State of the Woolen Manufacturies in *France*, *Holland*, *Germany*, &c. or from any Thing our *English* Traders have said concerning the same, as if supported in a great Measure by *English* and *Irish* W O O L.

NEVERTHELESS, I still do think that there is so much Wool ordinarily exported from *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, that, was it effectually prevented, without, at the same Time, giving some fresh Vent to the Manufacture, more than that Incident would, in its own Nature procure; the Quantity of Wool grown, would be found so far too great for the Trade of *England* (in that Case) as that the Price of Wool would be very much abated. And this I think, may be deduced from the Instance of the State of the *British* Woolen Trade; and the Price of Wool in *England*, during the Effects of the Plague at *Marseilles*, considered, with all its Circumstances*, in their true and proper Light.

a Pack. Taking it at the lowest, at 12*l.* a Pack; which Price Wool would again yield the Sheep Master, in three or four Years Time (if the Exportation of it were stopped) the twenty Packs which now sell for no more than 100*l.* would sell for 240*l.* which makes 140*l.* Difference to the Sheep Master only. The Labour in manufacturing these twenty Packs, at 3*s.* each Pound of Wool upon an Average (tho' it really comes to 5*s.*) amounts to 720*l.* So that the whole Loss to the Nation, is 860*l.* in every twenty Packs that are exported unmanufactured. But this is not all. The 100*l.* which the *French* give for these twenty Packs of Wool, is not paid in Specie, but in Silks, Brandy, &c. Duty free. Now if we lose, and give the *French*, in every twenty Packs of Wool exported to them unmanufactured, 860*l.* what must be the Consequence of giving them so many 100,000 Packs as we give them yearly?

6. But the Profits arising from the Woolen Manufactures will be further set forth under the next Head of Enquiry, from a Calculation of Mr. *London's*.

Mr. *London* computes, that all our Wool and Labour that goes abroad, does not amount to above fourteen Millions * Sterling. How much larger they were in 1698, any one may imagine, from what Mr. *Webber* has testified upon his own Knowledge, (pag. 17. of his five Letters) He tells us there, that at *Bristol* Fair only, in eight Days Time, the *Dutch* and *Spanish* Merchants and Factors, bought above 150,000 Pounds worth of Woolen Goods, besides what was carried from *Bridgewater* in a *Dutch* Dogger. Upon which he observes very justly, that we have all imaginable Reason to think that *Minehead*, &c. sold proportionable Quantities for Exportation. We have none of those *Dutch* and *Spanish* Merchants and Factors going, as they us'd to do, to the Manufacturers Houses in the Country; they are forced to send their Goods to *Blackwell Hall*, there to pay House

* Not above 14 Millions Sterling! If this Writer had consulted the *British Merchant*, instead of Mr. *London*, he would have found that so lately as 1713, far from exporting to the Value of 14 Millions in the single Article of Woolen Manufacture. ALL our annual Exportations to foreign Countries, both of our own and foreign Goods, did not amount to seven Millions.

See Ch. 100. §. 9.

House Rent, &c. These known Facts undeniably prove a vast Decay of Trade.

7. The State of foreign Coin among us, of which we have none, unless it be *Portugal Money*, is another plain Proof, that by the Loss of our Woolen Trade, the Balance of all Nations is against us. In *France*, *English* Guineas are as common as *Portugal* Pieces are here. The present great Scarcity of our own Coin, and the Increase of the Number of our Poor^u, shews^u See the same beyond Contradiction. Let any one examine Ch. 56. particularly the State of those Towns, where the Woolen Manufactures have been carried on; and he will see the most flourishing Towns reduced to Beggary by the Loss of their Trade. It is possible, that in some few Places, the Woolen Business may have been lower than at present; but then it is not as high as it has been even in those Places; neither if it were otherwise, would a particular Instance or two signify any Thing to the general State of the Kingdom.

8. If we have lost our Woolen Trade, into what Hands is it fallen? Several Nations have come in for a Share of the Plunder; but *France* has the Bulk of it; as appears by Mr. *Mun's* Journal^w of the State of their Manufactures in the Year 1732; which must be greatly improved since. And therefore, to shew at one View, our Loss and their Gain, I shall transcribe a Calculation from Mr. *London's* Pamphlet. According to a very modest Computation, the *French* have yearly 500,000 Packs of our Wool unmanufactured, with which they work up twice as much of their own. The immense Detriment arising from hence to us, and the still larger Profit accruing to them, he sets forth in the following Manner.

A Million Packs of Wool (for so much is computed to be grown here) as sold when confined to our own Manufactures at 16 <i>l.</i>	£	16,000,000
The Labour and Profit in working it at such Times, at 40 <i>l.</i>		40,000,000
	Total.	56,000,000

As

As now sold, suffered to go abroad	£	4,000,000
The Labour and Profit of 500,000 Packs, manufactured under the Disadvantages mentioned, at half Wages, 20 <i>l.</i> per Pack	— — — — —	10,000,000
Total—		14, 00,000
Is to our Disadvantage	— — — — —	£ 42,000,000

besides what the landed Interest suffers by the Poor, and Rates made to maintain them. On the other hand, *France*, by getting over 500,000 Packs of our Wool, can work up a Million and half; it being on all hands agreed, that one Pack of ours is sufficient to work up two of theirs; and suppose we reckon but 35*l.* a Pack for their Labour in working it, then the Labour of a Million and half of Packs, at 35*l.* per Pack, amount to 52 Millions and half Sterling. And that they do work up so much, may well be supposed; for they will certainly import no more of our Wool than is absolutely necessary for them. *

9. I have

* Here the *Draper*, to support his Allegations, enters into a Computation of the Quantity of Wool grown yearly in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; which he makes to be Packs 1,274,000, besides Vel Wool and that of Lambs. 'It appears (*says he*) by the *Toll Books*, that 36000 Sheep and Lambs are brought weekly to *Smithfield*.'

From this he takes his Computation, as above; on which has been made the following Remark.

G. M. vol. 12. p. 2. 'But we are informed, the Sheep and Lambs brought to *Smithfield*, by the said *Toll Books*, on an Average, are no more, one Week with another, than 12,000. This, according to his own Method of calculating, will reduce our yearly Produce of Wool to less than 425,000 Packs. Yet (*says he*) the *French* get, on a moderate Computation, 500,000 Packs of our Wool yearly; he ought therefore to reconsider this Point.

Page 86. 'Total Number of Sheep and Lambs sold in *Smithfield*, taken from the *Toll Books* of the Years 1735, 1738, viz. Total 1735, 642,420; (1738) 610,180.

' Tho'

9. I have already computed the Profit arising from the Labour of manufacturing a Million of Packs only; shall here subjoin a Calculation of the Share Foreigners would pay of this Profit to us. Two hundred and fifty thousand Packs yearly, the fourth Part of our Produce, will cloath more than the Number of our Inhabitants are supposed to amount to. So that three Parts in four of our Manufacture would be exported, and bring home Money in Return, to the Amount of no less than THIRTY MILLIONS, besides the Value of the Wool itself, which is reckoned at TWELVE MILLIONS more, in all amounting to FORTY TWO MILLIONS; all arising from one single Branch of our Trade; and far exceeding all the Branches of Trade, belonging to this or any other Nation. If therefore we were so wise and just to ourselves, as to preserve this Blessing, we might be the richest and most powerful Nation in the whole World.

10. Some Gentlemen are of Opinion, that we might recover our Woollen Trade, by reducing the Price of Labour, &c. But why should we be at the trouble of contriving to go cheap to Market as the *French*, and have the Price of our Goods beat down, when we can at once hinder them from going to Market at all, and by having the Market to OURSELVES, be able to fix OUR OWN Price? But (*say they*) if it be thus necessary to prevent the Exportation of Wool, how can it be done? A Scheme of Mr. *Webber's* has been offered and approved as effectual. He has had a Charter granted him for putting it in Execution*; and only wants an Act of Parliament to confirm

' Tho' the Markets of these Years are not low, the Medium does not exceed 12,000 per Week; yet Mr. *Webber* has lately told the House of Commons, as his Friend the Author of *The Consequences of Trade, &c.* had before, the Publick, that 36000 Lambs and Sheep were sold, one Week with another, in *Smithfield*, and killed for the Use of the Metropolis. They are therefore desired to consider such a gross fundamental Mistake, from whence they calculate not only the People and Wool of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, but the Loss of the Nation, and the great Benefit to arise from their Scheme.'

* 'When the Petitions relating to this Affair were referred, as usual, to his Majesty's Attorney General at that

firm it, which has been promised him, but delayed from Time to Time. He has found out what no body else could contrive, though many have racked their Inventions ever since Queen Elizabeth's Time. And are 28 Millions lost by us every Year, and above twice as much gained by our Enemies, such a Trifle, that we can safely let Session after Session, slip without putting a

Page 26.

Page 27.

Stop to this Evil? In the Name of every Thing that is sensible and prudent, what can the People of this Kingdom mean? Am I warm? The Cause deserves it. Our ALL is at Stake, and if Lost, can never be retrieved. If I have exaggerated, let any one shew it, and I dare promise to throw away my Pen, and engage never to get another to disturb the Publick with.

11. That this Pamphlet may not be unknown, I am determined to circulate at my own Expence, at least, a Thousand of them, and if any one, after reading it, shall be disposed to give away any in proper Places, he shall have half a Dozen at half Price. Whether the Citizens of London, or any others of Ability will follow my Example, and give any Thing towards saving their Country from Ruin, they only must determine.

12. P. S.

Ld Hardwick's Opinion (when Attorney General) of a Registry for Wool by a Charter.

that Time (now the Lord Chancellor) for him to consider of them, and make his Report thereupon; he did accordingly certify to his Majesty, (after having had several of the Petitioners before him, as well as Mr. Webber himself) That the Woollen Manufacture being the most beneficial and extensive of all the Manufactures of this Kingdom, and the Business of the Wool-combers being a very material Article of that Trade, carried on by great Multitudes of People, spread over all Parts of England, in Places very remote from one another, and in that respect scarce possible to be reduced under one general Management; and no Experiment having hitherto been made, of putting any Branch of this important Manufacture into a Corporation to extend throughout England, the attempting whereof might be attended with Consequences which could not be foreseen, he was humbly of Opinion, that it was not advisable for his Majesty to grant such a Charter as was desired. Thus a Stop was put to that Affair.

Remarks upon Mr. Webber and the Draper, 1741. p. 36.

12. P. S. To put the most candid Construction upon this Performance, The Draper, &c. (for I have omitted much that was inflammatory and reflecting) Here is an Appearance of the greatest Zeal, and the least Knowledge upon this Subject, that can possibly be shewn or imagined; but,

As this Author builds the least of his Errors and Extravagances upon Mr. Webber, whom I have considered, there is less Occasion to spend Time in remarking upon him (the Draper of London.) It is sufficient to observe that this Tract, being calculated to raise the Passions of the People; and therefore industriously spread throughout the Kingdom, did produce in the next, which was the last Session of the last Parliament, so many Applications, in Reference to the Business of Wool, as gave Rise to a Committee; the Result whereof was, A Report, 'That the Exportation of Wool could not be prevented by any Thing less than an universal Registry.' A Scheme for which Purpose was ordered to be prepared by the Lords Commissioners of Trade, &c. against the next Session: But while this was doing, the following Letter appeared in Public.

13. Sir, 'The Petition of the Lord Mayor, &c. G. M. and Petitions from many other Places presented to the vol. 11. House of Commons, praying them to take into Consideration, the clandestine Exportation of Wool, have been referred to a Committee, Mr. Webber called in, and asked several Questions; several Objections have been made to his Scheme, or Method; in general, that it is not practicable. A Manufacturer * has published a just Observation in the Daily Advertiser, in White. which he says, 'A Clause in the late Act for preventing the exporting Wool (said to be obtained by Mr. W——r) hinders the Exportation of small Skains or Cruels, under Pretence that they are capable of being reduced * into Wool; by which 10,000 Persons are reduced

* 'As to Skeens or Cruel Yarn, it is impossible to reduce it to Wool: It is doubled, twisted, and twice thrown up on the Mill, then scoured and dyed; nor can any other Use be made of it, than that to which it is applied in the Nunneries abroad. It is sent away in small Skeens ready to work up with the Needle. I was informed that some of

‘duced unto Beggary, and great Sums lost to the Nation. For a Pound of Wool is but 6 d. which thus manufactured, amounts to from 3 to 5 s.; and how it could be reduced to Wool *, to any Profit, is a Mystery.’

Another

of it, which was seized and sold to a Weaver at the Custom-House, proved disadvantageous to him, for he could neither make Warp nor Woof of it for any kind of Stuff. And as it is sold in France for 7 s. per Pound, I would be glad to know what Sort of Wares can be made of Yarn, which before the weaving, costs so much. There should be Liberty to export that Commodity, provided two or three Searchers were appointed on Oath, at the Custom-House, to examine the Worsted at some publick Hall in London, on an appointed Day, once in a Week, and to receive one Half-penny per Pound for their Trouble. As to unmanufactured Wool, I know no Method so proper as to send all by Land, except Irish Wool or Yarn: and that should be sent in Register Ships belonging to the Crown. The Freight to be settled, and Certificates taken of the Lading in Ireland, and Landing in England.’

Your humble Servant,

Benjamin White.

‘ P. S. Mr. Webber and Mr. London declared before the House of Commons, that neither the Officers of Excise nor Customs would faithfully discharge the Trust, and therefore were improper Persons [to have the Care of preventing the Exportation of Wool.]

I suppose Mr. Webber might think it necessary to say thus much, with a View of thereby introducing himself, and Patentees of his Nomination, into that Trust. But supposing it true, that the Officers of Excise and Customs were false to their Trust in the Case of Wool, it shews a Temptation to be so. And therefore the Objection holds equally against Patentees, as against any other Persons. For though one Man may have more Integrity than another Man; yet to affirm that one Class of Men are better to be trusted than another Class in like Circumstances, is extreme Arrogance.

* Upon whatever Reasons the Parliament might see proper to insert a Clause for prohibiting the Exportation of Cruels, I cannot think it was, from an Opinion that those Cruels could be reduced to Wool again; with any Profit especially.

^a See Ch. 55. §. 5.

‘ Another Scheme to keep our Wool at home, was offered to Parliament, signed S. M. which proposes to appoint Warehouses throughout this Kingdom and Ireland, to receive all the Wool, also Clerks to register it, &c. with a Tax of 2 s. a Week upon every Loom towards the Expence of the same.’ To this it is objected, that it would require an immense Sum, and after all, only embarras Trade. The Means therefore of accomplishing this great End are yet undetermined; and as the Importance of the Affair deserves the closest Attention, it is hoped that every Man, whose manner of Life has enabled him to obtain any Knowledge of it, will communicate his Opinion ^a.

This Letter seems to have produced the Publication of the following SCHEMES.

^a See

Ch. 127.

§. 1, 2.

C H A P. CXLVI.

A short View of several Schemes, 1740--I.

* N U M B. I.

- 1. **A** Small Duty upon Wool, will, in my Opinion, most effectually prevent the Exportation of it.
- 2. I propose therefore, 1. That one Shilling a Tod be laid upon Wool. 2. Every Man that has Sheep, shall

especially. Neither do I imagine, that, as a Reason for prohibiting the Exportation of common Yarn or Worsted, they thought it capable (when once fairly spun) of being unravelled into Wool again, with any Advantage; for even that is a most absurd Notion; and yet it is not only too generally swallowed, (and it serves to give a very false Idea of the Properties of English and Irish Wool) but it is what some who would be thought to be most knowing, expressly give into; and particularly Mr. Lowndes, in his Scheme printed 1745. *By Order of the House of Commons.* ² Page 13.

* This is taken from a Pamphlet, entitled, *Short Speculations on the present Decay of the Woolen Manufacture*; according to which, ‘ the high Rates of Commissions to the Factors

shall on a Day appointed, deliver upon Oath to an exact List of his Sheep, &c. with the Weight of Wool he has shorn. Which Affidavit shall be delivered to him in Writing, by whose Fee shall be one Shilling. 3. Every Person that pulls Wool, as Felmongers, &c. shall, in like manner, once every Year. 4. A Transcript, with an Extract of these Affidavits, shall be fixed on the Doors of the Parish Church. 5. The Money to be collected before *Michaelmas* in every Year. 6. Officers (who shall be upon Oath) or Owners guilty of Falsehood, to be punished as the Legislature shall direct. 7. Owner of Sheep, or Felmonger neglecting to give in the requisite Account, to forfeit, &c. 8. The Receiver General shall direct the Collectors of the Land-Tax to gather the Money; which shall be remitted to the Commissioners; who shall be five in Number; two chose by the King; one by the Commons; one by the Mayor and Aldermen, and one by the Common Council of *London*, with a Salary of 200*l.* each. 9. The Commissioners shall deliver their

Factors of *Blackwel-Hall*, which amounts to 4 per Cent. is a great Incumbrance upon the Sale of our coarse Cloths, in which chiefly we are rivalled by the *French*. The Factors contend every Spring for the Honour of bringing the largest Quantities of Cloth to the Market, and incite the Clothiers, who depend upon them, to make more than at other Times; by which the Wages of the Workmen are raised higher than the Cloth will allow, and the Cloth by hasty Workmanship made worse, the Markets are glutted, our Manufactures disgraced, our Workmen made luxurious in the Summer, and starved in Winter. The Factors sell the Cloth for less than they are directed by the Owner, who dreading their Combination against him, submits to the Injury, without Application to Justice. When a Clothier becomes Bankrupt, the Factor secures himself, and defrauds the Country. The *English Turkey Company* pay twice the Sum to their Factors for Commissions; that is paid by the *French*, and therefore receive sometimes 1500*l.* with an Apprentice, on Condition that he shall repay himself by being sent out Factor. The *Turkey Company* is suspected of obstructing, rather than promoting the Sale of our Cloth; a Disadvantage that might be removed by opening a free Trade to *Turky*.

their Accounts yearly upon Oath, to the *House of Commons*. 10. The Profits of the Wool Tax shall be employed in Bounties on that Cloth, which is carried to Markets where the *French* rival us.

3. *This Duty will advance the Price of Wool 71. per Cent.; which with the Bounty proposed, will entirely stop the Progress of their Woolen Trade.*

* N U M B. II.

1. The first Step to prevent the Exportation of Wool, is to take away the Temptation to it, by buying it at Home.

2. To this purpose it may be enacted, 1. That no Owner of Sheep, Felmonger, &c. shall sell their Wool, but at an appointed Market. 2. That Persons appointed shall buy the Wool at near double the present Price, and sell it out at Markets, &c. appointed, at a stated Profit. 3. That the Agents shall be paid according to the Business they transact. 4. That the Wool be stocked in Towns where it is to be sold. 5. That Agents send weekly Accounts of their Transactions to the Commissioners of the Woolen Manufacture. 6. That the Agents pay for the Wool, not in Money, but in Bills, to be exchanged for Money with the Collectors of the Revenue. 7. That the Manufacturers may purchase Wool with Goods manufactured, and sent up to the Commissioners. 8. The Goods taken by the Commissioners, to be sold once a Month for Exportation, at *stated Prices*. 9. The Punishment for Exportation of Wool, to be a heavy

* This is taken from an Essay, by *Cornelius Strongcastle*, who thinks 'the Importation of Cotton, and the Use of Cotton Manufactures, the Importation of *Russia* Drabs, and of *Irish* and *Scotch* Worsteds, have contributed to the Exportation of our Wool, by lessening the Consumption at home; also that the Depravation of our Manufactures, (by stretching Cloths, and by taking out the finer Wool and selling it to *France*, a Practice of some Manufacturers) hath discredited our Traders at foreign Markets; as likewise the Exportation of Wool to *France* in the Form of Wadding for Cloaths, under the Pretence that it is manufactured; it being easily reduced to Wool.'

heavy Fine, and the Informer receive a Pension for Life. 10. A high Duty upon all other Manufactures, printed Linen, and *Russia* Diaper; which will promote the Consumption of our Wool. 11. Such an Advance on *Irish* and *Scotch* Wool, as may take away the Temptation to export it. 12. A careful Inspection by publick Officers, of Goods made for Exportation.

* N U M B. III.

1. That our Wool shall be put under an Excise. 2. That the Excise on Soap, Candles, Leather, &c. be taken off, and in its stead, an Excise of $\frac{1}{3}$ of its Value laid upon Wool. 3. That an Account shall be given of the Wool in Hand, an Entry made by Growers at the *Excise-Office*, of Sheep, before they are shorn; and Information given of the Day when they shall shear; at which Time, a proper Officer shall attend, and take an Account of the Wool, from a sworn Wool-winder, who shall wind and weigh it. 4. That when the Wool is to be fold, the Seller and Buyer shall at the *Excise-Office*, enter their Names, the Quantity and Price; paying the Duty. 5. And if the Price specified, is suspected to be under the real Value, the Officer may take it at the Price; giving the Buyer a Profit of five *per Cent.*; which Wool, when sold again, shall be liable to a Tax, as if it had not been fold before. 6. That the Farmer shall be able to recover from the Buyer of the Wool, only the Price at which it is entered, &c. 7. That the Buyer shall not remove the Wool without a Permit, of which the Officer who grants it, shall inform the Officer of the Place to which it is to be carried. 8. And in this Manner being conveyed to the Manufacturer, he shall at every Sitting, give an Account of the Wool in his Hands, which shall likewise be subject to Surveys; and the same shall be done by Felmongers, &c. 9. No *British* Wool shall be carried Coastwise, or put on Board any Ship or Vessel (Ferry Boats crossing an Inland River excepted). 10. *Irish* Wool to be imported only from and to certain Ports, in Ships appointed for that Purpose.

11. No

* This is an Extract from a Pamphlet entitled, *An impartial Enquiry, &c.* By J. Gee.

11. No *British* Wool to be exported to *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, *Alderney*, or *Sark*.

C H A P. CXLVII.

Observations on the several Schemes in the foregoing Chapter.

N U M B. I.

1. THE Author of this Scheme is fundamentally mistaken, in taking for granted, that a general Duty on Wool, of one Shilling *per Tod*, would be a Means of rendering that Commodity one Jot dearer; otherwise than as being so far, a Discouragement to the growing of Wool, it might contribute to make it scarcer. This Duty, in every other Respect, would be in the Nature of an *additional Land Tax*. And I believe the Nation has not found that a *Land Tax* has contributed any thing to the Price of Wool.

But though a Tax of one Shilling *per Tod* on Wool, would have rendered it so much dearer; yet, if it advanced the Price for Exportation, the Price for home Use also being equally advanced at the same Time by the same Means, the Difference of 7 *per Cent.* was but imaginary.

As to the Article proposed, of a *Bounty* on Drapery exported, I confess something might be expected from such a Policy.

N U M B. II.

2. The Author hath said all in few Words, *viz.* That the first Step to prevent the Exportation of Wool is, to take away the TEMPTATION to it, by buying it at home, at a sufficient high Price. But then the Method, by which he has proposed to do this, is so much out of the common Course of Trade, and gives such Liberty for Fraud and Oppression, that the Remedy would go near to be worse than the Disease; rendering

B b 2 Commerce,

Commerce, in some Views, precarious; in others, wholly impracticable.

* See Ch. 146. N^o 2. (Fig. 8.)

For Instance (Fig. 8. a) ' Goods taken by the Commissioners, to be sold once a Month for Exportation at stated Prices.' Does not this Policy proceed very much upon that Notion we often meet with, That the English might have it in their Power to dispose of their Woolen Goods abroad, at THEIR OWN PRICES? Than which nothing is more chimerical and false

NUM B. III.

* Ch. 146. N^o 3. b Ch. 114. §. 6. c Ch. 146. N^o 2. §. 1. 3. A great Part of this Scheme, viz. the * Registry conducted in the Method of the Excise, seems to have been adopted from Mr. Cary^b. But as it has been said very justly, ' That the first Step to prevent the Exportation of Wool is, to take away the Temptation to it ' ; and as Mr. Gee has been more particular on that Head, than many other Writers, in order to have the Publick believe, not only how great the Temptation is, but whence it arises: I shall therefore give his Sentiments, as to that Particular, a more distinct Consideration, in the next following Chapter.

CH A P. CXLVIII.

Observations on some Passages in a Tract entitled, An impartial Enquiry, &c. By J. Gee.

1. THIS Writer says, ' The Cause of the Exportation of Wool is, the immense Price, at which the French can purchase it ; ' as he has undertook to shew, in a way that has been called judicious.

2. I don't know how it comes to pass: But we in England (tho' in other Regards, a sober, discreet People) are apt to be taken with what is marvelous and romantic on this Head; and this Writer exceeds, in that Sense, all that I have met with, next to the Draper of London^d. His Manner of reasoning is this: ' One Pack of British

d Ch. 145.

' or Irish, will work up three ordinary, or four Packs of the best French Wool; and therefore every one Pack of OURS, which THEY manufacture, brings four or five into the Markets. The prodigious Increase of Goods which this occasions, and the Reduction of Prices which hereupon ensue, in Conjunction with the French manufacturing cheaper than we do, is the Reason of and that THEY can afford to give ten or twelve hundred per Cent. Profit, for our Wool, rather than want it.' ' The French (says he) can afford to give 78 l. a Pack for British and Irish Wool; and when that is done, sell their Goods cheaper in foreign Markets than we can afford to do. — Our Wool is now manufactured at 20 l. a Pack; owing to a Reduction of Wages; and our best Wool, which used to be appropriated to the making of fine Goods, is chiefly applied to low priced Goods; which otherwise would bring our Manufactures to 40 l. a Pack.'

3. Upon the Supposition of such a possible Advance in the Price of the Peoples Labour (having taken it for granted that there are grown in Great Britain and Ireland 900,000 Packs of Wool yearly) he lays down the following Scheme of Gain to the Nation, viz.

' By an Advance upon the 225,000 Packs	£
' we now manufacture for Exportation,	4,500,000
' In manufacturing 450,000 Packs at 40 l.	
' a Pack,	18,000,000
' By Advance of Wool to double the Price,	3,375,000
' By Exchange of Duties,	1,125,000
Total — 32,220,000	

4. Thus does this Writer (like the Draper of London^d) dispense MILLIONS, as if Pounds Sterling were Hedge-Crabs. And if, as Mr. Laybourne has judiciously observed hereon, ' we could enrich the Nation by a Dexterity in Computation, it would be a pretty easy Way of doing * it.'

B b 3

5. The

* ' Many Persons have been misled by Men, who think they can compute; because they can put Figures together.'

Davenant of the publick Revenue, Part I. p. 151.

5. The chief Foundation, it is observable, which Mr. Gee builds upon, is, that Legendary Notion, 'That the French particularly are not able to manufacture their Wool to any Advantage, without a Mixture of English, or Irish Wool.'

6. In this Notion, 'tis true, Mr. Gee is not singular: It has been repeated from one Writer to another; echoed over and over again; and yet has no one Person attempted to account for it in any satisfactory, rational Way, unless Mr. Gee may be thought to have done so.

7. For that much of the French, and other foreign Wool is coarse, or attended with a Stichel Hair (as the Author of *Observations on British Wool, &c.* f says it is) though (so far as true) it be an Argument of the Superiority of some English and Irish Wools, to such; yet, don't I think it any Proof at all, of what is commonly advanced, about the supposed Benefits in English Wool, for Mixture with those coarse Stichel Hair Wools.

8. But this Doctrine Mr. Gee (like Mr. Webber) clinches with the following Assertion, as an undoubted Matter of Fact, and decisive in the Case (which, if true, it would go near to be) viz. 'When Ships lay Quarantine, (meaning the Time of the Plague at Marseilles) Wool advanced from 15 to 30 s. per Tod.'

9. This is Mr. Gee's Medium, for proving (which he affirms) 'That when Foreigners can't have our Wool, we may fix our Goods at what Rate we please, and dispose of them at whatever Rates we think proper to fix them.' A tempting Circumstance, was it but true! Now if, granting the Premises, the Conclusion is admitted; what is to be concluded from the Reverse of those Premises, but the Reverse of that Conclusion?

10. The Fact alledged concerning the Price of Wool, at the Period mentioned, is not true; but the Reverse thereof is. And further, if Persons may take that Liberty, and will allow themselves to use their own Reason in this Case, they will consider, that French Wool either is, or is not the coarse uselefs Stuff which it is so commonly represented to be. If it is not, the Argument about the great Advantage to be made in France, of English Wool, by mixing, certainly stands for nothing.

And

And if it is true that French Wool is, much of it, coarse (as no doubt is the Case) like that of some Part of Norfolk, or worse; though I am no Manufacturer, I dare challenge the most skilful Person and experienced in that Way, provided he has common Modesty, to tell me, how a major Part, or even a less Proportion of very coarse Wool, mixed with what is much finer, can be so managed, as to make Goods, of the same Fashion or Sort, any way comparable to those that, with equal Care and Skill, shall be made all of the finer and better Sort of Wool. Would not that be, to expect Grapes of Thorns, and Figs of Thistle?

11. Or, supposing it true, that the coarser French Wool, in order to an useful Manufacture, does want to be mixed with some other that is finer and better, why must that necessarily be English or Irish Wool? When, as we have seen g, and shall see yet further, not only France itself produces fine Wool in some Plenty, but many other, most Parts indeed of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, afford Wool of various Kinds, and in great Abundance. Further, in regard to the Business of mixing Wools; tho' that indeed, we shall see h, is much practised in France, yet not otherwise, than as the same is done in England.

12. In many Species of Goods, the Warp or Chain is of one sort of Yarn or Worsted, the Woof or Shoot, of another. This is the very Case of several Manufactures at Exeter i; and elsewhere. The French also, and the English likewise, mix Wool upon the Cards, for spinning: this appears to be the Work of what are called Scriblers, for mixed or medley Cloths; but that, I conceive, is a Mixture of different Colours of dyed Wool, of the same, rather than of divers Qualities.

13. For as it is allowed on all hands, that the separating and sorting of Wool, is one, and not the least Part of the Skill and Dexterity that is employed in the Woolen Manufacture k; requiring to be performed with much Care and Exactness: So common Sense will tell us, that such Separation of Wool cannot be, for the sake of confounding it again upon the Cards, or in the Comb; since, at the best, that would be only so much lost labour.

B b 4

14. This

f Ch. 140.
§. 1.

Ch. 120,
ma- 121.

Ch. 151,

Ch. 140.

§. 4.

Ch. 140.

Ch. 151.

§. 1, 2.

^l Ch. 89.
§. 17.

^m Ch. 151.
§. 1, 2.

14. This is to be understood of that Separation or Sorting, which is ordinarily made, of Wools so totally different from, and contrary to each other, as that it would be highly unprofitable to have them combed or carded together; and which is the Case of some Wool in every individual Fleece^l. But after this first Separation or Sorting, (which the *French* and *Spaniards* call *Triage*, because the Wool of every Fleece is usually divided by them into three Sorts^m) I find, by Discourse with a working Wool-comber, that there is practised, in *England*, a Mixture of Wool for the Comb, (and not improbably for the Cards too in like manner) which is thus: As in every Flock of Sheep, or Pile of Wool, which is called the *same*, there are some Fleeces of a finer Hair than others; so, in every Parcel or Mass of Wool which is called the *same*, and intended for the same Purposes, that is, after it is reduced by the aforesaid primary Separation, to be in a good measure of one Sort, will there necessarily be some Parts finer than others. And these, I understand, the Combers particularly are careful to intermix as closely as they can, in order to bring the whole Mass, as near as may be, to a *Level*, (as the Comber termed it) to the end (as he again expressed himself) it might produce one portable Quantity of *Tear*, *i. e.* even Yarn or Worsted, *viz.* in the same Degree of Strength and Fineness.

15. But this is far from proving the Point asserted, *viz.* that any extraordinary Price can *therefore* be afforded for finer Wools, in order to mix with coarser; since so far as such Mixture is any Way proper, it must needs be that the coarse will take from the fine, as much as the latter can add to the former; and it appears that the whole Benefit, 1st, Of separating or throwing out the coarse and improper. 2^{dly}, Of mixing the Remainder, is, making the whole Mass intended to be combed or carded for one Use, equal to itself throughout, be it coarser or finer.

16. And should it be so (which is hardly probable) that finer Wool is really more worth, for mixing with coarser, than for using alone; yet, is it not worth more, in that respect, to the *French*, than it is to the *English*; because the *English* use it in like Manner, and with equal Advantage, whatever it be. But,

17. Lastly,

17. Lastly, if, against all Probability, so it is, that the *French* can afford to give such extravagant Prices for *English* or *Irish* Wool, for the Sake of mixing it with theirs; beyond what the *English* Manufacturer can any Way afford to give, nay, beyond what all the Labour and Expence bestowed in manufacturing it at home, can make it worth at a foreign Market (as according to Mr. *Gee*, who says they can afford to pay 78*l.* a Pack for it) how, according to what Sir *Josiah Child*ⁿ, longⁿ Ch. 48. since, most judiciously and truly observed, can it be §. 3. proposed to prevent their purchasing it?

18. Why, Mr. *Gee* says, 'By a Registry conducted in the strictest Method, that of the Excise;' and so far, he is consistent. Nevertheless, according to his Account of Things, it is justly questionable, whether even such a Registry as he prescribes, would do the Business wanted.

19. But against Mr. *Gee's* Account, I urge, 1st, The common Practice and known Utility, of *sorting Wool*, is a strong Argument against any such Usage as that of mingling Wools of such different Qualities, as the *French* and *English* Wools are represented to be, in order to the spinning of them together. 2. As to that other Mixture (after spinning) in the Loom; by making the Warp or Chain of one Sort of Yarn or Worsted, the Wool or Shoot, of another; though confessedly it is practised in *France*; yet (besides that it is practised in like Manner in *England* also) will it not make for Mr. *Gee's* Argument, *viz.* 'That the *French* can afford to pay extraordinarily for *English* and *Irish* Wools, for the Sake of such Mixture.'

20. He indeed, and others, pretend to assure us, that, without such Mixture, the coarse *French* Wool (as they call it) would be *useless*. But I answer, 1. So far are the *French* from being able to afford any high Price for the fine *English* or *Irish* Wools, for the Sake of mixing with very coarse *French* Wool, that such a Mixture would, in the Nature of Things, be unprofitable, like *sewing a Piece of new Cloth into an old Garment*. 2. As in most Countries, there is comparatively, a greater Demand for coarse, *i. e.* low priced Goods, than for fine and dearer, and the greatest Demand of all, for those that are coarsest; because such come for the least Money: So the coarsest Wool of *France* is no more a Drug, or *useless* there, than §. 4.

• See
Ch. 160.

See Ch. 154.

than is the coarsest Wool of Great Britain, in this Kingdom. And this is evident from the single Circumstance, of the French importing Quantities of coarser Wool than the coarsest of their own P; which they would not do, if there was danger of their own being useles.

21. Thus, as a Mixture of fine English or Irish with very coarse French Wool must be unprofitable; and as no French Wool, not even the coarsest, can be deemed useles, without a Mixture of English or Irish Wool: so neither can the latter be so advantageous to the French, for mixing with any of their better Sorts of Wool, as that, therefore, the French can afford to give any considerable advanced Price for it; which I prove thus.

22. Such of the French Wool, as is at any time used, mixed with English or Irish, is either superior, or equal, or inferior to such English or Irish Wool. As the latter is generally supposed to be the Case; let us say, v. g. that such French Wool is comparatively worse than the English or Irish Wool, with which it is mixed, by 30 per Cent.; and that 1/3 of such English and Irish is mixed with 2/3 of such French Wool; must not, in that Case, the whole Mass of Wool be 20 per Cent. less worth, than if it had been all of the better English Wool? and must it not be 10 per Cent. better, than if it had been all of the worse French Wool? And (supposing an equal Market for both Kinds of Wool) must not the Manufacture from Materials so mixed, as supposed, be at least 20 per Cent. cheaper, because so much worse than if made with equal Skill and Labour of all the better Sort of Wool? But work up this same mixed Wool into different Species of Goods, requiring a different Portion of Labour; and will they not consequently admit of being sold at different Prices? And if the Quantity of Materials is the same in each, or so far as they are the same, must not the whole Difference of Price between the one and the other, be placed to the Account of Labour altogether?

23. This is so true, that Mr. Gee, in attempting to explain his own Notions of the high Temptation to the Runnage Wool, has unwarily resolved it, in effect, into the different Price of Labour only, in England, and in France. And tho' he is far from being singular in his Notions in the general, as touching the great Advantages to be made by mixing English or Irish, with French Wools;

Wools; yet, because he has not only carried that Notion higher by far than any other Person I have met with (one only excepted) and because He alone has undertaken to demonstrate the Matter by Figures; therefore, I here produce his Calculation, in order to examine the Contents of it.

24. A Piece of Cloth (says Mr. Gee) made of four Pounds of Wool in England, costs the Clothier,

	l. s. d.
Four Pounds of Wool, at 6 d. ———	0 02 0
Manufacturing at 3 s. —————	0 12 0
	<hr/>
	0 14 0

To make a Piece of Cloth of equal Value, the French Clothier must mix one Pound of English Wool with three Pounds of French Wool; but deducting from the Wages of the Manufacturer one Third, can afford to pay for the one Pound of

	l. s. d.
English Wool, —————	0 04 6
Three Pounds of French Wool, ———	0 01 6
Manufacturing —————	0 08 0
	<hr/>
	0 14 0

25. Thus does Mr. Gee's Hypothesis, of the French being able to afford 4 s. 6 d. a Pound for English Wool, or Irish, suppose these four Things. 1st, That the French can manufacture full 50 per Cent. cheaper than the English. 2. That their own Wool is so bad, as to be useles, without a Mixture of 1/4 English or Irish Wool. 3. That notwithstanding such intrinsic Difference between French and British Wools, or Irish; yet the former is of equal Price with the latter, viz. 6 d. a Pound. 4. That though French Wool alone, is useles, yet when compounded with 1/4 of British or Irish Wool, it produces a Manufacture of equal Value, as if made with the same Skill and Labour, of all such British or Irish Wool.

26. But in Contradiction to this Hypothesis, 1. The French, I think, can not manufacture 50 per Cent. nor any Thing like it, cheaper than the English do. For if they could, as they and the English, purchase the Wools, of

396 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 148.

^s See
Ch. 133.
§. 6.

of which the Superfine Cloths are made, at one and the same Market, viz. in Spain; and therefore it is presumed, at the same Price (if not the French cheapest, as being nearest^s and most favoured in that Country) it would be impossible for the English to sell a single Yard of such fine Cloth, where any French Cloth came to be sold, of the same Sort; the latter would be so very much cheaper.

^r Ch. 99.
§. 1.

^u Ch. 138.
§. 5. *Note.*

27. Not only so, but the French would be as able, to run considerable Quantities of their Cloth into the British Dominions, as they are, to smuggle Wool out of them. But though we hear much of one, yet nothing of the other. Nor do we hear of any such Difference in the Price of the finest French and English Cloths, as 50 per Cent. Difference in Labour, would occasion. Of a Difference of 25 per Cent. indeed, the British Merchant^{*} speaks^t: Of from 13 to 15 or 16 s. the Yard, some others^u. But as, on the one hand, most English Men agree, that the finest French Cloth is not equal to that of their own Country: And as I apprehend that the Difference of Price between one and the other (whatever it be) does not arise altogether from the Difference of Labour, but from an intrinsic Difference also: So, on the other Hand, I am persuaded that even the intrinsic Difference of these fine Cloths, in one Kingdom and the other, is not to be attributed so much to the superior Skill and Abilities of Workmen in England, beyond those of France, as to French Artifice, in making something worse, for the Sake of underselling so much more; and by which they find their Account in foreign Markets.

28. Herein they take Care to suit themselves to the Taste of those they have to deal with. And though French Cloth does not so well take the Fancy of the English in general; that, we may presume, is not, because they cannot work like the English; but because they know they may not import Cloth to England. If they

* But though he says that the then Difference, in Price, between French and English Cloths, was 25 per Cent. he does not say that they were of equal Goodness. He only says, that 'in general, they were, Goodness for Goodness, cheaper than ours,' not 25 per Cent. cheaper.

Ch. 148. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 397

they might, as the British Merchant hath said^w, they^v would make our Hearts ache; we should soon find them, §. 2. *Note.* either bringing over the English to be pleased with the Cloth they now make, or else making such Cloth as the English do at present, for the most Part, prefer, viz. thick, firm, heavy. But such Cloth requiring more Stuff, Time, Labour, must in course be dearer than the light thin Cloth they generally make for their own wear, and for the Levant, Italian, Portugal, and Spanish Trades. And hence we may perceive, that did the French bestow the same Labour, and an equal Quantity of Materials, to make their Cloth of equal Substance and Goodness with the English Cloth; in that Case, as it would be also more nearly at least of equal Price: So, the Premises considered, it is to be concluded, that they cannot manufacture so very much cheaper than the English, as 50 per Cent. nor any Thing near it; as has been represented by Mr. Gee, and by others occasionally.

29. The second thing implied in Mr. Gee's Hypothesis, is, That French Wool, without a Mixture of British or Irish, is useless; i. e. as it is vulgarly expressed, the French cannot do without OUR WOOL. This would be a fine Circumstance for England, was it true; but the Falshood of that Suggestion, and the Truth of what the British Merchant^x hath affirmed to the contrary, is sufficiently evinced, from the *Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.* ^{Ch. 105.} ^{§. 12, 14.} ^{Ch. 151.}

30. Mr. Gee, in the third place, supposes this very bad (in itself useless) Wool of France, to be of equal Price with the so much better English Wool; rating the one and the other, alike, at 6 d. a Pound^z. And is not this a kind^z of Solecism? — Is it not saying at once, that French Wool both is, and is not so good as English Wool? But I go farther, and say, that the most Part of the French Wool in France^a sells dearer than English Wool^a in England: So that, either French Wool is proportionably better than the English; or else the English Wool is so much depressed below its natural Value, as the Difference amounts to; which latter is in a great measure the Case. ^{Ch. 162.} ^{§. 7. Note.} ^{Chap. 40.} ^{§. 13. Note.}

31. Fourthly, (which is most extraordinary) Mr. Gee supposes a Composition, of $\frac{1}{4}$ English or Irish Wool, very good, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of French, nothing near so good, to produce

§. 24. produce Cloth or Stuff of equal Price^b, consequently of equal Goodness, as if it was made entirely of such good *English* or *Irish* Wool. And is not this a Miracle, like that of *Transubstantiation*? Can a Person, not seeing a Work of this Composition, credit such a Report of it, without renouncing his *Reason*? Or could a Person, think we, after seeing, believe it, without giving up the Evidence of his *Senses*?

32. It is therefore to be concluded, that the *Temptation* to the Runnage of Wool is not, *cannot* be any thing near so great, as Mr. *Gee* particularly has represented. And this being a Point, which, above all others, in order to put an end to that inveterate evil Practice, wants to be adjusted more exactly, and, if possible, very precisely, I shall, for that reason, take occasion, hereafter, to discourse more fully thereof, in order to shew how great it really is, and whence it arises; and this, if I am not very much mistaken, will appear to be, not from the Benefits of mixing, nor so much from the high Duties in *England*, or the lower Labour of the *French*, as from the *Wool of ENGLAND and IRELAND being depressed, AT HOME, below its natural Value, in consequence of A MONOPOLY, occasioned by prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool.*

C H A P. CXLIX.

Abstract of the Scheme for registering Wool, prepared by the Lords Commissioners for Trade, &c. and laid before the Parliament Febr. 12. 1741-2.

1. **I**T is proposed, that a certain Number of Gentlemen, Merchants, Traders, Manufacturers, and Exporters of Woolen Manufactures, be appointed with full Powers to prevent the clandestine Exportation of Wool, by establishing a Register of such Wool, as now remains, or shall hereafter annually be shorn in *Great Britain*.

2. First

- 2. First Meeting to be at _____ on the _____ Day of _____
- 3. The said Commissioners shall then by Ballot chuse eight Persons out of their Number to be acting Commissioners, for the ensuing Year, to sit daily; of which, five to be a *Quorum*.
- 4. Four of them to go out at the Year's End, and four new Commissioners to be chosen by Ballot.
- 5. And so for the second Year.
- 6. And every succeeding Year. No one Commissioner to be chose a second time, 'till all have served once.
- 7. The like Rotation for the future; those first chosen, to be first in Succession.
- 8. Each acting Commissioner to receive an annual Salary.
- 9. Upon the Death, &c. of any acting Commissioner, another shall be chosen by the whole Body of Commissioners.
- 10. And so for any Commissioner at large.
- 11. The acting Commissioners, or five of them, shall have full Powers for carrying this Scheme into Execution.
- 12. Shall have a Secretary, Deputy Secretaries, an Accountant General, Deputy Accountant, ten Clerks, one Door-keeper, two Messengers, sixteen Supervisors, with two Assistants for each Supervisor, one hundred and fifty-seven Riding-Officers, and one hundred other Officers, to be constantly stationed in the principal Ports, and manufacturing Towns of the Kingdom, with reasonable Salaries; who shall all be chosen by Ballot, by the whole Body of Commissioners then present.
- 13. But upon Death or Removal, to be replaced by the acting Commissioners.
- 14. These Officers shall be posted, as the Commissioners shall judge most convenient.
- 15. There being about 786 Market Towns in *England* and *Wales*, one Riding-Officer will be sufficient for five of them; and may attend each, one Day or more, in every Fortnight, to make Entries of Wool in each Person's Possession, grant Permits, &c.
- 16. One Supervisor, with his two Assistants, may inspect ten Riding-Officers.
- 17. Notice to be given in every Parish Church, of the respective Days, in every Fortnight throughout the Year, when

when the Riding-Officer will attend at the Market Towns within his District, which, as near as may be, shall be the usual Market Days.

18. Every Person, under the Penalty of shall attend at some Market Town on the Day appointed, and make an Entry with the said Officer, of the Wool in his Possession, who shall give him a Certificate thereof in the following Terms, viz. 'These are to certify, that A. B. dwelling at came this Day and made Oath before me, That all the Wool now in his Custody, is kept in, or laid up in such a Room or Loft, and doth amount to Weight, and no more.'

19. And the said Officer shall within Days return a Duplicate of such Certificate to the Commissioners.

20. No Person to remove Wool without a Permit from the Officer of the District.

21. Every Grower of Wool within Days after he shall have shorn his Sheep, under Penalty aforesaid, to make an Entry, upon Oath, with the Wool Officer, of the Number of Sheep and Lambs by him depastured, Fleeces shorn, and Weight of the Wool, distinguishing the Kinds; and not to remove any Part without a Permit.

22. All Felmongers, or others, who sever Wool from slaughtered Sheep or Lamb Skins, shall likewise give an Account upon Oath, every six Weeks, to the Wool Officers, of all Skins they receive in, and the Weight of Wool severed from them, distinguishing Shortlings from others; and that they do not remove any Part without a Permit.

23. No Person to purchase Wool, exceeding the Weight of Pounds without a License from the said Commissioners, and giving Security that he will not transport any Wool, nor remove any without a Permit.

24. Licenses may be granted, and Security taken by any of the Officers on paying the Sum of

25. Such Licenses and Securities to be returned to the general Office in *London*.

26. Provides for charging and discharging every Buyer and Seller of Wool by Permits for Removal, till it comes to the Manufacturer.

27. Who

0451

27. Who shall be discharged thereof by the Weight of his Manufactures, with a reasonable Deduction for Loss in working up the same.

28. All Wool exceeding Pounds, removed without a Permit, shall be forfeited, and treble the Value, with the Horses and Carriage; one half thereof to his Majesty, and the other half, to the Officer who shall seize the same.

29. All Dealers in Wool shall account annually with the Wool Officers, for the Quantities of Wool by him grown, bought or disposed of; whereof they are to be discharged by Permits, and Receipts on the Back thereof, or by Manufactures made out of the same; and whatever Quantity shall be deficient, shall be looked upon as so much Wool clandestinely exported, and they shall forfeit treble the Value.

30. Reasonable Allowances shall be made for Diminution in working, Loss by Fire, &c. of which the Commissioners shall be the sole Judges.

31. Proceeding according to the best and most authentick Accounts of what generally hath been the usual Loss of Waste in the said Operations.

32. All Wool removed out of the Place entered for its keeping, exceeding Pounds shall be accounted Wool removed without a Permit, and be liable to the Penalties; except small Quantities sold to poor Housekeepers, to be by them wrought up into Hose, &c. or delivered to Combers, Spinners, &c.

33. A daily Account of such small Quantities to be kept in Books, provided the Dealers signify the Quantity, and to whom delivered; which Books shall lye open in their Warehouses, to be perused by the Officers, and shall be returned at the Year's End, to the Wool Officers, upon Oath.

34. Dealers failing in the above Article, shall for every Offence forfeit the Sum of

35. Any Wool Officer in the Day-time, to enter into the Room or Warehouse for keeping of Wool, for Examination; and if the Wool shall be deficient, the Owner shall forfeit treble the Value.

36. The like Penalty, where the Quantity of Wool shall exceed the Entry made thereof.

37. Dealers to have Weights and Scales, and to assist in weighing Wool, or forfeit the Sum of

38. Wool Officers shall have Power, taking to their Assistance a Peace Officer, in the Day-time, upon Information given upon Oath before any Justice, to enter Rooms to search for concealed Wool; if such be found, to be forfeited, and treble the Value, paid by the Person in whose House or Custody found.

39. Persons obstructing Officers, to forfeit

40. No Wool shall be carried Coastwise, but by Vessels registered and licensed, and Security given not to export it to foreign Parts.

41. Such Vessels to be *English* built, and navigated by the King's natural Subjects only.

42. And shall not receive any Wool on Board, without a Permit, specifying the Quantity and Quality of Wool; to what licensed Purchaser, and where, consigned.

43. The Captain of the Vessel not to deliver the Wool, but in the Presence of a Wool Officer; nor to any, but to whom the same is consigned; who shall deliver to the Captain a Permit for purchasing the same, together with a Receipt on the Back, which shall be a Discharge to the Captain.

44. Allowances shall be made for Losses by Shipwreck, or Captures by the Enemy, upon sufficient Proof.

45. All Vessels not licensed, taking Wool, shall be forfeited, one Half to the Informer; the other, to his Majesty.

46. Any Wool Officer, or Officer of the Revenue, or any Captain of his Majesty's Ships, are hereby empowered to make Seizure of such Vessel.

47. If any Wool, or any Horse, Carriage, or Vessel, shall be seized for want of a legal Permit, &c. the Proof shall lye on the Owner of such Wool, &c. and not on the Officer who shall stop the same.

48. All Forfeitures and Penalties to be determined in a summary Way; if within the Bills of Mortality, before the acting Commissioners; or if in any other Place, before two neighbouring Justices, whose Determination shall be final, except in the Case of Vessels seized,

seized, where the Owner may appeal to the Court of Exchequer.

49. The Act of the 12th^z of his present Majesty, re-^z Ch. 142, relating to the registering of Ships, &c. to continue in P. S. Force.

50. Persons taking out Permits for removing Wool, who neither in the Time limited remove it, nor return the Permits to the Wool Officer, shall forfeit

51. The Commissioners annually to lay an Account of their Proceedings before his Majesty in Council, and both Houses of Parliament.

*This Scheme * may be extended to North Britain and Ireland.*

All which is most humbly submitted.

<i>Whitehall,</i>	<i>Monson,</i>	<i>Ja. Brudenal,</i>
<i>Feb. 18;</i>	<i>R. Plumer,</i>	<i>B. Keene,</i>
<i>1741-2.</i>	<i>T. Pelham,</i>	<i>R. Herbert.</i>
	<i>M. Bladen,</i>	

C H A P.

* Besides some others, the following Observations were modestly made on this Scheme. 1. 'That the Regulations therein proposed, are borrowed from the Methods practised in the *Excise Office*. 2. That all of it that is valuable or rational, is taken from Mr. *Webber's* Plan.'

The Word Excise having a little before this, upon a particular Occasion, become very unpopular, it was a short, and the most effectual Way of disparaging any Measure, to shew, or even but to pretend, that such Measure was any way analogous to the Excise. I shall not, because it is besides my present Purpose, enter into the particular Merits of that Affair; but considering what is here understood by that Word; that it was not a Tax, but barely a Method of taking, and keeping Accounts; of charging, and discharging the Parties concerned, (the only Things wanted in this Case) I am bold to say, that whatever Scheme came nearest to the Methods practised in the Excise, in that respect, was nearest to Perfection, for the very Reason given, above twenty Years before, by Mr. Cary, viz. 'That it was both better and easier to prevent than punish Offences in this kind.' Ch. 114, §. 4.

If some Accounts were to be credited, this Scheme might possibly have failed of effecting what was intended by it; which yet, in that Case, is not a Defect occasioned by any C c 2 Over-

Overfight, or want of Forethought in the Contrivance thereof; but arising out of the very Nature of the Thing.

This Scheme pursues regularly enough the Wool, from the Grower and Felmonger, to the Manufacturer; who was to be discharged thereof by the Weight of his Manufactures; with a reasonable Deduction for Loss in working up the same.

But, supposing the Manufacturer to be also an Exporter of Wool, (which some^b say is not uncommon) and supposing the Temptation to that illicit Trade to be any thing near so great as has been^c represented, what should hinder such a Manufacturer from offering the same, or at least Part of the same

^b See Ch. 146. N^o 2. Note.

^c Ch. 148. §. 1, 2.

Parcel of Goods, over and over again, in Discharge of Wool actually exported? I can conceive but two Checks upon Persons so disposed; the one, their own Conscience, by means of an Oath to be imposed; the other, some indelible Mark to be fixed upon every Piece, or Parcel of Woolen Goods, when offered, and accepted, in Discharge of so much raw Wool.

^d Ch. 148. §. 2.

How far this latter is practicable, I know not; but it is well known that the former, an Oath, has not been found available in the Case of an high Inland Duty upon Tea. And if there was any Truth in what Mr. Gee particularly has^d said touching the very high Price which the French especially can afford to give for English or Irish Wool, rather than want it, the Temptation would go near to operate after the same manner, in the case of Wool, as in that of Tea. But

I, who give no Credit to Mr. Gee's Calculations, do think that this Scheme of Registry, if carried into Execution throughout Great Britain and Ireland, would have so far availed, as to have prevented the Exportation of Wool. Nor do I object to this Scheme, as many have done, that it would require Trust, create Trouble and Expence; BECAUSE these are Inconveniences inseparable from the Work that was to be done. This Honourable Board of Trade had before reported to Parliament their own Sentiments concerning a Registry of Wool, to that very Effect, viz. That it would unavoidably be attended 'with a Multiplicity of Accounts, besides other Difficulties and great Expence.'

^e Ch. 127. §. 11.

Nevertheless, the Lords Commissioners, at this Time, had no Choice, whether to prepare a Scheme of Registry, or not; but acted in pursuance of Directions not to be controuled. And though, as before observed, there are no considerable Objections to this Scheme, more than what arises from the Nature of the Thing; yet is it justly questionable, whether the Thing itself, i. e. the End proposed by it, be really Tanti; whether the Nation would find its expected Account from it, after all the Difficulties, i. e. Trouble and Expence, which must necessarily have attended it. But more of this, when I have gone through all my Evidence upon the Subject.

P. S.

P. S. Before I quit the Article of Schemes, &c. 'tis but Justice to mention Mr. Laybourne, who with a truly honest Zeal, and most laudable Intention, bestowed much Pains, Lay- and shewed no small Ingenuity, in contriving a Scheme of bourne's Registry, in a Way peculiarly cheap and easy to the Sub-Scheme. jeft, i. e. the Parties concerned, for preventing the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured; which Scheme he published Ann. 1742; and which, if not practicable to sufficient Purpose, it is for the Reasons just mentioned above, as heretofore assigned by the Lords Commissioners of Trade: It is, ^f Ch. 127. in short, owing to the Immensity of the Business, which is ^g §. 11. such (as the present Lord High Chancellor, when Attorney ^g See General, observed in the Case of Mr. Webber, &c.) 'that ^h Ch. 145. it is scarce possible to be reduced under one general Manage- ⁱ §. 10. Note. ment.'

To which I take the Liberty of adding, that the very Thoughts of so great an Incumbrance, as a Registry for Wool must necessarily be, imply a fundamental Mistake in the People at large on this Subject; i. e. Ideas in regard to English and Irish Wool, which are in no wise conformable to the real Truth of Things. This, I think, has appeared sufficiently already, in the Course of these Memoirs; but will be still further evinced from the *Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.* (See Chap. 151—67.)

C H A P. CL.

Chambers's * Dictionary.

- 1. THE Wools most esteemed, are; the *English*, those about *Leominster*, *Cotswold* †, and the *Isle of Wight*.
- 2. The Wools of *England* have always been in the highest

* I do not here produce Mr. *Chambers*, as an Authority, (for upon this Subject he happens to be a very bad one); but, because he is consulted upon almost every Subject, and, on several, is undoubtedly very instructive; THEREFORE I introduce him, to point out certain of his Errors on this: Intending thereby to shew the great Necessity there was for some distinct historical Performance, (concerning so weighty a Matter as is the Business of Wool, and the Woolen Manufacture of *Great Britain*) that might convey more just Ideas, and more authentic Intelligence thereof, than are to be had from this Dictionary particularly, and from *The Atlas Maritimus Commercialis*. To say thus much, is, I conceive, but Justice to the Public.—Because, these being the Books commonly recurred to, in all general Inquiries of this kind, they are instrumental in deceiving many, in regard to the Affair of *Wool* in particular: And should they continue to be credited, as Oracles on that Head, they would be eternal Bars to the Knowledge and Belief of what is true concerning the same.

Camden Britan. p. 238. † *Cotswold*, which takes its Name from the Hills and Sheepcotes; (for Mountains and Hills without Woods, the *English* Men in old Times termed *Wolds*.) Upon these Hills are fed large Flocks of Sheep, with the whitest Wool, by reason, as is supposed, of their hilly and short Pasture, whose Wool is much valued in foreign Nations.

N. B. These Wools, particularly those of *Cotswold*, are much celebrated by several Writers. But see ^h the Price of ^h *Cotswold Wools*, and of the *Isle of Wight*, compared with the Price of the middle, and even lowest *Spanish Wools*; and thence judge, if the two former are not either over-praised by *English* Writers and some others, or else underfold in the *English* Markets; both which I think to be the Case.

highest Repute, and that more abroad † than at home. Some we have, which, manufactured by our own Clothiers, *Chamberlayne* observes, does both for Softness and Fineness, vie with the choicest Silks*.

3. *Spanish Wool*, we know, bears a great Price amongst us; but it is certain, much the greatest Part of that which is called *Spanish Cloth*, is from Wool that grows in *England* †.—Add, that the *French* can make no good Cloth of their own Wool, without, at the least, one Third of *English Wool* || mixed with it.

4. It is allowed, the Goodness of the *Spanish Wool* is owing to a few *English Sheep* sent over into *Spain*, as a Present, by *Henry II.* of *England*, or by *Edward IV* **.

5. The excessive Custom, on the Export of unmanufactured Wool, set the People upon making it into Cloth

† They have constantly been sold at higher Prices, abroad, than at home; and well they might, for these plain Reasons: 1st, Anciently, Wool was not only subjected to a considerable Duty on Exportation, (which was so much taken off from the Price ^h of the Wool to the Grower) but ^k See was greatly monopolized by the Merchants of the Staple ^l. Chap. 5. Both which Circumstances together, made, no doubt, a [§] 9. mighty Difference between the Price of *English Wool*, in Chap. 7. *England*, and of the same, in foreign Markets. 2dly, Our [§] 1. later Statutes, which prohibit absolutely the Exportation of ^l See *Wool*, being also in the Nature of a *Monopoly*, have depressed Chap. 15. the Price of *English Wool* in *England*, far below its natural [§] 33. Value: So that 'tis no wonder, if what does escape abroad, is commonly sold at a different, *i. e.* at a Market Price, according as all other Wool is sold; in which Sense, by how much the Wools of *England* are more reputed abroad than at home, by so much is the Injury greater, that is thus done to the *English Wool-Grower* and his Dependants.

* A silly Hyperbole, of some ancient Panegyrist, but unworthy of a serious Pen, in this more enlightened Age.

† It is certain that the best *Spanish Cloths*, called *Superfine*, have no *English* ^m Wool at all in them. ^m Ch. 87.

|| And it is equally certain, that the *French* not only [§] 5. make their best Cloths (as the *English* do) of all the best *Spanish Wool*, but that they make besides, many Sorts of good Cloth, with *French* ⁿ Wool alone.

** See Chap. 3. §. 18. Chap. 12. §. 15.

ⁿ Ch. 151
—168.

Cloth † themselves. In which they succeeded so well, that towards the Close of the sixteenth Century, the Exportation of any Wool at all was absolutely prohibited; and this upon Pain of having the right Hand struck off †.

6. From that Time, *England* has been exceeding jealous* of its Wool. To prompt their Vigilance, the Judges, &c. are seated on Wool Packs ††.

7. The Woolen Manufactory of [*England*] may be said to have had its Rise in the fifteenth Century ‖. Till that Time, our Wool was all sold in the Fleece to such of our Neighbours as came to fetch it: But certain Manufacturers from *Louvain* flying into *England*, on Account of a Sedition and Murder, they instructed our People how to work their own Wools.—This Establishment is referred to the Year 1420 . . . ; from which Time, no Endeavours have been spared to keep our Wool to ourselves**.

8. So

† The high Custom on Wool exported, was perhaps of some Advantage to the *English* Manufacturer, especially for *home Consumption*; and might have been of more, for *the Exportation Trade*, had not a mistaken Policy, for a long time, prevailed, of subjecting Cloth as well as Wool, to a Custom on Exportation; rating the Cloth as the Sack, viz. (21 *Edward III.* °) 14 *d.* for every *English* Cloth carried forth by *English* Merchants; by Strangers, 21 *d.* Which Custom, in *Queen Mary's* Days, after her Marriage with King *Philip*, was raised to 6 *s.* 8 *d.* and 13 *s.* 4 *d.* †; and was not discharged † till towards the latter End of King *William's* Reign.

† It is true, that the *English* had so well succeeded, as long before the Close of the sixteenth Century, to have been great Makers, and Exporters likewise, of Woolens. But to say that there was, in the whole Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, any Prohibition like what is here mentioned, is an absolute Falshood; witness the Statute Book.

* The Merchants of the Staple, anciently; and, latterly, the Merchants, and the Manufacturers, have been constantly aiming at, and frequently compassing, in some Shape or another, a *Monopoly* against the *English* Wool-Grower.

†† See Chap. 175. N° 1. §. 7. B. Chap. 28; §. 1.

‖ See Chap. 175. N° 1. §. 6. B.

. . . This Sedition, and its Consequences, was in the Beginning of the fourteenth Century.

** So then, we should suppose, from Mr. Chambers, that the Exportation of Wool had been so long prohibited, as from

o. See
Chap. 5.
§. 23.
p. Vol. 1.
p. 120.
Note.
q Ch. 87.
§. 16.
11, 12 W.
III. c. 12.

8. So jealous are we now become of our Woolens, that besides the Precautions taken to use all our own Wool ourselves, we have added that of felling them ourselves, and of carrying them to the Places where they are required; not admitting Strangers to come and buy any in *England* †.

C H A P.

from the Year 1420. Which is 202 Years sooner than any Act of State did issue for that Purpose: A Proclamation of King *James* (1622 †) being the very first which so much as looked that way. What had passed of this nature in *Edward III.* † was expressly intended for very different Purposes than that of keeping our Wool to ourselves; and so, in all probability, were the Proclamations severally both of *James* and *Charles I.* † Nor was the Ordinance of Parliament (1647 †) adhered to, even by the Executive Power. And therefore, the first Prohibition, in this Case, strictly speaking, can be dated no higher than the 12 *Car. II.* viz. 1660 †, the Year of the Restoration.

† With all our Jealousy, in regard to Wool, we are not now, neither have we, lately, been so foolish in respect to the Exportation of Woolens, as Mr. Chambers represents us. In the Beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* †, when a kind of Navigation Act did pass, there was a saving Clause to the Merchant Adventurers, in behalf of Wool and Cloth. And the Navigation Act of 12 *Car. II.* was corrected in the 25th of the same Reign, with regard to Aliens, excepting Coals and Manufactures.—But by the 1st of *Will. and Mary*, c. 32. † for the better Encouragement of the Woolen Manufactory, and the Growth of Wool, *Any Person or Persons may buy and export the Woolen Manufactures into any foreign Parts whatsoever*; saving to the *Turky* Company, and some others, their Charters and Grants, which nevertheless, as so many *Monopolists* Inclosures, do, in the Opinion of several †, want to be further laid open. By the 6th of *Anne*, c. 9. † all white Woolen Cloths may be exported by any Person or Persons.

N. B. These which have been noted in Mr. Chambers (and this last, more particularly) are not Mistakes of an indifferent Nature; but have an evil Tendency to mislead the People, already too far misled in their Notions of *English* Wool, &c. and to rivet them in Errors to which they have been long inured by other Writers, and whom Mr. Chambers himself, as a great Collector, may be supposed only to have followed too implicitly, and not to have employed his industrious Pen with any deliberate Intention of imposing upon his Readers.

r Ch. 33.
§. 11. Note.
s Chap. 5.
§. 5, 12.
Note.
t §. 34. Note.
Ch. 36.
§. 3, 4.
Note.
u §. 7. Note.
Ch. 39.
§. 3.
Ch. 41.
§. 11.
v §. 14. Note.
Ch. 42.
Note.
x 1 *Eliz.*
c. 13. See
Ch. 19.
y §. 1. Note.
See
Ch. 72.
z §. 3. Note.
See
Ch. 69.
§. 5.
a Ch. 91.
§. 11.

C H A P. CLI.

Diétionaire Universel du Commerce : By Mr. Savary. Geneva, 1742.

Tome 2.
p. 941.

O F W O O L, &c

Wool.

1. **T**HOSE who trade in *Wool*, in *France*, divide every Fleece into three Sorts. The first is called *Mother Wool*.

2. The *Spaniards* make very near the same *Triage* of *Wools*, as the *French*, and they call their several Sorts of *Wool*, *Prime*, *Second*, and *Tierce*; with this Difference, that the *Spaniards* sell all the three Sorts together, without any Refuse; and the *French* sell and buy them separately, according to the Use they intend them for. The *Prime*, of *Segovie*, is, indisputably the best of that Kind. The mere *Laine*, or *Mother Wool*, is yet of two Sorts; distinguished into fine and middle; according as the Staple is short and fine, or long and coarse.

3. The *Wool*, before it is fit for *Work*, goes through many Hands; after it is shorn, it is washed, then dried, then beat, then oiled, carded and spun; then it is put into the Loom, or used with the Needle.

4. The Commerce of *Wool* is very considerable in *Europe*; and the Consumption of it so great in *France*, since the last Wars, that notwithstanding the Abundance thereof in most of the Provinces of the Kingdom, they import large Quantities from foreign Countries.

5. The *French Wools* are chiefly from *Languedoc*, *Berry*, *Normandy* and *Burgundy*, *Picardy*, *Champagne*; and other Provinces also produce it, but not so good in Quality, nor in so great a Quantity.

6. The foreign *Wools* are from *Spain*, *Portugal*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Holland*. From the *Levant*, by the Way of *Marseilles*; from *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Alexandria*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, the *Morea*, *Barbary*; these last are least esteemed; *Smyrna* and *Constantinople* furnish the best that come from the *Levant*.

Page 942. The *French*, especially in *Provence*, import considerably from

from the *Ile of Candia*. Those, with the rest that come from *Greece* and the *Isles of the Archipelago*, are of a mean Sort, fit only for coarse Stuffs, or to make the List of finer; they make some Quilts of them.

7. *Wools of France* are commonly sold by the Farmers and Labourers, *en suis*, i. e. unwashed. Those that buy them at the first Hand, either wash and triage them, or else sell them in the Fleece, washed only. When the *Wool* has been triaged, then it is sold only by Weight. The best *Wool of France* is that of low *Normandy*, and principally that of *Valogne*; those of *Constantin* are almost as much esteemed. They make Cloth of *Valogne*, *Cherburgh*, *Vire*, and *Serges finettes*, *Razes*, &c.

of *St. Lo* and *Caen*; and these are made very fine. The *Wool of Berry* is also used in Cloths of *Valogne* and *Vire*, and in what they call *Draps de Berry*; also in *Druggets of Amboise*, with a Mixture of *Spanish Wool*.

8. We must confess that the foreign *Wools* are far superior to *French Wool*; at least, those of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Great Britain* *. But the Dexterity of the Manufacturers, in mixing their own *Wool* with their Neighbours, set them upon an equal Foot with, or perhaps above the most expert of their Neighbours †.

9. The

* Here we find the *Wools of Great Britain* mentioned in the third place, viz. after those of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and in that Rank of intrinsic Goodness I take them to be among the *Wools of Europe*; consequently it might be expected, that they should be also the next to these in Price; and tho' it is otherwise in the *English Markets*, yet that, no doubt, would be the Case, were they not under the Pressure of a Monopoly.

† How is this to be understood? That the *French*, by mixing *British Wool* with their own, have the Dexterity to make better Goods than their most dextrous Neighbours in *Woolen Manufacture*, the *English*? That methinks is impossible. This would be making not only their own *Wool* better than *English*, but their own Workmen superior to the most dextrous. And therefore I imagine, what the Author meant, is, that the *French*, by the Help of their Neighbours, the *Spanish* and *Portuguese Wools*, (which are better than the *English*) tho' mixed with their own not quite so good, were capable of making as good *Draperies*, of the middle Sort, as their most expert Neighbours, the *English*, do, of the like sort, with their own *Wool* only.

412 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 151.

9. The Wool that comes from Spain, is principally from *Castile, Arragon, and Navarre*. They give them Names, according to their Quality, or the Places from whence they come. Those from *Castile and Arragon*, come commonly by *Bilboa*. The Places about *Saragoffe* in *Arragon*, and the Neighbourhood of *Segovie* in *Castile*, furnish the best. Amongst the finest of these two, they distinguish again the *Pile of the Carthusians*, and the *Pile of the Jesuits*, those that are called *la Grille, Resin Segovie, Resin Ville Castin*.

10. In general, they give to the most fine Wools the Name of *Prime*; adding to it the Name of the Place, from whence they come. So they say, *Prime Segovie*, to express the finest Wool of that City: The next to it in Fineness, is called *Seconde*, or *Resleuret*, to which they join the Denomination of some Place in *Spain*, as *Resleuret Segovie, Resleuret Ville Castin, &c.* This *Second*, of Wool, is sometimes called singly, *Segoviane*. The third Sort is called *Tierce*, which is also distinguished by a second Denomination, as *Tierce Segovie, &c.*

§. 2.

11. The *Prime*, especially those of *Segovie*, and *Ville Castin*, are commonly used for making the finest Cloths, *Ratines*, and other very fine Stuffs after the Fashion * of *England and Holland*. The *Segoviane* or *Resleuret* is used to make Cloth of *Elbeuf*, or others of like Quality. The third is only used for common Cloths, as those of *Rouen and Arnetal*. The Refuse of these three *Spanish Wools* is called in some Parts of *France, Migot*, i. e. bad.

12. The Wools of *Moliennes* come from *Barcelona*; and though *Roussillon* has been long since detached from the Crown of *Spain*, and yielded to *France*; yet the Wools of that Province keep always the Name of *Spanish Wools*. They are of three Sorts. *Resleuret*, which is the *Prime*, or most fine of that Province; the *Seconde*, which is the next, and the *Migeau*, which is the less. The other Names of *Spanish Wool*, or Wool esteemed as *Spanish*, are *Albarazin, Sorie Segoviane, or de los Rios, the Sorie common, Caseres* or *small Segovie, Segeweuse Segoviane, Segeweuse de Moline, Florettonnes de Segovie,* and *Flore-*

^d See Ch. 125. * See here, *facon d'Angleterre*, or *English-like*, is a mere technical Word, not implying necessarily the Use of *English Wool*, in that kind of Manufacture, which is so called.

Ch. 152. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 413

Florettonnes common, of Navarre and Arragon, the Cabesas of Estramadoure, and the petits Campo of Seville and Mallagis.

13. Besides the several Cloths ^d abovementioned, in a §. 11. the Fabric whereof *Spanish Wools* are employed, they are also used for making Cloth Stockins, Waistcoats, Socks, and other the most fine Works of *Bonneterie* †.

C H A P. CLII.

Dictionaire Univerfel du Commerce: Me- Page 945: *moirs concerning the Wools of Castile and Arragon (taken in the Year 1719) and of the Wools of Portugal.*

1. THE Wools of *Castile*, i. e. they that are comprehended under the Name of *Lanas Castillas*, are, *Segovianas Leonisas: Les Segovias: Les Sorias: Les Molinas.*

2. The Wools of *Arragon* are also of four Sorts, viz. *Albarazins fine, Albarazins middle, the Campos, and the black Wool of Saragoffa.* They call the Wool that comes from *Navarre, Fleuretons*. *

3. The Wools of *Castile*, and the *Albarazins*, are sent to *Roan, Holland, and England.* The *Campos*, and *black Wools of Saragoffe*, go to *Rochelle*, for the Manufactures of *Poitou.* The *Fleuretons* go to *Bretagne* or *Rochelle.* The *Agnelins* every where, especially to *Bretagne.*

4. There are five different Ways of buying Wool at *Madrid, viz.* 1. Upon the Sheeps Backs, to wash and triage, themselves. 2. All washed and triaged, by Weight, according to the Custom of *Bilboa*, and to be delivered at a Place certain. 3. In like Manner, washed and triaged, but in the Place where the washing and triage was

† *Bonneterie*, i. e. Caps, Waistcoats, &c. or whatever else is knit or wove, after the manner of Stockins.

* The *Agnelin's* are Wools shorn from Lambs, of which there are as many Sorts as the Wools mentioned above.

was performed, delivered upon the Spot, and sent by the Purchasers themselves to *Bilbao* or *Bayonne*. 4. At a certain fixed Price, as the Buyer and Seller shall agree. 5. At a Price uncertain, *i. e.* to pay for one Pile, what other Piles of the same Quality shall be sold for. This last is a precarious Method; and the Buyer † seldom finds his Account in it.

5. The Time of shearing the Sheep in *Castile*, is towards the Month of *May* and *June*. At the same Time that they shear their Sheep, they put their Wool into Piles: Then they wash them, to take out the Grease and Dirt. This Time of washing continues to the Month of *August*.

6. Tho' in this washing, something is done towards taking out the Grease from the Wool, in order to render it fit for Work, yet must it not be expected to be here-by entirely cleansed of its Grease, but of the Dirt and Ordure wherewith it was soiled.

7. The first Work, after this, is to card it; and in order to carding, it requires some Oil. That which is to be employed in Whites, or the natural Colour of the Wool, may remain in the Oil. But the Wools or Stuffs that are to be dyed, require to be clean scoured.

8. The Waste that there is of Wool, *en suin*, when it is well washed, is commonly 53 *per Cent.* *i. e.* 17 *Arobes* ° of Wool *en suin*, produces only 8 *Arobes* of washed Wool, which make commonly one Bale. The Waste in Wools is not always the same; Experience shews, that if there is no Rain in the Time of Shearing, then it is most; and on the contrary, if that Season is rainy, then it is less. The Reason is, because the Rain at such Time carries off a Part of the Grease and Soil, while the Wool is yet upon the Sheeps Backs, and also after Shearing, while it lies in the Piles, in order to washing.

9. Mr. *Mondoteguy*, Author of the *Traite de Arbitrages*, supposes 400 Pounds of Wool, *en surge*, as it is taken from the

† This is a Method sometimes used in *England*, but in which the *Sellers* (as has been observed) seldom find their Account. Thus, is the Difference, in that respect, between *Spain* and *England*, plainly the Difference, of a free, and of a monopolized Market.

the Sheeps Back, to make one Bale, of 8 *Arobes*, or 200 Pounds of washed Wool; taking the *Arobe* upon the Foot of 25 Pounds. This Proportion, of half Waste, nevertheless is not entirely just, for all Sorts of Wool. For Example, 25 Pounds of Wool of *Segovie*, *en surge*, afford 12 Pounds and an half of washed Wool; 25 Pounds called *Soria*, 11 Pounds, and 25 called *d' Arragon*, from 9 and an half to 10 Pounds.

10. To wash these a second Time, as they ought to be, in order to make Cloth; they lose again 20 Pounds *per Cent.* So that upon that Foot, 25 Pounds of Wool of *Segovia*, when washed the second Time, as it must be, will be only 10 Pounds; and the rest, in Proportion.

11. They make commonly as many Piles as there are different Sorts of Wool. There are Piles of *Segovianas*, *Sorias*, *Molinas*, *Albarazins*. Nevertheless, among Piles of the same Sort, there are some better than others. For Example, the Piles of *Segovianas Leonisas*, those of the *Escorial*, the Piles of *Mondejos*, and *Orloga*. The different Sorts have a different Price. The *Segovianas Leonisas* are more dear than the *Sorias*. They are called *Leonisas*, to distinguish them from the *Segovianas*, singly, because the Sheep are fed upon the Mountains of *Leon*, which are excellent Pasturage.

12. The Price of Wool *per Pound* in *France*, bought (1719 *) at *Bilboa*, *viz.* washed and triaged. Page 950.

	<i>Livres</i>	<i>Sols</i>
The Bale, prime Cost	600	00
Freight, &c.	62	04
Total.	662	04

The neat Weight at *Rouen* is 164 lb. So that dividing 662 lb. 4 sols by 164; each Pound comes to

<i>Livres</i>	<i>Den.</i>
4	00 9

Of

* The Author gives it to be understood, that by reason of the War, about this Time, between *France* and *Spain*, Wool came dear to *France*, and that it has been much cheaper since.

416 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 152.

Of another Sort,	<i>Livres Sols Dern.</i>
The Bale, prime Cost, — —	574 00 0
Freight, &c. — — —	62 04 0
Which divided, as before, by 164, is	
per lib. — — —	3 17 7

The Price of Wool per Pound bought *en Suin*, i. e. unwashed.

The Bale is, — — —	526 00 0
Freight, &c., — — —	62 04 0
	588 04 0

Which divided as before, is * 3 11 9

It is to be observed concerning Wool *en Suin*, that on Account of the two Bales, *Second*, and one, *Tierce*, which compose a Pile of fifteen Bales, the Prime of the Wool noted as above, 3 *Livres* 11 *Sols* 9 *Dern.* must be rated 2 *Sols* per lib. dearer. According to which Calculation, the twelve Bales de *Prime*, cost at *Rouen*, per lib. *Livres Sols Dern.*

	3 13 9
The two Bales, <i>Second</i> — —	2 15 4
One Bale, <i>Tierce</i> — — —	1 17 0

Segovi-

* I don't know how to reconcile this high Price of Wool, (*en suin*) as a Fact, with the two foregoing Examples, and what has been said concerning the Waste of such Wool, when it comes to be washed, (see §. 8, 9, 10.) unless it is hereby intended to give the Price of so much Wool bought *en suin*, as, when washed, amounted by Computation to a Bale; and in this View it is very intelligible, making the Difference, of about 9 at the most, or at the least, 5 *Sols*, per Pound, for the Labour of washing it: See (§. 4.) the five different Ways of purchasing Wool at *Madrid*, viz. upon the Sheeps Backs, the Purchasers themselves to wash and triage it; which I conceive is the same with what is here meant, by Wool bought *en suin*, i. e. unwashed, but to be paid for by Weight, when triaged and washed; or rather, I should imagine, bought with Allowance made in the Weight for the necessary Waste in washing; as for Instance (according to Mr. ^m *Mondoteguy's Traite de Arbitrages*) to have two Pounds of the best Wool unwashed at the Price of one Pound, washed, and, of the middle and inferior Wools, yet more in proportion.

^m See §. 9.

Ch. 153. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 417

<i>Segovianas Leonisas</i> , per lib. at a Medium	1	s.	d.
The others in Proportion, viz. <i>Segovias</i>	3	15	0
<i>Sorias</i>	3	05	0
<i>Molinas</i>	2	18	0
<i>Albarazines fins</i>	2	16	0
<i>De Moyens</i>	2	18	0
<i>Campo fins</i>	2	12	0
<i>De Moyens</i>	2	10	0
<i>Laines Noires</i> (black Wool) of <i>Saragoffe</i>	2	08	0
<i>Fleuretons de Navarre</i>	2	12	0
	2	14	0

Price of Spanish Wools 1719. Page 951

13. The Pile of the *Escorial* is the best Wool of *Spain* that is bought up by Strangers. It belongs to the Religious there, and affords them a yearly Revenue, of 40,000 *Piafters*. The Piles which come nearest to the *Escorial*, are those of *Munos*, *Mondejos*, *Orlega*, *de Torre* and *Paular*; 1000 or 1200 Bales of this Wool are to be found at *Madrid*.

14. The Wools of *Portugal* do not differ much from Wools of those of *Spain*, and they pass commonly for those of *Portugal*; *Segovie*. The Cloths made of them, are very soft in the Hand. But the Makers don't chuse this Wool, because the Nature of it is such, that it fulls more in the Length than the Breadth; so that it comes short from the Fuller; which is a Loss to the Merchant.

C H A P. CLIII.

Dictionaire Universel du Commerce.

Of the Wools of *Holland*, &c. of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; of *Germany*, the *North*, and *Lorrain*, and of the *Levant*, &c.

1. THERE comes from *Holland* two Sorts of Wool. Page 952. Those of the Growth of the Country; and Wools from those that the *Dutch* have from *Germany*, *Pomerania*, *Holland*. VOL. II. D d Dantzick,

Dantzick, Prussia, Brunswick, Paderborn, &c. These are commonly combed and spun in *Flanders*; of which they make very fine wove Stockins, and some fine Cloth.*

2. The Commerce of Wool is one of the most considerable Branches of Trade in *Amsterdam*; and the most distinct Account we have of it, is in the *Traite Le Negoce d'Amsterdam*, by *Sieur Jean Pierre Ricard*^a, published

^a See
Ch. 172. 1722.

Page 954.
Wools of
England,
Scotland,
and Ire-
land.

3. The *English* have been always jealous of their Wools; but this Jealousy † has been increased since the Middle of the 17th Century: It is a capital Crime to sell it abroad. Tho' the Wools of *Scotland* and *Ireland* pass abroad for *English*; yet Foreigners skilled in those Matters, find they come far short of it in Fineness and Goodness. Nevertheless some esteem the *Irish* Wool to be finest. The Sheep that produce these precious †

Fleeces

* Here observe, it is said, *very fine wove Stockins*, and some fine Cloth. And can we discredit this? Or can we believe it, and at the same time think of obtaining a *Monopoly* in foreign Markets, upon a Belief that Foreigners can't uphold their Manufacturies without *English* or *Irish* Wool? Or is it reasonable to create a Monopoly against the *English* Grower of the *Material*, when nothing like one can be acquired for the *Manufacture*?

† *Jealousy*, a proper Word enough, as it sometimes is used to denote Fondness, without Discretion; or Suspicion, without Cause. The Truth is, the *English Merchants of the Staple*, first, heretofore; since them, the *English* Staplers or Wool Jobbers, and the Manufacturers, have constantly thirsted after a *Monopoly* of the *English* Wools.

‡ *Precious Fleeces*. Mr. *Savary* had before applied this Epithet to the Wools of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and it is equally proper to some of the *English* Fleeces, which by their Weight or Quantity, are of great Value; although, Pound for Pound, the Wool is not of the greatest, especially in the *English* Markets. And as to the smaller Sheep of *England*, those of *Coteswold*, the *Isle of Wight*, &c. how does this Encomium (*precious*) agree with the Weight of their Fleeces, (which are but light, like the *Spanish*) and with the Price at which they are ordinarily sold in *England*; which is not only below the lowest Wools of *Spain*, at *Amsterdam*, but even below the coarse Wools of *Germany*, and the yet coarser of *Tours* in *France*. (See Chap. 162. §. 7. Chap. 171, 172.)

Fleeces are of two Kinds, the one, large, the other, small.

4. The excellent Pastures, and fine short Grass on which these Sheep feed, and which is plentiful in all Seasons, does not a little contribute to the Fineness of their Wool. But we believe it contributes much to their Goodness, that they have Convenience of feeding upon these Pastures, all the Year round, without being obliged to be shut up in Houses, except in very rigorous Seasons. Besides, there being no Wolves in *England*, they are secure at all times.

5. Mr. *Colbert*, whose Memory will ever be respected by all Lovers of their Country, had formed a Design of transporting *English* Sheep to *France*; hoping that by chusing for them, in the Provinces of *France*, Pasturage, and a Climate much like that of their Isle, they should be able to propagate and perpetuate the *Kind*. But the Count *de Cominges*, then Ambassador at *London*, shewed him the Impossibility of transporting them, and almost the equal Impossibility of preserving the *Kind*, when transported. So that this Minister was obliged to abandon a Project, which it was glorious for him to have entertained, altho' it could not be executed.*

6. The great Precautions of the *English* Government against exporting Wool, render it more scarce || among their

* This is a Story, at the best, spoiled in the telling. For Instance, it represents the Business, of transporting *English* Sheep, as the greatest Difficulty in this Case, whereas the Pasturage †, common Sense will teach us, was the main Point. Besides, was the celebrated Mr. *Colbert* such a Novice in these Matters, to want to be instructed by the Count *de Cominges*? And whatever it was that passed between these two great Persons, on this Subject, (as something probably did) must not that something have been worthy of the Characters of able Men, Ministers of *France*? (See §. 7. Note.)

† *Ovium summa genera duo sunt; Pinguis & campestris* Vol. 1. *Situs* † *proceras Oves tolerat*, &c. p. 5. Note.

|| That is, (we should so understand it) *more scarce, than if Wool, from England, was allowed to be freely exported.* This is both intelligible, and certain. But as confessedly these Precautions don't entirely prevent it, so neither is it

Page 955. their Neighbours; but they don't entirely prevent it. The *English* make use of long Winter Nights to convey them, and prefer a certain considerable Gain to the Dangers even of Death, which they have a Chance to escape. This intrepid Nation looks with Indifference upon that Danger, which is a Terror to most other People.

7. The finest *English* Wool comes from *Canterbury*, either uncombed, or combed, ready for spinning. It is that Wool, whereof they make in *England* the most fine * and serviceable Cloth that can be seen. They make use of it in *France* for their finest Cloths, and other their finest Woolen Stuffs. The Manufacturers have so well imitated the *English*, that the *English* themselves cannot distinguish the Difference. And it is only Prepossession of Opinion, and a natural Fondness for Things

certainly more scarce, in *France*, for Instance, than if these Precautions centered in a *Duty on Wool exported*, instead of an *absolute Prohibition*. For a Prohibition, we perceive, by long and abundant Experience, amounts but to a limited *Exportation of Wool*, and differs from a *Duty*, only in this, viz. that, under an *Exportation limited by a Duty*, *English* Wool in *England* will be dearer; which being rightly understood, would make it the Option of *Wool-Growers*. Under an *absolute Prohibition*, Wool is cheaper; and therefore the *Wool-Buyers* are in Love with a Prohibition; although they are sensible that comparative Cheapness of Wool is what will necessarily occasion the Exportation of it, clandestinely: And, no doubt, some of these, notwithstanding all Appearances and Professions to the contrary, do make their Advantage from clandestine Exportation accordingly. And such therefore, it may be expected, will be always loudest in their Exclamations against any Proposal for a Change of Measures in this Case.

* Mr. *Savary*, the Author of this Dictionary, tells his Readers, in his Preface, that he would not be answerable for all the several Memoirs, from which he had transcribed. And this, I think, is a Paragraph from one of those which are to be read with some Grains of Allowance, for being wrote in the hyperbolic Style, by an Author, probably *English*, and no Manufacturer; otherwise he would not have talked of making the most fine Cloth with *English* Wool.

^b See §. 8.

Things that come from abroad, that make the People prefer foreign Manufacture to that of the Kingdom.

8. The best *English* Wool^c is, that of *Leominster* in *Herefordshire*, of *Cotswold* in *Gloucestershire*, and of the *Isle of Wight* in *Hampshire*. It is so fine, that the Stuff, thereof made, comes near to Silk^d. And the Country^d produces such Quantities of it, that besides the Consumption of it made in the *British Isles*, an incredible Quantity of *English* Cloth is sent to foreign Parts.

9. There is also a great deal of *English* Wool consumed in *France* for Tapestry, *Hautlisse* and *Bastisse*, or made with the Needle upon Canvas, especially for white and fire Colour; and those Wools are called *Laine de Gobelins*; because they are all dyed there by those able Dyers, who have been established there for above half a Century, and have render'd themselves so famous there, by their admirable dying, that they are not inferior to those of *Holland*.

10. One other considerable Consumption of *English* Wool in *France*, is in wove Stockins*, that are called *Stockins de Bouchon*, from the Manner in which the Wool is wrapped up hard, in order to its Conveyance to *France*. This Wool is very long and very fine, and comes ready combed from *England*.

11. For the Wools of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, they being nearly like to those of *England*, are put to pretty near the same Uses, except that being less fine, and more common, the Stuffs made of them, are not so much esteemed, nor so saleable. The most Part of these Wools come ready combed, and they are commonly spun in *Picardy*.

12. Besides all those Wools, of which we have just spoke, and which are the finest and best which Strangers

D d 3 furnish

* Does not this prove, against the Bulk of *English* Writers, that the Advantage, of mixing *English* with *French* Wool, is not any thing like what has been represented at least? If it was, can it be imagined that the *French* would use any *English* Wool alone; and that only for wove Stockins, a Manufacture, wherein they are rivalled, not only by wove Stockins made of the Wools of *Holland* and *Germany*, &c. but by Stockins of Silk, of Cotton, of Thread; all which are commonly preferred to Worsted?

Wools of Germany, from Germany and the North; which tho' of an inferior Quality, are employed in many Stuffs and other Works. They have commonly the Names of the Places whence they come, as Wools of Rostock, Gripswalde, Stralsund d'Anclam^e, Stetin, Thoorn, Dantzick, &c. They have nevertheless sometimes their proper Names; but they add always the Names of the Kingdoms, States or Cities, whence they are sent, as *Bluette du Rhin*, Wool de *Eté de Pologne*, Wool *Brunyere du Rhin*, de *Wisnar*, *Plure de Mulhausen*, de *Wisnar*, du *Rhin*; *Fine grise*, *Kiste*, &c. There is also a great Trade for Wool in *Lorraine*; of which there is an extraordinary Produce there, having many Sheep. The best Part of these Wools go to *Liege* and *Champagne*.

Page 956. 13. There are also Wools of the *Levant*, v. g. *Pelades*, fine and common; *Tresquilles* or *Surges*, *les Batares*, *les Ipsola*, and *l'Estain* of *Constantinople*; Wools *Surges* of *Aleppo*, of *Alexandria*, of *Cyprus*, black *Batares* of *Aleppo*; Wools de *Chevron*, black, of *Smyrna* and *Persia*, *Chevrons* redelish and white, fine and common, of *Smyrna*, of *Satalia*. Finally, *Mattelins* of the *Morea* and *Barbary*.

Page 957. 14. Wool *Auxy* is the finest spun Wool about *Abbeville*. Wool *Trice*, is Wool sorted. *Laine Basse*, or *Basse Laine*, is the shortest and finest Wool of the Fleece. Many give it the Name of *Fine*, on the Account of its great Fineness. That Sort of Wool, when spun, is commonly employed to make the Shoot or Woof of Tapestry, Cloths, *Ratines*, and other like fine Stuffs, for which Reason, the Manufacturers call it *Laine trame*. It is of that kind of Wool which the Stockin Weavers and Knitters use. The *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* give it the Name of *Prime*, or best. So they say, *Prime Segovie*. Wool *en suiff*, *en suin*, Wool *Surge*, are the same, i. e. Wool unwashed, in its Dirt and Grease. *Laine de*

§. 12. *Eté de Pologne* is one of the finest Wools of the North^e.

CHAP. CLIV.

Of the Commerce of Marseilles, in the Year 1688. By *Sieur Gaspar Carfevil*, *Merchant of Marseilles.* A new Edition (*Appendix to Dictionnaire Univerfel du Commerce*) with Additions, distinguishing in Italics, the State of Trade, and the Price of Commodities there, in 1727, 1739, 1740.

1. THERE come from *Smyrna* to *Marseilles*, from 1800 to 2000 Quintals of Wool, of three Sorts, v. g. *fine Wool*, from 17 to 18 Livres the Quintal; *Batare Wool*, from 13 to 14 Livres; *Metelin Surges*, from 11 to 12 Livres. From *Constantinople*, 2 or 3000 Quintals of the following Wools. *Laines Pelades*, or *Skin Wool*, fine, from 22 to 32 Livres; the coarse *Skin Wool*, from 14 to 15 Livres. Wool *Tresquilles*, *Surges*, 16—17 Livres; Wool *Tresquilles* coarse, *Surges*, 13—14 Livres; *Iffolat*, *Surges*, 15—26 Livres the Quintal*; *De Satalie Turquimani*, 350 or 400 Quintals, which are employed in making Quilts in *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Piedmont*. From *Tripoli*, of *Syria*, by *Seyde* and *Cyprus*, 5 or 600 Quintals, at 12 or 13 Livres. From *Alexandria*, from 800 to 1000 Quintals, at 14 or 15 Livres the Quintal. They serve to make Quilts, D d 4

* Though these are seemingly but low Prices for Wool, yet we can say the less about them, as they are not only Wools, the intrinsic Goodness whereof we are unacquainted with, but also Wools *en Surge*; wherein the Waste is considerable, before they are reduced to the Condition in which the *English* Wools are always sold. We have seen that the Waste of Wool, *en Surge*, the best of *Segovie*, in the first washing, besides the Expence of Labour, is one Half; and that in inferior Sorts, the Waste by washing, and, it may be presumed, the Expence also, is still more. Moreover, the Quintal, or 100 lb. of *Marseilles*, is but 81 lb. of *Amsterdam*; which is not 80 lb. of *London*. (See *Traite le Negoce d'Amsterdam*.)

Quilts, and are used at *Lyons, Rouen*, and in other Parts of *France*. From *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, 80 or 90 Quintals, which serve for Drapery, at 14 or 15 Livres the Quintal; which are sold in *Provence* and *Languedoc*. From *Tripoli, Tunis, Algier*, and that Coast, 1500 or 2000 Quintals, employed to make coarse Cloths, Blankets and Quilts, at 14 or 15 Livres the Quintal; sold in *Provence, Languedoc*, and further in *France*. From the *Morea* 800 to 1000 Quintals; for Blankets and Quilts, at 9 or 10 Livres the Quintal; sold in *Provence, Languedoc*, and *Italy*. All these Wools come *Surge*, or in their Dirt.

2. From *Spain* there come ordinarily 15 or 16000 Quintals of Wool, *Surge*; 4 or 5000 Quintals of Skin Wool from *Majorca, Catalonia, Alicant, Almerie, Valence, Carthagena, and Malaga*. But within a Year, there has not come the sixth Part; the Reason is, because they have been bought up in great Quantities, at an extraordinary Price, for *Holland*. Formerly, there came *Albarazins*, 1000 or 1500 Quintals, and Skin Wool 7 or 800 Quintals. These Wools were formerly at 20 and 22 Livres the Quintal; now, are 28—30 Livres; the *Albarazins*, from 70* to 80 Livres; the *Skin Wool*, 5 or 6 Livres above the common *Spanish Surges*. The Consumption is made in *Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiny, Piedmont*.

In 1740 †, the Wools of *Castile* and *Arragon* sold for 38 Livres the Quintal.

3. From *Sally* and *Tetouan* come ordinarily 3 or 4000 Quintals, the most Part, *Surges*, and the 20th Part, *Skin Wool*. There comes but little in Time of War. The *Surge* is sold from 14 to 15 Livres the Quintal. The *Skin Wool*, from 17 to 18 Livres.

4. In

* The *Albarazins* are among the better Wools of *Spain*; and therefore, by comparing this with Chap. 152. §. 12. we see the great Difference between the Price of the better *Spanish Wools en Surge*, and the same washed and triaged.

† The Wools of *Castile* and *Arragon* are also among the better Wools of *Spain*; consequently, by comparing this with the immediate foregoing Paragraph, we find that in 1740, the Wools of *Spain* were at about half the Price they sold for in 1688.

A. D.
1688.

4. In 1739 there came from *Constantinople*, 1632 Bales of *Skin Wool*, 114 Bales of *Wool* from *Panorme*. From *Smyrna*, 50 Bales of *Skin Wool*, 50 Bales of *Surge*, 11 Bales of reddish *Wool* of *Perfia*, 21 Bales of *Bastard Wool*, 310 Bales of *Wool tresquille fine*. From *Alexandria, Cyprus, Tripoli*, 204 Bales, and 228 Bales. From *Cavallo*, 247 Bales of *Skin Wool*, 31 Bales of *Surge*, 18 Bales of *tresquille*. From *Salonica*, 323 Bales of *Wool Surge*, 932 Bales of *Wool*. From *Algier*, 20 Bales of *Wool Surge*. From *Barbary*, 406 Bales. From *Bonne*, 420 Bales. From *Spain*, 2641 Bales. From *Italy, Naples, Leghorn, and Genoa*, 500 Bales of *white Wool*, &c.

C H A P. CLV.

Dictionaire Universel du Commerce : *The Manufactures established in Paris and other Parts of France.*

1. THE Woolen Manufactures of *France* are, *Cloth, Tome 2. Serges, Ratines, Baracans, Camblets, Calaman-cos, Tamnies, Crapes, Bayes, Perpetuanas, Flannels, &c. Frizes, Anacostes, Druggets, &c.* all of *Wool*, or of *Wool* and *Thread*, mixt. p. 1188.

2. It is to *Monsieur Colbert*, Superintendent General of Arts and Manufactures, that this Kingdom is indebted for the first Establishment of those *Manufacturies** which are now become the most flourishing in *Europe*.

3. There

* The Words *Manufacture*; and *Manufactory* or *Manufactory*, are by several Authors used a little too indiscriminately; whereas, in Propriety of Speech, *Manufacture*, and *Manufactory*, have different Significations; the one denoting the Art, or the Stuff itself, manufactured; the other, in a larger Sense, the whole Design for setting on Foot and maintaining such a particular Work, in any particular Place or Part of a Country; in which Sense, is here to be understood the word, *Manufacturies*, as said to be established by *Mr. Colbert*. (See §. 3.)

3. There have been a Number of good Regulations made concerning them, viz. in August 1669, August Pag. 1189. 1700; March and May 1701, &c. A Royal Manufactory is a Manufactory established by Letters Patents from the King.

Pag. 1192. 4. Several Persons have been famous for the setting up of Manufacturies in France, at several Times, and particularly, since Hen. IV. But two especially have distinguished themselves in this Way, 1. *Nicolas Cadeau*, who founded and brought to Perfection the Manufactory at *Sedan*. 2. *Joseph Vanrobais*, who established that of *Abbeville*, which long has been, and is yet, in high Reputation. The first was a Native of France, who in the Year 1646, joining himself with *John Binet* and *Tves of Marseilles*, two other rich Traders, obtained Letters Patents, given at *Fontainbleau* in the Month of July of the same Year, for his new Manufactory.

5. By these Letters Patents, the Company had the sole making (for twenty Years) of black and coloured Cloths, like those of *Holland*. These three Patentees and their Children, born, and to be born, were ennobled*, and honoured with all Titles, &c. of the Nobles of France. The King gave not only each of them a Pension of 500 Livres yearly, during their Lives, but also assisted them with a Stock of 8000 Livres a Year, during the Term of their Patent. The Success of this new Manufactory exceeded all Expectation. And the Cloths which we call *Draps de Sedan*, from the Name of the City where made, might be esteemed the finest of their kind, if those of *Abbeville* had not their *Partisans*, who contend for their being at least equal to them.

6. The Privilege exclusive of *Sieur Cadeau* †, was near

* *Ennobled*. But Query, if the Word, in this Place, signifies exactly what we understand by it in *Great Britain*? I apprehend not, but rather some other Privileges, of which, not knowing precisely the Constitutions of that Kingdom, we have not an exact Idea. But we are told that it is much the same Rank and Dignity with that, of an *English Esquire*.

† It is to be observed, that tho' the Original of the particular *Manufacturies* of the *Sieur Cadeau*, and of *Vanrobais*, are here mentioned, yet are we not to date from thence (as

near expiring, when *Sieur Vanrobais*, a Dutch Merchant, desired to set up a new Manufactory of fine Cloths, after the Fashion of *Spain* and *Holland*, which he proposed to make at *Abbeville* in *Picardie*. His Letters Patents bore date, October 1669, of which the Principal Clauses were: For 30 Looms: For a requisite Number of fulling Mills, and 50 Workmen to be brought from *Holland*; with Passports for the same, Exemption from all Taxes, &c. for their Looms, Cloth, Wool, &c. In short, to facilitate the Establishment, the King gave him, as a free Gift, 12000 Livres, and lent him 2000 Livres for every Loom he should set up, during the three first Years, without Interest. Pag. 1193.

7. The

(as some Writers have done) the Beginning of Woolen Manufactory, or even of making Cloth in France; much less are we to suppose that these two particular Manufacturies received any Support from *English* and *Irish* Wool, (deducing thence the Owling Trade) for in these two particular Manufacturies was used only *Spanish Wool*. And whereas it is said, they made Cloth after the Fashion of *Holland*, *Spain*, and *England*, or *English-like*; these were but technical Names for certain fine Cloths; just as we say *Serge de Nismes*, *German Serge*, &c. tho' made in *England*, of *English Wool*. And the Reason why the Government in France was at such an Expence, to encourage these two particular Manufacturies, was plainly this: The making of fine broad Cloth is, in all Regards, the most difficult and the most beneficial Part of Woolen Manufacture; requiring the largest Stocks to carry it on to Advantage. In this, the *Dutch* and *English* being, at the Time when these Manufacturies were erected, superior to the *French*, they had the supplying, in a great measure, the Court and Kingdom of France with their finest Cloths; the Expence of which was so much, as to make a considerable Article against them, in the general Balance of their Trade. And therefore, the first View that Nation had, in erecting those Manufacturies, was, to supply their own Occasions, and thereby save a large Sum of Money within the Kingdom, which they had been used to pay to foreign Labour. To effectuate which, besides these positive Encouragements to Undertakers, and their Charters exclusive, (which, by the way, are, what would not have been endured in a free Country, as *England* is) they laid high Duties upon all foreign Woolen Manufactures, and particularly on the *English*, as their most formidable Rivals.

Ch. 125. §. 1. Note.

Ch. 71.

§. 9.

Ch. 128.

§. 3, 10-14.

Ch. 94.

§. 18.

7. The said *Vanrobais*, having fulfilled his Engagement, had his Patent renewed to him and his eldest Son, in 1681, for 15 Years more; on Condition that he should set up 50 Looms instead of 30. In Consideration of which, the King remitted to him 20,000 Livres, of the 80,000 that had been lent to him, within the three first Years of his former Grant.

8. A third Patent, in the Year 1698, was granted to *Isaac* and *Jos. Vanrobais*, two Brothers, Sons of the first Undertaker, who had now set up 80 Looms. Which Number, in 1708, was increased to above 100; when the said *Jos. Vanrobais*, in Partnership with his Brother *Isaac's* Widow, being desirous to erect still more Building, in order to extend this flourishing Establishment, the like whereof perhaps was not to be met with, obtained, that same Year, a *fourth Grant*, with further Privileges, for fifteen Years to come. One of which Privileges was, a Permission to all Noblemen * to enter into the Partnership, without Derogation to their Titles and Honours.

C H A P. CLVI.

Dictionnaire Univerfel du Commerce.

Of French Cloths, and the other several Sorts of Woolen Manufacture practised in France; and of the Wools used therein.

Tom. 2. Of Cloths, p. 106.

1. **CLOTHS** are made of different Qualities, some fine, some middling, some coarse, or strong; some dyed in the Wool, of different Colours, *i. e.* the Wool whereof has been dyed and mixed, before it was spun and worked in the Loom. Others are made all white, to be dyed, scarlet, black, blue, &c. Their Breadths and Lengths are different, according to their Quality and the Places where made.

2. Almost

* See §. 5. Note.

2. Almost all the Cloths that are seen in *France*, are Page 107. the Manufacture of the Kingdom; nevertheless they have some from foreign Countries; especially, in Time of Peace, from *Spain, England, and Holland*.

3. The fine Cloths are of three Qualities; the first is made of the fine Wool of *Segovia*, without any Mixture; the second, of *Segovia* Wool, with that of *Albarazin*, second *Segovia* and Wool of *Soris*; the third, of other middle Sorts of *Spanish* Wool.

4. Many Manufacturies of this Kingdom, especially those of *Languedoc, Dauphine, and Provence*, afford Quantities for the *Levant*, from *Marseilles*. These Cloths, whose Names, Qualities, Lengths, Breadths, &c. are different from those worn in the Kingdom, have been the Subject of many Laws *.

5. The Cloths called *Londrins premieres*, are to be Page 113. made of Wool, *prime Segovie*, both Warp and Woof: *Londrins seconds* must have for the Warp, Wool *Soria*, or Wool of equal Quality; for the Woof, *second Segovie*. *Londres larges* must be made of the best Wool of *Languedoc, Lower Dauphine, Gandie, Roussillon, grand Albarazin*, and others of like Quality. *Londres* must be made of *le fleuret de Laine de Languedoc, low Dauphiny, Gandie, petit Albarazin*, or others of like Quality. *Drap* *Seizans*, of Wool, of *Languedoc, low Dauphiny, or Spanish* Wool, of like Quality.

6. They shall not employ in the Manufacture of *Ro-* Page 114. *morentin* other than the Wools of *Berry, Sologne, and Rules*, Wools of *Spain, prime Segovie, prime Soria, and prime Apr. 27. Segoviane* only; without employing other *Spanish* Wools, 1706. of an inferior Quality, or the Wools of *Navarre, or Barbary*, or any other Wool.

7. *Rules, August 21. 1718.* for the making of Cloths Page 115. in the Provinces of *Burgogne, Bresse, Bugey, Valromey and Gex, viz.* of whites and of different Colours at *August Dijon and Selonges, Sommieres, Auxois, Auxer Montbard 1718 Avalon, Saulien, Chatillon upon the Seine, Montcenis Louans, La Charite de Macon, Cluny and Paray le Monial.* Common Cloths called *Sardis* that are made at *Bourge*

* Les premiers Statuts du Corps de la Draperie font de l'année 1188, sous le Regne de Philippe August. Tom. 2. p. 122.

Bourge en Bresse, Pomdeveaux, Montluel, and other Places.

Page 116. 8. Besides *Draps* (*i. e.* full Cloths) there is a Manufacture of *Petit Draps* (Stuffs of Wool) which are commonly used for Linings, *viz.* Serges of *Aumalle*, of *Beavais*, and others, *Frizes, Frizons, Feltins, &c.*

Page 129. 9. *Druggets* are a Stuff of Wool, or of Wool and Thread, some broad, but most of them narrow. They are sometimes called *Pinchinas* *, tho' far from like what, of that Name, comes from *Toulon* and *Chalons*, in

Page 130. *Champagne*. The Places in *France*, where *Druggets* are chiefly made, are *le Lude, Amboise, Partenay, Niort, Reims, Rouen, Darnatal, Verneuil in Perche, Troyes, Chaumont in Bassigny, Langres* and *Chalons in Champagne*. There are also very fine *Druggets* made, but of a particular Sort, at *Bedarieux* in *Languedoc*, and many adjacent Villages, which are sold in *Germany*.

9. The *Druggets* of *Lude* are of Wool entirely, both Warp and Woof. At *Amboise* are made of two Sorts, of Wool entirely, the one *Croisés* †, the others *not Croisés*. The *Druggets* of *Partenay* are made, some of Wool only; others, the Warp, of Thread, the Woof, of Wool. *Niort* affords *Druggets*, all of Wool; some *Croisés*, others not, half Ell-wide. The *Croisés* are the most esteemed, being for the most part close wrought, and very strong. The *Druggets* of *Reims* are *not Croisés*, half Ell wide, commonly made of nothing but Wool *prime Segovie*, spun very fine, which gives them a Superiority to all the other || *Druggets* manufactured in *France*,

Tom. 3.
p. 202.

* *Pinchina*, a kind of coarse and strong Cloth made at and about *Toulon*, Ell broad. There are that are made all of *Spanish* Wool only, others of Wool of the Country entirely; the first are chiefly sold in *France*; the rest, for the most part, in *Italy, Barbary, and the Archipelago*. *Chalons* furnishes a Stuff of Wool very strong, Ell wide, called *Pinchinas*, because its Quality comes pretty near to the true *Pinchinas* of *Toulon*.

† *Croisés*, a technical Term.

|| These, I suppose to have been the *French Druggets*, which in the Time of King *Charles II.* were much worn in *England*. (See Chap. 51. §. 10. Chap. 55. §. 3. Note. Chap. 57. §. 6.)

France, which are generally made of the Wool of the Country, coarse spun.

10. At *Roan* are made three Sorts of *Druggets not croisés*. The one made of Wool only, half Ell wide, &c. Another called *Berluche*, or *Breluche*, the Woof, Wool, the Warp, Thread. This second Sort of *Druggets* comes very near in Goodness and Price to those of *Verneuil* in *Perche*. The last, commonly called *Espagnolettes*, are entirely of Wool, hairy on one Side, and sometimes on both, which makes them very warm. These *Druggets Espagnolettes* are made of different Qualities; one very fine, of *Spanish* Wool only; others less fine, of *Spanish* Wool mixed with the Wool of the Country; others of the Wool of the Country only, which are the coarser and of less Value. They are made white, and dyed, after that, of different Colours.

11. The *Druggets* of *Darnetal* are like to those of *Roan*, in Goodness, Length, and Breadth.

12. *Verneuil* in *Perche*, furnishes *Druggets* half Ell wide, from 42 to 65 Ells long, the Warp, Thread, the Woof, Wool of the Country, very coarse. They are of a low Price, *viz.* about 13 or 14 Sols the Ell. They are consumed commonly at *Beausse*, the *Orleanois*, and Country adjacent to *Paris*, for clothing the Peasants. The *Druggets* of *Troyes* are *Croisés*, on one Side, and not on the other. The Woof is of Wool, the Warp, of Thread. They are not much better than those of *Verneuil*. At *Chaumont* in *Bassigny*, and at *Langres*, are *Druggets* like those of *Troyes*.

13. At *Chalons* in *Champagne*, are made *Druggets*, all of Wool. They are called *Espagnolettes*, and their Quality is very good. There are few, except *Druggets Espagnolettes* of *Roan* and *Darnetal*, and some *Druggets* with Thread, that are dyed in the Piece; the others are dyed in the Wool, *i. e.* the Wool of which they are made, is dyed of several Colours, before it is carded, spun, and weaved.

14. *Serge* is a Stuff, of Wool, manufactured after a *Serges*. certain Manner. They have different Names given by Tom. 3. the Merchants and their Makers, to distinguish and render them more esteemed. Their Price is different, according to the different Sorts and Qualities and Places where made, *viz.* *Serge de Seigneur, Serge a la Reigne, Serge*

Serge Imperial, &c. Serge raze, Serge a poil, Serge dra-
pee, or Cloth Serge, Serge both Sides alike, and Serge
de Berry, de Beauvais, de Mouy, de St. Lo, d'Aumale,
de Crevecœur, de Blicour, de Chartres, &c. Facon de Lon-
dres, d'Arscot, de Rome, de Segovie. All of these which
are made in France, are subject to certain Rules, by
divers Arrets, according to the Places where they are
made.

Serges fa- 15. France owes the Manufacture of Serge after the
con de Lon- Fashion of London to Lewis Bezuel and Nicolas de la Cou-
dres. dre, Partners. These two able Manufacturers begun the
Fabric, at Aumale, a little City in Normandy, in Conse-
quence of a Patent exclusive, for 15 Years, of the 12th
of September 1665, granted upon the Report of Mr. Col-
bert. It has since been transferred to Seignelay, Gour-
nay, Auxerre, Sedan, Abbeville, Beauvais, Boufflers, &c.
That of Seignelay has always preserved the Preference,
either because they make use of better Wool, or are bet-
ter Workmen, or because the Earth and Water are more
proper.

16. As to the Manner of making the Serges facon de
Londres. The best Wool for the Purpose, is that of
England, viz. the longest, for the Warp, and the shortest,
for the Woof. But as it is not easy to procure those
Sorts of Wool, because they are prohibitedⁿ, they have
recourse, for the Warp, to the longest and finest Wool
of Berry; and for the Woof, to the Prime and Second of
Spain and Portugal*.

ⁿ See
Ch. 153.
§. 6. Note.

Page 743. 17. Perpetuanas, a Stuff, like the Serges of Sommiere,
Perpetua- are commonly made at Colchester and Exeter, and other
nas. Places thereabouts. These Perpetuanas are chiefly desti-
ned to Spain and Italy; but most to Spain, where there
is a great Demand for them. Of late Years they make
some in Imitation of the English Perpetuanas, at Mont-
pelier, Nismes, Castres, and other Cities of Low Langue-
doc. Some are also made at Beauvais, which are much
esteemed

* However true it may be, that some long Wools of
England, are better than those of the Province of Berry, in
France: Certain it is, that the English short Wools are,
either not so good as the Prime and Second of Spain and
Portugal, or else they are very much underfold in the Eng-
lish Markets. (See Chap. 171. N^o 6, Chap. 172.)

esteemed at Cadiz, where the French Merchants send
them, dyed of different Colours. The Merchants of
Languedoc send a Quantity of them into Italy under the
Name of Imperial Serge, that are a little finer than
those designed for Spain. Call them by what Name you
will, they are but Serge, like to that of Sommiere. The
Perpetuanas designed for the Spanish West Indies are
commonly sent in Assortments of forty Pieces, viz. fif-
teen, green Paroquet, fifteen Pieces, blue, five, musc Co-
lour, five, black. There is one Species of Perpetuanas,
less fine, which is mostly made in England; whence it is
sent into Spain, chiefly for the Indies, commonly to the
Value of 200,000 Livres a Year.

18. Saye is a Kind of Serge, very light, all of Wool,⁷⁰⁴
something like the Serge of Caen. Some of the Reli-^{Sayes}
gious use them for Shirts; others, for Linings and Hang-
ings in Furniture. They make Abundance of them at
Honscotte, Ipres, and Turcoing in Flanders. Those of
Honscotte and Ipres are about Ell wide. Those of Tur-
coing, which are very fine, and all of Wool only of
Segovie, or England, are $\frac{7}{8}$ wide. There are also some
made in Artois with the Wool of the Country.

19. Bayes, a Woolen Stuff, not Croissée, very loose^{Tome 11}
made, with the Hair on one Side, a Kind of Flannel,³⁶⁸
very coarse. A Quantity of these are made at * Glou-^{Bayes}
cester. They make a considerable Number of them in
Flanders, especially at Tournay and Lisle, and Neuf
Eglises. Of late Years, the French have manufactured
some with Success; especially at Beauvais, de Castres,
Montpelier, and Nismes. The Demand for them is very
great in Spain and Portugal and Italy. The French be-
gin to send many of them, white, black, and of all other
Colours, as did the English and Flemmings heretofore. A
Kind of Stuff of the same Name, but cheaper, is also
made at Alba, and thereabouts. The Bayes of the
Kingdom pay Duty, 3 Livres, the 100 Weight. Those
of England pay 20 Livres for a Piece, of 25 Ells, and
for Doubles, of 50 Ells, 60 Livres, by an Arret of 1687.
Those of Flanders pay but 4 Livres for 20 Ells, by the
Tariff of 1664.

20. Reveches,

* Colchester, I suppose, Mr. Savary meant.

Tom. 3. P. 594. Flannel.

20. Reveches, Flannel. Formerly, almost all these that were seen in France, did come from England. But since they have been imitated at Beauvais and Amiens, the English have sent few or none.

Tom. 1. P. 1195. Crape.

21. Crape, made only with two Marches, all of Wool. There are Crapes made in different Places, as well in France as elsewhere. Their Length and Breadth are different, according to the Places where they are made. Those of Zurich in Switzerland are the strongest of all; for which formerly there was a great Demand in France. They come mostly by Lions from Zurich. They were formerly made at But this Manufacture there, is lost. Sieur Paignon, a Merchant Draper of Paris first set up this Manufacture about the Year 1687. His Son Nicolas Paignon has since been more successful in his Undertakings; and to him we owe the fine black Cloths of Sedan, that are as much esteemed, if not more than those of Leyden in Holland. At Amiens are made white Crapes, with a Mixture of Thread. In Languedoc, particularly at Castres, certain slight Crapes. In Flanders, and above all at Turcoing and Lisse, a Quantity of light Crapes are made, and of different Colours, for the Spanish Trade. There are Crapes which they call d'Angleterre, made of Silk and Wool, chiefly at Alencon, Angers, and Amiens.

Tom. 2. P. 319. Stuffs Woolen.

22. Woolen Stuffs, are so called, that are narrow, light, of small Price; such are the Cadis of Sevelnes and of Gevaudan. The Tammies of Auvergne, the Camletins of Flanders, half Ell wide, Paris Measure.

C H A P. CLVII.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce. Of the Commerce of France.

Tome 1. Part 2.

Commerce of Paris, p. 15, 19.

1. Blankets, of Wool, are made in the Suburbs of St. Martin (Paris.) There is at Ferte Gaucher a little Manufactory of Serge. There is a Tradition of an ancient Manufactory of Cloth, the Workmen where-

in first taught the English their Art. At present, there is no Manufactory in that District. At Nangis their Trade in Wool, &c. is considerable.

2. Compiègne furnishes a Quantity of Stockins, &c. The Cloths, Camlets and Plusbes that are made at Margny, a Village in that District, are esteemed. These Manufactories are not very ancient, but are well conducted. The Cloths of Sentis formerly were in great Repute. But the Workmen having made them slighter, the Business is lost; and the Inhabitants are reduced to wash and prepare the Wool for the Workmen at Beauvais.

3. Picardie produces Wool. They have Manufactories of Wool, &c. Besides five or six hundred Milliers of Wool produced there, the Consumption there, is almost as great of other Wool, from Germany, Holland, England, Spain, and other Provinces of France. In the City of Amiens only, are made 129800 Pieces of Woolen Stuff. The Camlet-makers use about 80 Milliers, half thereof Wool of the Country *, half foreign Wool. Besides these, there are sealed there 50,000 Pieces, brought from neighbouring Parts, which for that reason are called Etoffes foreines. The Cities of Picardie, which have the greatest Trade for Woolen Manufacture, next to Amiens, are Beauvais and Abbeville.

4. In the Serge Manufactures at Amiens, they make Serges after the Fashion of Arcot, Crevecœur, Serge Cordelieres, of many Sorts. Serges after the Fashion of Châlons, white, and mixt; Serges de Seigneur, Quinquettes or slight Camlets; Camlets after the Fashion of Lisse and Arras; Baracans and Tammies, of Wool only, others of Wool and Silk, &c.

5. The Woolen Stuffs made at Beauvais, are Ratines of different Sorts, as wide, strong, fine, and common: Tammies; Serge both Sides alike, or after the Fashion of England, or Arcot; or those that go under the Name of common Serge; Bayes, others after the Fashion of England; in a word, Flannels.

E e 2

6. The

* By Wool of the Country, here, and in most Places hereafter, (in the Dictionnaire Universel) is to be understood the Wool of the particular Province under Consideration, as distinguished from the Wool of other Provinces in France, as well as from Wools entirely foreign.

436 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 157.

6. The Manufactures of *Abbeville*, not to mention the fine Cloths made after the Fashion of *Spain, England* and *Holland*, whereof mention has been made elsewhere, are *Serge de Londres, Razes de St. Lo, Ratines of Holland, Serge de Mouy, Bouracans* after the Fashion of *Valenciennes*; *Druggets, Thread and Wool, Tiretaines, Belingues, Pinchinas, &c.*

7. The other Places in *Picardie*, where Woolen Stuffs are made, are *Tilloy, Fienville, Naours, Beauchamps, Gravilliers, Feuquiers, Aumale, Arvoille, Glatigny, and Seules*. In all these Places are made only *Serges* and *Tiretaines*. *Mouy* gives its Name to a *Serge* that is well esteemed; and *Crevecœur*, to others that are not less esteemed. *Tricot*, and eleven Villages dependant upon it, give also its Name to a very strong *Serge*.

8. The best spun Wool of *Picardie* is at *Abbeville*, where vast Numbers are employed in spinning, and a great Quantity of the finest Wool is consumed, as well of the Growth of the Country, as *Spanish Wool*. These last are chiefly used for making the finest Caps, the other, in the Manufacture of Cloth and other Goods, of the Make of *Paris, Elbeuf, and Rouen*. The *Dutch*, in the Time of Peace, take off a great Quantity of it*.

Page 35, 9. We must remark, that at *Amiens* they employ only Wool of their Country, *England, Holland, and Germany*; but especially that of the Country and *England*.

36, It is computed that the Woolen Manufacture of *Amiens* amounts to near 1600,000 Livres yearly. The principal Manufactory of *Abbeville* is that of *Monsieur Vanrobais*.

37, 40. In general, the Stuffs made at *Beauvais* are wide *Ratines* of five Quarters, fine Ditto Ell wide, strong *Ratines* also Ell wide; the *Warp, Wool of France, the Woof, of the middle Sort of Spanish Wool*. Common *Ratines, Estamet de bures, Serge both Sides alike, of Wool*

* *Viz.* Yarn or Worsted, to the Value of 1500,000 Florins yearly, as we are informed by very good Authors: Hence therefore judge, how far it is good Policy for *Great Britain* to prohibit absolutely (as it does, and for many Generations has done) the Exportation of Woolen Yarn; whether it has not more in it of the *Monopolist*, than of the truly wise or publick spirited Legislator.

Ch. 157. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 437.

Wool of *France*; *Serge a Poil*, Ell wide, the *Warp, French, the Woof, Spanish Wool*. Fine *Serge*, of * *English Wool*, $\frac{2}{3}$ wide; after the Fashion of *Tricot*, of the best Wool of *France*, $\frac{2}{3}$ wide; *Espagnolets* $\frac{2}{3}$ wide, the *Warp, fine French, the Woof, Spanish Wool*; *Sommieres*, half Ell, and half Ell half quarter, of fine *French Wool*; *Reveches*, after the Fashion of *England*, $\frac{3}{4}$ wide, of *French Wool*; *Flannels*, after the Fashion of *England*, Ell $\frac{3}{4}$ wide; others, half the Breadth, all of *French Wool*; common *Serge*, half Ell half quarter, of Wool of the Country. In fine, common *Reveches*, of different Breadths, of the same Wool as before. The Masters that make the finest Stuffs, and are therefore stiled the *Great Company*, are about seventy. Those of the *lesser Company, i. e.* who work but common Stuffs, are above a hundred. About 500 Looms are employed in both together. It is computed that the great Company employs in their Fabric 115,000 Pounds of *Spanish Wool*, 2000 Pounds of *English Wool*, 160,000 Pounds of *French Wool*; the lesser Company consumes 185,000 Pounds of the common Wool of *France*; the Product of which is a third Part less than of the others. In the whole Department of *Beauvais*, are employed to the Amount of 745000 Pounds of *French Wool*, and 115000 Pounds of *Spanish Wool*; of which they make 68,000 Pieces of Stuff. They have about 40 Fulling-Mills.

11. Wool grown in the Province of *Picardie, viz.* at *Amiens* and thereabouts, 80 Milliers; at *Abbeville* 2, *St. Quentin* 100, *Peronne* 40, *Neste* 40, neighbouring Villages 2, *Ham* 40, *la Ferte* 20, *Guise* 30, *Vervine* 60, *Laon* 30, *Vely pres de Laon* 40, *Chauny* 20, *Noyon* 20. Total 524 Milliers.

E e 3 CHAP.

* Here is another Testimony against that vulgar Opinion, of the *French* making vast Advantages of *English Wool*, by mixing it with their own; for was that Opinion in any Degree true, we should not find them converting any *English Wool* into *Serge* without a Mixture of other Wools; by doing which, they could have only the single Benefit of their own Labour.

C H A P. CLVIII.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.

OF the Commerce of the Generality of Champagne and Soissons.

Champagne and Soissons. Page 46. Rheims. Page 49.

1. THE Pasturage is admirable, maintaining 16 or 17,000 Sheep, which afford three or four Millions of Pounds of Wool.

2. It is almost incredible how much of Woolen Manufacture there is in these two Provinces. At Rheims, they make Cloth after the Fashion of Berry, Etamines, Razes, Cordelieres, Serges, &c. At Rhetel, the same as at Rhemes, besides Estamets and Crapes.

3. At Chateau-Portien, at Mezieres, Donchery, Mouzon, Fismes, Sainte Manebould, Sommepey, Ville en Tartanois, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Charly, Orbaye, S. Martin Dublois, Bar-Sur-Aube, Ferre en Tartanois, Neuilly, and S. Fond, they make only Serges and Etamines and Deseverfins. At Sedan, they make a Quantity of Cloth, very fine and very good, also a great Number of Cloth Serges, and Serges after the Fashion of London. At Bouts, Pertes, and Joinville, Villages near Rheims, they make only white Etamines, which they sell to Rheims. At Montcornet, Ratines, Reveches, Cloth Serges and Estamets. At Vervins, Fontaine, Plumiere, the like; also some common Cloths. At Montmiriel, Langres, S. Just, Anglure, Sezanne, la Ferte Gouchier, and la Ferte Sous-Jouars, Cloth Ell wide, and above, to five Quarters, all of Spanish Wool only. In short at Brienne, Chalons, Vitry, Joinville, Chaumont, Diorville, they make Serge Razes, Serge after the Fashion of London, Cloth Serge, Estamets, Everfins, Etamines after the Fashion of Rheims, and Druggets; besides, they make Cloth at Chaumont. The Wool employed in these several Manufacturies is partly foreign, partly French. The foreign is common Spanish Wool, as de Castille, and les Segovianes, and the like. The French Wool is de l'Auxois, de Berry, de Champagne,

du Soissonois, and de Picardie. They reckon 1400 Looms.

4. At Rethel, they use the Wool of Champagne, Page 52. Picardie and Soissonois. The * Mixture which the Workmen make of common Wool with fine, LOWERS considerably, the PRICE and QUALITY of them.

5. The Cloths made at Sedan, are some, after the Fashion of Holland, some, after the Fashion of England, Page 54. and others, after the Fashion of Spain. The Wool they make use of in the one and the other, are Wool de Segovie, Segovianes, Albarazins, des Soris, and other of the better Sorts.

6. The Fabrick of Serges is also very considerable at Sedan. The Wool they use, is that of Berry, Ardenes, Champagnes, Brie, and common Spanish Wool. They are sold in Holland, Poland, Germany, and within the Kingdom.

7. At Donchery is made wide Serge, Cloth Serge, Serge de Londres; the Wool is that of Berry, Champagne, and Brie. At Mouson and Autrecott, Cloth Serges, Serge de Londres, &c.; they are all made of Wool of the Country. In the Manufacture of St. Manebould they use only Wool of the Country, with which they make Serge after the Fashion of Chalons, Cloth Serges, Estamets and Frizes. At Siuppe, or Suipe, the Manufacture is considerable. All the Stuffs are made of Wool of the Country, i. e. Everfins, Cloth Serge, Serge Razes and Frizes. At Ville en Tartanois, wide Serges, Cloth Serges, all of Wool of the Country. Routz, Perthes, and Sunville, are three Villages near Rheims, where they make only white Etamines, of the Wool of the Country. At Montcornet, are made Serges, Ratines, Page 56. Estamets, Reveches, Cloth Serges, on which they employ only the Wool of the Country. Vervins, Fontaine, and Plumieres afford common Cloths and Serges, of the Wool of the Country. At Neville S. Front, are employed the Wool of Brie, Champagne, and Soissons, in making Serges de Berry, and Cloth Serge $\frac{3}{4}$ wide. At Ferre en Tartanois, the Manufacture is wide Serge, Cloth Serge,

E e 4

* Is not this a decisive Testimony against that Nonsense, which has been so often and confidently repeated, of the great Advantages to be made, by mixing finer English and Irish, with very much coarser French Wools?

Serge, and Serge after the Fashion of *Mouy*, the Wool, of the Country only. At *Charly*, they make wide Serges, Cloth Serges, &c. all of Wool of the Country.

8. These above, are in the Department of *Rhemes* (those that follow, are in the Department of *Troyes* and *Chalons*) where they make near 84,000 Pieces of Stuff, employing for that Purpose 740,000 lb. Weight of Wool of *Champagne*, *Brie*, *Soissonois* and *Bourgogne*, besides above 530,000 Pounds of *Spanish* Wool, and above 50,000 Pounds of that of *Berry*. They keep there 14 or 1500,000 Sheep, which produce 3 Millions 7 or 800,000 Pounds of Wool.

Troyes and
Chalons.
Page 60.

9. At *Chalons*, they make a Quantity of Serge Razes, Serge after the Fashion of *London*, *Estamets*, *Everfines*, Cloth Serges, after the Fashion of *Rhemes*. Of these last, they make about 2500 Pieces a Year; of all the others, about 2000. The Wools they make use of, for the one and the other, are some, of *Champagne*, *Brie*, *Soissonois*, and *Bourgogne*, and some *Spanish* Wool. There are 325 Master Clothiers. Besides, there are 30 or 35 other Looms for a Manufactory, that some Cloth Merchants of *Paris* have got established by Letters Patents. They make also in that Manufactory, Serge after the Fashion of *London*, *Ratines*, *Pinchinas*; and employ in the one and the other, according to their Quality, Wool, prime *Segovie*, fine *Albarasin*, and other *Spanish* Wool, with that of *Berry*, *l'Auxois*, *Champagne*, and *Brie*. The Product of this Manufactory is in Proportion as great as the others. They sell them throughout the Kingdom, at *Liege*, and in *Italy*. *Liege* takes off a great Number, they being well liked there. At *Vitry*, are made Serge Razes, Serge after the Fashion of *London*, Cloth Serges, *Druggets*, and *Estamets*. The Wool they employ, are those of *Champagne*, *Brie*, and *l'Auxois*. At *CHAUMONT*, are made a Quantity of Cloths, Serge *Croisée*, *Druggets*; of the last, one, is of Wool only, the other, of Wool and Thread. They use only the Wool of the Country.

CHAP. CLIX.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.

Of the Trade for Spanish Wool, at Bayone.

1. IT is to be observed, that the Wools which the Page 100.

Merchants of *Bayone* have from *Spain*, have some of them different Names from those given in the Dictionary, under the Article of Wools; but in Truth they are the same, under different Appellations.

2. It is computed, that the Import of Wool at *Bayonne* amounts to 15,000 Bales, of all Qualities, viz. *Segovies*, *Leoneses* Superfines, common *Segovies*, *Sories*, *Segoviennes*, *Burguletes*, *Sories de Caballeros*, *Sories Molines*, grand *Albarazines*, *des Cuencas*, *des Etremenas*, *Belchittes*, *Campos d'Arragon*, *Fleuretons de Navarre*, and all Sorts of Lambs Wool, fine and common, *surge*, and washed.

3. Many of the Merchants of *Bayone* give Orders to have part of the Wools bought *en surge*, and to have them washed upon the Spot, on their own Account. Others have them from the *Spaniards* who are Flock Masters, or from the Merchants of that Nation who trade in it, and every Year send or carry them to *Bayone*, all washed, and sell them there themselves. So that the People of *Bayone* have always their Wools at the first Hand, and can afford them cheaper than others. Besides, the best Conveniencies for washing are nearer that City than any other, even nearer than to *Bilboa*. The Wool that comes from *Bayonne* is most profitable and best triaged of all that come from *Spain*. The Weight they make use of at *Bayonne*, is sixteen Ounces to the Pound.

4. The Price of Wool is different, according to the Difference of Exchange. We shall set it here upon the Foot of the Price they sold at in *November* 1724; when the Pistole was at 16 Livres. Upon that Foot, the *Segovies*

442 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 160.

Page 102. *govies Leonefes* (R.) * were worth 52 Sols the Pound ; (F.) 6 Sols less ; the common *Segovies*, 48 Sols ; the *Segoviennes*, 46 Sols, *Sories Segoviennes*, *les Burgales*, *les Cavalleros*, 44—45 ; *les Sories*, 41—42, with the same Diminution of six and 12 Sols ; for the (F.) and (S.) other Wools, in Proportion to their Quality.

5. They load commonly at *Bayonne*, every Year, 30 or 40 Vessels, which carry 200 or 350 Bales of fine Wool to *Roan* and *Nantz*, and 8 or 10 Vessels to *Holland* : *Languedoc* also alio takes off much Wool of *Sories Segoviennes*, and common *Sories*, that are the most proper for *Londrins Seconds* ; which are the best for the *Levant Trade*.

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Dictionnaire Univerfel du Commerce.

Page 108.

Of the Commerce of Limofin, Poitou, &c.

Commer- 1. AT *St. Jean de Angelis*, they make Cloths Ell
of Limo- wide, and Etamines : At *Nerac*, commonly
fin. 1900 Pieces of Cloth, and 1250 Serges : At *Angouleme*,
Serges and Etamines : *La Rouché Foucalt*, only Serge :
Limoge, *Reveches* : *Tulle*, *Reveches* or petits Raz : *Brieve*,
Reveches : *St. Leonard*, strong and coarse Cloths, for
Soldiers and Peafants.

Of Poi- 2. The Stuffs made at *Poitiers* are Camlets, Etamines,
tou. Serges and Crapes. At *Chastelleraud*, they make Serges
Page 112. and Etamines, in which they employ but Wool of the
Country. At *Lusignan*, they make two Sorts of Serges,
Razes and Cloth Serge, both of Wool of the Country.
At *St. Maixant*, they make Serge Razes, which are
esteemed for their Fineness, although they use but the
Wool of the Country ; for which they chuse the finest ;
and of the rest make *Reveches*, and other coarse Goods.

They

* These three Letters of the Alphabet, R, F, S, are
Ch. 151. used to distinguish the three Sorts into which every Parcel
§. 1, 2. of *Spanish Wool* is divided by sorting, and therefore called
Triage.

Ch. 160. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 443

They make abundance of double Caps and Stockins with Wool of the Country, and of *Limoges*. The Serge made at *La Mothe St. Geraye*, for Quality, Fineness, and the Wool employed there, are the same as at *Maxient*. Page 114.

3. At *Niort*, they employ but the Wools of the Country ; the several Sorts of Stuff there made, are Druggets, of Wool only ; others, of Wool and Thread ; Serge Razes, Etamines buretes, and coarse Cloth Serges. At *Fontenay le Comte*, they make Cloth Yard wide, and Etamines, both of Wool of the Country. At *La Chateigneraye*, are made Cadises, Sergettes, and Cloth Serge ; this, with the Wool of the Country, the others, with *Fleuretons de Navarre*. At *Cheuffois*, the same as the former. At *La Meilleraie*, they make only Tiretaines and narrow Druggets. At *Pouzanges*, the same. At *St. Memin*, the same.

4. At BRESVIRE, is one of the most considerable Manufactories in the Department of the Inspector of *Poitiers*. Page 115.
The Stuffs made there, are Tiretaines, of Thread and Wool, Serge Razes, and Cloth Serges, all of Wool of the Country only. At *Moncontan*, the Stuffs are Tiretaines of different Fashions, of the Refuse of Wool, *The Refuse*
from *Niort*, *Bourdeaux*, *Xaintes*, and *Sensa*. At *Saint fufe or Pierre*, the Stuffs are Cadises, Druggets, of *Fleureton de worst*
Navarre, and Cloth Serges, Ell wide, of the Wool of *Wools of France not*
the Country. At *Thouan*, Cloth Serge, Serge Razes, *useless.*
and some Etamines. The Druggets made at *Partenay* are much esteemed, and have a great Vent ; some are of Wool only ; others, of Thread and Wool. These last are made of Wool of the Country ; the first, only of *Spanish Wool*. At *Azais* are made Druggets, some called *Imperial*, others, common ; the last, of Wool only, or Wool and Thread ; the first, of Wool and Silk ; to make the *Imperial*, they employ only the Wool of *Campo* ; for the common, Wool of the Country. At *Vivoufne* are made coarse Serge, and some Serge Razes. At *Chateau Larcher*, the same, and some *Reveches* of a low Price. *Meste*, Serge Razes, of the Wool of the Country. *Cuiray*, coarse Serges. *Gençay*, some Serges, some *Reveches* ; both, of Wool of the Country. *Coulognes*, Druggets, all of Wool. Page 116.

5. They grow in the Generality of *Poitiers*, about 250 Milliers of Wool, which they employ in the above-mentioned

444 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 161.

tioned Fabrics, and of Stockins and Hats. They consume besides, a great Quantity of *Spanish Wool*, called *Wool de Campo*, and *Fleuretons de Navarre*; which they have by the way of *Rochelle* and de *Nantz*, to the Amount of 2000 Bales; every Bale weighing 300 lb. They make in that Generality, from 25 to 30,000 Pieces of Stuff, every Year.

C H A P. CLXI.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.

Of the Commerce of the Generality of Orleans.

Orleanois. 1. **T**HEY make Caps of *Spanish Wool*, *Wool of Berry*, and of the Country, besides Stockins. Their Manufacturies in Cloth and other Woolen Stuffs, employ not only the *Wool of the Country*, but also a good Quantity of the *Wool of Berry*, *Beasse*, *Brie*, and *Soulogne*. The principal Manufacturies of Cloth, are those of *St. Genoux*, *Clamecy*, *Chatillon sur Loing*, and *Montagris*. There are many more, of *Serges* and other Woolens; viz. at *Orleans*, *Serge tremieres*, *Serges with two Estains*, *Frocks*, and *Baguettes*. At *Baugeney*, the same, and moreover, *Cloth Serge*. At *Blois*, as at *Baugeney*; also *Crapes*. At *Vendôme*, and at *Pierre Fitte*, *Estamets*, and *Serges of several Sorts*. *White Serges* called *Tourangelles*, and *white Cloth Serges*, are made at *Montoir*, *Salbry*, *Souesme*, *Nouan le Fuzilier*, *Vouzon*, *Fergeau*, *Chatres*, *Saint Fargean*, and *Brou*.

2. There is at *St. Aignan* a Fabric of *Cordats*, or *Cloth for the Capuchines*. The Manufacture at *Chateaufort* and *Brinont*, are *Cloth Serges*, *Baguettes*, and *Tiretaines*: At *Gien*, *Cloth tremieres*, *white and grey*, *white Frisons* and *Estamines*. At *Charite* and *Penthieres*, *Cloth Serge*, and those called *Felins*. At *Pongoin*, *Chaudan*, *Razoches*, and *Illiers*, only *Serge of two Estains*.
At

Ch. 162. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 445

At *Anthoin*, different Sorts of *grey and white Etamines*, of *Wool of the Country*, *Etamines*, of *Spanish Wool*, called *Langres*; *Etamines*, *musc Colour*, of *Wool of the Country*; and other *Etamines*, whereof the *Warp* is of the *Wool of Maine*; whence they have it ready spun, and the *Woof*, of *Spanish Wool*, or *fine Wool of Berry*.

3. *Romorantin* is the most considerable Manufacture Page 161. of the whole Generality; they make above 5500 Pieces every Year, viz. *white Cloths five Quarters wide*, other *Cloths less wide*, of the same Colour, *white Serge*, *white grey*, and *grey*, and *Serge croiffée*, partly of the *Wool of Berry*, partly of the *Country*. They have also settled there a Fabric of *white Cloths*, half of *Spanish Wool*, half of *fine Wool of Berry*; which *Cloths* are fit to be dyed *Scarlet*. The *Manufacturers of Romorantin* having been used to employ the *Wool of Navarre* and *Barbary*; they are forbid to do it, by an *Arret of Council*, *April 1706*, and again by the *Intendant of the Generality*, *July 1716*.

4. They consume in this Generality 200 Milliers of *Wool*, for the most Part of the *Country*. They make 25,000 Pieces of *Cloth, &c.* *Foreign Pieces*, to the Amount of 14,000, are brought from neighbouring Places, and marked there.

C H A P. CLXII.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.

Of the Commerce of Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Perche.

1. **T**HE Commerce at *Amboise*, for *Etamines* and Page 166. *Druggets* made there, is much esteemed, and a *Touraine*. good many Hands are there employed in them. In *Touraine*, they make little else but *Etamines*, *Serges*, *Razes*, and *Druggets*. The principal Places where they are made, are *Cbinon*, *Richelieu*, *Loudun*, *Loches*, *Beauchieu*,

clieu, *St. Christophle*, *St. Pater*, and *Laval*, for Etamines and Serges. At *Beaumont*, *la Roue*, and *Roziers*, besides these two Sorts of Stuffs, they make also Razes and Serge tremieres; and at *Montresor*, *Villeloin*, and *Orbigny*, only Serge half Ell, of Wool of the Country.

2. The Druggets and Tiretaines of *Amboise*, are partly, Wool of *Touraine*, partly, Wool of *Berry*. At *Beugnay*, they use Wool of *Beauisse*, instead of that of *Berry*. At *Chateau*, *Renault*, *Newville*, *Pontpierre*, *Maray*, *Neufay*, and *Loisant*, the Razes, Serge tremieres, Etamines, and Druggets, are made of the same Wool as at *Beugnay*. In the Fabrics of *Montrichard*, which consists only of Druggets and white Serge, they employ but Wool of the Country.

Anjou. 3. At *Angers*, they make Etamines of different Prices, and Serge tremieres, both, of the Wool of the Country. At *Chateau Gontiers*, Etamines and Druggets after the Fashion of *Lude*, Serge croisées. At *la Fleche*, Etamines, Serges, Druggets, of the Wool of the Country. At *Montreuil Bellay*, the same. At *Beaufort* and *Durtal*, Serges, Etamines, Druggets, all, of Wool of the Country.

Du Maine. 4. They make Etamines and Serge tremieres at Page 171. *Mayette*, *Chateau de Loir*, *Ferte*, *Bernard*, *Beaumont le Vicomte*, *Mayenne*, and *Laval*.

Province du Maine. 5. At *Le Mans*, are made double Etamines and Camlets, which are commonly dyed black, three Parts, of Page 172. Wool of the Country, the rest, of *Poitou*. At *Mangette*, strong Serge tremieres. *Chateau de Loir*, Serge tremieres, all of Wool of the Country. *Ferte Bernard*, all of Wool, others of Wool and Silk, and Druggets, Thread and Wool of the Country.

6. At *Bonnestable*, the Fabric is considerable; they make Etamines like those of *Mans*, except that they are all of the Wool of the Country, and that in the others, a third is Wool of *Poitou*. At *Beaumont le Vicomte*, they make much the same as at *Bonnestable*. At *Mayenne*, Serges tremieres and Druggets with Thread. At *La Vall*, Etamines, Serge tremieres, and Druggets of Thread and Wool of the Country.

7. In the whole Generality of *Tours*, viz. the Provinces of *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, are made about 18,000 Pieces of Stuff, and above 11,000 foreign Pieces are

are marked there. The Wool they employ in those Fabrics, are almost all of the Wool of the Country; which is commonly sold for 60 to * 75 Livres the Quintal.

8. At *Nogent*, are made Etamines.

Perche,
Page 173.

C H A P. CLXIII.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.

Of the Commerce of the Generality of Berry.

1. SHEEP and Wool are the chief Commodities of *Berry*. This District. The Wool is good enough; but Page 174.

they employ only the worst themselves; the best and finest being bought up by the Merchants of *Roan*; which is the Reason why the Manufacturers of *Berry* make only coarse Cloth, called Cloth of *Berry*; they are excellent in their Kind, but only fit for Soldiers, Servants, and common People. The other Stuffs of Wool of *Berry*, are coarse Serge, Druggets, Tiretaines and Pinchinats.

2. *Bourges*, *Iffouden*, *Chateroux*, *Vierfon*, *Selles*, *Aubigny* and *Romorantin*, are the Places where the best Manufacturies are settled, among which that of *Romorantin* is most esteemed. (See Chap. 161. §. 3.)

3. The other Places of Manufacture, of Wool of *Berry*, are, *le Blanc*, *S. Amant*, *la Chastres*, *Chastillon*, *Mehun*, *Aubigni*, *Dun-le-Roi*, *S. Benoist-du-Sault*, *Buzancois*

* This is the only Place, in the *Dictionnaire Universel*, where I find any Mention made of the Price of French Wool. And here we see that of one of the lower Sorts, the Medium Price was 67 Livres and a half for 100 lb.; which is 7d per Pound, i. e. 16s. 4d. per Tod, English Money. This, at the Time when this Book was committed to the Press, and for several Years before, was something more than the very best long Wool in *England* sold for; which I take to be one Evidence, amongst many, that the Price of English Wool, in *England*, has long been depressed considerably below its natural Value.

zancois, Leuroux, Saint-Savin, Sancerre, Linieres, Leret, La Chapelle-danguillon, Aisne-le-Chateau, Saint-Gautier, Ivry-le-Pre, Argenton, Newvy-Saint-Sepulchre, Argent, Valencay, Cinconet, Baugy, Sancergues, Les Aix, Blancfort, and Enrichemont.

4. Besides what has been said above, of the Quantity of fine Wool which the Province of Berry furnishes for Roan, for the Fabric of Cloth in Normandy, the Merchants of that City (Roan) buy up others of the common Wools of Berry for their Manufacture of Tapestry. What remains, is used for making Caps of all Sorts, made in the Province, especially at Bourges.

Bourges, &c. Page 176.

5. In this Generality, of 34 Places, where Cloth and other Woolen Stuffs are made, there are seven, viz. Bourges, Issoudan, Chateau Roux, Romorantin, Verfon, Selles, and Aubigny, where they commonly make from 3 to 4000 Pieces, each; six, viz. le Blanc, Sancerre, Chateaneuf, Liniere, Ivoy-le-Prey, Cencoins, where they make from 2 to 3000 Pieces; and 21 others, where they do not make above 8 or 900 Pieces, each.

Moulin, &c. Page 179.

6. The Stuffs at Moulins and thereabout, are Serges, Etamines and Crapes. At Montlucon, Herisson, Decize, the same. Cerey la Toure, partly Serges and partly Etamines. Moulins' Engilbert, Cloths, and some other Stuffs. The Tapestry made in this Generality amounts to 80,000 Livres yearly.

Page 180. Auvergne.

7. In Auvergne, the Manufacture of Etamines, Worsted Camlets, Burats, Cadife, Burailles, and other Woolen Manufacture, is very good.

C H A P. CLXIV.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce. Of the Commerce of Normandy, as divided into three Generalities, Rouen, Alencon and Caen.

Rouen. Page 185.

1. THE principal Commerce of the Generality of Rouen, consists of Cloth, Serges, Tapestry; wherein are employed 1200 Looms. In the good Manufacture, they

they use but Spanish Wool, or the best of France; those of Normandy, are for Stuffs of an inferior Kind. They import to Roan, communibus annis, 9000 Bales, of which 5000 are Spanish; the rest, of the Kingdom.

2. The principal Fabric of the City of Roan, and which employed the greatest Number of Hands, was the Cloth of Uffeau, Ell wide; but now those after the Fashion of Elbaeuf, have taken their place. This last is good, and improving daily; nevertheless it is not yet come up to the true Cloths of Elbaeuf. As to the Cloths of Uffeau, they keep them up yet; but make less of them, since those after the Fashion of Elbaeuf, have prevailed. A third Sort of Cloth made at Rouen, are Cloths after the Fashion of England; but of this last, not so much as of the two former. Other Woolens made there, are, white Druggets, commonly called Espagnolettes; other Druggets of all Colours, half Ell wide, and white Ratines, five Quarters wide. They make also Baracans, Thread and Wool, $\frac{2}{3}$ wide, very coarse, and Berluches or Druggets of a better Sort. These two last Fabrics employ about 60 Looms, and the others, near 200.

Roan. Page 186.

3. At Darnetal, the Woolen Manufacture is very ancient. Their first Statutes are in the Reign of Henry III. (1587.) The different Cloths there made are, after the Fashion of England and Holland; Cloths after the Fashion of Elbaeuf, Uffeau, Druggets or Pinchinats. Their Manufacture of Blankets is the second Branch of the Trade of that Town and its Valley.

Page 188.

4. At St. Aubin La Riviere, the Manufacture commenced in 1691, in virtue of Letters Patents of 1672, under the Title of a Royal Manufactory. They make Cloths after the Fashion of England and Holland, with Success enough.

5. The Manufacture of Cloth at Elbaeuf, is an ancient Establishment, and has always been in good Credit for the Sorts of Cloth undertaken there at different Times. Before the great Regulation of 1669, they made there, only white coarse Cloths. But all the Manufacturies of the Kingdom having received Encouragement from Lewis XIV. at the Instance of Mr. Colbert, those of Elbaeuf were the first that reaped the Fruits thereof, by two considerable Establishments for fine Cloths after the

Fashion of *England* and *Holland*, and by means of the Perfection to which they arrived in other Cloths.

6. At *Orival*, they make only Cloths after the Fashion of *Elbæuf*. At *Louviers*, there are two Sorts of Cloth made; the one after the Fashion of *England* and *Holland*; the other after the Fashion of *Elbæuf*. At Page 190. *Pont de L'Arche*, the Cloth Manufactory is in great Reputation; it was established in 1690. The Drapery is after the Fashion of *England* and *Holland*. At *Gournay*, the Manufacture is Serge only, after the Fashion of *London*, well made. *Bolbec* is one of the most considerable Places in the County of *Caux* for manufacturing a Sort of Stuff called Frocs, which are esteemed the best of the Kind made in *Normandy*. They are of two Sorts; the one $\frac{2}{3}$ wide; the other, $\frac{1}{2}$ Ell $\frac{1}{4}$. They are both of pure Wool of the Country. Gruchet, the same as at *Bolbec*.

7. At *Fescamp*, the Manufacture is distinguished into old and new; the old are, very strong Serges, Ell wide, and Frocs, the same as at *Bolbec*; the new are, fine Cloths after the Fashion of *England* and *Holland*; the first, all of Wool of the Country; the other, partly of foreign Wool, partly of the best Wool of the Kingdom. This Manufactory met with Difficulties in the Beginning, by the Fault of those entrusted with it by the Undertaker. But the Dexterity of three Strangers who had afterwards the Management of it, hath carried it to such Perfection, that Cloth hath been produced there, as fine, and in all Respects as good as those of *England*.

8. There are a great Quantity of Frocs and Belinges made in several Villages of the Bailiwick of *Caux*, especially between *Fescampe* and *Dieppe*; but of an inferior Sort to those of *Bolbec*, either for the making or the Goodness of the Wool.

Caen. Page 193. 9. Cloth and other woolen Stuffs made at *Caen*, are Cloths after the Fashion of *England* and *Holland*, Ratines, Serges called Lingettes, Frocs and Reveches. The Cloths and Ratines of one Manufactory established by *Sieur Massieu*, about the End of the seventeenth Century, are only of *Spanish* Wool. The other Woolen Stuffs made here, employ near 700 Looms.

10. *Saint Lo* is in Reputation for the Manufacture of strong Serge, to which it has given its Name. They make

make also there, Finettes, and Razes, very much esteemed. These different Fabrics employ about 2000 Workmen, 90 Looms, &c. These Stuffs are excellent; especially if they employ only the Wool of *Cotantin*. Ch. 151.

11. At *Vire*, are made common Cloths, Yard wide; also Serges Lingettes; also in many Villages thereabouts, especially at *Conde*, *Caligni*, *Monsegre*, *Cartemont*, *Cerisy*, and *Frènes*. These Manufacturies employ above 300 Looms; they make commonly 12,000 Pieces a Year. At *Valogne*, is made strong Cloth, of Wool of the Country. At *Cherborough*, the same, but in greater Quantity. Page 194.

12. *Coutance*, is very fit for a Woolen Manufactory, having all proper Accommodations for that Purpose. The Wools grown there, are excellent: The Water good for dying, especially in Scarlet. There are Abundance of Teazles. They were once famous; but the War of the League having dispersed the chief Manufacturers into other Parts, they make only at present some petty Druggets called Belinges, and other slight Stuffs, partly of Thread, and partly of the Wool of the Country. The rest of the Wool is sold to other Fabrics of the Province, especially at *Saint Lo*, where the ancient Manufactory of Serge of *Coutance* remains.

13. At *Bayeux*, is made, Cloth, Serges, and Ratines. They are good of their Kind. At *Fresne* and *St. Pierre D'Antremon*, they make partly Serge like that of *Caen*, partly slight Stuffs of Thread and Wool, all of Wool of the Country.

14. There is a great Quantity of Wool grown in the Generality of *Caen*; but of different Qualities, according to the Place. Those that grow about the City of *Caen* are worst. Those that grow from *Bayeux* as far as *Cherborough*, and all along the Coast, are the best. These last are employed at *St. Lo*, *Vire*, *Valogne*, *Cherborough*.

15. The Generality of *Alencon* is very considerable for the Manufacture of Cloth and other Drapery. They make there, 50 or 52,000 Pieces, and mark besides, 16,000. Besides the Wool of the Country, they are supplied from neighbouring Provinces. Page 197.

Page 198. 16. At *Alencon*, they make strong Serge $\frac{2}{3}$ wide, Etamines $\frac{1}{2}$ Ell, Crapes the same. At *Leez*, some slight Drapery, viz. Serges, Etamines. *Argentan*, the same. *Falais*, for the most part, Serge *sur estain*, Ell wide; Serge tremieres $\frac{3}{4}$, &c. *Liseux*, a Quantity of Woolen Stuffs called Frocs. *Verneuil*, Serge croisée, all of Wool; Druggets, Thread and Wool. *Dreux*, Cloth, strong Serges, Serges after the Fashion of *London*, Estamets, and Demi-estamets; these last are called Linings, because they are employed to line Cloth.

17. *Aumale* gives its Name to a Manufacture of Serge much esteemed; they reckon near 1200 Looms at work there, and round about. It is the only Fabric of the Kind in the Kingdom; they reckon the Commerce there, amounts to 2,000,000, when Wool is at a reasonable Price.

Page 202. 18. *Nogent Le Rotrou* is a Town of the Province of *Perche*, but of the Department * of the Manufacturies of *Alencon*. The Stuffs there made, are of three Sorts; Etamines, of Wool; others, of Wool and Silk; Druggets, Thread and Wool; above 400 Looms are employed there. The Yarn made use of in the Etamines, comes for the most Part, from *Mortagne*, to the Value for the most Part, of 200,000 Livres per An.

19. At *Souence*, are made Etamines, some, all of Wool, others, of Wool and Silk. At *Ecouchay*, strong Serge, Ell wide, and Serge tremieres, $\frac{3}{4}$. At *Laigle*, partly Serges, partly Etamines, and the like slight Stuffs.

20. At *Vitre*, Serges are made, of Thread and coarse Wool of the Country, from 12 to 20 Sols the Ell. There are also Etamines, from 15 to 30 Sols per Ell.

Bretagne. 21. In *Bretagne*, are employed 800 Looms in making Page 208. slight Stuffs of Wool, viz. Etamines, Druggets, Serges, Moletons, Crapes, and narrow Cloths, of the Wool of the Country. The principal Places are, *Nantes*, *Rennes*, *Bourg*, *Dinan*, *Saint Brieux*, *Lamballe*, *Chateau-briant*, *Nozay*,

* The Kingdom of *France*, where is any Woolen Manufacture, is cantoned into several Departments or Districts, called *Generalities*, with an *Inspector* to each, and *Superintendent General* of the whole. And thus we come by this more particular Account of the Woolen Manufacture in *France*, than of any other Kingdom besides.

Norzay, *Redon*, *Josselin*, *Le Guay de Pletant*, *Sainte Croix*, *Auray*, *Vannes*, *Malestroit*, *Rochefort*, *Chateaufort*, *Longonna*, and *Raviliac*.

C H A P. CLXV.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.

Of the Commerce of Bourgogne, and the Generality.

1. **A**S great Numbers of Sheep are depastured in *Burgundy*, so Wool is a very considerable Commodity there. One Part whereof is employed by the Manufacturers of the Province, who are numerous; the other Part, which is not fit for their Use, is bought up by the Merchants of the neighbouring Provinces. In the Room of which, some is also bought from *Rheims* and *Troie*, more proper for certain Manufactures, viz. for Serge, after the Fashion of *London* and *Seignelay*, where they mix the Wool of *Troie* and *Rheims* with those of *Auxerrois*, which are the best in *Burgundy*. Their principal Manufactures are, Cloths of *Beaune*, *Vitax*, *Semur*, *Saulies*, *Montbart*, *Rovray*, *Avalon*, *Auxerres*, *Nuitz*, *Pont le Vaux*, *Autun*, *Joigny*, *Sens*, *Villeneuve*, *l'Archeveque*, *Bigny*, and *Ancy la Franc*. The Manufactures of Serges of all Sorts, especially Cloth Page 224. Serges, and Serges after the Fashion of *London*, are not less considerable; they make them at *Dijon*, *Marcy*, *Auxerre*, in the Hospital, as well as in that of *Beaune*, at *Seignelay*, *Arnay le duc*, *Auxonne*, *Chatillon upon Seine*, and *Chassinelles*. Druggets, Tiretaines, Talanches, are made at *Semur*, *Montbart*, *Auxerre*, *Nuitz*, *Beaune*, *Louhans*, *Clugny*, *Mâcon*, and *Montluet*; also in some of those Cities, and especially at *Autun*, Crapes called *Frater*, and Freilles $\frac{3}{4}$ Quarters and half wide. The Business of Stockins, after the Fashion of *Havre* and *England*, is carried on at *Dijon*.

C H A P. CLXVI.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.
Of the State of the Woolen Manufacture in
Dauphiny and Provence.

Dauphiny.
Page 237.

1. **G**RENOBLE is the chief Place of the Fabrics round about; they make Cloth: At *Voiron*, and five Parishes, are made Druggets and coarse Cloths: At *Turin*, and 9 Parishes, Cloth only: *Saint Marcellin*, and 4 Parishes, Cloths only: At *Roybon*, and 7 Parishes, Cloth, Ratines and Serge. At *Serre* and 8 Parishes, Cloths only: At *Beaurepaire*, Cloths, as also in 3 Parishes belonging to it: At *Saint Jean en Royans*, and 6 Parishes, Stuffs, and above 1000 Pieces of Cloth. This Place is very commodious for a Manufactory, by Reason of its Water.

2. At *Romans*, and in 12 Parishes, the most considerable of the whole Province, (except *Dieu le Fit*) are made 4 Sorts of Drapery, viz. Cordelats, 2000 Pieces; Ratines, 1000; Estameux, 14 or 1500; Cloths, 15 or 1600. At *Pont en Royans*, and 17 Parishes, are made Cloths only; at *Crest*, and 13 Places, Ratines and Cordelats.

3. At *Montelimart* is the greatest Manufactory; they reckon up 25 Places, where Ratines and Sergettes are made: *Tollinain*, and 9 Parishes, make Sergettes: *Dieu de Fit* and 20 Places, make Sergettes only: *Buis* and 3 Places, Sergettes and Cordelats: *Valence*, Cloth and Ratines: *Vienne* and 17 Places, make Druggets.

Provence.
Page 239.

4. The Wool of *Provence* is employed in different Manufactures, of Stuffs and Hats. Their Woolen Manufactory is, Cloth made all of *Spanish Wool*, and Caps, of the Wool of the Country.

5. At *Toulon*, are made two Sorts of Pinchinats; one, all of *Spanish Wool*; the other, only of Wool of the Country. The Cadis and Cordelats are made of Wool of *Provence*, viz. in *Aix*, *Gordes*, *Apt*, *Ayquiers*, *Auriol*, *Signe*, *Colmars*, *Digne*, *la Roque*, *Meuve*, *Soleres*, *Cuers*, *Pequant*, *Camouilles*, *Lue*, *Draguinan*, *Lorgues*. They make also in *Colmars* and *Digne*, and thereabouts, Cloths

Cloths 3 Quarters and $\frac{1}{2}$ wide; which are sold partly in the Kingdom, partly in *Savoy*.

6. In many Places of the Principality of *Orange*, they make Serge $\frac{3}{4}$ wide. At *Arles*, narrow Razes. At *Grignan*, Sergettes, all, of Wool of the Country.

C H A P. CLXVII.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.
Of the Commerce of Languedoc.

1. **T**HE Manufactures of Wool established in the two Generalities of *Languedoc*, are, Cloth, *Ca-*
dis, *Burats*, *Serges*, *Ratines*, *Cordelats*, *Bayes*, *Crapes*, *Razes*, *Tiretaines*, *Druggets*; the greatest Part, for the *Levant*, as the *Mahous* and *Londrins*; the others, for the *Swiss* and *Germans*, &c. *Languedoc.* Page 264.

2. The Places where these are made are, *Rieux*, *Grange des pres*, *Lodeve*, *Carcaffonne*, *Limoux*, *Castres*, *Alby*, *Alet*, *Sainte Colombe*, *Laucanet*, *Laissac*, *la Grace*, *Saptes*, *Chalabre*, *Mazanet*, *Ferrieres*, *Caune*, *Bedarrieux*, *St. Siroian*, *Quissac*, *Sainte Hipolyte*, *Bauzely*, *Vigan*, *Ganges*, *Saumennes*, *Anduze*, *Alais*, *St. Gervais*, *Sommieres*, *Gardonnenque*, *Salle*, *Beziere*, *Aniane*, and *Beaucaire*.

3. The Wool employed in these Manufactures is partly of the Country; but the greatest Part is brought from *Marseilles* by the Merchants of *Montpelier*, who buy them unwashed, and after they have dressed them, sell them at the Fairs of *Pezenas* and *Montagnac* to the Manufacturers.

4. At *Alby* in high *Languedoc*, are but two Sorts of Manufactory, Cordelats, and Bayettes; the former, of the Wool of the Country. At *Carcaffonne*, the Cloths are made of Wool of *Bezier*, *Narbonne*, and *Spain*. At *Saptes*, the Manufactory of Cloth is very considerable; the Wool, *Spanish*, from the Merchants of *Toulon*, *Bayonne*, and *Marseille*. *Limoux* and *Alet*, the Cloths there made, are of the Wool of the Country, and of *Rouffillon*.

Page 267. *Saiffac*, a Manufactory of common Cloth. *La Graps*, Cloths. *Montagne de Carcaffonne*, Cloths of different Colours and Breadths. *Castres*, Bayettes, Burats and Coronines. *Maizant* and its Dependencies, Cordelats white, and musc. *Boiffeson*, Cordelats. *Varres*, Serge. *Ferrieres*, Serge. *Caune*, coarse Cloths. *Beddarieux*, two Sorts of Manufacture; one of Druggets; the other of Cloths. *Saint Ponts la Bastide*, white Cloths. *Saint Chinian*, white Cloths, from 3 Livres 10 Sols, to 4 Livres 10 Sols per Ell.

5. The Manufacture of Cloth at *Lodeve*, is very considerable, and in great Esteem; they make 45,000 Pieces white, and grey. At *Montpelier*, Stuffs, Blankets, Hats, Fustians; the Blanket Manufactory is very considerable. At *Quiffac*, is a considerable Manufactory of Cadis. Page 269. *Sauve*, the same. *Saint Hipolyte*, Cadis, 75 Looms. *Bauzely ditto*, 60 Looms. *Vigan*, Cloths and Cadis, a very considerable Manufacture. *Ganges*, some Cadis. *Alais*, Serge, Cadis, Ratines, 90 Looms. *Ulez Serge*, 60 or 70 Looms. *Saint Gignaix*, Cadis, 40 Looms. *Sommieres*, Cloth Serge, Ratines, and Cadis. Page 270. *Saint Jean de Gardonnenque*, Cadis. *La Salle*, Cadis, 30 Looms. *Nismes*, a considerable Manufactory of Cloth and Stockins. Page 271. *Narbonne*, knit Stockins.

6. At *Bezieres*, are different Manufactures of Wool, especially of fine Cloth and Druggets, like those of *Beddarieux*, sold chiefly to *Germany*. The *Royal Manufactory*, of fine Cloth, established at *Clermont*, is very considerable. There are also private Manufacturies there. The Manufacture of Hats there, is also the most considerable in *Languedoc*. *Aniane* has a Manufactory of Cadis. *Beaucaire*, of Cadis and Stockins, and Hats. *Saint Andre de Val Borgne*, Cadis and Hats. *Marvaix*, Cadis, Hats.

Royal Manufacturies of Languedoc, p. 272. 7. The *Sieur de Varennes*, having brought Workmen from *Holland*, undertook to make Cloths for the *Levant Trade*. *Saptes*, near *Carcaffonne*, was the Place where he first established it; and we may consider it as the Model and the Mother of all the others in the Province of *Languedoc*. That of *Clermont* and *Lodeve* followed soon after, viz. in 1678. The States of *Languedoc* lent them 130,000 Livres, for many Years, without Interest,

rest, and gave them besides, by way of Bounty, a Pistole for every Piece of fine Cloth made there.

8. The third Manufactory, is that of *Carcaffonne*, established and maintained by the *Sieur Castenier*, which has not succeeded less than that of *Saptes*, and *Clermont Lodeve*. The Province gave him the same Advantage as to the two other *Royal Manufacturies*. The Estates of *Languedoc* have since added two others, with the same Encouragements; one at *Rieux*, under the Conduct of *Sieur Gurse*, a *Dutchman*; the other in the Castle *de la Grange des Pres*, near *Penzenas*, under the Direction of the *French* Manufacturers.

9. The last *Royal Manufactory* of *Languedoc*, is that of *Monsieur Chamberlin*, established also under the Authority of the States. It does not make for the *Levant Trade*, but only *Woolen Stuffs* after the Fashion * of *England*, for the *Spanish Trade*.

10. The annual Product and Manufacture of *Languedoc* in the following Articles, is, Sheep 1,000,000 Livres.

Fustians and Basins	_____	90,000
Blankets	_____	230,000
Bergames and Tapestry	_____	20,000
Woolen Stuffs, fine and coarse,	_____	4,100,000
Cloths fine, and others	_____	8,450,000
Woolen Stockins	_____	40,000
Hats	_____	400,000
Total		14,330,000

11. They import Wool of *Spain*, *Constantinople*, *Salle*, *Algier*, and other Parts of *Barbary*, $\frac{4^o}{m}$ Quintals.

CHAP.

* And yet is it not so much as pretended, that any *English* or *Irish* Wool is imported to *Languedoc*, (see §. 3.)

C H A P. CLXVIII.

Dictionnaire Univerfel du Commerce.

Of the Commerce of Low Navarre and Bearn, Flanders, the Auftrian Low Countries, Lorraine, and Bar.

Navarre and Bearn. 1. **T**HE Wool of *Navarre* is good, and paffes for *Spanish* Wool; the fineft Sorts are bought by *French* Merchants of different Provinces; of the others, they make fome coarfe Stuffs for clothing the common People.

Flanders, Lille. 2. The Product of *Flanders* is, Corn, Cattle, Wool, &c. Their Manufacture, Cloth, Serges, Ratines, and other Woolen Goods, and Stuffs mixed with Silk and Thread; Camlets, Damask, Tapiftry, Stockins and Breeches, and other Works of Bonneterie, knit and wove; Burats, Crapes, Blankets, and the like; all these at *Lille*.

Roubais and Turcoing. 3. At *Roubais* and *Turcoing*, there are many Looms for Stuffs of Wool, or Silk and Wool, made chiefly for the *Spanish* Trade, and other foreign Countries; fome are brought to *France*, and even to *Paris*. At *Menin*, they make Hats of Wool. At *Tournay*, Stockins of Wool, Moquettes (a Kind of Pluff) the Stockins are for *Spain* and the *West Indies*.

Ypres, &c. 4. There are alfo a Number of different Manufacturies; thofe of fine Cloths that were formerly fo flourishing thro- out this Province (where it was faid were 4000 Looms) are now only at *Ypres*, *Baiteul* and *Poperingue*; their dy- ing in Scarlet is very fine in the firft of thofe three Cities; and they make alfo there, as well as at *Honscotte*, and fome other Places, Serge, which is greatly efteemed.

Auftrian Low Countries, Bruges. 5. At *Bruges*, is the great Magazine of *Spanish*, and *English* Wool, &c. that ferve to fupply the Manufactu- ries of that important City. The Stuffs made there, among others, are Anacottes, Lamparilles and Serges, fit for *Spain* and the *Spanish Indies*; alfo Bayes, and fome Camlets.

6. The

6. The Woolen Manufacturies of *Lorraine* and *Bar*, *Lorraine* are only at *St. Nicholas*, and *St. Mary*, and *aux Mines*; and *Bar*, the Cloths are coarfe. p. 287.

C H A P. CLXIX.

Dictionnaire Univerfel du Commerce.

Of the Commerce of the three Bifhopricks, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; of Alface, Rouffillon, Amsterdam, Denmark, Swe- den.

1. **T**HE beft Manufacturies of Wool in the three *Metz*, *Bifhopricks*, are at *Metz*, and thereabouts; p. 289. they are not very ancient, efpecially fome of them, but have arrived to fuch Perfection; and the Trade is fo great, that the Council Royal of the Commerce of *France*, thought it neceffary in the Beginning of the 18th Century, to eftablifh an Inspector of them. They make Ratines of all Sorts, different Kinds of light Serge, for Womens Wear, Cloth like the *Pinchinats* for the Country People, and fome Druggets.

2. *Toul* and *Verdun* are lefs confiderable in their Ma- *Toul* and *nufactures*, they knit Woolen Stockins in all their *Verdun*. Cities and round about; thofe of *Metz* are moft e- fteemed.

3. At *Strasbourg*, the Capital of *Alface*, the Woolen *Alface*, Manufacture is Tapiftry, narrow Cloths, Blankets, Fu- p. 292. ftians.

4. The Wool of *Rouffillon* is fine, almoft of the fame *Rouffillon*, Quality with *Spanish* Wool; therefore the Manufacturers p. 293. of *France* buy there, every Year, for confiderable Sums; and though *Rouffillon* has no confiderable Manufactory, yet they make Blankets and fome kind of Bures or Page 294. coarfe Cloths.

5. In the Fabrics of *Amsterdam*, and thereabouts, are *Amster- made*, Cloths, Serges, *Calamanca*, or *Calamandres*, *dam*, Etamines, Camlets, and a Quantity of other Woolen p. 410. Stuffs. 6. By

460 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 169.

Denmark, 6. By a Royal Ordinance, *November 28, 1727,* all Cloths were prohibited in *Denmark,* except those made at *Copenhagen.*

Sweden. 7. The Manufacturies of Cloth, erected in *Sweden,* for the Use of the Army, &c. which had formerly failed, are now received, and succeed, because upheld by the Publick, which gives all manner of Encouragement to the *Scots* and other Undertakers, and hurts the Sale of *English* Cloths there. The Court, in Favour to the Manufacture of the Kingdom, has set a high Duty upon *English* Cloths, except such as are finer than those made in the Country; so that they have no Vent there. The Undertakers have carried Workmen from *Germany,* and some from *England;* and besides the Wool of *Germany,* which they employ, they get a Quantity from *Scotland,* which is supposed to come from *England;* and without which it would be impossible * for them to work; their own Wool being very coarse.

C H A P.

* Here again, Mr. *Savary* is to be suspected of having given too much Credit to some *English* Author. The Wool of *Sweden* is allowed to be very coarse. Nevertheless, this very Year (1746) we have seen in the public Papers, an Account, of an Edict or sumptuary Law there, forbidding the Subjects of that Kingdom the Use of any foreign made Cloth. But has not *Sweden,* besides that of its own Growth, all the World to range in for Wool, except the Dominions of *Great Britain?* Is it then impossible for these Manufacturers of *Sweden* to work without *British* or *Irish* Wool? Or, if it was so, can we, as the Law stands, think it possible they should be so amply supplied with Wool (as by the Edict mentioned, they plainly are) from *Great Britain* and *Ireland?* The Thing is wholly incredible.

Ch. 170. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 461

C H A P. CLXX.

Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce.

Of the Commerce of Venice, Italy, Smyrna, Tartary, Persia.

1. THE *Venetians* have a great Vent for Cloths at *Venice, Constantinople;* which are, in truth, not so fine p. 484. and beautiful, as those of *France, England, and Holland;* but nevertheless more esteemed by the *Turks.* Yet it appears that they begin to dislike them; and the War declared between them, in 1714, had well nigh ruined their Commerce. No foreign Cloth is allowed to be imported to *Venice.*

2. The Manufactures of *Bologne* are, Cloths, &c. *Italy, Bo-*

3. At the Scale of *Smyrna,* the *French* vend 150 Bales *logne,* of Cloth, *Londrins* seconds; 100 Bales of *Londres,* broad p. 500. Cloths; 100 Bales of *Imperials de Sevennes,* not of *Ge-Smyrna, vaudan;* 200 Cafes of Caps of all Sorts, 60 or 80 Dozen P. 511. in a Cafe.

4. The Cloths carried there, are of three Sorts, viz. Page 514. *Londrines, Nims-Londrines,* and *Londres.*

5. The *Londrines* are Cloths of *Holland,* of which the Page 515. finest go to *Constantinople* and *Adrianople;* and the coarsest remain at *Smyrna,* or some other Scales of the *Levant.* Those of *France* which are made at *Sapte* in *Languedoc,* go also for *Londrines.* Only coloured Cloths are sent to the *Levant;* but they are different, according as they are designed for *Persia* or *Smyrna.*

6. The Colours for *Smyrna* are, Scarlet, or red Crimson, Violet, Purple, Green, Prince Colour, and Cinnamon. Those for *Persia* are, *Isa belle, Feuille morte, Yellow, Citron, Orange, Flesh Colour, Celadon, clear Purple, Rose Colour, Carnation, Amarante, grey Pearl, Blue, Lead Grey, and Scarlet.* The Proportion of Bales is, $\frac{1}{5}$ for *Persia,* and $\frac{2}{3}$ for *Smyrna.*

7. The *Nifins Londrines* are the finest Cloths of *England,* which are made of *Spanish* Wool only. The *Londres* are also Cloths of *England,* but of a meaner Quality. The common People are clothed with them at

at *Smyrna*; and the *English* truck there for 7 or 8000 Pieces a Year. There is in *Languedoc*, and in *Dauphine*, a Manufacture of Cloths sold to the *Levant* for *Londres*.*

Tartary. 8. At *Astrabath* in *Tartary*, are several Manufactures of Stuffs of Silk, and Wool; and they make there a Sort of Camlets much esteemed.

Persia, 9. The Manufacture of Stuffs in *Persia*, is very near upon the same Foot with those of *France*. As for Cloth, there are no settled Manufactures for them in the ordinary Method of making Cloth. But the *Persian* Workmen are very expert at making a Sort of Cloth very fine from a Material disposed into a Felt, after the same manner as Hats are made. These Cloths they use, to make Clokes, and for Coverings to their fine Carpets.

10. The *English* and *Dutch* have a great Trade for Cloth in *Persia*, by *Gamron*; where they are so much esteemed, that an Ell of middling Cloth is sometimes sold for 20, or 24 Crowns †.

11. In the Assortments of *English* and *Dutch* Cloth for *Persia*, there is also *French* Cloth, especially those called Cloth of *Berry* and *Uffeau*; and it seems now, as if the Manufacturers are arrived to such Perfection, as to be able to outdo their Neighbours; and that the new *India Company* will have no need to send to *London*, or *Leyden*, to furnish their Cargoes designed for *Persia*.

Page 717. 12. The Wools of *Kirman* are the finest in the World. The *Dutch* have a Settlement there, under the Direction of that of *Gamron*. Their Woolen Stuffs are, commonly a kind of coarse Serge for the Habit of the People; but they make fine enough Etamines, Druggets, and Camlets, not inferior to those of *Picardie* and *Flanders*.

C H A P.

* Yet, as before observed †, are no *English* or *Irish* Wools so much as suspected to be imported to these Provinces.

† This is a Matter that needs some Explanation, since we have seen before *, that in the Cargoes to *Smyrna*, (whence the *Persians* are supplied) the Proportion of Bales is, $\frac{1}{4}$ for *Persia*, and $\frac{3}{4}$ for *Smyrna*; whereas was Cloth in *Persia*, ordinarily, any thing near so good a Commodity as is here mentioned, the said Proportions would soon be reversed; and there would go $\frac{2}{3}$ to *Persia*, for $\frac{1}{3}$ to *Smyrna*.

C H A P. CLXXI.

*Accounts (in Manuscript) of Wool bought and sold, in different Parts of England, for near 40 Years successively.**

N U M B. I.

1. *Aug.* 9. 1706. sold to Mr. *Leach* at *Horncastle* [*Lincolnshire*] 27 Tod, at 5 to the Tod, 135 Fleeces, l. s. d. at _____ o 17 6 per Tod.
- 4 Tod of small Wool at _____ o 13 4
2. *Aug.* 16. 1707. Receiv'd from Mr. *Leach*, for 24 Tod $\frac{1}{2}$ a Stone of Wool, at _____ o 16 6
3. *Sept.* 20. 1711. Sold to Mr. *Hargrave* for Mr. *Smith's* Use of *Wakefield*, 12 Tod 1 Stone $\frac{1}{2}$, at _____ o 13 0
4. *Aug.* 17. 1713. Wool accounted for to Mr. *Wells* of *Wragby* [*Lincolnshire*] at _____ o 17 0
5. *Sept.* 6. 1714. Sold to *Thomas Driver*, of *Sutton* near *Skipton* in *Craven*, 30 Tod of Wool at _____ o 18 0

6. 1716.

* This is taken from a small farming Account of a Person, who died in the Year 1727; which Account has been in the Custody of the Author of *these Memoirs* almost ever since. He therefore undertakes to be responsible for it, that it is genuine, and capable of all the Proof of its being so, that is possible in a Case of this Nature. Here are indeed some Years wanting; but there is no accounting for that; 'tis enough to say that Persons, out of Trade, are more exact at some times than at others, in keeping their own Accounts.

- 6. 1716. To *Thomas Driver*, Wool l. s. d.
at per Tod (5 s. drawn back) — 0 19 0 per Tod.
- 7. Aug. 13. 1717. Delivered to Mr. *Stocks* [of *Market-Stanton, Lincolnshire*] 15 Tod of Wool at ——— 1 03 0
- 8. June 26. 1718. Wool sold to Mr. *Stocks*, 18 Tod at 20 l. viz. nearly per Tod ——— 1 02 3
- 9. Aug. 18. 1719.* Delivered to Mr. *Stocks* 3 Packs of Wool, at per Tod ——— 1 02 0
And 4 Tod at ——— 0 16 0
- 10. July 25. 1720. Sold to *William Sutcliffe* 19 Tod of Wool at 19 l. viz. per Tod ——— 1 00 0
- 1721. Wool unfold.
- 1722. Unfold again, as appears from what follows.
- 11. October 1723. Sold to *Thomas Driver* 90 Tod of Wool at — 0 14 0
- 1724. Wool, as again appears, unfold.
- 12. October 7. 1725. Sold to Mr. *Robinson* [of *Wakefield*] 54 Tod of Wool for the Sum of 36 l. which is per Tod ——— 0 13 4

N U M B.

* This Account, notwithstanding its being genuine, will not tally (in the Year 1719) with some others; the Reason whereof is not to be assigned at this Distance of Time, viz. why in the Year 1719, the Price should be nearer to that of the Years 1717 and 1718, than some others appear to be (there might possibly have been a Precontract.) But (which is most material) in this Account, the Advance of Wool in 1717 and 1718; and its Fall again, from 1720, to 1725; accords with those that follow. (N^o 2, 3, 4.)

N U M B. II.

The following Account is that of a Wool Buyer, viz. Mr. *Thomas Stephenson* of *Wragby, Lincolnshire*, dead some Years since; but which Account is in a small Pocket-Book, delivered to the Author of *these Memoirs* by Mr. *David Stephenson* of the same Place, Nephew to the deceased, who is ready to attest that it is all of his said Uncle's, or of his own Hand-writing; being Memorandums, of Wool bought, for seven Years successively, viz. from 1715 to 1721 inclusive, viz. in 1715, of ten several Growers; 1716, of one Felmonger, and 29 several Growers; 1717, of 28 several Growers; 1719, of 13; 1720, of 15; 1721, of 10 Growers. And as he did not buy, every Year, of all the same Growers, to shew more exactly the Rise and Fall of Wool, I shall exhibit an Abstract of this Account, in the manner following; beginning with one Person, of whom he bought for those seven Years successively.

		l.	s.	d.
1. <i>William Emmet.</i>	1715—at—	0	18	0
	1716 ———	1	0	0
	1717 ———	1	4	6
	1718 ———	1	4	6
	1719 ———	1	0	0
Throwing in half a Stone of W. a Stone of W. a Stone of W.	1720 ———	1	0	0
	1721 ———	1	0	0
	1721 ———	1	0	0
2. <i>John Westmoreland.</i>	1715 ———	0	17	6
	1716 ———	1	0	0
	1717 ———	1	4	6
	1718 ———	1	4	6
	1719 ———	0	19	6
	1720 ———	1	0	0
To throw Wool in	1721 ———	1	0	0
3. <i>William Harrison of Fiskerton.</i>	1716 ———	0	19	6
	1717 ———	1	3	0
	1718 ———	1	0	3
	1719 ———	1	1	0
	1720 ———	1	1	0
July 4. A Stone of Wool in	1721 ———	1	1	0

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G g

4. Mr.

			l. s. d.
		1715—at—	18 0
4. Mr. Simon of Bullington.	}	1716	—
		1717	—
		1718	1 5 6
		1719	1 1 0
		1720	1 1 6
	July 28.	1721	1 1 0
	July 17.	1721	1 1 0
		Half a Guinea over.	1716 — 1 1 0
5. John Holdsworth of Fiskerton.	}	1717	—
		1718	—
		1719	1 1 0
		1720	1 1 6
		1721	1 1 0
	August 23.	1721	1 1 0
6. Mr. William Richardson of Bardney Daines.	}	1716	1 1 0
		1717	1 5 0
		1718	—
		1719	—
		1720	1 1 9
	August 23.	1721	1 1 0
7. John Barker of Fiskerton.	}	1716	0 19 6
		1717	1 4 6
		1718	—
8. Mr. Forster of Strubby.	}	1716	1 1 0
		1717	1 6 0
		1718	1 5 6
		1719	—
		A Guinea over.	1716 — 1 1 0
9. Mr. George Wells of Wragby.	}	1717	—
		1718	1 6 0
		1719	—
		1720	—
		1721	1 1 6
10. Mr. Knight.		1717	1 5 0
11. Mr. Jenkinson's and young Mr. Forster's Wool, in the Marh.	}	1717	1 7 0
12. Mr. Bell.		1717	1 7 0
13. Mr. Jenkinson's Marh Wool.		1718	1 7 0
14. Mr. John Forster. jun.		1718	1 7 0

N U M B.

N U M B. III.

A Letter from Mr. *William Pell* of *Stalingborough*, to *James Ward*, Esq; of *Market Raisin, Lincolnshire*, dated Aug. 30, 1744.

S I R,

I Have herein sent you the Price of my Father *Clipsam's* * Wool and mine, as sold, the Years following, am, &c.

William Pell.

1716 per Tod	20 s. 0	1721 per Tod	20 s. 0
1717	24 s. 6 d.	1722	— 19 s. 0
1718	25 s. 0	1723	— 19 s. 0
1719	20 s. 0	1724	— 16 s. 0
1720	21 s. 6 d.	1725	— 16 s. 6 d.

N U M B. IV.

Of the Prices of Wool, from 1716 to 1725 inclusive, as transmitted to the Author from Mr. *Davies*, a Wool Stapler of *Grantham, Lincolnshire*, by the Hands of Mr. *Samuel Forster* of *Grantham* aforesaid.

Years	Pasture Wool per Tod.		Fallow Wool per Tod.		LongSkin Wool per Pa.		Head Wool per Pack.		
	s.	s.	s.	s.	l.	s.	l.	s.	d.
1716	18	to 21	15	to 16	8	5	7	15	0
1717	20	26	18	20	10	15	8	17	0
1718	20	24	17	20	10	0	9	0	0
1719	18	22	16	17	10	0	8	15	0
1720	18	20	16	18	8	5	7	15	0
1721	15	6 d. 17	15	15 6 d.	7	10	7	0	0
1722	17	18	14	15	7	5	6	15	0
1723	16	17	12	13	7	5	6	17	6
1724	13	15 6 d.	9	10 6 d.	7	0	6	0	0
1725	13	15 6 d.	9	10 6 d.	6	15	5	12	6

G g 2

N U M B.

* Mr. *Clipsam* was a Grafier at *Walesby* near *Market Raisin*, in *Lincolnshire*; whose Daughter Mr. *Pell* marry'd, and succeeded to the Farm, some time, between the Years 1716 and 1725.

N. B. See (Chap. 174. §. 20.) the Reason for being so very particular here, as well as in N^o 1, 2, 4.

Mr. Percival Teale, a considerable Grafter of *Imingham, Lincolnshire*, his Account, of Wool fold, from the Year 1718 to 1744 inclusive, as sent to the Author by the Reverend Mr. George Clarke, then Vicar of *Imingham* aforesaid (now Rector of *East-Barkwith* in the same County) in a Letter dated Feb. 4, 1744-5; who says, Mr. Teale's Manner is, to file his Tod-Bill every Year; noting upon it the Price he sells at; and that he himself copied the following Account from the said Bills upon the File.

N. B. To this Account are added the Woolen Exports from *England*, also the Imports of Wool and Yarn from *Ireland*, as often as the same have by any Means occurred to the Author within this Period; only omitting in the Woolen Exports, the odd Shillings and Pence.

Years	Wool per Tod.			Woolen Exports from <i>England</i> .	Imports of Wool and Yarn from <i>Ireland</i> .
	l.	s.	d.	£.	
1718	1	1	0	2,673,696	At a Medium of 8 Years to <i>Lady-day</i> 1728, 227,049 Stone. <i>Essay by Mr. Dobbs</i> , p. 76. 271,291 Stone.
1719	1	0	6	2,730,297	
1720	1	1	6	3,059,049	
1721	1	0	0	2,903,310	
1722	1	0	0	3,384,842	
1723	0	17	6	2,920,601	
1724	0	16	0	3,068,373	
1725	0	16	0	Woolen Exports	
1726	0	15	9	from <i>England</i> , from	
1727	0	16	0	1725 to 1728 in-	
1728	0	18	0	clusive, on a Me-	
1729	0	18	0	dium, exceeded the	
1730	0	18	0	Exportations, of 16	
1731	0	19	0	or 18 Years ago,	
1732	0	19	0	200,000 l. per ann.	
1733	0	18	6	<i>Essay by Mr. Dobbs</i> ,	
1734	0	16	0	1729. p. 77.	
1735	0	14	0	From <i>Christmas</i> 1737	
1736	0	14	0	to <i>Christmas</i> 1738.	
1737	0	14	0	4,158,643	
1738	0	13	6	3,218,273	
1739	0	13	0	3,056,720	
1740	0	14	0	3,669,734	
1741	0	14	0	3,358,787	
1742	0	15	0	3,541,558	
1743	0	19	6		
1744	1	1	0		

Stone. Lib.
144,700 8
135,397 8
131,410 15
103,839

Of the Price of Cotswold Wool, *Gloucestershire*.

20th December, 1745.

S I R,

I Have sent you an Account of the Price of Wool, as it hath been sold upon our Hills, for Six Years past, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
1740, 1, 2. at per Tod,	—	0	12 0
1743, — at —	1	0	0
1744. —	0	17	0
1745. —	0	16	0

Our Tod is 28 Pounds.

N. B. The same Gentleman being desired to extend his Account down to the Year 1737, and also to give his Opinion touching the Reason of that extraordinary Advance which appears above, in the Year 1743, viz. from 12s. to 20s. he gave for Answer, as follows,

	l.	s.	d.
1737, —	0	11	0
1738, —	0	11	0
1739. —	0	11	6

The Reason of the extraordinary Advance in 1743, was not, any Deficiency in the Growth of that Year, but the many and great Calls to *France*; for the most of our Wool (to our Shame be it said) was then bought by Commission, for that Kingdom.

Of the Prices of Wool in the Isle of Wight.

	l.	s.	d.
1737, 8, 9. —	0	11	0
1740, —	0	12	0
1741, —	0	13	0
1742, —	0	14	0
1743, —	0	17	0
1744, —	0	18	0
1745. — } — }	0	16	0
		0	17 0

NUMB. VIII.

The Prices of Wool, in the Isle of Wight, compared with the same, of Cotefwold, viz.

	Isle of Wight.			Cotefwold.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1737,	0	11	0	0	11	0
1738,	0	11	0	0	11	0
1739,	0	11	0	0	11	6
1740,	0	12	0	0	12	0
1741,	0	13	0	0	12	0
1742,	0	14	0	0	12	0
1743,	0	17	0	1	00	0
1744,	0	18	0	0	17	0
1745.	}	0	16	0	16	0
		0	17	0		

Let us remark here, the Agreement, and the Difference in Price, at several Times, between the Wools of Cotefwold, and of the Isle of Wight; namely, that from 1737 to 1740 inclusive, they were altogether the same, excepting the small Variation, for one Year (1739) of 6d. a Tod. Whence, and from what has occurred elsewhere, may be inferred, that those Wools are, as near as may be, of the same intrinsic Goodness.—But in 1741 and 1742, the Wools of the Isle of Wight advanced, one Shilling a Tod, each Year; while, in the same Years, those of Cotefwold were at a Stay, viz. at the same low Price as in 1740.—On the other Hand, the Wool of the Isle of Wight made but a small Advance, comparatively, in 1743 viz. from 14 to 17s. per Tod; when that of Cotefwold rose from 12 to 20.—Again, in 1744, the Wool of the Isle of Wight advanced yet one Shilling more, viz. to 18s.; and the Wool of Cotefwold dropped from 20 to 17s.—And how is all this to be accounted for? From the Nature, and the Arts of Stock-Jobbing.

We find (N^o. 6.) the Wool of Cotefwold pretty much bought up by Commission, i. e. by, or for extraneous Chapmen, such as had not, till then, interfered with those, who in the foregoing Years (from 1737 particularly) had

had been used to engross, and in Consequence of Combinations, to purchase it on their own Terms.

While such Combination kept its Ground, the Wool of Cotefwold could (we see) make no Advance, as did that of the Isle of Wight.—But, in 1743, the Strife of Chapmen; in other Words, an Increase of the usual Number of Buyers, in Proportion to the usual Number of Sellers, raised the Market for Cotefwold Wool, even considerably beyond the advanced Price of that of the Isle of Wight.

It's true, our Letter (N^o. 6.) informs us, that this extraordinary Advance in the Price of Cotefwold Wool, was the Effect of its being bought up, with the View of sending it to France; and which possibly might be the Case.—But, as I presume the Author of that Letter was no way privy to such illegal Doings: So neither could he be certain, that a Share of the Cotefwold Wool was not bought up in that cheaper Season likewise (from 1737 to 1742) for the very same evil Purposes, of clandestine Exportation.

All that we can reasonably conclude therefore, and with any Certainty, is, that Wool Buyers, whether for home Use, or for clandestine Exportation, will combine, as much, and as often, and as long as they can, against the Growers of Wool; and that so far as any such Combinations prevail, and so long as any such indirect Practices are continued, so much are the Wools of England under the Pressure of a Monopoly. And when, and so far as these are by any Means dissolved, or broke into; so far that Commodity recovers its Liberty, and comes up to its natural Price.

Of this we have a glaring Example in the Case above, of Cotefwold Wool; and which Instance proves further most demonstrably, that the Price of English Wool in England, is not influenced (as we have been given to believe, and has been commonly imagined) by the Quantity of Woolen Goods exported; seeing that in 1737, Cotefwold Wool, and Wool of the Isle of Wight sold but for 11s. per Tod, although the Woolen Exports (1737—8) were 4,158,643 l.; while in 1743, they were but 3,541,558 l. viz. less in 1743 than in 1737—8, by 617,085 l.; notwithstanding that the Price of all English Wool was about one Third dearer, and that of Cotefwold particularly, was near twice as dear in 1743, as

in 1737. The Wool of Cotswold actually rose, in 1743, from 12 to 20 s. per Tod. And though this general Advance in the Price of Wool in England (1743) above what it had been sold at, in some foregoing Years, particularly in 1737, was then (1743) universally believed to have been the Effect of much larger Woolen Exports, in 1743, than in 1737—8; yet this universal Belief having since appeared to be so much the Reverse of Truth; is surely a Matter deserving the Notice of the Country Gentleman at least, and his Contrivance and best Endeavours to shake off that Yoke of Monopolish Abuse and Oppression, which has been so long, and so much galling to the Landed Interest and its Dependants.

C H A P. CLXXII.

Page 86. From the Traite Le Negoce D'Amsterdam, by the Sieur Jean Pierre Ricards, 1722.

THE Price of Wools at Amsterdam, about the latter End of July 1719.

Wools of Germany.	1. De Rostock & de Gripwalde, de Stralfund & d'Anclam, — —	100 lb. {	Florins. { 44 a 45 }	English Money nearly per Pound, at a Medium, 10 d.
	2. De Stetin, de Thorn, de Dantzick, & de Pruff. — —	100 lb. {	{ 46 a 51 }	11 d.
	3. De Colberg, de Luneburg, & de Breme, — —	il n'y en a pas. {	{ 30 a 33 }	7 d.
Of Poland.	4. Laine d'Ete de Pologne, — —	la lb. {	{ 9 a 11 Sols. * }	11 d. $\frac{1}{4}$.
Of Persia.	5. Laine de Carmenie rouge, ditto blanche, — —	{	{ 44 a 46 } { 32 a 39 }	4 s. 2 d. 2 s. 7 d.

* Twenty Dutch Sols are 22 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ English: So that the Price of Laine d'Eté de Pologne, was, on a Medium, at about 11 d.

Spanish Wools.	Sols Dutch per Pound.	English Money nearly.	Wools of Spain.
6. De Segovie, superfine — —	40 a 41	— 3 s. 9 d. to 3 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
Ditto fine — —	36 a 37	— 3 s. 4 d. to 3 s. 5 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
Ditto ordinaire — —	30 a 37	— 2 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 s. 2 d.	
7. Fine de Burgos — —	31 a 32	— 2 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 11 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
Ditto Ordinaire — —	30 a 31	— 2 s. 9 d. to 2 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
8. Soria Segoviane — —	32 a 33	— 3 s. to 3 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
De los Rios — —	32 a 33	— 3 s. to 3 s. 1 d.	
De Lomberos — —	28 a 29	— 2 s. 7 d. to 2 s. 8 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
9. Albarazingrande — —	25 a 26	— 2 s. 4 d. to 2 s. 5 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
Ditto fine — —	27 a 28	— 2 s. 6 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
Ditto petite — —	21 a 22	— 1 s. 11 d. to 2 s.	
10. Casferes — —	27 a 28	— 2 s. 6 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
11. Seguenca Segovianne — —	30 a 31	— 2 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 11 d.	
Seguenca — —	21 a 30	— 1 s. 11 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
12. Quenca — —	23 a 24	— 2 s. 2 d. to 2 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
13. Cabesse de Bues — —	24 a 25	— 2 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
14. Serena — —	22 a 23	— 2 s. 1 d. to 2 s. 2 d.	
15. De Malaga ordinaire — —	19 a 20	— 1 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
16. De Puertos — —	29 a 30	— 2 s. 8 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{4}$	
17. Caval-			

11 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ per Pound, at Amsterdam, in July 1719; when the best English combing Wool did not exceed (in England) 9 d. per Pound. Whence it appears, that these Polish, and also some other German Wools, are at least, either of equal Goodness with the English, (consequently, there is not that Reason for prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of English Wool, which is commonly alledged) or else the English Wools are depressed below their natural Value; the latter, I suppose to be truly the Case; and which (according to Sir Josiah Child) is a never-failing Motive to clandestine Exportation.

<i>Spanish Wools.</i>	<i>Sols Dutch per Pound.</i>	<i>English Money nearly.</i>
17. Cavalleres —	30 a 31 —	2 s. 9 d. $\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 s. 11 d.
18. Molina —	26 a 27 —	2 s. 5 d. to 2 s. 6 d. $\frac{1}{4}$
19. De Castille —	25 a 26 —	2 s. 4 d. to 2 s. 5 d. $\frac{1}{2}$
20. De Campo —	18 a 19 —	1 s. 8 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{4}$
21. De Estramadure } — — —	23 a 24 —	2 s. 2 d. to 2 s. 3 d.
22. De Seville —		
23. De Navarre —	13 a 14 —	1 s. 2 d. $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 s. 3 d. $\frac{3}{4}$
24. D'Andaloufie —	20 a 22 —	1 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
25. D'Estramadure —	20 a 23 —	1 s. 10 d. $\frac{2}{4}$ to 2 s. 1 d. $\frac{3}{4}$
26. De Trixito —	24 a 25 —	2 s. 3 d. to 2 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>Wools of Portugal.</i> 27. Laines, de Portugal — — —	22 a 28 —	2 s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 s. 7 d. $\frac{2}{4}$

Ch. 105. §. 14. N. B. We are told that the *English* import only the best *Spanish* Wools; whence is to be inferred, that some *English* Wools are equal, to all Intents and Purposes, to the *Portugal* and inferior *Spanish* Wools. But no *English* Wool being commonly sold in *England*, at any thing near the Price of these at *Amsterdam*; it is an Argument, even to Demonstration, that the Wools of *England* are not suffered to take their natural Price; and this is the true Reason of that invincible Propensity to the *Runnage of Wool*, which has been so much a Topic of Complaint, for upwards of 80 Years last past.

C H A P. CLXXIII.

Of Fullers, Fulling, Fullers Earth, and Teazles: From Chambers's Dictionary, the Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce, and the Philosophical Transactions, &c.

1. **FULLER**, a Workman employed in the Manu-
factories, to full, mill, or scour Cloths, Rattens, Serge, and other Woolen Stuffs, by Means of a Mill; to render them thicker, more compact and durable.
2. **Fullers Earth**, a fatty, fossile Earth, abounding in Nitre; of great Use in the Woolen Manufacture. It serves to scour Cloths, Stuffs, &c. and to imbibe all the Grease and Oil necessarily used in the preparing, dressing, &c. of the Wool. It is dug* in great Plenty out of certain Pits near *Brickhill* in *Staffordshire* †; also near *Ryegate* in *Surry*; near *Maidstone* in *Kent*; near *Nutley* in *Suffex*; and near *Wooburn* in *Bedfordshire* ‡. It is absolutely

* ' It is a Commodity, which the *Dutch* cannot get in any Quantity, or Worth, nearer than the *Strights*.'
† ' The Island of *Skyes* in *Scotland*, produces Fullers Earth.'
‡ *Of the Pits for Fullers Earth in Bedfordshire, a Letter: By Mr. B. Holloway, to Dr. Woodward.* n. 379. p. 419. Sept: &c. 1723.
' From the Surface, for about six Yards depth, there are several Layers of Sands; under this, a thin Stratum of red Sand Stone; then, for seven or eight Yards more, Sand again; then, *Fullers Earth*; the upper Layer, about a Foot deep, not good for Use. After this, good *Fullers Earth*, for about seven or eight Foot; but distinguished into several Layers, at the Distance of about a Foot and an Half from one Horizontal Fissure to another. And it is observable in the Site of this Earth, that it seems to have every where a pretty equal Horizontal Level. These Pits are digged in that Ridge of Sand Hills, by *Wooburn*, which, near *Oxford*, is called *Shotover*; on which lies *Newmarket Heath*; and which extends itself from East to West, every where, at the Distance of eight or ten Miles,

solutely necessary to the well dressing of Cloth; and hence Foreigners, who can procure Wool to be clandestinely exported out of the Kingdom, can never reach to the Perfection of *English* Cloths, without Fullers Earth*. For this Reason, it is made a contraband Commodity; and the Export made equally criminal with that of Wool †.

3. *Teasle* :

‘ Miles, from the Hills, called, in *Cambridgeshire*, *Gog Magog*; in *Bucks* and *Oxon*, the *Chilton Hills*, &c. from the Chalky Matter of which they consist.

‘ This I take Notice of, because it confirms what you say of the regular Disposition of the Earth into like Strata or Layers of Matter commonly through vast Tracts: From whence I make a Question, whether Fullers Earth may not probably be found in other Parts || of the same Ridge of Sand Hills, among other like Matter.’

|| It may very probably, and if there was the same Encouragement for the one, as there is for the other; there would be as many Attempts to find out Fullers Earth in Great Britain, as there have been, to find Coals. — But the Discouragement, in this Case, is, that Fullers Earth must not be exported; although Coals may; and yet nothing is more certain, than that Coals are equally, at least, necessary to Manufacture in general, as Fullers Earth is to the Woolen Manufacture in particular. Nor can there be a Reason assigned for prohibiting the Exportation of Fullers Earth, which will not hold equally, nay stronger, against the Exportation of Coals. Yet, don't I think, that the Exportation of Coals ought therefore to be prohibited.

* ‘ God hath not only given us Wool in Abundance, but another necessary Material, Fullers Earth, without which Cloth is not to be made; and (as they say) is not to be found any where else but in this Land.’

Ch. 62. §. 1.

‘ It is infamous to suffer Fullers Earth, Fulling, Clay, Teazles, &c. to be carried to *France*, &c.’

Ch. 84. §. 15.

† But (è contra), ‘ In *Holland* and *France*, they have no Fullers Earth; and yet make as fine Cloth as we do in *England*.’

* *Dictio-naire Uni-versel du Commerce*, p. 527-8.

‘ The Fullers * first make use of Urine, after that, of scouring Clay, or Potters Earth, in the last Place, Soap dissolved in warm Water. The Cloths fullled with Soap only, are better fullled, and in much less time, than those in which Urine and scouring Clay is used; they are less subject to

3. *Teasle* †: This Plant is cultivated with great Care *Teasles*. in several Parts of *France*, particularly in *Normandy* ||; and the Exportation thereof prohibited, by Reason of the vast Use thereof in the Woolen Manufacture*.

CHAP.

‘ to Holes, and softer in the Hand, and receive a better Colour from the Dyer.’

Thus it appears, that Mr. Chambers has not been more happy in the Choice of his Authors, touching Fullers Earth, than upon the Subject of Wool itself.

† *Carduus Fullonum*, or the Fullers Thistle, a Kind of Plant much used by the Fullers, Cloth Workers, and Stockin Weavers, to card or draw out the Wool or Nap, from the Thread or Ground of several Kinds of Cloths, Stuffs, Stockins, &c.

|| It is propagated in several Parts of *England*, more or less, but in the greatest Quantities, at *Wrington* in *Somersetshire*.

* ‘ This Plant † is cultivated with Care, in many Pro-*vinces* in *France*, particularly in *Normandy*, about *Leny*, *naire Uni-Louier*, *Elbœuf du Portigeois*, *Pont-de-l-Arche*; and *versel du* in *Picardy*, towards *Tresnoi*; and in *Languedoc*, about *Commerce*, *Gignac*, and other Places. P. 795.

‘ Those of *Picardy* are the best and most esteemed. They are used partly in the Manufacturies of that Province. Nevertheless, a Quantity of them is sent to the Fair of *Beaucaire*; where the Merchants of *Lyons* buy them by Wholesale, to retail them to the Workmen in the *Lyonnois*.

‘ The *Teasle* is sowed, as Barley, in the Month of *March*. The Man- In the Month of *August*, it is transplanted, like Cabbage, *ner of pro-* and ought to stand a Year. So that the Heads are fit to pagating be gathered towards the End of *July*, or Beginning of *August*, according as they come to Maturity. and raising Teasles.

‘ These *Teasles* have been thought so necessary to the Woolen Manufacture, that it was not permitted, to export them, without a Licence; * according to an Arret in 1689; and which laid their Duty, on Exportation with Licence, at 10 Livres the Bale, of 150 lb. Weight.

‘ The Exportation of that Sort of them, called the *Chardon Bonnetier*, having been absolutely forbid by an Arret 1715, the Liberty of exporting them out of the Kingdom, was again given by an Arret, *December 21*, in the

C H A P. CLXXIV.

Of the Plague at Marfeilles, and its Consequences to the Woolen Trade and Wool of England.

AS the calamitous Circumstance, of the Plague at Marfeilles, was an Incident, which has been commonly said to have been greatly favourable to the Trade of this Kingdom;

‘ the same Year. The Cause * of it was, the great Crop thereof in the Province of Normandy, the foregoing Years; by which Means, the Barnes and Warehouses of those that grew them, and traded in them, were overstocked. And therefore, to facilitate the Trade with Strangers, the Duty on Exportation was reduced to four Livres, instead of ten.’

* N. B. Methinks our Author here, assigns a Wrong, i. e. a false Reason for a right or just Measure taken in France, by repealing (in the Month of December) an Arret, which had issued so lately, as in the very same Year. This Repeal (he tells us) was a Consequence of the extraordinary Plenty of Teasles produced in France, in the two foregoing Years. — But as that was a Circumstance which did exist in some Measure, and consequently might have been known, in a Degree, before the going out of the first Arret: So, the Prohibition in this Case, was plainly, either a Policy grounded upon erroneous Principles, or else, a Point carried by the Woolen Manufacturers, or, some Merchants of France, upon narrow, selfish, in a word, Monopolish Views; which immediately appeared (inasmuch as the usual foreign Passage for French Teasles was no sooner dammed up, but the Commodity was found to want a proper Vent, and was in Danger of perishing in their overcharged Barns and Warehouses, to the Discouragement of the Grower at least, and so far forth to the Landed Interest of that Kingdom), in Consequence of which Appearance, instead of continuing the Obstruction, it was judged prudent, not only to remove it instantly, but to open a wider Outlet for this their Produce, than before had been allowed of (since the Year 1689) by reducing the Duty on Exportation, from ten to four Livres. How much wiser in this Case, were the French, than in some similar Regards, are the British Politics, upon a vain, ill grounded Supposition, of their being beneficial to Trade and Manufacture!

Kingdom; and upon which much Stress has been laid, for Proof of certain Maxims long held, in regard to the Woolen Manufacture, and the Price of English Wool in England; it is therefore, altho' in some measure already spoke to, reserved as one of the most critical, interesting Events contained in these Memoirs, to be here more particularly considered in the last place.

Ch. 123.
§. 5. Note.
Ch. 140.
§. 18. Note.
Ch. 142.
N^o 6.
Ch. 148.
§. 8—10.

1. The Author of the *Traite le Negoce d'Amsterdam*, A. D. 1722. speaking of *Marfeilles*, says, ‘ It was about a Year ago very populous; but the Plague, which has not yet entirely ceased, has so raged since 1720, that this poor City is almost reduced to a Desert. Nevertheless, there is Hopes that this fine and great City, by its good Situation for Commerce, will draw new Inhabitants that will make the Commerce flourish again, as before. Most part of the Merchandize that has come from thence within a Year past, has been burnt, to prevent the Infection in those Parts, for which they were consigned; which has caused great Loss to the Insurers at Amsterdam.’

2. The Author of the *Atlas Maritimus Commercialis*, printed A. D. 1727; speaking of the French Woolen Manufactures, and Trade for the same, says, ‘ They had extremely lessened the Demand [from England] in Italy and Spain; and we had some Threats that they would throw us out of the Trade at Cadiz for the Spanish West Indies; and perhaps they might have gone a great way towards it, had not the Hand of Heaven interposed, and given the French such a Blow by the late Plague in Languedoc, as it's thought they will never recover, or at least, not in many Years.’

Ch. 119.
§. 8.
§. 10.

‘ But the Plague has been a double Blast upon them; for besides the Havock it made of their People in some of the most populous Provinces, where the Manufactures were carried on to the greatest Height; all the Ports of Europe have been, as it were, shut against them; and so far have their Neighbours been from admitting them to trade, that several of their Ships are said to have perished at Sea; the Men being starved to Death; merely because they could not put into any Port for Provisions, or for so much as fresh Water. This at once deprived them, for many Months, of all the

the Trade of the whole Kingdom of Spain, as well as of the Ports of Italy; not a Piece of their Goods was permitted to go in the Galleons to New Spain, or in the Portugueze Fleets to Brazil, for two Years together; in both which consisted the Prosperity of their Manufactures; and by which they were always supplied with ready Money, for the carrying them on.

^b Ch. 123. §. 5. ^{3.} *Of what Advantage this was to England, Mr. Joshua Gee says* ^b, 'We may judge by examining into the mighty Demand there was for our Woolen Goods, when France was visited with the Plague, and stopped from supplying foreign Markets. The Demand for our Woolen Goods increased to so great a degree, that the like has not happened for many Years.'

^c Ch. 140. §. 18, 19. ^{4.} The Author of *Observations on British Wool, A. D. 1739* ^c, 'When the Plague was at *Marseilles*, we had then a current Demand for all the Goods we manufactured. The Demand, at this time, was not particular, but universal, for Stuffs, Cloth, Hose, and all Sorts of Woolen Goods.' And as a Consequence of this, he tells us that 'Notwithstanding all foreign Demand for Wool ceased, and all the Wool and Yarn of Ireland was brought to us, BECAUSE it could not be run abroad, OUR WOOL was, then, one Third more in Value than now (1739.). This is a plain evident Fact, demonstrating, that if OUR WOOL could be effectually secured to OURSELVES, the Value of it MUST rise, as it CERTAINLY DID, when the Demand for it was stopped by the aforesaid Occurrence.'

^d Ch. 141. §. 13. ^{5.} Mr. *Webber*, in his Narrative ^d, 'The Plague in France putting a Stop to all Intercourse with that Kingdom, our Goods were called for as fast as we could make them; and we sold them at whatever Price we thought fit to set upon them; and OUR WOOL rose from 7 l. and 7 l. 10 s. to 11 and 12 l. a Pack.— These are undeniable Facts; and these Facts undeniably shew, &c.'

^{6.} Mr. *Gee*, in his Tract, intituled, *An Impartial Enquiry, &c.* A. D. 1742, 'When Ships lay Quarantine, Wool rose from 15 to 30 s per Tod.'

^{7.} A Person styling himself, *A Merchant of London*, Author of *A Scheme to prevent the Runnage of Irish Wools to France*, printed for R. Franklin (1745) 'When the

the Plague raged at *Marseilles*, the Demands for Woolen Goods, from foreign Countries, were so large, that the Wools of both *England* and *Ireland*, were insufficient to supply them.'

^{8.} Now, tho' the *Custom-House* Accounts will not perhaps come up to our Expectations, after having been thus raised by the foregoing Writers; yet, to shew this Affair in the very strongest Light, viz. by leaving out the Year 1720 *, as neutral or doubtful, because in June, that Year, the Plague broke out at *Marseilles*; and the Truth is:

As to the Trade of England,

The Woolen Exports were ° in

1718	_____	£ 2,673,696	^{° See} Ch. 171
1719	_____	£ 2,730,297	N ^o 5.
* 1720	£ 3,059,049	_____	
1721	_____	£ 2,903,310	
1722	_____	£ 3,384,842	
Total	{ 1718 } { 1719 }	_____	£ 5,403,993
Total	{ 1721 } { 1722 }	_____	£ 6,288,152
Total	{ 1721 } exceed Total of { 1718 } { 1722 } { 1719 }	_____	£ 884,159
	1723	_____	£ 2,920,601
	1724	_____	£ 3,068,373
Total	{ 1723 } { 1724 }	_____	£ 5,988,974
Total	{ 1723 } less than { 1721 } { 1724 } { 1722 }	_____	£ 299,178
	More than { 1718 } { 1719 }	_____	£ 584,981

As to the Price of Wool.

Though the Woolen Trade was more in 1722 by £ 884,159, than in 1718; yet that fell something in 1722; and in the two following Years 1723, it fell considerably, altho' the Trade of those two Years exceeded the Trade of 1718 by almost £ 600,000.

9. But tho' the Price of Wool did not fall very much in 1722, from the Price of 1718, yet was it considerably short of what it was in 1718; and in 1723, it fell greatly, even from the Prices of 1718; altho' the Effects of the Plague at *Marseilles* (in regard to the Trade of *England*) had not ceased, admitting that the Distemper itself had. And notwithstanding the Price of Wool did not abate much in 1722 from what it was in 1718; yet I well remember, by particular Circumstances, that in 1722, much of the Wool of the Country lay upon the Hands of the Growers, unfold; and for one of those Years at least, I am positive, uncheapened, *i. e.* not so much as looked at, or asked for by WOOL BUYERS. I do particularly remember a Wool Chapman in *October*

† Ch. 171. 1723^f, purchasing three Years Wool of one Person, at a low Rate, and giving for the Reason of its being so much a Drug, the Quantities imported from *Ireland* to *Chester*, &c. And in the Year ending at Midsummer 1723, we have seen^g, was imported, of Wool and Yarn from *Ireland*, 271,291 Stones; which tho' we have very good Reason^h to think was considerably short of the Quantity imported, within the whole Year 1723; yet was it more than double the Quantity imported annually, from 1726 to 1729 inclusive, and from 1740 to 1744ⁱ inclusive.
No 5.

10. Here then we may remark, That it had been long maintained by Writers on this Subject, that a Quantity of Wool exported from *England* or *Ireland* to *France*, or other foreign Parts, but more particularly, if to *France*, was not only the Loss of so much Manufacture and Trade, as to the single Amount of that Quantity; but that the same being multiplied *threefold* at least, every Stone of Wool exported, was losing to *England* the selling of the Manufacture arising from *three* Stones; and every Stone of Wool by any Means detained from clandestine Exportation, was the gaining to *England* a certain

certain Market abroad, for the Manufacture arising from *three* Stones of Wool; whence was drawn this very natural Conclusion, 'That in Proportion, as the usual clandestine Exportation of Wool from *England* or *Ireland* should be prevented, so, MUST the Price of that Commodity in *England*, advance accordingly.' This, I say, had been long insisted upon, as a fundamental Article, in Support of various Schemes offered, and Opinions maintained, in Reference to the Business of *English* and *Irish* Wool. And to make the same pass beyond all Possibility of Doubt and Contradiction, was as material, as the Thing itself, if true, was interesting. But though this was an Argument that needed to be confirmed by some very well attested Facts: Yet had those, who invented and maintained it, contented themselves for many Years, with bare Assertions, that *so it was*. Till at last, in the Year 1739, the Convenience of the Doctrine (as we may suppose) tempted the Writer of *Observations on British Wool*^k, by a small Addition, of his own, to a Circumstance that was true, to pitch upon the Time of the Plague at *Marseilles*, as a Proof incontestable and decisive in this Case. 'Notwithstanding' (says he) *all foreign Demand for Wool ceased, and all the Wool and Yarn of Ireland was brought to us, BECAUSE it could not be run abroad; yet OUR WOOL was ONE THIRD MORE in Value, than now,* (viz. in 1739.) And, if he had stopped here, he had been, literally, within the Bounds of Truth. — BUT, for the Sake of this beloved Inference, viz. 'That, if our Wool could be effectually secured to OURSELVES, the Price of it MUST RISE.' For the Sake of this Inference, I say, he adds, 'It certainly DID RISE, when the Demand for it was stopped by the aforesaid Occurrence.' And though OUR WOOL certainly DID NOT RISE at this Period; yet to have it commonly believed that it did, made so very much, as they thought, for their several Systems and Schemes, that, after this Writer of *Observations on British Wool*, Mr. WEBBER, Mr. GEE, and the MERCHANT of *London*, successively improved upon it; and scorning to be ignorant of any Thing relating to this Subject, which any other Writer knew, and which also was so much in their Favour, they perfectly remembered the Case to be exactly according to their respective Representations^l.

See §. 4.

See §. 5.

And indeed it must be allowed, that had the Thing been true, as they represented, their Inferences had been not only just, but greatly to their Purpose.

11. But though the real Circumstances attending this Incident, of the Plague at *Marseilles* (so far as relates to the Price of *English Wool* in *England*) make nothing (as we have seen) for the Writers abovementioned; yet do they contain a *very plain and interesting PROOF, decisive of a principal Question.* Which Question is, *Whether, or no, it is a certain Consequence to be expected from confining effectually the Wools of Great Britain and Ireland, that the Woolen Manufacture would so far increase, as that the Price of English Wool in England MUST rise?* This has been averred, over and over again, with much Stress laid upon it (a Sign that the Price of *English Wool* in *England*, is commonly at least, held to be a Matter of some Consideration) and for the Truth whereof, those Circumstances are a *Criterion of Moment, a Test much wanted, and difficult to be obtained by any other Medium.* For,

12. Many Persons, who were not much inclined to a *Registry of Wool*, as not being fond thereof, for *its own Sake*, were yet ready to wish for *such a Measure*, because they thought it might contribute to the solving of several Problems relating to that important Subject, and particularly this grand one, viz. *how far the Price of English Wool in England was capable of being improved by such a certain Confinement of the English and Irish Wools, as would be the Result of such a Measure?*

13. And tho' a *Registry of some Kind* has been often recommended, and for that End, various Schemes have been repeatedly offered; yet there being considerable Obstacles in the way of them all, it is to be apprehended, that no one will ever be so far approved, as to be carried into Execution. And therefore, next to such a Medium as a *Registry itself*, this Incident, of the *Plague at Marseilles*, may lead us to conceive what would be the Fruits even of an *effectual Registry*, or (which is thereby propounded) of confining absolutely the *Wool of Great Britain and Ireland*, in virtue of *prohibitory Laws*. For tho' it is not an exact Alternative to a *Registry*, it is nearly such. It does not indeed prove quite so much, in one Respect;

Respect; but in some others, it proves even more than a *Registry itself* could do.

14. It does not, for Instance, certainly follow, that because *France* had no *English* or *Irish Wool*, while the *Plague* raged there, that therefore no *English* or *Irish Wool* at all was exported in that Period. And yet, we have seen, the *Stock of Wool* in *England*, and from *Ireland*, was too great even for its Trade at that Time, increased as it was. And as *England* had actually more *Wool* from *Ireland*, and probably sent less abroad at this, than at other Times; by which Means the *whole Quantity* was too great for the *whole Demand or Consumption*, although that was larger than common; so that very well explains the Reason why, though the Trade of *England* was considerably more, yet the Price of *English Wool*, in *England*, was something less. Consequently, if we may argue from what *has been*, in Conjunction with the Nature and Reason of Things, it is to be apprehended that an *effectual Registry* of *Wool*, would give a greater Check to the Price of *English Wool*, in *England*, than the Circumstance, of the *Plague* in *France*, did; without procuring to *England* those Advantages in the *Woolen Exportation Trade*, which it actually derived from the aforesaid Circumstance, the *Plague* in *France*. For it is to be considered, that though it is very apparent that one Reason of *Wool* falling at this Conjunction, notwithstanding the good State of the *English Trade* all the while, was, because the *French* had not *English* and *Irish Wool*, as at other Times; yet is it not so clear that the *English Woolen Trade* was then, so much better than usual, because the *French* had no *ENGLISH OR IRISH WOOL*, as, BECAUSE the *FRENCH*, for that Time, were deprived of THEIR TRADE; their MANUFACTURERS were swept away by the *Pestilence*, and their MANUFACTURES themselves burnt, or left to perish at Sea.

15. And therefore, tho' a *Registry* of *Wool* in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and the Circumstance of the *Plague* at *Marseilles*, are so far similar, that with regard to the Price of *English Wool* in *England*, we might expect the like or worse Consequences from the former, than was experienced by the latter; yet whoever considers the State of *Europe*, and the *World* at large, as to *Wool* and

486 *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* Ch. 174.

¹ Ch. 92-- Woolen Manufacturies, according to the Accounts given in the *Memoirs* ¹ of the Dutch Trade—the *British Merchant* ^m Ch. 97—*chant* ^m—the *Atlas General* ⁿ—*Salmon's modern History* ^o— and above all, the *Dictionnaire Universel du Commerce*, will see little Reason to expect to ruin, (as we are apt to talk ^q) the *French Commerce*, or indeed to hope for any uncommon, extraordinary Advantages to the Trade of *England*, in Consequence merely of confining effectually the *English* and *Irish* Wools, by a *Registry*, or by *prohibitory Laws* in any Shape whatsoever.

^{16.} There is yet a further *Juncture* and *Coincidence* of *Circumstances* in this Case, not unworthy of some Notice.

The Plague broke out at *Marseilles*, about the latter End of *June* 1720. *August* 25. a Proclamation issued in *England*, obliging all Ships from the *Mediterranean*, to perform *Quarantine*. *October* 12. another, for Ships coming from *Bordeaux*, or any Parts of *France* bordering on the Bay of *Biscay*. *October* 27. for all Ships coming from the Bay of *Biscay*, and from the *Iles* of *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, *Alderney* and *Sarke*. *Febr.* 4. for all the foregoing Purposes, including further the *Ile of Man*.

^{§. 1-7.} And tho' the several Writers mentioned ^r, speak of the Increase of Trade, and a supposed Advance in the Price of *English Wool* in *England*, as Occurrences, chiefly in the Years 1721 and 1722. And though the former, the Increase of Trade, was, from the Beginning, a current Discourse and Belief; yet it is very remarkable that the latter, the pretended Advance in the Price of Wool, at that Time, is not once found in Print, 'till near 20 Years after, *viz.* Anno 1739 ^s. And indeed, had the Story been trumped up much sooner, the Notoriety of Things would then have been such, as that Numbers would have been able to have contradicted it. Had the *Lye* been deferred much longer; as the Memory of that Advance in

^{§. 4.} the Price of Wool, which did really happen in 1717 ^t, would have been wholly effaced by Time, so would it have made less Impression upon the Minds of the People.

^{Ch. 171.} But the People having an indistinct Remembrance of a considerable Advance in the Price of Wool, somewhat near that Time, they more readily took for granted that it was at the very Time, and so swallowed implicitly both the *Fact* and the *Inference* from it. These were Circumstances favourable to the *Imposture*, and to the Error founded

Ch. 174. *Memoirs of Wool, &c.* 487

founded upon it. But those which follow, being true, make the *Criterion* still stronger, on the negative Side of the Question.

^{17.} It was not long before the breaking out of the Plague in *France*, *viz.* but in 1717 ^u, that Wool in *England*, had bore a Price, which tho' not uncommon in former Times, I mean before the *Restoration* ^v, yet was such, as that the like had not been known in *England*, for near 20 Years before, nor since, for almost 30 Years. And

in 1720, just before the breaking out of the Plague at *Marseilles*, the advanced Price of *South-Sea Stock* advanced the Price of all other things in *England*, except ^x *Wool*; which could not get over the Price of 1716 ^x, the Year before the then late Advance of that Commodity; nor did the extraordinary Advantages, so much boasted of, to the *English* Trade, in the Years 1721, above those of 1718, keep the Price of Wool from falling something, in those two Years. Such (we may suppose) was the increased Quantity of Wool in *England*, by means of extraordinary Importations ^y from *Ireland*, and ^y through a Defect of the usual clandestine Exportations from *England*, on the Score of the Plague in *France*; which resolving more Wool into the Hands of fewer Buyers; in a word, increasing the Number of Sellers in the *English* Markets, and lessening the Number of Buyers there, produced that *Effect*, which Mr. *Locke*, with equal Judgment and Truth, has assured us, will always proceed from such a Cause.

^{18.} And though, the Plague abating, or rather, ceasing, after the Year 1722 ^z, Intercourse was again restored with *France*; yet *France* not having recovered itself from that Calamity, had not, it seems, the same Occasions, as formerly, for *English* and *Irish Wool*; and therefore, albeit, the *English Woolen Exportation Trade* continued to be more, for the Years 1723, by near 600,000 *l.* ^a, than it had been in the Years 1718, nevertheless, I conceive, for partly the same Reason as before, and particularly because there came yet more Wool and Yarn from *Ireland* to *England*, in the Year 1723 ^b, than in 1721 and 1722, it did not hinder the Price of Wool in *England* from falling very considerably. All which Circumstances laid together, are a Proof, arising, if not fully, yet nearly to a Demonstration, that, from preventing

^{§. 1.} ^{§. 29.} ^{Ch. 126.} ^{See §. 8.}

^{See §. 8.} ^{Ch. 126.} ^{P. S.}

^{See §. 8.} ^{Ch. 126.} ^{P. S.} ^{H h 4}

venting absolutely the Exportation of Wool, by a Registry, or by prohibitory Laws, in virtue of high Peualties (was that practicable) there could not be expected any Advance in the Price of English Wool in England; but, on the contrary, an extraordinary Cheapness of it, without any Accession to the English Woolen Exportation Trade, except what (at the Expence of the GROWER) should be purchased by such CHEAPNESS OF WOOL.

19. And yet a contrary Notion, founded on FALSEHOOD, and supported by ERROR and CREDULITY, had very near passed upon the Nation. The Writers above-mentioned had vouched it successively; and they had been uncontradicted. And it was by mere Accident, that the Author of *these Memoirs* looking into the Manuscript Account (Ch. 171. N^o. 1.) discerned their Forgery. Knowing the Manuscript mentioned, to be genuine, He was confident it could not deceive him; yet judging it not prudent to rest a Point of such Consequence upon a single Testimony, and which also happened to have been, for some Years, in his own Possession, He resolved to look out for collateral Evidence. — When, to his Surprise, what through the Distance of Time, and a Neglect in these Sort of Dealers, viz. Growers of Wool, to keep regular Accounts on this Head, He found the Thing not a little difficult. However, by the Assistance

of some Friends, as mentioned ^c Ch. 171. N^o. 2, 3, 4. He did procure the written Accounts of Wool sold and bought in that Period. (as see Ch. 171. N^o. 2, 3, 4.) And from these it is very observable, that notwithstanding some little seeming Disagreements, in other Respects, they ALL accord most uniformly in the main Point, viz. in dating that memorable Advance in the Price of Wool, from the Year 1717, which the Writers above-mentioned had artfully fixed to the Time of the Plague at *Marseilles*; and made their Use of it accordingly.

20. And thus we have seen, how so considerable a Juncture, for want of being properly noted, when it did happen, was afterwards disguised, and the Conclusion from it inverted: So that if the Affair had not NOW, or SOON, been exemplified, in the Manner in which it here has been, the Important Testimony it conveys, would have been lost; and in its stead, the Reverse thereof, an utter Falsehood, handed down for an indisputable Truth. At least, if *these*

these Testimonies had not appeared, NOW, that there is an Opportunity, and a Possibility of disproving the same, provided they are not true, they must, though afterwards produced, have abated much of their Credit and Weight, BECAUSE contradicting essentially, Accounts that have passed with the Generality of the People, and Opinions which have gained Strength, upon the Authority of those Accounts. FOR THESE REASONS, it was desireable not to let slip an Opportunity, but that THESE TESTIMONIES, and THIS PROOF should be communicated to the present Age, and transmitted to POSTERITY, clearly and fully, as the Case admits of, and as it deserves. TO THAT END, The Author has been thus particular ^a in naming his ^d See Vouchers, that in Case any shall be disposed to question the same, they may have an Opportunity of being satisfied. Ch. 171. N^o. 2, 3, 4. AND IF NOTHING to the contrary shall appear (as He is confident NOTHING CAN) He hopes what has been here delivered for TRUTH, will, not only for the present, but to future Times, be so accounted of.

CHAP.

C H A P. CLXXV.

A Recapitulation, or Summary of principal Matters contained in the foregoing Chapters, whether in the Way of History, or Argument; which being various and contradictory, are reduced, as near as possible, under general Heads, and ranged in opposite Columns; to the End that the Reader, by comparing the same, and seeing the several Authorities they stand upon, may better judge, on which Side to rest his own Opinion.

N U M B. I.

(A)

(B)

1. A. D. 1331^a. This Year, the Art of weaving Woolen Cloth was first brought from Flanders into England. 1. A. D. 1224. viz. 9 Hen. 3. c. 25. was an Act for Breadth of dyed Cloth, Ruffets and Habergejects, viz. two Yards within the Lifts. Upon which Statute Lord Coke observes, True it is that Broad Cloths were made in England now, and long before this Time. (Chap. 4. §. 16.)

2. A. D. 1337^b, It was enacted that no Wool of English Growth should be transported beyond Sea. From the Time of Edw. III. the Exportation of Wool has been prohibited, under Penalty of Life and Limb. (Chap. 41. §. 2.) Edw. III. by keeping our Wools at Home, put a Stop to the Manufacture of the Flanderkins. (Chap. 114. §. 10.) 2. The Words of the Statute are, It shall be Felony to carry any Wool out of the Realm, until it be otherwise ordained. This Statute was in 11 Edw. III. and in the 12th and 13th Years of that Reign, the King did make Dispensations of that Statute, in Consideration of Money paid. Chap. 5. §. 5. (See Vol. I. p. 26. A. D. 1338.)

A. D.

A. D. 1341.^c Because the King should, before Michaelmas next, transport 20,000 Sacks of Wool, it was provided that No Man, before that Time, should pass over any Wool, on Pain of treble Loss, Life and Member. Ch. 5. §. 12.

3. The Statute of Edward III. for confining the English Wools, hath continued now, these 300 Years. (Chap. 51. §. 1.) 3. The printed Statute, and which is probably here meant. (27 Edw. III. c. 3.) says, It shall be Felony for an English, Welsh, or Irish Merchant, to transport Wool or, &c. viz. any Staple Commodities. But c. 1. of the same Statute says, They, viz. Wool and other Staple Goods, shall be carried forth by Merchant Strangers. (See Chap. 7. §. 1. Note. §. 3. Chap. 8. §. 18.) \$ 35.

4. Henry VII. made Statutes for Drapery, and for keeping of Wools within the Kingdom. (Chap. 14. §. 9. Note.) 4. The Statute was, No Person, during ten Years, shall buy or take Promise, or Bargain, of any Wool that shall grow in Berks, &c. before the Assumption of our Lady [Aug. 15.] next after shearing thereof, but such as will make Cloth or Yarn thereof, nor any Merchant Stranger, before the Purification. (4 Hen. VII. c. 11.) So that this Statute was not so much a Prohibition on the Exportation, as a Monopoly to the Merchants of the Staple, for a great Part of the Year, viz. from Aug. 15. to Febr. 2. (See Chap. 12. §. 17. Chap. 14. §. 9. Chap. 15. §. 23.)

5. It was provided, that no unwrought Wool should be exported. (Chap. 15. §. 9. Note.) 5. The Statute is, None shall carry beyond Sea any Norfolk Wool meet for making Worsted, and Stamins. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

6. Till the 15th Century, viz. A. D. 1420, our Wool was all fold in the Fleece to such of our Neighbours as came to fetch it. (Chap. 150. §. 7.) Grotius and Thuanus both date the Origin of the English Cloth Trade low, as the Middle 6. A. D. 1346^f, the Commons petition that the new Customs lately set upon Cloth, (viz. upon every Cloth carried forth by English Merchants, 14 d. and by Strangers, 21 d. and upon every Worsted Cloth, 1 d. and of Strangers, 1 d. ob. and Ch. 5. §. 23.

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Middle of the 16th Century; the former, from the Dissolution of the Still-yard Company (1551); the latter, from the Duke D'Alva's Persecution, near 20 Years later; till which Time, respectively, they represent the Bulk of the English, as but Shepherds and Husbandmen, and their Merchants, as mere Exporters of raw Wool. (Ch. 17. P. S. Note.)

and of every Litt, 10d. and of Strangers, 15 d.) may be taken away.

A. D. 1353, were exported from England, 4774 1/2 Cloths, after 40 s. Value; 8061 1/2 Pieces of Worsted, after 16 s. 8d. the Piece. (Chap. 6.)

A. D. 1362, Ordered, that Merchants Aliens should not transport Woolen Cloths, except that Merchants of Almain might carry out Worsteds and straight Cloths, Woolen Cloths. (Chap. 7. §. 6.)

Ch. 8. §. 20. A. D. 1389^l, enacted, That Merchants and Artificers of Worsted in Norfolk may sell their single Worsteds to any Place or Person of the King's Amity, any Prohibition of Liberty to the contrary notwithstanding.

* i. e. not- or withstanding any Monopoly heretofore granted to any other Merchants in this Case. Forasmuch as divers plain Cloths wrought in the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Bristol and Gloucester, be falsly wrought with divers Wools; insomuch that the Merchants who buy the same, and carry them out of the Realm to sell to Strangers, be many times in Danger to be slain, and sometimes imprisoned, and put to Fine and Ransome. Therefore, &c.

A. D. 1390^m, Merchants of Kerfies require that they may freely transport the said Kerfies for the Old Custom.

Ch. 8. §. 24. Note. In the Reign of Hen. VIII. Improvements were made, and something was done [by the English] towards furnishing their own Country [with Woolens] But the Flemings had still the whole Trade to all the rest of the World. (Ch. 119. §. 5.)

At length, came the happy Reign of Queen Elizabeth, when to complete the Ruin of the Flemings, as to The Merchants Adventurers, under the Name of the Brotherhood of St. Thomas a Becket of Canterbury, were a Company exporting Cloth so early as 8 Hen. IV. viz A. D. 1406. (Ch. 34. §. 2. Note.) A. D. 1414. The Commons petitioned that Streight Cloths called the Dozens of Devonshire and Cornwall might pay Cocket Customs after the Rate of Broad Cloths. (Ch. 10. §. 3.) The

Ch. 175. A Recapitulation, &c. 493

to Trade, the Exportation of Wool was absolutely prohibited. Ch. 119. §. 6.)

The English Nation remained in much the same State, in respect to Trade, and Navigation, from the Time of the Conqueror, to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth; which consisted chiefly in transporting Tin, Lead, Wool, some Leather, Iron, and other Productions sufficient to purchase what foreign Commodities they wanted. (Ch. 122. §. 1.)

Edw. III. was the first Prince, from the Conquest to his Time, that we find took any Notice of Trade. From his Time to Queen Elizabeth, we do not find any one Prince that had much Regard for it. (§. 2.)

Edw. III. saw the Advantage of the Woolen Trade, and made a fair Push for having it removed hither; but for want of the like Care in his Successors, it did not take deep Root, till the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. (Ch. 123. §. 2.)*

The Place

The Stat. P. 4 Edw. IV. Ch. 12. c. 1. recites 'sundry Deceits and Abuses in making Cloth in England, to the Loss of the Nation, and Discredit beyond Sea.'

The Stat. 7 Edw. IV. c. 1. says, 'Divers Persons in Norwich and Norfolk make untrue Wares in all manner of Respects, of all manner of Worsteds, by which they lose their ancient Estimation beyond Sea.'

A. D. 1493^r, Hen. VII. translated the Mart, (which commonly used to follow the English Cloths) from Antwerp to Calais. Ch. 14. §. 12. Note.

A. D. 1496^s, He concluded a Treaty, called by the Flemings, Intercursus magnus; by which the Arch-Duke desisted from the Duty of a Florin which He before exacted for every Piece of English Cloth which came into his Dominions. §. 13.

Hen. VII. took Recognition, of 20,000 Marks, of the Alderman of the Still-yard at London, that the Easterlings should not carry any English Cloth to the Place. Ch. 17. §. 4.

Easterlings should not carry any English Cloth to the Place

* That King Henry VII. was the first Prince that put the English upon the Thought of manufacturing their own Wool, must be acknowledged to his Memory. We should not do him Justice, if we did not mention it, as often as the Original of our Woolen Manufacture is spoke of.

A Plan of the English Commerce. By Daniel De Foe. P. 126. Edit. 2d.

The Woolen Manuf-
cture was first chiefly esta-
blished in England, in the
long and happy Reign of
Queen Elizabeth. (Ch. 133.
§. 2.) †.

Place of Residence of the
Merchants Adventurers in
the Low Countries, or open
their Fardelles of Cloth in
the said Low Countries, to
the Prejudice of the said
Company, by putting their
Cloths to Vent there.

A Statute^u, 27 Hen. VIII. c. 12. recites, 'that great
Ch. 15. Infamy and Slander had of late Years, risen in sundry
§. 26. Note. Parts beyond Sea, of the untrue making of Woolen
Cloths within the Realm.' About the Year^w 1550,
Ch. 17. 44,000 Cloths were shipped, yearly, from England, in
§. 1. the Name of the Merchants of the Stillyard only.

A. D. 1552^x, The Company of Merchant Adven-
turers transported 40,000 Broad Cloths at one shipping.
§. 8. Note. So early as 4, 5 of Phil. and Mary^y, The Woolen
Ch. 18. Manufacture appears by the Statute Books, to have
§. 9. Note. spread itself through North Wales, South Wales, Che-
shire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Nor-
thumberland, Bishoprick of Durham, Cornwall, Suffolk,
Kent, the Town of Godalmin in Surry, the County of
York, City of York; Villages adjacent to the River
Stroud in Gloucestershire: Besides those other Places more
anciently

† Queen Elizabeth fully stopped the Stream of Wool
which supported the Manufacture in Flanders.
' By this Part of her Management, (prohibiting the Ex-
portation of Wool) the Woolen Manufacture of the Ne-
therlands received its fatal Wound—; for now, having
' no more Wool to work up, the Work itself stopp'd at
' once; the Trade expired and died: Nor has it been able
' since that, to revive, no not in the least degree; for as it
' depended before, entirely upon the Supply of Wool from
' England for its Support; when that Stream failed, when
' that Channel stopped, it could no more subsist, than a
' Body without Food, or Life without Spirits.'
Plan of the English Commerce, &c. p. 133.
' Heaven gave to the English, Wool, exclusive of all
' Nations in the World.
' Their King Henry put them upon manufacturing it—
' And their glorious Queen Elizabeth shewed them the
' Way to find a Market for it [beyond Sea.]

anciently noted for being considerable in the Woolen Manu-
facture, viz. London and the Suburbs, Somersetshire,
Devonshire, Coventry, and Warwickshire, Norwich,
Norfolk, Essex, Winchester, Sarum, Wiltshire, Wor-
cester, and Worcestershire.

In the Time of Phil. and Mary^y, the Cloth Trade of^v Ch. 26.
England was so very great, that the Trade of exporting §. 6.
Wool was almost wholly decayed.

A. D. 1564^z, Cardinal Granville prevailed with the^z Ch. 20.
Governers of the Low Countries to forbid the Importation §. 1.
of English Cloths; which Prohibition obliged the English
to set up a Staple for their Cloths at Emden, a Town
of East Friesland. At this Time, the Cloth Trade from
England to Antwerp, rose yearly, to about five Millions
of Gold, viz. at the lowest Reckoning, 750,000 l. Ster-
ling. Besides which, there was a Trade to^a Amsterdam,^a §. 7.
Hamburgh, Scotland, Ireland, France, probably, certainly
to Sweden and Ruffia.

7. At the Close of the sixteenth Century, the Ex-
portation of any Wool at
all was absolutely prohibi-
ted, on Pain of having the
right Hand struck off.

To prompt their Vigi-
lance for preventing the
Exportation of Wool, the
Judges, King's Council,
and Masters in Chancery in
Parliament, are seated on
WoolSacks. Ch. 150. §. 5, 6.

7. A. D. 1601^b, the^b Ch. 25.
Company of Merchant Ad- §. 4.
venturers trading chiefly in
Cloth, were in Number a-
bout 3500. They exported
in Cloth, the Value of a
Million, yearly. Other
English^c Merchants had^c §. 10.
also a great Trade for the
same into France and Spain.
Besides which, there was a^d Ch. 26.
Trade to Turkey, Ruffia^d, §. 4.
Sweden, Barbary, Scotland,
Ireland, and the Trade of
the Merchants of the Stillyard, who continued upon the
Foot of Merchant Strangers, not without some peculiar In-
dulgences; nor had there been any Act, as yet, prohibiting
the Exportation of Wool. The Act 8 Eliz. c. 3. against
carrying over Sea Rams, Lambs, or Sheep alive, on Pain
of having the right Hand struck off, has been misrepresented.
For^e the Exportation of Wool was never once prohibited, or
any way molested, during the whole Reign of Queen Eliza-
beth, otherwise than, as in Queen Mary's Time, by a Du-
ty of 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. the Sack. Nor by our Forefathers^f was^f Ch. 56.
it

§. 17. it ever prohibited, unless upon some great Occasion, and for some small Time, (and always with ill Consequences to the Nation) till the Year 1647.

Ch. 28. Yet so early as the Year 1613ⁿ, before there had been any Standing Law, for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, we find it noted thus: 'A customable Use hath always (i. e. immemorially) been observed to make it [Wool] the Seat of our Learned Judges, in the Sight of our Noble Peers [in the Parliament House] to imprint the Memory of this worthy Commodity within the Minds of those firm Supporters and chief Rulers of the Land.'

8. Before the Peace of Utrecht, we had no Rival in the Woolen Trade but the Dutch. (Chap. 133. §. 1.) 8. A. D. 1671, not only Flanders, Holland and Zealand, but latterly, France is learning to be too hard for us [in the Woolen Trade.] (Chap. 51. §. 2.)

Ch. 56. A. D. 1677ⁱ, some Turkey Merchants know that the Carcaffone Cloths find good Prices and many Buyers in the Levant. §. 26. You^k are not only deprived of that general and gainful Vent you had formerly in France itself—But in all other Places where you traffique, you meet the French now (viz. 1677.) at every Turn; and the foreign Post brings News from all Parts, that they are before you, and have undersold you in the same Commodities.

Ch. 88. A. D. 1703^l, Oct. 23, the King of France issued an Arret, ordaining that Stuffs called Bays, Perpetuanas, &c. of their own Manufacture, sent into Italy, shall pay but 30 Sols per 100, Duty. §. 5.

Ch. 99. A. D. 1713^m. It is owned on all hands to be true, that the French do send great Quantities of Woolen Goods to Spain, Italy, Portugal, Turkey, the Rhine, &c. (See Chap. 101. §. 3. Chap. 102. §. 5. Note. §. 7. Note.) §. 2.

N U M B. II.

(A) (B)

1. The Makers of Cloth beyond the Seas must needs have them [viz. the English Wools] to cover their own Wools 1. To affirm that the Makers of Cloth beyond the Seas, cannot make Cloth without our English Wool, ii

Wools in the indraping: (Chap. 33. §. 4.) is as true, as that where-with the State hath been so abused.

Our Wool for Clothing (i. e. English and Irish Wool) is to all the World, as much a Necessary of Life, as any thing else. Cloth for general Use CAN NOT be made without it: NOR any other Sort to Perfection. (Chap. 145. §. 1.)

Without English or Irish Wools there can be no Quantity of fine Worsted Stuffs, nor a middle Sort of Cloth made in the whole World. (Chap. 51. §. 3.)

Without English Wool Foreigners can scarce make a tolerable Piece of Drapery. (Chap. 57. §. 2.)

Foreigners cannot make neat Woolen Goods without a Mixture of British and Irish Wool. Therefore by keeping our own Wools at home, we might at once secure the Demand of the whole World on us for neat Woolen Goods, as the Dutch have for their Spices. (Chap. 132. §. 2.)

Without the Help of our Wool there could be no ordinary low priced * Cloth made. (Chap. 62. §. 2.)

I know very well that Wool is the Growth of other Countries, as well as England, and in some Countries, in much more Perfection than in England; and they have Dying Goods too, which are wanting here.

Other Nations have Wool, as well as Great Britain and Ireland; and 'tis but cheating ourselves, to fancy that all the Materials for Woolen Cloth are of our own Growth. Portugal, as well as Spain, has better Wool than ever grew in England.

I know very well that Wool is the Growth of other Countries, as well as England, and in some Countries, in much more Perfection than in England; and they have Dying Goods too, which are wanting here.

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* See Chap. 163. §. 1.

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^u Ch. 48. §. 8. We ^u should, like the Dutch [and the French] make the worst, as well as the best of all Manufactures, that we may be in a Capacity [like them] of serving all Markets and all Humours.

^w Ch. 103. §. 1. Note. It is in vain ^w to talk of the Quality of our Manufactures, and their being so preferable to those of France. If the latter can be sold as cheap, it is plain that the Quality, as well as Quantity, is considered by the Buyer. (See Chap. 102. §. 7.)

^x Ch. 107. §. 10. If other ^x Nations are not able to come up to the Perfection of England, they may resolve to be contented with their own. And in all Countries, how few are there who buy the best, comparatively, with those who are forced to content themselves with an inferior Sort? In short, an inferior Commodity will always affect the Price of a better, at the same Market.

2. If the Wools of England and Ireland were secured from Exportation to Foreigners, doubtless England would be the general Market for the whole Universe, for the Matter of Clothing. Woolen Goods, without our Wool, must be purchased from us, at our own Price. (Ch. 131. §. 4.)

By keeping our Wool at home, Foreigners could only be supplied from hence. (§. 8. Note.)

When Foreigners can't have our Wool, we may fix our Goods at what Rates we please, and dispose of them, at whatever Rates we think proper to fix them. (Chap. 148. §. 9.)

of their own. But this bears No Proportion to the Skill of their Workmen, and the great Stock of particular Clothiers, &c. Chap. 128. §. 3.

2. The Woolen Manufacture is often called OUR Manufacture, OUR OWN Manufacture; as if Wool was not the Growth of any other Country; or as if other Countries did not know how to work it up. Ch. 103. §. 1. Note.

We compliment ourselves with the Woolen Manufacture, call it OUR WOOL, OUR Woolen Manufacture, as if there was no such Thing in the World but in Great Britain; and yet it is certainly known that other Nations want neither Art nor MATERIALS for this Performance. Ch. 107. §. 7.

Woolen Goods are the Staple Commodity of England, in which they have the natural Advantage of great Quantities of very good Wool,

3. The

Ch. 175. A Recapitulation, &c. 499

3. The Wools of Spain are finer than any other; yet will they not sort in Work with any but English Wool; neither will they be wrought into Cloth, without the Help and Mixture of English Wool (Chap. 41. §. 4.) Neither will any Wools be all mixed together, but English and Spanish (for Cloth) only; because the Spanish is with the English, of one Nature, being formerly English Sheep. (Chap. 51. §. 3.)

The Wool of Spain is so exceeding fine, that it cannot be mixed with the coarse hairy Wool of foreign Growth; nor can they be manufactured together, without the Wool of Great Britain or Ireland. (Chap. 131. §. 5.)

4. Foreign Wool for the most part is so coarse and hairy, that it cannot make several Assortments fit for foreign Trade, without the Assistance of British and Irish Wool. (Chap. 131. §. 5.)

The French Wool particularly is very coarse, fit only to make a Sort of Cloth for Seamen and Fishermen. (Chap. 55. §. 3.)

The Wool of France and Holland is of that Nature and Quality, that it will not make Cloth or Stuffs, for Ornament or Use,

3. It ^b hath been proved ^b Ch. 87. more than once, before the Parliament, that NO CLOTH above 10 s. a Yard, white, or 13 s. per Yard, mixed, hath one Dram of English Wool in it.

See (Chap. 151—168.) Dictionaire Universel du Commerce.

See particularly, Chap. 156. §. 10. Chap. 158. §. 3—9.

At Romorantin ^c, is a ^c Ch. 161. Fabric of white Cloths, half, of Spanish Wool; half, of fine Wool of Berry; which Cloths are fit to be dyed Scarlet.

At Carcaffone ^d, the ^d Ch. 167. Cloths are made of Wool of Bezier, Narbonne, and Spain.

4. Of one Fleece ^e of ^e Ch. 89. Wool, an Artist will make 4 or 5 Sorts, and allot every Sort to the Use it is fittest for; whereas, if that Fleece were all carded through other, the hairy Part would spoil the finer [for] a small matter may blemish any thing.

[Though the Wools of France are not (much of them) equal to Spanish and Portugal Wools, nor generally, to the Wools of Great Britain and Ireland; yet several large Provinces of France ^f viz. Langue-^f Ch. 151. doc, Berry, Normandy, §. 5, 7, 8.

I i z and

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Use, without a Mixture of ours, (*i. e. English or Irish.*) (*Chap. 112. §. 3.*)

The French make no good Cloth of their own Wool, without at least, one third of English Wool, to mix with it. (*Ch. 150. §. 3.*)

from Germany, Pomerania, Dantzick, Prussia, Brunswick. These are combed and spun in Flanders; of which they make very fine wove Stockins, and some fine Cloth. (*Chap. 153. §. 1.*)

The Commerce of Wool is one of the most considerable Branches of Trade in Amsterdam. (*Ibid. §. 2.*)

The fine Cloths of France are of three Sorts; the finest, is made of the fine Wool of Segovia, without any Mixture; the second, of Segovia Wool, and that of Albarazin; the third, of other other middle Sorts of Spanish Wool. (*Chap. 156. §. 3.*)

Have we forgot that our Draps de Berry, &c. took their Names from theirs [the French] Manufactures. But if they, or other Foreigners, are pleased with a worse made Cloth than ours, because it is cheaper, are not they in the right, to gratify them? (*Chap. 102. §. 7. Note.*)

The Druggets of Rheims are commonly made of fine Segovia Wool, spun very fine. (*Chap. 156. §. 9.*)

In Serge facon de Londres, the Warp is the longest and finest Wool of Berry; the Woof, Prime and Second of Spain, and Portugal. (*§. 16.*)

Perpetuanas fine, English like, are made at Montpellier, Nismes, Castres, and other Cities of Languedoc, (where no English Wool is pretended to come) some for Cadiz, others for Italy. (*§. 17.*)

5. French Wool is not worth above 4 l. a Pack; mixed with English, it is worth above 12 l. a Pack. (*Chap. 51. §. 11.*)

One Pack of British or Irish Wool, will work up two besides itself, of the coarse

and Burgundy, Picardy, and Champagne, produce Wools in good Plenty, which make Cloth, Serges, Razes, &c. very fine.

There come from Holland 2 Sorts of Wool; those of the Country, and those that the Dutch have

from Germany, Pomerania, Dantzick, Prussia, Brunswick. These are combed and spun in Flanders; of which they make very fine wove Stockins, and some fine Cloth. (*Chap. 153. §. 1.*)

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5. The Wool of Tours [which is of the coarse Sort of French Wool] is commonly sold from 60 to 75 Livres the Quintal, (*viz. about 6 l. 10 s.* the Pack, on a Medium.) (*Chap. 162. §. 7.*)

A great Part of the Wool of

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coarse harsh Wool of foreign Growth; which otherwise would be useless, in respect to their foreign Trade with Turkey, Spain, and Portugal. (*Chap. 131. §. 8.*)

of France hath a stichel Hair in it, like some of our Wool in Norfolk, and some Parts of the North. This Hair continues to stare out, make it into what Goods you will; neither will it dye into any proper Colour. (*Chap. 140. §. 1.*)

At Rethel, the Mixture which the Workmen make of common Wool, mix'd with fine, lowers considerably the Price and Quality of their Goods. (*Chap. 158. §. 4.*)

At Moncontan, the Stuffs made, are Tiretaines, of different Fashions, of the Refuse of Wool, from Niort, Bourdeaux, Xaintes, and Senla. (*Chap. 160. §. 4.*)

6. Why should we be at the Trouble of contriving to go cheap to Market, as the French, and have the Price of our Goods beat down, when we can at once hinder them from going to Market at all, and by having the Market to ourselves be able to fix our own Prices. (*Ch. 145. §. 10.*)

If we do (as we may do) prevent the Exportation of Wool, we shall put it out of the Power of Foreigners to make the Goods they now make, and consequently oblige them to buy of us. (*Ch. 141. §. 3.*)

The French make wherewith to supply themselves, and other Nations; which they could not do, were they not furnished with Wool from England and Ireland; their own being unfit

6. The French can be in no want of Wool, though they should not be supplied with any from England and Ireland. (*Ch. 105. §. 12.*)

It is allowed, the French can be in no want of fine Wool from Spain. They can have sufficient coarse Wool also, without coming into England. (*§. 13.*)

We take only from Spain, the fine Segovia Wool; but the Spanish have several other Sorts, which answer all the Uses of English Wool. So that France, without coming to us, cannot want Wool for ANY PART of the Woolen Manufacture. (*§. 14.*)

Foreigners cannot be prevented from making Cloth. (*Ch. 73. §. 4.*)

At Beavais, are made fine Serges, of English Wool only. Reveches, English like, of French Wool.

^w See above §. 5. (B) viz. at Moncon-tan, &c.

unfit to work by itself. (Ch. 114. §. 9.)
Tis fully demonstrated by the great Charge and Risk, England's Rivals run, in getting the Irish Wool, that, as they do not need it for Quantity, having Wool of their own, so 'tis for Quality; without which they cannot work up their own into such Goods, that they rival England in (Ch. 125. §. 2.)

Flannels, English like, of the same, viz. French Wool, (Chap. 157. §. 10.)
[Tis the Irish and English, who run the Risk] 'pre-ferring a certain Gain to the Dangers which they have a Chance to escape.
[It is for its Quality, that our Rivals do buy the English and Irish Wools; and that Quality is, the PRICE of it] 'depressed at HOME, 'below its natural Value, 'in Consequence of a Mo-

'NOPOLY, occasioned by prohibiting absolutely the Ex-
'portation of Wool.' Ch. 153. §. 6. Ch. 148. §. 32.

N U M B. III.

(A)

(B)

1. By engrossing the Wool of Ireland, we should engross the whole Woolen Trade to ourselves, without the Possibility of being rivalled; and [we should] have it in our Power (as the Hollanders do by their Spices) to fix our own Prices (Ch. 131. §. 9.)

fending the Utility of it to Note. See Ch. 124. §. 5.

2. The Demands for our Goods abroad, were always greatest, and the Price of them, and of unmanufactured Wool, was always highest, when the least Wool was exported, unmanufactured. (Ch. 141. §. 10.)

1. Notwithstanding the contrary is a Common Plea. Yet those who know any Thing of the Matter, are well assured that [Irish Wool and Yarn] are a Means to reduce the Price both of English Wool, and Spinning, in England. Accordingly, at Times, we find some admitting the Thing, and de-
the Public. Ch. 125. §. 7.

2. There is no Instance to be given of the Time, when, Wool selling well in England, there was not room to suppose, from other Circumstances, that it was at that very Time, exported, at least, as much as at any other. (Ch. 117. §. 13. Note.)

3. When

3. Wool

3. When the Plague was at Marseilles, our Wool was, one Third, more in Value, than it is now (1739.) We had a current Demand for all the Goods we manufactured; and notwithstanding the foreign Demand for Wool ceased, and all the Wool and Yarn of Ireland was brought to us, because it could not be run abroad; yet the Price of it certainly rose, (Ch. 140. §. 18.) from 7 l. 10 s. to 11 l. a Pack. (Ch. 141. §. 13.) When Ships lay Quarantine (meaning the same Time of the Plague at Marseilles) Wool advanced from 15 to 30 Shilling per Tod. (Ch. 148. §. 8.)

by the Pestilence; and their Manufactures burnt or left to perish at Sea. The Effects of the Plague could not cease with the Distemper. Accordingly, the Woolen Exports from England, were not only greater in 1721 and in 1722, than in 1718 and 1719; but also in 1723 and 1724. Nevertheless, Wool, in England, fell in Price, all the while; and in 1724, was become considerably cheaper than in 1719 and 1720.

4. Wool is now (1739) fallen to 4 l. 10 s. and 5 l. a Pack. And it is computed, that France has certainly, at this Time, 300000; probably, 500,000 Packs of English and Irish Wool, yearly. Because, there are not now, a Third Part of the Number of Combers, Scriblers, and Carders in England and Ireland which were

3. Wool ^b was, one Third, ^b Ch. 140. dearer at the Time of the §. 18. Note. Plague breaking out at Marseilles, than in 1739. But to say that it had advanced, upon the Occasion of that Incident, is a direct Falsehood. On the contrary, it fell in Price; and did so, most probably, as one Reason, because less Wool than common, was exported from England; and because a greater Share than usual, of the Wool and Yarn of Ireland, was then brought to England.

The Plague broke ^c out at ^c Ch. 174. Marseilles, June 1720. It raged near two Years. During which Time, the French had no Trade from those Parts: Their Manufacturers were swept away

4. Thus much was true with a Witness. Wool was sold in 1739, and for some Years before, for less Silver than what in 1581, was called the ancient Price; and, for less Silver, by at least one Third, than it actually did sell for in 1581.

And though great Complaints ^d were heard, at this ^d Ch. 142. Time, and particularly for a ^{N^o 7.} few ^{§. 6.}

were in 1698. (Ch. 141. few Years before, of a Deadness of Trade, occasioned, §. 14.) as was said to be conceived, by the Exportation of Wool: Yet, from Custom-House Accounts, since then, exhibited to Parliament, it appears that Ann. 1737-8, (the very Instant when these Complaints were loudest,) the English Woolen Exports were more than $\frac{1}{4}$ greater than in the Year 1699; which Year 1699, had exceeded all others, to the Year 1713.

N. B. Though there is not one Tittle of material Truth in the foregoing N^o. 1, 2, 3. (Column A.) yet such have been the most current History, Doctrines, and Opinions upon this Subject. And the Reason why they have been so industriously propagated, tho' false, was the Convenience thereof, for the Purposes of Monopoly.

But tho' some Writers, in the opposite Column (B) have given their Testimony against one Point, (for supporting which, all the rest have been invented and packed together,) viz. 'That the French and other Foreigners cannot support their Woolen Manufactures, without the Help of English or Irish Wool.' Though, I say, they plainly give up this, as also that other, (the Consequences of it.) 'That the preventing the Exportation of English or Irish Wool, is a Means to raise the Price thereof at home.' And tho' they will not say that prohibitory Laws in this Case, are effectual, for preventing the Runnage of Wool; yet, because such Prohibition is a Means to make Wool cheaper in England; THEREFORE, for the Benefit of foreign Trade, they hold that Policy to be defensible, upon much the same Principles, on which they have (some of them) defended the Use of East India Manufactures in England, although they confessedly both lowered the Price of Wool, and lessened the Employment of the People on home Manufactures.

Their Arguments to this End (which because not quite popular, have therefore been more sparingly used) are as follows, (N^o. 4. (A) with the contrary Sentiments of eminent Merchants, in the adverse Column (B).

N U M B. IV.

(A)

(B)

1. It is the Exportation, and not the Consumption of Woolen Manufacture, that must bring Profit to the Kingdom. (Chap. 79. §. 2.)

2. The natural Way of promoting the Woolen Manufacture is, not to force its Consumption at home. Chap. 79. §. 20.)

and Increase of this Market principally regarded.

3. By a great Consumption of Woolen Manufacture in this Kingdom, the Public will not reap such an Advantage as some imagine. (Chap. 79. §. 24.)

In the Woolen Manufacture, England does not get by what is spent here. (§. 26.) 400,000 Pounds worth of our native Goods, sold abroad, does add more Wealth to the Nations Stock, than 4 Millions worth of our home Product, consumed within the Kingdom. (§. 29.)

Trades, and become of the most of their Countrymen.

4. The Estates of England are raised too high, their Labour is too dear. If they will have Commerce;

1. The first and best Market of England, are the Natives and Inhabitants of England. Ch. 100. §. 2.

2. Our own Consumption, of our own People, are the best and greatest Market for the Product and Manufactures of our own Country: The Preservation ought therefore to be the Thing

3. 'Tis a Maxim generally assented to, That a Trade may be of Benefit to the Merchant; and an Injury to the Nation. Ch. 98. §. 1.

The Merchant may have a distinct Interest from that of his Country; HE may thrive by a Trade which shall be her Ruin. Ch. 103. §. 2.

Merchants, Shopkeepers, Artificers, Clothiers, and other Manufacturers are not the best Judges of Trade, as it relates to the Power and Profit of a Kingdom; 'till being grown rich, they leave off their same common Interest with Ch. 69. §. 1.

4. It encourages Merchants to increase their Exports, when they find a quick Vent for their Imports. Ch. 114. §. 22.

It

merce; they must suffer their Estates to fall; their Labour to lower its Price. (Chap. 129. §. 3.)

5. 'Tis not the Benefit, nor Interest of England, that Wool should bear an high Price, in our Markets at home. (Chap. 79. §. 23.)

Cheapness of Materials is the most proper Means of increasing the Vent of the Manufacture. (Chap. 73. §. 4.)

It cannot be ill with Land but Trade must feel it. (Chap. 47. §. 1.)

When Trade deadens in the Fountain; when the Gentlemen and Farmers are kept low; every one in his Order, feels it. (Ch. 114. §. 22.)

5. To forbid the Export of any Commodity to another Country, is to command it to be sold at your own Price, to yourselves. (Ch. 129. §. 1.)

They that give the best Price for a Commodity, shall never fail to have it, by one Means or another, notwithstanding the Opposition of any Laws, by Sea or Land. Of such Force, Subtilty, and Violence is the general Course of Trade. (Chap. 48. §. 2.)

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXVI.

A Recapitulation, or summary Account of the Price of Wool in England, and of the English Exportations in general, and Woolen Exports, in particular, at several Periods, as they have occurred in the foregoing Chapters, and elsewhere: Whence may be seen, at one View, of Wool, its Rise, or Fall; of the Woolen Trade, its Progress, Declensions, Revolutions, &c.

N. B. The ancient Prices and Sums are here reduced to the Quantity of Silver P (nearly) in the present Coin of Great Britain.

	l.	s.	d.	
1. A. D. ^a 1198, Wool per Tod	0	15	0	^a Ch. 4.
2. A. D. ^r 1337-8, Wool the best	1	8	0	^r \$ 14.
3. A. D. ^s 1339, Wool at	1	17	8	^r Ch. 5.
	1	12	0	^s \$ 5. Nde.
4. 1500 ^t Sacks, within the County of York, at	1	1	0	^s Ch. 5.
	1	10	0	^t \$ 8.
500 Sacks, of Nottingham, at	1	11	4	^t Ch. 5.
500 Sacks, of Derby, at	1	4	2	\$ 2.
400 Sacks, of Cumberland and Westmoreland, at	1	1	0	
	1	14	0	
500 Sacks, of Leicester, at	1	10	8	
400 Sacks, of Salop, at	1	19	2	
5. A. D. ^u 1353, Wool, on a Medium, at	1	10	4	^u Ch. 6.
6. (A. D. ^w 1390) when Wool was so cheap, by reason of a Law, which forbade Men to carry it, but to such and such Places; it was sold at	0	14	9½	^w Ch. 8.
	0	10	0	\$ 29.
	0	8	0	

* But, N. B. this, exclusive of the Duty, which at this Time, always made a Part in the Price; and which I take to

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		l.	s.	d.
z Ch. 11.	A. D. z 1425, Pure Wool, of Leicester-	0	15	6
§. 5. Note.	shire, at †		or	
§. 24. Note.		0	19	4½
a Ch. 15.	7. A. D. a 1533, Clothing Wool, the	0	13	4
	best, at			
b Ch. 23.	8. A. D. b 1581, the ancient Price (as	0	13	4
§. 11.	then accounted the present Price, ———	1	00	0
	and (viz. 1581) ———	1	2	0
c Ch. 33.	9. A. D. c 1622, Wool fallen from ———	1	13	0
§. 12.	to under ———	1	00	0
Ch. 34.	viz. to ———	0	18	0
§. 8.	10. A. D. d 1641, August, three Years			
d Ch. 37.	Wool of Belton and Rippingale, Lincoln-	1	4	0
§. 4. Note.	shire, ———			
e Ch. 39.	11. A. D. e 1651, Ordinary English	1	8	0
§. 10. Note.	Wool at ———			
f Ch. 56.	12. Before f the Restoration (1660) Wool	1	10	0
§. 11.	of Romney Marsh, commonly, at ———			
g §. 12.	13. A. D. g 1647, ———	1	17	6
	1648, ———	2	0	0
h Ch. 58.	14. After h the Year 1650, and } from 1	2	6	
§. 10.	before the Restoration (1660) ——— } to	3	0	0
i Ch. 60.	15. In i the Height of the Civil } to { 1	17	4	
§. 2.	War, ——— } } to { 2	2	0	
k §. 5.	16. A. D. k 1660, ——— } to { 1	17	0	
		2	2	0
l Ch. 51.	17. A. D. l 1670-1, ———	1	8	0
§. 13. Note.	18. A. D. m 1677, from ———	0	13	0
m Ch. 56.	to ———	0	15	0
§. 12.	19. A. D. 1694-6, a Medium Price ———	1	8	0
n Ch. 142.	20. A. D. n 1698, ———	1	1	0
Nº 2. §. 6.	21. A. D. 1704, in o Scotland, from ———	1	10	0
o Ch. 89.	to ———	1	13	4
§. 20.	22. A. D.			

to have been x, of Merchant Strangers, over and above the old Custom of 13 s. 4 d. 46 s. and 8 d.; in the whole, 3 l. per Sack; which, the Shilling then weighing 213 Grains, was more than equal to 10 Shillings per Tod, of our present Money. Consequently, Wool, even at this cheap Time, was sold for, in the whole, per Tod, 1 l. 5 s. and 1 l. and 18 s. nearly.

† See §. 6. Note.

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		l.	s.	d.
22.	A. D. 1706, in p England, ———	0	17	6
23.	A. D. 1707, ———	0	16	6
24.	A. D. 1712, ———	0	15	0
25.	A. D. q 1713-14, ———	0	18	0
26.	A. D. r 1717-18, ———	1	3	0
	from			
	to	1	7	0
27.	A. D. s 1737-8, 9, 40, 41, 42, from	0	11	0
	to ———	0	13	0
	and	0	14	0
28.	A. D. t 1743, ———	0	19	6
	from			
	to ———	1	0	0
	and	1	1	0
29.	A. D. u 1353, Wool and Woolens exported, with			
	their Customs, ———	£	737,021	16 4
30.	A. D. w 1564, the Woolen Trade from England			
	to Antwerp singly, at the lowest reckoning ———	£	750,000	0 0
	Besides which x, there was a Trade from England to y			
	Amsterdam, Hamburg, Scotland, Ireland; probably, to			
	France; certainly to Sweden and Russia, if not some to			
	the Streights too.			
31.	A. D. 1601 y. The Com-			
	pany of Merchant Adventurers (in			
	Number, about 3500) exported	1,000,000	00	00
	Cloths, to the yearly Value of ———			
	Beyond which, there was a Trade to Russia, Sweden,			
	Scotland, Ireland, France, a clandestine Trade to Spain,			
	a considerable one to Turkey, a Trade to Barbary, and			
	that of the Merchants of the Stillyard.			
32.	A. D. 1612-13 z. Total			
	Exports from England ———	2,487,435	07	10
	Imports ———	2,141,151	10	00
	Balance ———	346,283	17	10
33.	A. D. 1621-2 a. Total			
	Exports ———	2,320,436	12	10
	Imports ———	2,619,315	00	00
	Contra Balance ———	298,878	07	02

34. A. D.

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^b Ch. 43. P. S.	34. A. D. 1662-3 ^b .	Total	l.	s.	d.
	Exports	—	2,022,812	04	00
	Imports	—	4,016,019	18	00
	Contra Balance	—	1,993,207	14	00

^c Ch. 49. §. 2. Note.	35. A. D. 1668-9 ^c .	Total	l.	s.	d.
	Exports	—	2,063,274	19	00
	Imports	—	4,196,139	17	00
	Contra Balance	—	2,132,864	18	00

^d Ch. 87. §. 4. Note.	36. A. D. 1699 ^d .	Total	l.	s.	d.
	Exports	—	6,788,166	17	06
	In 1662 and 1668, Woolen Exports could not exceed <i>per Ann.</i>		900,000	00	00
	But, in 1699, amounted to		2,932,292	17	06

^e Ch. 88. §. 4.	37. A. D. 1703 ^e .	Total	l.	s.	d.
	Exports	—	6,644,103	00	00

^f Essay by Mr. Dobbs p. 72:	38. A. D. 1710 ^f .	Total	l.	s.	d.
	Exports	—	6,690,828	15	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	A. D. 1715	Exports	7,379,409	03	0

^g Ch. 174. §. 8.	39. A. D. 1718 ^g .	Woolen Exports	l.	s.	d.
	Exports	—	5,403,993	00	0
	A. D. 1721 ^g .	Woolen Exports	6,288,152	00	0

40. A. D. 1737-8.	WOOLEN EXPORTS, IN ONE YEAR ONLY.	l.	s.	d.
		4,158,643	17	0

^h §. 27. P. S. Here note the very low Price of Wool, Ann. 1737-8^h, and at the very same Time, the high State of the English Woolen Exportation Trade.

ⁱ §. 8. Wool was now, at the ancient Price (as it was esteemed, Ann. 1581ⁱ) of a Mark a Tod, and less. And yet the Woolen Exports, of this Year, amounted to upwards of FOUR MILLIONS Sterling; twice as much as, about the Year 1698, was usually accounted of, by Mr. King

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King and Dr. Davenant; MORE, by above a MILLION, than in the great Year 1699^k, certainly; and probably, by still more, than in the next great Year of Trade (1703^l) MORE, by near as much, than when England reaped the Advantage of that calamitous Circumstance, the Plague at *Marseilles*. — Nevertheless — WOOLS, not at the old Price, of 1581 (which was 20 and 22 s. per Tod) BUT at (what, in 1581, was accounted the ancient Price) a Mark a Tod, or less; a Price, ancient as Wheat at 8 d. the Bushel, the Goose at 4 d. and the Hen at 1 d. ob.

An untoward Circumstance this, it must be owned, to the *Grassers* and *Farmers*, the *Tenants*! The *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Clergy*, their *Landlords*! Above all, to the *Country Vicars*! with whom a small Glebe, or the Tenth of Wool and Lambs, is in the general, the only improveable Part of their Revenue; by which they might hope to bear up against the growing Difference in the Value of Money; the rest being, either some stipendiary Payment, or pecuniary Dues, at least as old as the Goose at 4 d. and the Hen at 1 d. ob.

And how did these, with the rest of the *Landed Interest*, behave under it? Why, hearing extraordinary Complaints, on the Part, and in Behalf of the *Manufacturers*, they were touched with Compassion for them chiefly.

It was natural enough to conclude a sufficient Ground for those Complaints, from that single Circumstance, the low Price of Wool. And the Managers also and Advocates (in Appearance at least) for the *Manufacturers*, had the Art to offer that Circumstance, in Proof that there was a real Decay in the *Woolen Exportation Trade* (than which, we have seen, nothing was less true). Thus, the *British Woolen Manufacturers*, to the *Members of Parliament*, Ann. 1737^m, ‘Your Honours are fully apprized even by your Tenants, that the Effects of a declining Trade are now generally felt; and no general Cause can be ascribed, but the great Decay of our *Woolen Exportation Trade*.’

The Author of *Observations on British Wool*, &c. 1738 (p. 53.) ‘Our Trade is considerably decreased. — And even the *Landholder* finds the Inconvenience thereof, by the present low Price of Wool.’

Again,

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Again, the Author of an *Essay on the Causes of the Essay, &c. Decline of foreign Trade, &c.* (begun in the Year 1739, printed, 1744) ' That the foreign Trade of Britain declines, will appear by the following Symptoms, viz.

ⁿ Page 6. ' The LOW PRICE OF WOOL, &c. I appeal (says heⁿ) to the Experience of every honest Man conversant in Trade, whether it does not decline, Year after Year; especially OUR WOOLEN TRADE.

^o Page 15. ' They^o who furnish all the World with WOOL, have the least of the manufacturing of it among themselves.

^p Page 38. ' The declining^p Demand for Woolen Goods abroad, falls the Price of WOOL at home.'

^q Ch. 141. §. 15. Mr. WEBBER^q, ' The present low Price of Wool shews the great Decay of our Trade.—Hence it is evident, that we have not one THIRD PART of the Quantity of Goods carried to foreign Markets, which we formerly had.'

And Mr. Lowndes intitles his Scheme, printed 1745. by Order of the House of Commons. A Scheme—
' In order to RE-ESTABLISH the Woolen Manufacture of England.'

C H A P. CLXXVII.

Observations and Inferences.

1. *A. D.* 1564. when the whole Exports, from England to Antwerp, were 12 Millions, of Gold, yearly, those of Woolen, amounted to 5 Millions^r, of the same. And *A. D.* 1699, when the whole Exports of England to all Parts, were 6788,166 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* the whole Woolen Exports amounted to 2932,292 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.*^s; which was much in the same Proportion, of $\frac{1}{2}$, or something less than one half. And thus, I suppose, the *British Merchant* computes, that in 1662-3 and 1668-9^u, when the whole Exports, each Year, did not much exceed 2,000,000 *l.* the Woolen Exports, in each of those Years, could not exceed 900,000 *l.*^v

By the same Rule therefore, the Woolen Exports of 1612-13^y, and of 1621-2.^z could not exceed a Million,^z

^r Ch. 20. §. 1.
^s Ch. 176. §. 36.
^t Ch. 43. P. 8.
^u Ch. 49. §. 2. Note.
^v Ch. 87. §. 4. Note.
^y Ch. 27. §. 7. Note.
^z Ch. 34. §. 9.

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lion, each Year. Consequently, there is Reason to conclude, that the *English Woolen Exportation Trade*, both in 1564, and in 1601^a, (*i. e.* from the Beginning to the End of Queen Elizabeth's Reign) was greater than in any intermediate Space, from the Time of Queen Elizabeth to the Year 1678^b; and greater beyond all comparison, (the Value of Money and other Things considered) during the whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth, than from the Restoration to the Year 1678.

2. During the whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Wool was allowed to be exported, on Payment of a certain Duty. The Exportation thereof was first prohibited, by a full Parliament, and in good earnest, in 1669, the Year of the Restoration of Car. II; and so it has continued to be, ever since. But as more Woolen Manufacture was exported yearly, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, than in the Time of Car. II., from the Restoration to the Year 1678, (when the Trade with France^c was prohibited); it follows, that more Wool was exported yearly, in this latter Period, tho' absolutely prohibited, than in the former, when it was only charged with a Duty on Exportation; and that the Policy, of a Duty, in this Case, is so far, seemingly, preferable to an absolute Prohibition.

3. Again, tho' after the Year 1678, (during the Reign of Car. II. so long as the French Trade was prohibited), and in the Reign of King William, the Woolen Exports were, (for the same Reason) considerably increased, beyond what they had been, from the Restoration to the Year 1678; yet cannot they be esteemed to have been much, if any thing, greater (all Things considered) in the latter Part of Car. II. and in the Reign of King William, than in that of Queen Elizabeth. Nor, that they were so great, as they probably were, in the latter Part of Car. II. and, certainly, in King William's Reign, is it to be imputed to the Policy, of prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool; because, had that been the Case, it might have availed equally in the former Part of Car. II. as in the latter, and in the Time of King William; and moreover, the latter Periods, of Car. II. (from 1678) and of King William, must, for that Reason, have greatly excelled the former, of Queen Elizabeth.

4. As to the Prices of Wool, if we view them before, and since the Restoration, we may perceive a manifest

^a Ch. 20. §. 1.
^b Ch. 26. §. 4.
^c Ch. 62. §. 12. Note.
^d Ch. 72. §. 1. Note.
^e Ch. 100. §. 13.
^f Ch. 103. §. 6. Note.
^g Ch. 62. §. 12. Note.

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Difference; which in some measure is; I think, to be ascribed to the Prohibition taking Place, (more in good earnest especially) from that Time.

5. For, altho', before the Restoration, we have seen that Wool was frequently at that or a higher Price; yet, from the Year 1660 to the Revolution, have we but once met with English Wool in England, so high as 12 d. a Pound, or 28 s. per Tod; and even this, the Author of that Intelligence tells us, was occasioned by an extraordinary clandestine Exportation of Wool.

6. Since the Revolution, we don't find that English Wool in England, has ever sold quite so dear as 28 s. per Tod, except in some Part of King William's Reign, before the Peace of Ryswick (1697), and then, as one Cause, through the bad State of the Silver Coin; inso-much that a Guinea exchanged for 30 Shillings. Besides which, there were some other particular domestic Reasons extraordinary, for an Advance of Wool in that Period; all which considered together, English Wool cannot properly be said to have been sold so dear in England, since the Revolution, as before the Restoration, i. e. since the Exportation of Wool has been absolutely prohibited in good earnest, as before that was the Case.

7. We find that Wool, in 1647, (when it was first prohibited to be exported, tho' by an imperfect Legislature) was at an high Price. And this was accounted for by the Spoil committed, during the Civil Wars. But

we find that Wool was equally dear in 1660, (when it was, and for the same Reason also probably, again prohibited to be exported; and that in good earnest too, which seems not to have been the Case before.) And yet there was not the same Account to be given, as the Cause of that Dearness of Wool in 1660, which has been assigned for the same in 1647. Consequently, it is to be concluded, that the very same Reasons which, in 1660, contributed to the advanced Price of English Wool in England, had also some Share in the Reasons of such Advance in 1647; and again in the former Part of King William's Reign, as likewise, in 1717 and 1718, and since, in 1743. Now the chief Reasons of the high Price of English Wool in England, in 1660, were plainly, the high Price of that Commodity, Wool, in all other Markets abroad: for

8. If we look back to the Year 1660, Superfine Spanish Wool sold, in England, for 4 s. and 4 s. 4 d. a Pound;

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Pound; other Sorts, at 3 s. and 3 s. 6 d. And English Wool, in England, was then sold at 16 d. and 18 d. the Pound, viz. 1 l. 17 s. 4 d. and 2 l. 2 s. per Tod. In 1667, Spanish Wool was not worth above 2 s. or 2 s. 2 d. English Wool from 5 d. to 8 d. Again, in 1678, when English Wool in England was at 5 d. to 7 d. Spanish Wool was 20 and 21 d. But in 1680, when, according to Sir Josiah Child, English Wool in England, had advanced to a higher Price; then, as we learn from the British Merchant, Spanish Wool had advanced also. In 1719, when English Wool in England was at 9 d. or 10 d. the Superfine Spanish Wools were at more than 3 s. per Pound; and the rest, in Proportion. In 1724, when English Wool in England, was fallen from the Price of 1719 considerably, Spanish Wool Superfine, in France, was at but 52 Sols per Pound, viz. about 2 s. 4 d.; the rest, in Proportion. In 1740, when the best English Wool in England, did not sell for more than 6 d. a Pound, the Wool of Cotswold, but at 5 d. Spanish Wool, at Marseilles, sold for about half the Price which the same had given there; in 1688.

9. A. D. 1719, the Price of Spanish Wools at Amsterdam were, from 3 s. 9 d. to 1 s. 2 d. per Pound, according to their several Sorts. And we are told that the English import only the best Spanish Wools; whence it is reasonable to believe, that many of the English Wools are equal to the middle and inferior Spanish Wools.

10. As near as we can judge, English Wool sold at much the same Price in England, in 1719, and in 1743. But in 1719, the best combing Wool in England did not exceed 9 d. or, at the most, 10 d. a Pound. And if we judge of Cotswold Wool, in 1719 (which is reckoned among the fine Clothing Wools of England) by what it sold for in 1743, it was not full 9 d. a Pound, in 1719; which was far short of what the lowest Spanish Wools sold for, in that same Year, at Amsterdam; and which is a Sign that English Wools, in England, are not at any other Time, sold, Goodness for Goodness, at the Price given for Spanish Wool, at Amsterdam, and in other foreign Markets.

11. Moreover, the Wools of Poland, which are called good, though confessedly inferior to those of England, nay, and even German Wools, which are inferior to those of Poland, bore a better Price at Amsterdam,

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^a Ch. 172. in 1719^a, than did the best *English* combing Wools in §. 1—4. *England*, or the fine Clothing Wool of *Coteswold*; or ^b Ch. 171. of the *Ile of Wight*^b.
N^o 6, 7.

12. From all which, it is to be observed, 1. *That the Price of Wool is very fluctuating, not only in England, but in the World at large.* 2. *That the Price of English Wool in England, tho' fluctuating, has rarely been at any considerable Price, since the Year 1660, when the Exportation of Wool was first absolutely prohibited by a full Parliament, and in good earnest.* 3. *That English Wool in England, is not sold to its intrinsic Worth, according to the Market Price of Wool in the World at large, of which the Market at Amsterdam is a proper Test and Standard; and the Price of several Wools there, in 1719; (as given in the Traite Le Negoce d'Amsterdam^c) compared with the Prices of English Wool in England, in that same* ^c Ch. 172. *Year^d, one very plain Proof.* 4. *But though English* ^d Ch. 171. *Wool in England, is never sold to its Worth, according* N^o 5, 6. *to Markets abroad, for other Wools; yet the Markets* ^e See §. 10. *abroad, for other Wools, do govern the Price of English* of this *Wool in England, more than any other Circumstance; and much more than the State of the English Woolen Ex-* Chapter. *portation Trade, as the People have been used to imagine; and which, in a due Regulation of Things, would be, tho' in my Opinion somewhat erroneous, yet no very unnatural Supposition; but, as the Case stands, is very wide of the Truth.* 5. *The Reason why English Wools, in England, are so constantly below their natural Value, (the Market Price of Europe) is plainly owing to a MONOPOLY in this Case, occasioned by prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool.* 6. *The Difference between the thus forced and artificial Price for British and Irish Wools in England, and their natural Worth, at the common Markets for the Wools of the whole World besides, is the principal, if not the sole Cause of the Runnage of Wool from Great Britain and Ireland.* 7. *The Reason why this illicit and pernicious Practice, the Runnage of Wool, has not hitherto been prevented, after repeated serious Efforts of the Legislature for that End, for above fourscore Years successively, is, because the Effect has been considered more than the Cause; and the Laws have been levelled at the Means and Opportunities of exporting Wool; without taking any Thought how to lessen the Temptation to it; otherwise than* as

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as that should be effected by increasing the Penalties: But increased Penalties adding always so much Strength to the MONOPOLY already created against the Growers; and in Consequence thereof, bringing the low Price of English Wool, still lower, in England, the Temptation to Runnage has thereby increased, along with the Penalties; and the Transgressors, though prevented in some of their Ways, have, from Time to Time, sought and found out new ones.

13. Thus, has nothing considerable been done, in so long a Course of Time (as upwards of eighty Years) towards the main thing pretended, viz. the preventing the Exportation of Wool. Nevertheless, the chief, if not the ONLY Point, which some of the more intelligent Master Manufacturers and Exporters of Woolens, have had in View, has been accomplished all along. I mean, the Price of Wool has been brought down, and kept under; not always at the same Price, but always at much the same Distance from its natural Value; though Ebbing and Flowing, with the Price of all foreign Wools in all foreign Markets.

14. This, so far as is discoverable from any Notices which have occurred in the large Collection of Tracts and other Intelligences, contained in the foregoing Chapters, is the true State of the Case. At least, the several Phænomena, in regard to the Rise and Fall of the Prices of English Wool in England, are accounted for, more uniformly, upon this Foot, than upon any other. Nor is there any Thing irrational in it. There is nothing in it but what is agreeable to the very Nature of buying and selling, to the Ground and Reason of the Rise and Fall of Stocks, in all Markets, and in all Cases whatsoever: v. g. If foreign Wool is cheap comparatively, in foreign Markets, English Wool cannot be dear in the Markets of England; because foreign Markets, for buying of Wool, being open to English Buyers, as to any other Merchants; provided they could do it with any Advantage, they would not fail, in that Case, to pour in foreign Wools upon us. On the other Hand, if English Wool is cheap, comparatively, in England, and foreign Wool dear, in foreign Markets, that will naturally quicken the Course of clandestine Exportation (in spite of all prohibitory Laws) and thereby raise the Market for English Wool in England. Such (as Sir *Josiah Child*

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Ch. 48. has observed) is the [communicative] Force^d, Subtilty, and Violence of Trade.

15. This Affair has, it's true, been disguised, from Time to Time, by a certain Fiction, about the peculiar and marvellous Properties of English and Irish Wool; and much false History has been occasionally invented, in order to vouch the same; but the whole Truth is plainly no more than what has here been mentioned. And let it but once be contrived and effected, that the Wool of England and Ireland may take somewhat more nearly their natural Price at home; and all illegal Exportations of Wool will be more easily prevented; and, I am persuaded, all Injury to the Community of Great Britain, or particular Benefit to Foreigners, in respect of that Commodity.

16. The Price of English Wool then in England, MUST be suffered to rise; contrary to the avowed Intentions of some, who lay greater Stress upon that single Point, of having and keeping cheap that Commodity, than upon preventing the Exportation of it; well knowing that Cheapness of Wool brings more Benefit to particular Persons concerned therein, than the latter, the Exportation of it, does Injury to the Woolen Exportation Trade. I beg Pardon of these Gentlemen for divulging this Secret of theirs; but indeed, no Man of them entrusted me with it; nor was it told me by any Person living. But Mr. Mun, a Merchant^e, who wrote soon after the Restoration, first blabbed it to the Public; next

Ch. 45. §. 2. to him, the Company of Eastland Merchants, in 1689; Ch. 73. §. 4. Note. some few Years after, Dr. Davenant^e, when his Pen Ch. 79. §. 23. was engaged (for Hire, it has been said,) in the Service of the Old East-India Company; and now and then, of later Years^h, one or other besides.

Ch. 124. §. 5. 17. The Author of an elaborate Essay, on the Causes Ch. 126. of the Decline of foreign Trade, (begun in the Year 1739. §. 3. published An. 1744.) as an indisputable Proof, that the Ch. 129. foreign Trade of the Kingdom had for some time been §. 3. declining, and was, then, under a sensible Decay, gives Essay, &c. for Evidence, the following Symptomsⁱ.

- Ch. 129. §. 3. Essay, &c. p. 2. The many Petitions to Parliament, complaining of the Decay of the Woolen Manufactory. The starving Condition of the Poor in the Clothing Countries.

The

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The LOW PRICE OF WOOL. The great Arrears of Rent, all over England, great Numbers of Farms thrown upon the Landlords Hands. I appeal (says he^k) to every honest Man conversant in Trade, whether it does not decline, Year after Year; more especially, OUR WOOLEN TRADE.

He adds^l (mistaking the Law as well as the Facts)^l Page 15. 'Tis Felony in England to export Wool; and yet, they who furnish all the World with Wool, have the least of the manufacturing of it among themselves.

18. We must consider, that the chief Ground of this our Author's wild Imagination, was, the then low Price of Wool: THAT was a Circumstance too notorious. But had he been at all acquainted with the History of the Woolen Trade of England; and had he consulted the Custom House Accounts* for the Times of which he was speaking, he would have known, that at the very Instant when Complaints ran highest on this Head, and the Price of Wool was at the very lowest Ebb, (I mean, Ann. 1737-8.) the English Woolen Exportation Trade exceeded all former Periods whatsoever^m.

See Ch.

19. Here therefore, by reason of a possible Difference, 176. §. 49. it is proper to observe a Distinction, between the whole Woolen Manufacture, considered as making ONE GRAND PART of the inland and domestic Trade of the Kingdom, and the Woolen Exportation Trade, which is but a Part of that Manufacture. The latter, we are sure, had not declined in this Reign, but very much the contrary; as concerning the former, we cannot say any thing positively:—BUT this we may say, that so far as there was Truth in the Complaints of the Manufacturers, of Tenants, of Landlords, of Tradesmen depending on all these; they seem to have been owing, in a great measure, to

K k 4 that

* Though we are aware of what may be objected to Custom-House Accounts in this Case, viz. that the Entries there, of Woolen Goods, are not to be wholly depended upon, either as to the exact Quantities, or Value; yet, whatever the Uncertainty is, in one respect or the other; the same being common to every Year alike; the Custom-House Accounts are therefore, what we may fairly argue from, as being the best, indeed, the only comparative Rule we have to judge by.

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that single Circumstance, *the very low Price of Wool*; which Circumstance alone, according to the Author of this *Essay on the Causes, &c.* and according to other Writers, (however particular Dealers may be pleased with the supposed or real Advantage thereof to *themselves*) is productive of much domestic Penury.

¶ §. 17. 20. 'WOOL (says the Writer of this Essay) lying on Hand, (and it is the same thing if the whole does not yield above a Third, or one Half of the usual Price; as if a Third, or one Half, is not sold) the Farmers push to sell at Market, but in vain, unless at an under Price. Many Sellers and few Buyers naturally fall the Market; and the Landlords pressing the Tenants for Rent, and threatening to seize, if Payments are not made, the WOOL must be sold at any Rate, to raise the Money. The lower the Product sells, the less Rent the Farmer can give for Land; the worse the Markets are, the greater Arrears of Rent the Farmer runs into. This must break him in the End; and then the Farm is thrown into the Landlord's Hands, who, unwilling to fall the Rent, keeps it in the Management of Stewards and Bailiffs; whose Profit and Charges seldom make it pay the old Rent; but generally ends in mortgaging the Land, or selling.' Nor is this a Picture drawn at random. The Writer had the Original in his Eye; and many Gentlemen living, are able to attest the Likeness, from their own Experience, or Knowledge, between the Years 1720 and 1742; and all this, not thro' any Defect of the English Navigation and foreign Trade in general, and upon the whole; much less through any Defect of that particular Branch of the English Woollen Exportation Trade; but certainly as one principal Cause, through a Failure in the Price of English Wool in England.

21. We have seen (besides what this last quoted Author has so truly said on this Head) rueful Accounts of the bad Effects (to the Landed Interest especially) from that single Circumstance, *the low Price of Wool*, in the Reign of Car. II. ¶ Let us hear next, on the same Side of the Question, *The Complaints of a Lincolnshire Grafsier.* A Tract wrote in 1726.: By a Person of Worth and Experience, well known and esteemed in his Country.

¶ Ch. 56--60.

' A na-

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' A natural Effect of increasing the Number of Sellers, *The Complaint of a* in Proportion to the Number of Buyers *, is, making *plaint of a* the former submissive and complying to any Terms; Lincolnshire Grafsier, p. 10. the latter, for the same Reason, stiff and inflexible, insolent in prescribing the Conditions of Sale. These Sort of Artifices are what the *Wool Buyers and Factors* are but too well versed in; and by these they play upon the Necessity of the poor Grafsier, beat down the Price of his Wool, &c.'

' If the careful and industrious Grafsier, disappointed at Page 11. Home, tries his Fortune at the Market, he is pretty sure, whether at *Norwich, Bury, Colchester, or Sturbridge Fair*, to fall into the Hands of those vigilant Sharpers, who look with an evil Eye upon any such independent Trader in *Wool*, and treat him with a scurvy Hand, as an Interloper in that Profit, they would wholly engross to themselves, and accordingly combine together to make him lose the Profit and the Charges of his Journey; and so to deter him (and others by his Example) from a second Attempt, by defeating his Success in the first.

' Too great a Plenty of Wool will always produce the very same Effect, as an over Proportion of the Number of Sellers to the Number of Buyers †. The Page 12. Number of Hands employed in the Woollen Manufactures; the Exportation abroad, and Consumption at home, are all limited within certain Bounds. So long therefore as a moderate Proportion is preserved between the yearly Growth of Wool, and the yearly Vent or Consumption of it; so long it will continue a valuable Commodity, and make a quick and profitable Return in our domestic Markets. — But when the Quantity of Wool growing, or exposed to Sale, exceeds the Consumption, the Overplus will hang heavily upon Hand, and be a Clog upon the Sale of all the rest.

' As the Landed is the most considerable national Interest; so that of Pasture Ground is the most considerable of the Landed; and Wool the principal Article for the Support of both. Page 24.

' The

* That is the very Effect of a Monopoly.

† The Case of a Monopoly is nothing different, in its Effects, from either of these.

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Page 26. ' The RENT and TAXES yearly paid from *grazing Lands* entitle [the Owners and Occupants] in a more peculiar Manner to the Regard of the Public.

' The Burdens and the Privileges of a Nation ought ever to be inseparable, and the one recompens'd with the other; and since so great a Charge both in RENT and TAXES lies upon the *Pasture Grounds*, and WOOL is the main Product the *Landed Interest* depends upon, 'tis *inexcusable*, to neglect and depress it. For,

Page 33. ' Why must the Interest of the *Grazier*, the *Grower*
Page 35. ' of *Wool*, be the *only Sufferer*? In Matters of general Concern, it is the Part of wise Governors to overlook with a watchful Eye, and act with a steady Hand, and to take Care that ALL *Persons* employed in the natural or artificial Product of their Country, be set upon an equal and impartial Foot: So that *no one Body of Men*, NO ONE *Set of Dealers*, may interfere with, or bear hard upon another, or thrive to their Ruin or Prejudice.

Page 38. ' Since no Man can be entitled to keep a *Flock of Sheep*, or cut a *Pack of Wool*, without paying a valuable Consideration for the Pasture: It is plain, the *legal Inconveniences* of RENT and TAXES, must be provided for.

Page 45. ' The *Wool* of *Great Britain*, being our best and richest Product, requires out utmost Care.

Page 55. ' To those who are apprized of Country Affairs, or in any Degree versed in them, it is plain, that the *Graziers* cannot at present supply their Necessities, and pay their RENTS *, without breaking up part of their Farms, and converting Pasture into Tillage. This must in a little Time, as the Practice grows general, increase the Quantity of Grain, beyond what was usually consumed at home, or transported abroad; and consequently render *Corn* as great a Drug as *Wool*; as unable to supply the RENTS of the *Farmer*, as the latter is those of the *Grazier*. And if neither *Corn* nor *Wool*, bear any Price equivalent to the Value of Land; the

* See (Chap. 171. N^o 5.) the Price of Wool in this Year, of our Author's writing (1726), and comparing it with the same, from 1735 to 1742, judge of the Case of the *Graziers*, in that whole Period.

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' the Consequences must be, that neither RENT nor TAXES can be paid, and the *Graziers* and *Farmers*, the *LANDLORDS* and *TENANTS*, with the several *TRADERS* depending upon them, must be alike in Danger of turning *Bankrupts*.

' For when the *Grazier* fails in the Payment of his RENT, the *LANDLORD* must in Course disappoint the *TRADESMAN* he deals with; the *TRADESMEN*, their *Wholesale Dealers* and *MERCHANTS*. By which Means, the Mischief circulates, and by an unhappy Chain of Consequences, one Deficiency extends itself to an unconceivable Length, and produces many, *The Page 63.* *private Streights and Necessities of the Wool Growers*, in the *Upspot*, affect the whole Body of the People, and lead to, and end in *Publick Poverty*.

Thus far, the *Lincolnshire Grazier*.

22. I know that there are Persons, who pretending to more refined Policies, and a deeper Insight into the Nature and Consequences of Trade, represent the whole Interest of the Kingdom, as consisting altogether in that Part of Trade which is called *foreign*; and, provided that is in a prosperous Way, would have it believed, that the whole Nation must thrive in course.

23. These *Gentlemen*, it is to be observed, are great Admirers of the Policies of the *Dutch*; whom they esteem the greatest Masters in the *Art of Trade*; and who possibly are so, for their own Situation and Circumstances, But it does not therefore follow, that they are a perfect Pattern for all the World besides.

24. Tho' *London* and *Amsterdam* resemble each other; yet *Great Britain* and *Holland* are very unlike. The chief Stock of the latter, comparatively, is Money. It has not natural Product * sufficient for its own Consumption, nor Manufacture enough for its domestic Use, and foreign Trade. The former hath a *large Estate in Land*, producing Stores of many Kinds, in great Plenty, and

* ' The Inhabitants of *Holland* cannot be fed by its own *De Witt* Product. Part 1.
' The eighth Part of the Inhabitants of *Holland* could Ch. 5.
' not be supplied with Necessaries out of its own Pro- Ch. 9.
' duct.'

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and Abundance of Manufactures, far beyond what it can use, or readily vend. So that Great Britain differs from Holland, much as a Country Farmer does from a London Shopkeeper. 'Tis the Profit of the latter, to attend upon his Business, to buy and sell to Advantage, the Wares he deals in. But for his own Consumption, the Use of his Household, he may in some Things indulge himself with what is best of the Kind; he may prefer others for being, upon the whole, cheapest, or for Variety, &c. while the Country Farmer must in many Instances content himself with the same Things, over and over again; and sometimes with those that are worse too, because they are his own, and at hand, and not altogether marketable. He must sell what is most vendible, and above all, take Care of the Balance, i. e. not to bring in more Superfluities, or even Necessaries, than his spare Produce and Labour will pay for; since that would soon bring him to Poverty.

25. Upon these Considerations, I am humbly of Opinion, that all the fine Notions, which some have entertain'd, for making England, what is called a FREE PORT, are quite chimerical, could the great Obstacle in their Way, the Duties and Customs (appropriated to the Civil List, the National Debt, &c.) be transferred elsewhere; as proposed by two Authors; the one of, Serious Considerations on the several high Duties, &c. the other, An Essay on the Causes of the declining of Foreign Trade, &c.

26. The Author of Serious Considerations, &c. to mend the matter, proposes a single Duty upon Houses, in lieu of all others; and what is that but a Land Tax, i. e. (what we understand thereby at present), a Tax upon Land and Houses*, instead of all others Taxes? and which Land Tax would be, for six Millions, 12 s. but, (supposing eight Millions to be raised) a Tax of 16 s. per Pound, in the usual Appellation of a Land Tax. But could eight, or even six Millions be paid in that shape? or, if so, could it be done, without affecting the Trade

Serious Considerations, &c. p. 16, 17. * The Proposal is, 6000000 l. on Houses in England; thus, Every House worth 200 l. a Year, or where the Inhabitant has a real Estate of 1000 l. a Year, should pay 100 l. and so in Proportion, down to 5 l. a Year, &c.

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Trade of Great Britain? The Land, 'tis true, might always be able to pay, 12, or perhaps 16 s. in the Pound, according to the present Rates of the Land and Land Tax; but that it would be always able to pay, in the first Instance, 8, or 6 Millions a Year, viz. four, or even three times as much as it now pays, at what we call 4 s. per Pound, is, I think, impossible; but if barely possible, what noble Customers, on those Terms, must the Landowners be to their Tradesmen? This leads us to apprehend, (tho' it be true, as Mr. Locke has said, that Taxes, however contrived, will affect Land) that in Proportion as Land is affected, so will Trade be affected also: it being equally true, (which Sir Josiah Child has said) that Land and Trade are Twins, and must wax and wane together.

27. And therefore, tho' some Taxes, as less grievous, are more eligible than others; yet, in general, it may be said, that those which are most equal, i. e. most universal, are the most easy. By equal Pressure, all Burdens sit lightest; consequently, greater Taxes may be paid from a Plurality of Articles, than from a single one; and by the whole Community, than by any select Body of Men.

'There is no better Way^m (says Mr. De Witt) to^m De Witt, bear a great Burden, but with as many Helpers as can be procured. And it cannot be denied, but that the most Supporters are procured, by charging all Goods with some Impost, that are usually worn or consumed by the People, as they are Men and Women. Chap. 24.

28. Nor has that Circumstance, of being somewhat more expensive in the Management and Collection, all the doleful Effects, which are sometimes represented, and too generally imagined; since, according to Sir William Pettyⁿ, 'If the Money, or other Effects, levied from the People, by way of Tax, were destroyed and annihilated, or exported out of the Kingdom, such Levies only would diminish the Commonwealth. Polit. Arithm. Page 35.

'No Part of Europe hath paid so much, by way of Tax and Contribution, as Holland and Zealand, for this last hundred Years; and yet no Country hath in the same Time, increased their Wealth comparatively to them. Their Policy has been, to tax Meats and Drinks most heavily of all. Page 39.

29. In

29. In like manner, when it suits their Interest, in other Views, the *Master CLOTHIERS, &c.* of *England* can bring Arguments, to induce us to believe, that making the *Necessaries of Life* dear, is no real Obstacle to the *Woolen Manufacture* particularly, in *England*. Thus

• Ch. 138. §. 3, 4, 6. says one of them °. 'The Dutch don't regard the Dearness of Provisions; well knowing that Hunger and Cold will make People work, in order to eat, &c.

'—*Flanders* and *Hamburgh* pursue the same Measures, for suppressing Idleness and Beggary. — *Dutch Policy* lades all the *Necessaries of Life*, to make the Poor diligent and sober. — Dearness of Provisions obliges the

• Ch. 138. §. 2, 10. Poor to work more, and debauch less. — A Weaver and his Family may subsist as well as the Poor do in many Countries in *England*, by only working one half of his Time. A constant Labourer in Husbandry don't earn above half the Money as a Weaver. — Putting our Manufacturers under a Necessity of working constantly, would perhaps, in the *Woolen Trade*, amount to the same Thing as an Addition of one Third* more Hands.

• Ch. 67. §. 10. 30. On the other Hand, it's true, Mr. Collins says °, As to that Straw, that unless Provisions are dear, the People will be lazy; 'tis granted, Necessity begets Industry; yet notwithstanding, if some will be idle, it follows not, that all, or the major Part will be so.

31. In short, the Argument about Dearness, or Cheapness of Provisions, in regard to the *manufacturing Interest*, is, with Writers on that Subject, in the Nature of a Slipper; which they can put on, or off; as it best suits their Purpose. And though, in the main, I hold with Mr. Collins ° on this Head; yet I think that Matter is not altogether what occasionally it has been represented, either Way. And therefore, though Taxes should not be unnecessarily multiplied upon either Rich or Poor; yet where the Necessity is urgent and unavoidable,

* Is not this an Argument, that, in the Opinion of this Writer (who seems to have been very conversant in the Business) the People employed in the *Woolen Manufacture*, did not, upon an Average, work more than two Thirds of their whole Time; consequently, did not make forty working Weeks in a Year? (See Ch. 145. §. 3. Note.)

able, and if they are not out of Proportion, they may be levied promiscuously, without offering such Violence to the Trade and Manufactures of the Kingdom, as has been represented, and particularly by the two Writers before-mentioned, viz. the Author of *Serious Considerations, &c.* and of *The Essay on the Causes of the Decline of foreign Trade, &c.* Both which Writers do suppose, by means of the present Taxes, i. e. *Duties and Customs*, a fictitious Incumbrance on Trade and Manufacture, equal (says one) to 50, (the other) to 51 per Cent. And yet they cannot help owning respectively, that ALL NATIONS have their Taxes, in some Shape. — But they are both of Opinion, that the Taxes of this Kingdom may be exchanged for others, less burthensome to the Nation in general, and less injurious to Manufacture and Trade in particular. And tho' some Taxes might possibly be exchanged to Advantage, yet in the main, I think these and some other Writers on the same Head, may be compared to Persons in Pain, who are apt to wish the same, though known to be incurable, yet removed elsewhere; vainly imagining that it would be more tolerable in some other Part than that, for the present, affected.

32. I do not propose to examine minutely the several Opinions and Policies contained in these two Tracts: But having already given my Reasons, why I think the Scheme, of a *single Duty upon Houses*, (as proposed by the celebrated Author of *Serious Considerations, &c.*) in lieu of all other Taxes, would not answer the Purposes of Trade: So I shall here, in few Words, shew why I think the Author of *The Essay on the Causes of the Decline of foreign Trade, &c.* is mistaken in some of his Calculations.

33. This Writer, it is to be noted, having taken it for granted that his Computations are just, concludes a Decay, of Trade in general, but more particularly, of the *Woolen Exportation Trade*. Then, as a special Proof of the Truth, both of his general Computations, and of his particular Conclusion, he urges (what was true) the LOW PRICE OF WOOL, Complaints, of *Manufacturers, of Tenants, of Landlords*. But we have seen, by an undeniable Testimony, (the *Custom-House Accounts*) the *Woolen Exportation Trade* was, at this very Time, N^o 5. actually greater than in any former Period. Now, it being

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being thus evident, beyond Contradiction, that the Author of this Essay was so far deceived in his general Conclusion, as it related to the Woolen Exportation Trade in particular, 'tis the more probable, that he might be mistaken, in regard to our whole foreign Trade in general; and that, notwithstanding the Plausibility of his Arguments, and his supposed Demonstration by Figures, a great Part of his imagin'd fictitious Expence on the Woolen Manufacture, is indeed but a Fiction of his own Imagination. And, if, as on the Part of the CLOTHIERS, it has been suggested^w, Dearness of Provisions is no real Disadvantage to that Manufacture; why then, Cheapness of WOOL is not so indispensably necessary, in that respect, as has been alledged occasionally^x. And I think it may be said, for certain, that it is not for the general Good of the Kingdom, to use any indirect Means, in order to depress the PRICE OF WOOL below its natural Value.

^w §. 29.

^x See §. 16.

^y Ch. 141. §. 15.

34. Mr. WEBBER has laid it down for a Rule^y, 'That the Price of Wool in England, has constantly rose and fallen, regularly, in Proportion to the Exports of our manufactured Goods.' And this is both a current Notion, and what, under a due Regulation of Things, might ordinarily be expected, in some Degree, though not altogether so, as Persons may be apt to imagine. But as matters are, we have seen just the contrary, in the two most trying Instances, of these latter Years, the Time of the Plague at Marseilles^z; and in the Year 1737-8^a. In the first, Wool did not rise in Price, but rather fell. In the latter, it was at the lowest Ebb that had been known.

^z Ch. 174.

^a Ch. 176. P. S.

35. But, whereas the Woolen Exportation Trade, in 1737-8, was so considerably great as it was, and the Price of Wool, at the same time, so much below its usual Standard: of this, some, I doubt not, will be ready to say, that the Thing commends itself; as being a Proof, that those large Exportations of the Manufacture, were a Consequence of the Cheapness of the Material; and that, consequently, Cheapness of Wool is a public Benefit.

36. This (it may be consider'd) is but a Problem; while, on the other hand, it is quite certain, that the LOW PRICE OF WOOL, at this Time, did affect the TENANTS and LANDLORDS, and their dependant

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TRADESMEN, in the very manner described by the Author of the^b Complaints of a Lincolnshire Grasser, and by the Author of the Essay^c on the Causes of the Decline of foreign Trade, &c. And, possibly, it might also affect the labouring Manufacturers (as a Body of Men, Women, and Children) in their Employment and Wages, altho' the Woolen Exports were so considerably great, and perhaps the greater, by reason of the then low Price of Wool.

^b §. 21.

^c §. 20.

37. This at least we are certain of, that Complaints, from this Class of People, never did run higher, than at the very Time, of which we are speaking. And, it is to be considered, that the Interest of the Community, in respect of WOOL, is threefold, taking in LAND, LABOUR, and TRAFFIC. Foreign Trade is but a Part* of the Benefit resulting from WOOL; and the least Part. It

* It has been already^d observed, that there is necessarily^d a Distinction to be made between the whole Woolen Manufacture, and that Part of it, the Exportation Trade for Woolen Goods. But forasimuch as the Generality of Persons are apt, ist, to represent to themselves what vast Numbers do subsist by that Manufacture, in its utmost Extent and Consequences; and thence to transfer their Thoughts chiefly, if not solely, to that single Branch of it, our foreign Trade for Woolens, (which is but a crude and partial Idea) it may not therefore be improper to offer some short Hints, towards analysing more perfectly this Subject.

^d §. 19.

Mr. King; and Dr. Davenant, towards the Close of the last Century, computed this Matter thus, viz. the Wool of England at £ 2000000 per Ann.; the Labour of manufacturing it, at £ 600000 more; in the whole, £ 8000000; of which there was exported, upon an Average, £ 2000000. And tho' the whole Quantities may have been since, increased; yet the Proportions are probably much the same. Consequently, we may consider, ist, the WOOL, as affording annually, v. g. three Millions towards the Rents of England; and those three Millions to be issued many times over and over again, for Labour and Produce, within the Circle of a Year; in short, employing many Hands, and feeding yet more Mouths. Next, we are to consider the Money earned in working up this Wool; which, supposing it at three times the prime Cost, is nine Millions more; which is another and still larger Source of Employment and Maintenance; in a word, of Income and Expence, to the

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It was heretofore accounted but a *fourth Part*; 2 Millions, in eight; and tho' the Woolen Exports from *England*, are now, ordinarily, by the Increase of Trade, upwards of 3 Millions yearly, yet, by a proportionable Increase of the People, and of the Sheep of the Kingdom; we may suppose that the Quantity of Wool grown, and of Woolen Manufacture consumed in the Kingdom, is increased also. And if, by reason of other Manufactures, (as Silk, &c.) the domestic Consumption of Woolens is not increased altogether in the same Proportion with our Woolen Exportations; yet nevertheless, we must believe, it is increased. Consequently; the major Part of the Employment and Wages of the Woolen Manufacturers depends upon their *Home Customers*; the *Inland Trade* of the Kingdom, viz. *Tenants, Landlords,* and their dependant *Tradesmen, and Labourers.* And if THESE HOME CUSTOMERS are any way streightened in their *Incomes*, by receiving but 12 or 13 s. where they had been used to receive 20 s. or a Guinea; they, not having the same Money coming to them, must abridge

People of *England*; and of *Supplies*, for the Support of its Government; and which, in its several Undulations, of a Year, pays for the Fruits and Produce of the Kingdom, and for imported Merchandise, to an immense Value, difficult to be conceived; much more, to be particularly described or expressed. Out of this *Wool*, Value *three Millions*, and this *Labour*, to the Amount of *nine Millions more*; in the whole *TWELVE MILLIONS*, we are to suppose $\frac{2}{3}$, viz. *nine Millions* consumed annually in Raiment, by *our own People*; instead of sending out *so much* Money, which otherwise they necessarily *must* do (if they had it) for Apparel, of foreign *Materials*, and foreign *Manufacture.* And *lastly*, we are to reckon our Woolen Manufactures exported annually, at *three Millions* a Year, upon an Average; which *three Millions* being so much in the general Balance of our *whole foreign Trade*, is an Article of huge Importance. Nevertheless, it is but one Article; and but a small one, comparatively, i. e. in respect of the *whole Benefit arising to the Community, from the Wool, and from the whole WOOLEN MANUFACTURE OF ENGLAND*, agreeably to what *The British Merchant* hath laid down, touching the great Disproportion there is between *all foreign Markets*, and *our own*; whence he justly concludes, that the *latter* ought to be regarded principally.

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abridge their *Expences*, some way or another; and probably in Apparel, as much as in any other Article, nay, probably, more; the Cravings of Nature for Meat and Drink; the Appetite of Hunger and Thirst, being most instant and urgent; will be satisfied in the first Place: and therefore, all Deficiency of Purse, with the Multitude, the far greater Part of the People, will fall heaviest upon the Article of *new Cloaths.*

38. If *East India* Silks and Callicoes, before their being prohibited (1701); and if Callicoes, printed in *England*, before the Prohibition (1720) affected considerably the *Inland Consumption* of *Woolen*, and other *Home Manufactures*, by furnishing the Nation (as certainly they did ^f) with Garments, of which the Materials and ^g *See* the Manufacture both, were foreign, instead of what Ch. 87. was produced, and wrought; or if not produced, yet P. S. 14. wrought at home: Then, in like manner, whatever *Note.* deprives (as a *Low Price for Wool must do*) any considerable Part of the Nation, to any considerable Degree, ^{Ch. 117.} §. 2-6, of buying *new Garments* (and, in lieu thereof, puts them ^{7, 8, 9, 10,} under a Necessity of patching and wearing longer their ^{15.} *old ones*) *must* proportionably affect the *Manufactures, the Home Consumption, or Inland Trade of the Kingdom.*

C H A P. CLXXVIII.

Observations and Inferences.

1. WE are amply informed, from several of the foregoing Chapters, that *prohibiting absolutely*, has not been a Means of *preventing totally the Exportation of Wool.* Nor does that *Policy* appear to have been an Expedient, for checking and limiting *such Exportation*, preferable to, or even comparable with the more ancient *Policy* (which had been continued for three Centuries at least, and through the whole Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*) of *charging a Duty on Wool exported.* Neither does there appear any Reason, from History, or otherwise, to believe that even *preventing totally the Exportation of Wool*, in Consequence of *prohibitory Laws*,
L I 2 merely

merely (was that practicable) is in any other Regard, greatly conducive to promote the *English Woolen Exportation Trade*, than as such Prevention would be a Means to strengthen the *Monopoly* against the *Grower*, and, as such, to fix the *Wool* of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* at one, dead, low Price, not to be raised by any Flow of foreign Trade whatsoever; nor even much, by a general Advance of that Commodity, *WOOL*, in all other Parts of the World besides; except, as a Rot in the Kingdom might lessen the whole Quantity, or as the very low Price thereof might induce the ploughing up of Sheep Walks, till the *Grasser*, having distressed the *Farmer*, by overstocking the Kingdom with Grain, should return from Tillage to his wonted Course, of depasturing his Lands with Sheep.

2. That a low Price for *WOOL*, thus obtained, and continued, would be somewhat propitious, as well as highly agreeable to certain Persons concerned in the *Woolen Exportation Trade*, will not be denied. But that this is Consideration sufficient to justify a *Monopoly* against the *Grower*, and the consequent Injuries to the *whole Landed Interest* and its *Dependants*, is what, in my private Judgment, I cannot admit.

3. Was it indeed true (which has been said, though most falsely) that, by confining certainly the *Wools* of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, a *Monopoly*, in foreign Markets, for *Woolen Goods*, could be acquired (like that of the *Dutch*, for their *Spices*) the Plea in this Case would be valid; as that would occasion naturally such a Strife among the *English* Manufacturers, for *English Wool*, as would tend to keep up the Price of it, in some tolerable Degree. But, as the Case is, this *Monopoly* against the *Grower*, is, taking from him a Part of his Property, and giving it to a third Person, for nothing.

Ch. 96.
§. 4. Note.
Ch. 114.
§. 11.
Ch. 131.
§. 9.
Ch. 132.
§. 2.

4. The *Purchasers* will, no doubt, tell us, that they are always ready to give the *Grower*, as much as the *Trade* will afford^h, for his *Wool*; and if he suffers any Thing, by this Confinement to one Market; 'tis in order to a common Benefit, by Trade. — But is it not the Way of Mankind, to buy, ALWAYS, as cheap as they can? Is it not an Advantage to any Class of Men, to have a *Monopoly* in their Favour? And are not all Men,

^h See
Ch. 171.
N^o 8.

Men, in Trade especially, disposed to take all Advantages, and to make the most of them?

5. Tho' Trade is twofold, foreign, and domestic, and both important; yet *some Merchants* would make all dependant upon the former. — But the *BRITISH MERCHANT* (whom I respect above all other *British Writers on Trade*) gives the Preference, beyond Comparison, to the *home Trade*ⁱ, and *home Consumption* of native Produce and Manufacture. And certain it is, that in *foreign Trade*, the *Balance* is of much more Consequence than the *Quantity*; whereas in *home Trade*, the *Quantity* is every thing. But there have not been wanting *Merchants*, who have argued for *Measures* respecting the *Quantity*, in *foreign Trade*, without regard to the *Balance*; in which, though they might judge it well enough for *themselves*, yet were they far from consulting the *Good of their Country*.

Ch. 100.
§. 10.

6. This explains how a Merchant may thrive by the Impoverishment of his Country^k; namely, by promoting *foreign*, at the Expence of the *Inland Trade* of the Kingdom. A Merchant may gain equally by *Imports*, as by *Exports*; and perhaps more by the former, than by the latter; whereas, to the *Nation*, a small Matter gained in the *Balance* of *foreign Trade*, is of much more Consequence, than a large Increase in the *Quantity*, without that *Balance*. It is not the same Thing to *Merchants*. In *foreign Trade*, it is the Interest of the Public, to increase *Exports*, and, as much as may be, to decrease the *Imports*. But the latter has always been a growing Part of the *Merchants Business*.

Ch. 98.
§. 1.
Ch. 103.
§. 2.

7. In the *English Exports*, that of *Woolen Manufacture*, has been, for some Centuries^l, and continues to be a principal Article; nearly equal to all other *Exports* besides. As such, it is undoubtedly a most important Branch of *foreign Trade*, to be cherished by all due Means whatsoever. But that is no Reason why undue, ineffectual *Measures*, should be persisted in, after long Experience of their Inefficacy, and Inutility; especially, if Alternatives, more promising, can be pointed out.

Ch. 177.
§. 1.

8. The chief Policy, by which the *English* have steered, from the *Restoration* to this Day, in regard to the *Woolen Trade*, has been, by absolutely prohibiting the *Exportation of Wool*, under high Penalties. These Penalties have been exchanged, enforced, repeated, for

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^m Ch. 142. P. 8. fourscore Years successively; and in the Preamble to the very last Act^m, on that Head, it stands confessed, that they have all availed very little, towards preventing the *Runnage of Wool*; for that the Exportation thereof was still *notoriously continued*.

9. But it may not therefore be said, that these Laws have had *no Effect*; for they have had a very *sensible one*; they have made, and kept *low*, the PRICE OF WOOL. And I think it may be allowed, (as Mr. Mun said in ⁿ Ch. 45. §. 1, 2. Note. ^o Ch. 73. §. 4. ^p Ch. 79. §. 23. 1664ⁿ, and the *Eastland Merchants*, in 1689^o, and Dr. Davenant, in 1696-7^p) that Cheapness of the *Material* is some Advantage to the *Exporter* of the *Manufactory*;—But, the Misfortune is, that it is but a partial Advantage; and nothing, which is partial, can be perfect. It probably *helps the foreign Trade*; but certainly *hurts the Home Consumption*; which is (I speak it from a good Authority, the BRITISH MERCHANT) *the far more considerable Market*^q.

10. CHEAPNESS of *English Wool in England*, the certain natural Effect of *prohibiting absolutely the Exportation thereof*, is, 'tis true, in the nature of a *Premium* to the *Exporters of Woollen Manufacture*; but then, it is to be considered, that it is also a *Premium* to the *Exporters of RAW WOOL*. Be it so, say some of the *English Merchants*, in their Hearts; (and some have spoke out to that Effect, in almost so many Words) nevertheless WE are Gainers; and that is true.—But does not the LANDED INTEREST, the Bulk of the Nation, suffer all the while? It should seem so, from the *very low PRICE OF WOOL*, and the consequential Sufferings of TENANTS and LANDLORDS, and the Complaints of the *poor labouring Part* of MANUFACTURERS, in, and since the remarkable Year, of *Woolen Exports*, 1737-8.

11. And indeed, it is hardly possible it should be otherwise; since, if there is any Reliance to be had on the best History in general, both ancient and modern; any Credit to be given to the most authentic Accounts in particular, *English*, or *Foreign*; confining absolutely the *Wool of England*, nay, and of *Ireland too*, has no particular Aptitude to increase the *English Woollen Exportation Trade*, except as it is a means to make *English Wool* so much cheaper in *England*. For though the People of *England* have been taught to expect an Advan-

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vance in the Price of *English Wool*, from an Increase of the *Woolen Exports*; yet Experience, in the Time of the Plague at *Marseilles*^r, and of the much larger *Woolen Exports*, Ann. 1737-8^s; sufficiently evince the contrary. ^r Ch. 142. N^o 6. Nor can any *Increase of Woolen Exports*, which has its ^s §. 6. Foundation ONLY in *Cheapness of English Wool in England*, ever occasion any Advance in the Price of that ^{Ch. 174. Ch. 176. P. 8.} Commodity, as a Consequence of *such Increase*; because that would be foregoing the *Cause itself*, from which the *Consequence* is to be derived.

12. And this shews, what might be expected from a REGISTRY OF WOOL, in Requit for the Trouble and Expence that would necessarily attend it. A *Registry* duly conducted in *Great Britain and Ireland* both, would prevent the *Exportation of Wool*; and, under all Events, would keep low the Price of it; infomuch that it should not rise much, from any exterior Cause whatsoever; no not from an Advance, however great, in the Price of other Wools in foreign Markets. The Price of *English Wool in England*, being thus fixed low, it might be of service to some particular Persons concerned in *foreign Trade*.—But the *Landed Interest* would be distressed, and consequently the MANUFACTURERS for *home Use*, (who are the far greater Number) the *home Market* (which is by much the most considerable) would be hurt by it.

13. It has been said^t, that *English Wool in England* ^{Ch. 177. §. 12. (Fig. 3.)} has not (from the *Restoration*) been sold according to its Worth, *i. e.* not at a Market Price, according to the Markets of the World at large, for all *other Wools*; and that the Reason thereof plainly is, a MONOPOLY in this Case, occasioned by the present prohibitory Laws; to which is owing the RUNNAGE OF WOOL. Let us see then what is the Difference, which occasions *this Runnage*; for this is more especially to be regarded; because that *Difference* is the *Temptation*; which *Temptation* is particularly to be watched, if we would prevent so pernicious a Practice as, undoubtedly, the *Runnage of Wool* is, considered in all its Consequences, and chiefly as it is a Counter-part to much other Smuggling; a Branch of that iniquitous inveterate Practice, so injurious upon the whole, to the Revenue, and to the fair Trader.

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14. The Author of *Observations on British Wool, &c.* (1739) tells us, that *English Wool*, which in *England* sold for 6 *d.* a Pound, was sold in *France* for 10 *d.* and 10 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$; which was 70, and 75 *per Cent.* Difference. The Author of *The Essay on the Causes of the Decline of foreign Trade, &c.* makes the Difference between the Price of *English Wool* in *England*, and of the same in foreign Parts, to be, upon a Medium, 50 *per Cent.*; and both these Accounts, at different Times, may be true; as also that of a third Writer^t, who makes the Difference 60 *per Cent.* For, with regard to the first of these, we are to consider the low Price of Wool, not only in *England*, but of all Wool in *Europe* and the World at large, about the Years 1739^u and 1740. And therefore 'tis no wonder that the Difference at that Time, would be more than when Wool is generally dearer.

^t Intituled, *The Schemer's Scrutiny*, printed 1746. p. 35-40. ^u Ch. 154. §. 2, 4. *Nota.*

15. For, the Exportation of Wool from *Britain* and *Ireland*, being illegal and penal, nothing but the Temptation, of Profit, can be supposed to induce the clandestine Traders to risk the Dangers. But, admitting the Difference, in 1739, to have been 4 *d.* or 4 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Pound*; yet was not all that to be placed to the Profit of the clandestine Trader, as such; there must be a Deduction, for Freight, and intermediate Brokage, after its having crossed the Channel; and therefore we cannot well assign much more than 3 *d.* a Pound, or, at the most, 60 *per Cent.* for the *Owlers* Profit; and though the Temptation of 3 *d.* or 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ a Pound, is little, in respect of the Penalties, yet is 50, or 60 *per Cent.* large, in regard to the Capital employed in that illicit Trade.

16. And hence it is to be concluded, 1st, that 10 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ a Pound, was the most that would be given in *France* for *English Wool*, about the Year 1739. 2^{dly}, The Inducement to *Runnage*, for the Difference of about 3 *d.* a Pound, being as small as can well be imagined; it is therefore to be supposed, the *French* had (for the very Reason of the Terms being so little advantageous to the clandestine Exporters) rather less, than more, of *English* and *Irish Wool*, in this cheap Season, than at some other Times, when Wool is generally dearer. 3^{dly}, If the *French* Manufacturers would not have paid so great a Difference at this Time, as 70 *per Cent.* they could not have had any *English Wool* at all; and, 4^{thly},

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4^{thly}, By the same Rule that they got a lesser Quantity, at that Price, they might have had greater Quantities, at a greater Price; and if a greater Price, in the common Course of Trade, could by them have been afforded at that Time, they would not have failed to have given it, for the sake of compassing a greater Quantity. For I suppose it will be thought no extravagant Compliment to *English* and *Irish Wool*, to say that the *French*, and other Foreigners, always get as much of it as conveniently they can; and the Rule of Conveniency in which Case is, the Price; they will always give a full Market Price for it. They will give therefore, comparatively, for *English* and *Irish Wool*, what they will give for *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *Polish*, *German*, and many other Wools; and they will give NO MORE. And whatever therefore is the Difference between the Price of *English Wools* in *England*, and of the same in *France*, or at other foreign Markets; that, abating for what might be accounted of, for Freight and Factorage, (in a legal open Trade) is the Difference between the forced, artificial, current Price, at home, and its real natural Value, was that Monopoly (occasioned by the Prohibition) entirely removed; and in this Difference altogether consists the Temptation* to the *Runnage of Wool*; and which upon a Medium, there is Reason to think, is 50, or at the most, 60 *per Cent.*

17. We are told indeed another Story, concerning extraordinary Advantages to be made of *English* and *Irish Wool* in *France*, and other Parts, by mixing one Third, at the most, of *English* or *Irish*, with two Thirds, at the least, of foreign Wools; and we are told of the extraordinary Prices to be afforded, consequently, by Foreigners (the *French* more particularly) for *English*, and *Irish Wools*. But this I take to be a very gross Imposition. Those who give this Account, are careful to couch it under general Expressions, and in very ambiguous Terms; as if conscious of the Fallacy they were venting; and this, no doubt, was the Case, at the first Invention of this Fable.

18. Not but that it is credible enough, that the *French* particularly mix *British* and *Irish*, with *French*, or other Wools;

* 'In Matters of Trade the Temptation is, Profit.'
Schemer's Scrutiny, 1746. p. 33.

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^w See the
Diction.
Univerfel.
Ch. 151--
166.

Wools; because that Method of Woolen Manufacture appears to be, or at least to have been^w the general Practice throughout the Kingdom of France. And what is that their Method, or Practice, of mixing Wools, in Manufacture? 'Tis, for the most part, making the Warp or Chain, of one Sort of Yarn; the Wool or Shoot, of another; and I have been told, (and I find the same in some printed Accounts of Manufacturers) that the Warp and Wool, are nearly at least, equal Quantities; especially, where the Qualities of each are quite, or nearly equal. But what are the Proportions, in a mixed Work, of worsted Chain, and woolen Shoot, (a Composition much practised in England^x, as well as in France) I know not. Only this I recollect, that, at Amiens in France, (which seems, from the Dictionnaire Univerfel^y, to be the Place of that Kingdom, where British and Irish Wool is most used) the Mixture is, half, foreign, half, Wools of the Country^z; that is, I suppose, as in other Parts of France, and in many Species of English Goods, made in several Parts of England, the Chain, of one Sort of Yarn or Worsted, the Shoot, of another.

^x Ch. 140.
§. 4.

^y Ch. 157.
§. 9.

^z Ch. 157.
§. 3.

19. But, admitting this Mixture, or any other that shall be pitched upon, either in the Comb, or Cards, or Warp, or Wool, (and all Mixture must be performed one of these Ways; nor is there any Mixture of any kind practised in France, the like whereof is not also in England.) I deny, that any thing considerably more, is, or can be given for English, or Irish Wools, merely for the sake of such Mixture. In the Nature of Things it is impossible, that a lesser or equal Quantity of better Wool can be so mixed with a greater, or equal Quantity of Wool that is worse; but that the worse shall take as much from the better, as the better can give to the worse.

20. If, for Example, in the same Pile, one Third of good Wool is mixed with two Thirds of Wool, 30 per Cent. worse; it cannot be but that such Pile shall be intrinsically worse, by 20 per Cent. than if it had been all of the better Wool. In like manner, the Cloth, or Stuff from such a Composition, will be at least 20 per Cent. worse than Cloth or Stuff from all the better Wool; and consequently must be sold for 20 per Cent. less, admitting

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mitting equal Skill and Labour. Consequently nothing can be gained from such Work (of mixed Wools) above common Profit, more than to defray the Expence of the Labour bestowed upon the Whole, and the prime Cost of each Part of the Materials.

21. For tho' Mixture and Sophistication is much practised in many Articles of Trade, and, no doubt, with some Advantage; yet, besides that the pure and unsophisticated is readily distinguished, by professed Judges and Dealers; and always sold accordingly, at a very different Price; yet this sort of Legerdemain seems to be less practicable on Wool, than upon many other Commodities, such as, Liquors, or Metals when reduced to a State of Fluidity; in which, by Transfusion, a small Quantity in Proportion, of some Ingredients, shall so far predominate over a large Mass of others, as to give them very different Qualities, and another Appearance.

22. In a Pile of Wool, there may be Artifice used; it may be unfairly laid down, and what they call, *faced*, i. e. with the best in View, and the worst out of Sight. In Tenting and Stretching, Fulling, Dying, Pressing, Folding Cloths or Stuffs, there may be Art, and even Fraud: But in the combing, carding, spinning, and weaving Part, Wool with Wool, is not capable of being used after the manner of *Gilding*, and *Finiere*, in carved, and cabinet Work, or as Varnish, to Paint. Different Wools are not, to each other, (like Copper and Lapis Calaminaris) productive of a third Species of Matter. Wool has no mercurial Qualities; there is nothing like the Arts of Chemistry, attending its Fabrication; nothing upon the Comb or Cards, in the Wheel or Loom, but a mere *juxta-Position* of the Parts; and the Qualities of every Hair of Wool, in every Thread of Yarn or Worsted; and of every Thread of Yarn or Worsted, in every Piece of Cloth or Stuff, are confined within the Limits of their own proper Surface; that is, they will occupy a Space in each, in proportion to the Share they bear in the whole, and according to their Quality, and the Space they fill; so will be the Quality of the Yarn or Worsted, or Cloth or Stuff; which Quality is sensible to the Eye, and to the Touch or Handling; and in like manner, as they appear to the one, and feel to the other; just so the Mind passes a Judgment upon them.

23. A

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23. A further Argument against the vulgar Notion, of the French particularly being able to give excessive Prices for British and Irish Wools, for the Benefit of mixing, may be gathered from this single Circumstance, viz. In some Instances, we are informed, the French make use of these Wools alone, working them, singly, into Stockings, Serge, &c. Now it must be allowed, that in working up these Wools, singly; one Nation or People, ceteris paribus, can afford no more for them than another; and that the French, by such Work, can have only the single Benefit of their Labour; which Labour (upon that other Supposition, of much larger possible Advantage by mixing those Wools) would be greatly misapplied, and instead of Gain, a considerable Loss to them. But this, in a free Way of thinking, would not readily be suspected of the French, above all others; who are generally thought to be the last People in Europe, to stand in their own Light.

24. And though the Notion has been so long and often repeated, that it is now, said to be agreed on all Hands, yet surely it cannot be true, that preventing the Exportation of one Pack of Wool from Great Britain and Ireland, is procuring a Market for the Manufacture of three Packs, to be sent from the one Place, or the other. Because, was that the Case; though the French could afford to give largely for such Wool; insomuch that it would be morally impossible to prevent their getting it, in a greater or lesser Quantity; yet, as it would be worth attempting continually, to prevent them as much as possible; and as every Approach towards such Prevention, must have some good Effect upon the Trade of England, which would be perceptible in the advanced Price of Wool: So every Incident, whereby there should be Reason to believe that the usual Exportation of Wool was more than ordinarily obstructed; and every Flow of foreign Trade, shewing itself in much larger Exportations than common, of Woolen Manufacture (and therefore implying less Runnage of the Material) would verify this common received Opinion, by a real Advance in the Price of English Wool in England. In this manner the Bulk of the People of England have been taught to expect, and used to reason. The Time of the Plague at Marseilles has been quoted, as a special Example to this

^a Ch. 153. §. 10.
^b Ch. 157. §. 10.

^c Essay on the Inequality of our present Taxes, 1746. p. 80.

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this general Rule; it has properly enough been pitched upon as a Criterion, or undeniable Test in this Case. But even that, and a yet stronger Instance, in one Regard (the Quantity of Woolens exported) viz. the Year 1737-8^c, are standing Monuments to the contrary; ^c Ch. 176. they are a Proof, of the internal Kind (which no Reasoning can evade) that all this fine Theory, about the Advantages to be made abroad, from British and Irish Wools, merely by mixing; and concerning the extraordinary Price which can therefore be afforded for it by Foreigners, has not the least Shadow of Truth in it.

25. 'TIS a Part of the foregoing Hypothesis, of the French particularly, being able to give so largely for British and Irish Wool, for the Benefit of mixing it with their own, that the latter, without such Mixture, is useless. And here, if we are to believe the Descriptions given by some Writers, French Wool, unmixed, or even mixed, is not fit for any Use at all. But it must be owned, that the Sense, in which French Wool, without British or Irish, has been represented as useless; and the Peculiarity of British and Irish Wools, towards making both the French, and all other foreign Wool, useful, has been restricted and qualified by different Writers; but in very different Ways, as follows:

The Wools of Spain^d will not sort in Work with any but English Wool; neither will they be wrought into Cloth, without the Help and Mixture of English Wool.—Neither will any Wools but English and Spanish mixed with English^e, make Cloth.—French and other foreign Wools (without British or Irish) will not make several Assortments^f fit for foreign Trade;—will not make Cloth or Stuffs for Ornament or Use.—No Cloth for Exportation^h.—No good or fine Clothⁱ.—No middle Cloth^k.—No ordinary low priced Cloth^l.—No Cloth for general Use^m.—Not a tolerable Piece of Draperyⁿ of any Kind.—No Goods fit for a foreign Market.—No Woolen Goods fit for Portugal, Spain, &c.^o.—No fine worsted Stuffs^p.—No valuable Woolen Goods^q.—No neat English-like Goods^r.

26. Thus, while the peculiar Properties, and marvellous Qualities of British and Irish, for mixing with French, and other foreign Wools, is almost a Catholic Opinion, as that of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome,

^a Ch. 41. §. 4.
^b Ch. 51. §. 3.
^c Ch. 131. §. 5.
^d Ch. 112. §. 3.
^e Ch. 129. §. 5.
^f Ch. 150. §. 3.
^g Ch. 145. §. 1.
^h Ch. 62. §. 2.
ⁱ Ch. 145. §. 1.
^j Ch. 57. §. 12.
^k Ch. 140. §. 4.
^l Ch. 51. §. 3.
^m Ch. 143. §. 7. Note.
ⁿ Ch. 132. §. 4.

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Rome, (among its Votaries): So, (like the Doctors of that Church with their pretended Infallibility,) OUR *English WOOD-MONGERS* are as little agreed where to fix this *supposed Peculiarity* of the *British and Irish WOOLS*. And, in truth, both the one and the other, viz. the *Infallibility of the Church of Rome*, and the *Peculiarity of British and Irish Wools*, may, I believe, be concluded under the same Predicament with the *Mountebanks Estate*; of which, while he was boasting, his *Zany* archly and truly said, (not in a figurative but in a literal Sense) *That was neither Here, nor There*.

27. As before observed, these Assertors of the *Peculiarity* of the *British and Irish Wools*, with that further Absurdity, of their Use and Benefit, in *mixing*, intrench themselves in general Expressions; without naming any one Species of Goods; because in so doing, 'tis great odds but they would betray themselves; by mentioning such Goods, as appear (in the *Dictionnaire Universel*) to be made abroad, of Wool, confessedly neither mixed with *British nor Irish*. The *Dictionnaire Universel**, speaking indeed of one Sort of Goods made in *France*, without *British or Irish Wool*, does mention a coarser Sort, of the *same Kind*, made chiefly in *England*, and for the *Spanish West-India Trade*, to the amount of 200,000 Livres, that is, almost 10,000 *l.* yearly. But is a *Monopoly* of Goods, to the Amount of 10,000 *l.* a Year, a sufficient Reason for a *Monopoly* against the Grower of *English Wool*, which was long since estimated at 2,000,000 *l.* Sterling a Year.

28. It was a received Opinion, for many Years, that the peculiar Excellency of *English and Irish Wools* was such, that *CLOTH*, abroad, could not be made without it. But the Author of *Observations on British Wool, &c.* allows^c that to be a Mistake; and it is well he does; because it has sufficiently appeared, that the *Clothing Wool* of *England* is so far from being *singularly excellent* for that Purpose, that it is not *particularly eminent* for it. It may be as good as, or better than many Wools; but it is certainly very short of the best of *Spain* and *Portugal*^d, and, I believe, some Parts of *France*. Those in *England*, of *Coteswold*, and the *Ile of Wight*^e, are what, as *clothing Wools*, are much celebrated by our Writers; but they are far inferior to the best *Spanish Wools*:

* Ch. 156. §. 17.

^c Ch. 140. §. 1.

^d Ch. 107. §. 4.

^e Ch. 150. §. 1.

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Wools: and if we are to judge of them by their usual Price in *England*, compared with the Price of the Wools of *Portugal* and the middle and inferior *Spanish Wools*, as sold at *Amsterdam*^w; they are either very short of^w Ch. 171. them too, or else their usual Price in *England*, is much N^o 8. below their natural Value. The latter is certainly the Ch. 172. Case, in some measure; and is most probably the Case altogether; because, as the *English* are said to import only the best^x *Spanish Wools*; so, if the best *clothing*^x Ch. 105. Wools of *England* were not, nearly at least, equal to the §. 14. middle and inferior Sorts of *Spanish Wools*, these latter would certainly be imported, in order to the making of some Species of Cloths, of a middle Sort, between those made, all of *Superfine Spanish*, and those made of the best *English Wool only*. For thus, we find^y, the^y Ch. 156. *French* make three Sorts of fine Cloth, and these chiefly, §. 3. if not altogether, of *Spanish Wool*.

29. But though the Author of *Observations on British Wool, &c.*^z gives up the *supposed Peculiarity* of *English*^z Ch. 140. Wools, for making Cloth; yet he contends, no less §. 1. than other Writers, for the peculiar Use and Excellency of *British and Irish Wool*; only he says, it is not the *short, clothing*, but the *long, combing Wool* of *Great Britain and Ireland*, which is so peculiarly excellent, that therefore it is much coveted abroad; And truly some of the *long, combing Wool* of *England* is so good in its Kind, that it is not easy to conceive better; yet does it not therefore follow that other Countries cannot produce the like; nor, if they cannot, is it a necessary Consequence, that a *Monopoly* of *Manufacture* is to be attained, equal to the Injury done to the *English Wool Growers* in general, by the *Monopoly* to which all their *Wool* is subjected.

30. Had it been *Wool*, for *CLOTH* in general, that was the *supposed peculiar Produce* of *Great Britain and Ireland*, much might have been said in that Case, since *CLOTH* is a very general Wear, and in many Regards, admits of no rival *Manufacture*. But what is it which this *long combing Wool* produces chiefly? Not *CLOTH*, but *Stuffs*, and *Stockins*. And what Sort of *Monopoly* is to be expected, of *Stuffs and Stockins* made of one Sort of *Wool*, when not only the like, but even the very same are constantly made, of many other Wools, as *Spanish*,

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Spanish, German, Flemish; in short, of all other Countries; and also when so many other Materials, besides Wool, are manufactured for the like Purposes; as Thread, Cotton, Silk, Goats and Camels Hair; in fine, when East India Manufactures, with whatever Materials for Manufacture are brought from the East or West Indies and from Turkey, &c. are all Rivals to the long combing Wool of England and Ireland; or rather, the Manufacture, of the latter, is now used but as somewhat in humble Imitation of the former.

For thus much is true, after all our Boastings of English and Irish Wool, viz. As the Gentleman will not wear Cloth (for Dress) except it is made entirely of Spanish Wool: So neither Gentlemen, nor Ladies, do think our Woolen Stuffs or Stockins good enough for their most ordinary Wear at present. Nor hardly will a common Maid Servant deign to be seen in such on a Sunday, or other Holiday. But this, we are to consider, has not always been the Case. Worsted Stuffs and Stockins (before the Turkey, and East, and West India Trades, and consequently before the Silk and Cotton Manufacture, and the printing of Linens, &c. became so familiar in Europe) were no doubt, in much higher Estimation than at present they are. And moreover, combing Wool is not only less in Request for the Reasons here given, now, than heretofore; but the same is vastly increased in Quantity, as well as improved in Quality from what it was, a few Ages since: For,

Ch. 140. §. 3.

31. The Author of Observations on British Wool, &c. names a several Parts of England, which only, heretofore, produced the longest and finest combing Wool; but says, that, of late Years, there have been Improvements made in the Breed of Sheep and Staple of Wool, by changing Rams, sowing Turnips, Grass Seeds, &c.; by which means there is now, some large fine combing Wool in most Counties in England; which is true. But can we believe this; and yet be such Children, to imagine that the same Improvements are not practicable in many other Parts of Europe? Have not we taken the Hint for these Improvements, by Turnips, Grass Seeds, &c. from abroad? Did then the supposed Peculiarity of the British and Irish Wools consist in what is properly Clothing Wool, the Case had been very different, not only

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ly because CLOTH least admits of being rivalled by any other slighter Manufactures, but because it must be a natural Turf, (like the Hills of Cotswold^y in England, and the Mountains of Leon^z in Spain) which depastures those Sheep that produce fine Clothing Wool. But combing Wool, we are told, we know, may be propagated by artificial Means, of Turnips, Grass Seeds, &c.; and these Means are in the Power of many other Countries, besides England and Ireland.

32. The Invention of the Art of Wool-combing is ascribed to one Bishop Blayse; which Person, if any such there ever was (for that is doubted) was Bishop of Sebstia, and a Martyr (say some^b) in the latter End of the third; others^c, in the Beginning of the fourth Century. And tho' the Dictionaire de Morery makes a doubt of there ever having been such a Bishop, as Blayse of Sebstia; yet the Tradition, of him, and of his having been the Inventor of Wool-combing, is by no means favourable to the vulgar Opinion, that even combing Wool is chiefly to be found in Great Britain and Ireland. To this I may add, that Columbus, who was born in 1442, was the Son of a Genoese Wool-comber; and originally bred to that Business; which is an Argument, of the Southern Parts of Europe (and no doubt Asia also) producing combing Wool, as well as Great Britain and Ireland, Holland, Poland, Germany, &c.

33. The aforementioned Author of Observations on British Wool, &c. says^c that at one Place in Flanders (Turcoing) 14 Persons make Wool-combs, which, he says, are 12 more than follow that Business in the great City of London; and from which he rightly infers, that there must be a vast Number of Wool-combers in that Place and Neighbourhood; to which I add; also great Quantities of combing Wool: and this too he admits; but would have it believed (which is no way credible) that the greater Part of it is either Irish or English.

34. Thus, I think, it appears sufficiently, that even Combing Wool is no more peculiar to England and Ireland, than Clothing Wool. They have, its true, both, in great Plenty. But Wool abounding in most Parts of Europe besides; and all other Wools being freely bought and sold, as any other Commodity whatsoever: This being the Case; that the Wools of England and Ireland

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should be so far secreted, and absolutely (as they are) monopolized, is not defensible, upon any rational Principles whatsoever.

35. It appears, by the comparative Difference between the Price of English Wool in England (1719^d), and of Wool at Amsterdam in the same Year^e; and by the constant Difference between the Price of British and Irish Wool in England, and of the same in France, and other foreign Parts, that the Consequence of this Monopoly is a Difference of, from 50 to 60 per Cent. in the Price of English Wool in England; which Difference being so much, the Grower's Loss, and the Adventurer's Gain, is specifically the Cause of, because it is the Temptation to that pernicious Practice of Owling Wool.

Printed 1746.

36. I know that another Account is given for this Runnage of Wool, and particularly by a late Writer, under the Title of The Schemer's Scrutiny &c.; who agrees with others, in fixing the Difference between the Price of English Wool in England, and of the same in France, at about 60 per Cent. He says indeed that the French give so much more than the English can afford to give for it; and rejecting all other Reasons, as fabulous, assigns, for the real Cause, OUR TAXES, which (says he, p. 73.) occasion 'dear Labour, and that Dearness of Labour 'causes Smuggling of Wool, &c.'

Ch. 48. §. 1, 2. Granting then to this Writer every other Point; the Matter in Issue between us shall be, whether it is the Monopoly (as I say), or the TAXES (as he alledges) which occasions this Difference of 50, or 60 per Cent.; which causes the Smuggling of Wool, &c.
Ch. 50.
Ch. 51, 55.
Ch. 56. §. 14. Now if I shew that this Difference was, before those Taxes were; and that it had the very same Effect (Smuggling) then, as now; in that Case, I presume it will be granted that I have accounted most truly for the same. And to this End, as the Taxes complained of, have come, since the Revolution; so I refer to the Times of Car. II. (when, we have seen abundantly that Smuggling of Wool was a most notorious Practice) during which Times, we find it equally a Complaint as at present. 'Foreign Manufacturers work much cheaper than English'.
Ch. 50. §. 5. 'The Dutch work cheaper than the English'.
Ch. 56. §. 13. 'Our
§. 21.

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'Our Neighbours live, work, and navigate much cheaper'.
'The Advantages our Neighbours have of us [is] in cheap Diet'.
Ch. 57. §. 12.
§. 21.

37. Having thus fixed the Difference (which is the Temptation to Runnage) and also accounted for the same; let us next inquire what is the whole Loss thereby to the WOOL GROWER. The Wool of England only, towards the Close of the last Century, was estimated at 2,000,000 l. ^m Supposing it then to be yet worth no more than 2,000,000 l.; and that the Growers Loss, by Means of the Difference, and for the Reason mentioned, is but 40 per Cent.; that is a Loss, to the amount of 800,000 l. which if it is not so much, effectually cut off from the Kingdom, as if a County of that Value, was detached from it, or swallowed up by the Sea, or an Earthquake; yet is it as effectually depriving the Wool Grower of so much of his Profits, as if such a Proportion, as forty Fleeces, of every 100, was absolutely taken from him. And further it is attended with all that Loss to the Community in general, which a Diminution of Expence, from such a Defalcation of English Income, in the first Instance, amounts to.

By Mr. King and Dr. Davenant.

38. For here a Distinction is to be made between that Cheapness of a Commodity or natural Produce, which is the Effect of Plenty or a greater Increase than usual, and that Cheapness which is occasioned by the Want of a fair Market. In the former Case, what is wanting in the Rate, is made up in the Quantity. But, for what, a Man receives no Consideration; for that, he can pay neither RENT nor TAXES; with that, he can pay no Labourers in any Shape, cannot purchase any Wares, or be a Customer to any Shopkeeper or Tradesman whatsoever.

39. So that in this Case, it is not a single Loss, only to particular Persons, of, suppose, 800,000 l. ⁿ per Ann. ⁿ §. 37; but
M m 2

* As the Taxes complained of, in this Case, have come, not only since the Reign of Car. II. but in, and since the Time of Queen Anne's War: So what follows is no less to our Purpose.
'No Country in Europe manufactures all Kind of Goods, so dearly as this Kingdom.'
Ch. 79. §. 21.

but of all that domestic Expence, which an annual Income, of 800,000 *l.* in one Instance, may be supposed to create, in all its Circulations and Undulations, not only within the Space of a Year, but for all Time to come. It is like a principal and fruitful Branch cut off from the main Trunk; or it may, in some Sort, be compared to the striking out of an intermediate Figure from a numerical Sum; by which, every other Figure (on the same Line) except the last, is made *tenfold* less than it was before.

40. This Loss, be it greater or less than here supposed, arises originally from a Mistake in this Case; and from this Mistake have arose all those Petitions to Parliament (in regard to Wool) all those wild Projects and romantic Exaggerations, with which the Public has been pestered, for near 100 Years last past, without any Possibility of Redress, in the Way that has been commonly demanded; and the Reason is, the People being put at first, upon a wrong Scent, they have successively followed the same Cry; and taking for granted Things that were not true, have been all along looking for that at a Distance, which lies near at Hand, almost at their Feet.

41. To know a Distemper, is half the Cure. Take away the Cause, and the Effect will cease. The Cause of the Runnage of Wool is, the Temptation to it. Reduce then sufficiently the Temptation, and there will be an End of the Transgression. The Temptation is the Consequence of a Monopoly; which Monopoly is the Effect of prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool.

42. But here let me not be misunderstood; as if because I blame an absolute Prohibition in this Case, I am therefore an Advocate for the Exportation of Wool; on the contrary, I desire not to be thought insensible of, or indifferent to the Benefits of Woolen Manufacture, or of the Exportation of Woolen Goods. Many indeed speak of this Subject, as if prohibiting, and preventing the Exportation of Wool, were the same Things; and as if preventing the Exportation of Wool, and promoting the Woolen Manufacture, were, in Effect, the same. But these are Combinations of Ideas, not altogether just.

43. Was it in my Choice, I would endeavour to discourage the Exportation of Wool, in a Way that should not be injurious and discouraging to the Grower of

of it; and though I should take away the absolute Prohibition on Wool; yet, instead thereof, I would charge it with a proper Duty on Exportation. And if in this, I condemn the Policies (in that Respect) of the Times of Car. II. I do, at the same Time, commend those of Queen Elizabeth; which, in the general, was a much wiser Reign. If it is retorted upon me, that the Wisdom of the Nation has constantly approved this particular Policy, from the Revolution, without the least Scruple or Question. To this I rejoin, that both in the Time of Car. II, and since, a right End has been proposed, by the Laws absolutely prohibitory in this Case; only, in them, the Means have been mistaken.

44. The Benefits of Manufacture are indisputable; and those who meant best to their Country, by the Statute of Car. II, honestly proposed, that 'the Profit of manufacturing the English Wool should be to the People of this Kingdom, and not to Foreigners.' And surely therefore, by Parity of Reason, and in all Justice, such did not design, but that the Price of the English Wool should be also to the Growers of it, and not to those who neither owned the Sheep, nor the Land, nor paid any Taxes, or Rent for the same. They did not intend, at once, to rob the Grower of a Part of his Wool, and to make that Robbery conducive to the Exportation of a Part thereof. This, I say, was not originally intended by the Majority of the People of England; nor has that been their real Intention, in succeeding Times. Nevertheless, so it has been; and what was thus at first, a Mistaken Policy, an ill judged Measure, has since been received as an Axiom or first Principle, without Scruple or Examination. Nor have there been wanting other similar Instances, of very great Errors, which for a long Time, have passed, unobserved or gain-said. — Thus Transubstantiation, Passive Obedience — Indefeasible divine hereditary Right, have been Articles of Faith, with Men of the greatest Probity, good natural Parts, and acquired Learning. — Thus, — these Words, Religion or the Church — Loyalty — Liberty, as well as Trade, (Names for the most excellent Things) have all, at one Time or another, been perverted and misapplied.

See the Words of the Statute (12 Car. II. c. 32.)

45. And indeed, Education, long Use, and Custom, are strong Fetters to the human Understanding; from which

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which it does not readily break loose; but on the contrary, is rather apt to hug its Chains, and court its Captivity, even to the palliating of the most gross Absurdities, and seeking to reconcile the strongest Contradictions. Of this, we have, if I am not very much mistaken, an eminent Instance, on our present Subject, even in the *British Merchant*, though the least partial and best informed thereon, of all *English Writers* about it. *This Writer*, after having sufficiently exploded the main, the only Arguments indeed that were tolerable (provided there had been any Truth in them) for prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool—yet, not being able to emancipate himself from a devout Attachment to the Law in this Case, and which had acquired the Sanction, at that Time, of more than half a Century—He (after having told his Readers in the plainest Terms, and upon the clearest Grounds, that Foreigners, and even the *French* particularly, can be in NO WANT OF WOOL for ANY KIND OF WORK^p, though they should not be supplied with any from *Great Britain* or *Ireland*) does with the very same Breath, contend for a Register of the *British* and *Irish* Wools, in order to confine them more certainly to *Great Britain*. And this he does with all that Earnestness, as if the necessary Consequence of such Confinement would be (what other Writers have averred; but which by him was positively denied) the destroying of the *French* and other foreign Woolen Manufactures, and securing that whole Trade to *Great Britain*.

^p Ch. 105. §. 12.

46. And I doubt not, but after all that has appeared in these Memoirs, tending to confirm what the *British Merchant* had said (namely, that the Policy of prohibiting, or even preventing the Exportation of Wool will not do THE BUSINESS^q) there will, nevertheless, be found others in the same unaccountable Way of thinking with himself. To such therefore are addressed the following further Considerations; in order to shew that this Matter has been much mistaken in the general; and that the *British Woolen Exportation Trade* turns altogether upon a very different Hinge from this which is so vulgarly conceived to be a ruling Cause, the main Spring thereof.

^q Ch. 105. §. 12.

47. First, though, of all the several Parts of *Europe*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, do produce the very best Wool, in sufficient Plenty; yet do those two Kingdoms (commonly

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monly speaking) afford to *Great Britain* the largest Vent, and the best Market for all *British Woolen Goods*; and which these, it's plain, do not buy, through any want of Wool; for of that they have great Quantities, and better (its said^r) than ever grew in *England*. 2. Tho' ^r Ch. 107. *Sweden* and *Denmark* depasture perhaps, the fewest Sheep §. 4. comparatively; and which (by Reason of the long and severe Winters there) grow the very worst Wool in *Europe*; yet do they prohibit most^s, and but very sparingly^t Ch. 169. admit any Woolen Goods, of foreign Manufacture. §. 6, 7. 3. *Russia* (which, being much in the same Situation with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, we may conceive to be, nearly, in the like Circumstances, in respect of Sheep and Wool) upon any Disgust received, makes no Difficulty of excluding all *British Woolen Manufacture*^u Ch. 134. whatsoever. 4. Moreover, *France* (which next to those §. 3. Note. Northern Kingdoms above-mentioned, is commonly reckoned to be the least capable of carrying on any Woolen Manufacture or Trade) is not only *Great Britain's* principal and most formidable Rival in that Respect; but rivals her most of all (in several Parts of *France*, viz. *Provence*, *Dauphiny*, and *Languedoc*) in the Trade to^v Ch. 166. *Turky*, *Persia*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *Spanish West Indies*, with all Kinds of Woolen Goods, the very same that are made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; but at the same Time, made from Wool^w, in which that of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, is not so much as pretended to have §. 3. any the least Share. §. 9. Note.

48. And here we may further note, (which I think shews yet more, the mistaken Policy of *Great Britain*, in prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool and Yarn) that tho' most of the *European Nations*, practising Woolen Manufacture, do, according as they succeed in any particular Branch of it, almost constantly prohibit, or charge with high Duties, the like from any foreign Country; yet do none of them, not even the *French*, prohibit the Exportation of their own WOOL or YARN. They know too well the Mischiefs of Monopoly; and are too wise and tender of the Grower, (the Landed Interest) and of the Spinners of WOOL (the Poor) to subject them to the Hardship of such unequal Usage.

48. Many Countries either prohibit, or lay high Duties on such Woolen Manufactures as interfere most with

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with their own: And Great Britain is so expert in perhaps, all Kinds of Woolen Manufacture; or at least, manufactures so much, of various Kinds, that it does in effect, prohibit any foreign Woolen Manufacture whatsoever: And the British Merchant truly says, it is well judged, in so doing; and why so well judged? Because, otherwise, Foreigners, (he says) the French particularly, would pour in such Quantities of their Woolen Manufactures, as would make our Hearts ache. And how then, in the Name of Sense and Reason, can we suppose, that any great Matters are to be effected by a Register, or by any other Means, absolutely and merely prohibitory, for the confining certainly OUR WOOLS? when, (as the British Merchant hath declared) THIS WILL NOT DO THE BUSINESS. Even the FRENCH (for Instance) can be in NO WANT OF WOOL, tho' they should not be supplied with any from Great Britain and Ireland.

Ch. 99.
§. 2.
Nota.

Ch. 105.
§. 12

50. This then is the Difference of British Policy, in these two Respects; 1. of prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of WOOL and YARN; 2. of prohibiting in effect, all foreign Woolen Manufacture. In the latter, we have on our Side, the Practice, more or less, of almost all Nations in Europe. In the former, we stand single. Which Circumstance, added to what has occasionally been observed before, in the Course of these Memoirs, should methinks induce a Re-examination of what has now, for near a Century, been taken for granted, and built upon, as first Principles; namely, that to prohibit, is to prevent the Exportation of Wool; that such Prevention is, to promote infallibly, both the Woolen Trade, and the Woolen Manufacture; and likewise to advance the Price of that English Material, Wool, in England; not a single Part of which (I venture to say it) can be maintained for Truth.

51. This at least however may be said, that if it is good Policy, to prohibit absolutely the Exportation of Wool from Great Britain and Ireland; it must be so, for some particular good Reasons; which Reasons cannot be said to be good, otherwise than as they may be said and proved to be true.

But of all the Arguments taken from a Supposition of Facts, of any Kind, which have appeared in this Collection, in order to support the said Policy above mentioned,

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tioned, I cannot recollect a single one, that is not egregiously false; except this one, and which has rather been obliquely hinted, and occasionally dropp'd, than publickly maintained and directly insisted on, viz. The Benefits to the MANUFACTURE, (i. e. the Woolen Exportation Trade) from the Cheapness of the MATERIAL, WOOL. This I grant is so far true, that, to prohibit the Exportation of Wool, is creating a MONOPOLY against the Grower, and thereby, lowering considerably the PRICE OF WOOL. But whether thus robbing Peter, to enrich Paul, is of any real public Benefit? that is the Point to be considered; it is what I doubt, or rather deny.

But, if any Persons are of Opinion, that the Prohibition on Wool is defensible on that Post alone; and that it is expedient for this Kingdom, that the WOOLS of Great Britain and Ireland should be constantly depressed below their natural Value, by being kept at a Price, less considerably, than the Market Price of Europe, for those and all other Wools; let such avow it, and let them abide by it; and take the general Suffrage of the People, and particularly of the Landed Interest upon it.

C H A P. CLXXIX.

The Conclusion: A Scheme.

N U M B. I.

1. ON this Subject, I will suppose the great Point in View to be, the Benefit of the Public, in a three-fold Respect; 1. of the whole Woolen Manufacture in general; 2. of the Woolen Exportation Trade in particular; 3. the Price of English Wool in England.

2. The chief Medium fixed upon, for effectuating all this, has been, to prohibit absolutely the Exportation of Wool; which I take to be a Measure either wholly incompetent, or at the best improper in every Respect.

3. The whole Woolen Manufacture is best promoted by the Price of English Wool in England; and that particular Part, the Woolen Exportation Trade of Great Britain, See N^o 2. §. 10.

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Britain, by advantageous Treaties of Commerce; as may be instanced more particularly in our Trade with *Portugal*. And the *Price of English Wool in England*, under an *absolute Prohibition*, appears to be constantly and necessarily, 50 or 60 per Cent. under *Par*, i. e. under the Market Price of *Europe* for Wool; which last Circumstance, while the World and it endures, will (without a *Registry* at least) always defeat the Expectations of the Public, for preventing the Exportation of *Wool*.

4. But, as in all political Disquisitions, the End of finding Fault should be, with a View to correct, and not to demolish one Theory, without raising up some other in its Place: So, having in the foregoing Chapters, made Objections to the Policy and Laws prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of *Wool*, I proceed to offer to public Consideration an *Alternative* in that Case.

5. Many, 'tis true, have talked of ruining the *French Commerce* in *Woolen Manufacture*, by depriving them of *British and Irish Wool*. But *Great Britain* may as well think of making a Province of *France*, by the single Strength of her own Arms, as, by depriving *France* of *British and Irish Wool*, to ruin the *French Woolen Manufactories*.

6. Nevertheless, tho' *Great Britain* cannot hope so far to subdue *France*, as to make a Province of it; nor to ruin the *French Commerce* in *Woolens*; yet *Great Britain* has the Means of *Self-Defence*; may not only preserve, but promote her own *Manufacture*, and extend her own *Trade*.

7. Moreover, not only the *Runnage*, but, I think, the *Exportation of Wool* may be prevented, both from *Great Britain and Ireland*. However, before I give the particular Heads of a *Scheme*, for that Purpose, I desire to lay down, as the Basis or Foundation thereof, a Set of Opinions, taken chiefly out of the foregoing *Memoirs*.

NUMB. II.

1. As the *Landed* is the most considerable *National Interest*; so that of *Pasture Ground* is the most valuable of

y Ch. 88.
§. 6.
Note.
Ch. 106,
107.
z N^o 2.
§. 16.
Chap. 48.
§. 3.

Ch. 143.
N^o 4. §. 6.

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of the *Landed*; and *Wool* the principal Article* for the Support of both.

2. The Concern of *Wool* is, without doubt, to be taken Care of.

3. Among the *National Calamities incident to England*, this is reckoned one, ' For *Wool* to sink in its Price.

4. The *Rent* and *Taxes* yearly paid from *grazing Lands*, entitle the Owners and Occupants in a more peculiar Manner to the Regard of the Public.

5. Since so great a Charge both in *Rent* and *Taxes* lies upon the *Pasture Grounds*; and *Wool* is the main Product of the same, 'tis *inexcusable* to neglect and depreff it.

6. Since no Man can be entitled to keep a Flock of *Sheep*, or cut a Pack of *Wool*, without paying a valuable Consideration for the *Pasture*, it is plain the legal Inconveniencies of *Rent* and *Taxes* must be provided for.

The *Wool* of *Great Britain* being our best and choicest Product, requires our utmost Care.

8. *Wool* lying upon the *Grassers Hands*, extends to the Prejudice of almost all the People of *England*.

9. The *Woolen Manufacture* is undoubtedly, by Laws, and all possible Care to be encouraged.

10. The *Icenia*, Norfolk.

* ' Hæc ruris pars, ut Occidentis reliquæ, pascendis Ovis magnopere exponitur; pleræque Villæ aut unum, aut duo, aut tria, interdum quatuor vel quinque millia nutriunt; ut intelligas *Proceres Angliæ* apud *Edw. I.* de *Vestigali Lanis* imposto conquerentes, consulto affirmasse *Opum Regni dimidium in Lanis consistere.*

RELIQUIÆ SPELMANIANÆ, (1723.) Page 162.

And though it cannot be said, at this Day, that half the Riches of the Kingdom does consist in *Wool*. Yet, besides what Sir *Josiah Child* has said, (that *Wool* is essentially the Foundation of the English Riches) it does yet constitute, virtually at least, an eminent Part of the *Landed Interest*. It is no less now, than heretofore, a Share of that Part of the *English Wealth*, which belongs to the *Proceres Angliæ*; the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Clergy* of this Kingdom. (See therefore §. 2—8.)

Ch. 79.
§. 15.
Dave-
nant on
the Ba-
lance of
Trade.
Page 111.
Ch. 177.
§. 21.

Ch. 41.
§. 12.
Ch. 79.
§. 2.

Ch. 173.
§. 11

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- ⁱ Ch. 100. §. 2. 10. The first and best Marketⁱ of *England* are the Natives and Inhabitants of *England*. All our foreign^k Markets cannot be equal to one Twentieth Part of *our own*, for taking off our native Product and Manufactures. Therefore *our own Consumption*, the Consumption of *our own People*, are the best and greatest Market for the Product and Manufactures of *our own Country*. The Preservation and Increase of this Market ought therefore to be the Thing principally regarded.
- ^k Ch. 100. §. 10. 11. All *domestic*^l, or *foreign Trade*, that doth not in Result and Consequences thereof, increase the Value of the *our English Lands* (the good Plight whereof is the main Basis of our Wealth, Freedom, and Safety) ought not only to be discouraged, but totally rejected.
- ^l Ch. 69. §. 3. 12. The Interest of *Merchants*^m ought not to be considered (in Commerce) so much as that of *Landholders*, and *Manufacturers*.
- ^m Ch. 103. §. 2. 13. All *Monopolies*ⁿ, of what Nature and Kind soever, are destructive to Trade, and consequently obstructive to the Increase of the Value of our Lands.
- ⁿ Ch. 69. §. 4. 14. The confining^o of the Market and Choice of *Chapmen*, in any Degree, is dangerous and prejudicial to Trade; and in a larger Sense, may be called a *Monopoly*.
- ^o Ch. 66. §. 17 Note. 15. To forbid^p the Exportation of any Commodity to another Country, is to command it to be sold at your own Price.
- ^p Ch. 129. §. 1. 16. They^q that give the best Price for a Commodity shall never fail to have it, by one Means or other, notwithstanding the Opposition of any Laws by Sea or Land; of such Force, Subtilty, and Violence, is the general Course of Trade.
- ^q Ch. 48. §. 3. 17. Where^r the *Profit* is great by *Smuggling*, no Risk, no Danger can prevent Mens attempting it; it is like throwing out a Bait to a greedy Fish; he will snap at it, though Ruin ensues.
- ^r *Essay on the Causes of the Decline of foreign Trade.* P. 13. 18. A *Register*^s of *Wool*, in any Shape, would be attended with a Multiplicity of Accounts, besides other Difficulties, and great Expences.
- ^s Ch. 127. §. 11. 19. The first Step^t, to prevent the Exportation of *Wool*, is, to take away the *Temptation* to it.
- ^t Ch. 146. N^o 2. §. 1. 20. *Cæteris*

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- 20. *Cæteris paribus*^u. Those that are forced to give ^v*Essay, &c.* ten or fifteen *per Cent.* Advance on the Price of our *Wool*, cannot trade at all.
- 21. If the *Prohibition*^w were removed, and due *Imposts*^x charged upon *Wool exported*, it might thereby, better than by the *Prohibition*, be either retained at home, or rendered so chargeable to our Neighbours, that we might have sufficient Advantages over them in that Manufacture.
- 22. The only effectual^y Way, to render the Exportation of *Wool* impracticable, is to enable our *Manufacturers* and *Merchants* to work it up at home, and sell it so wrought up, to foreign Markets, cheap as such *Manufactures* can be sold by any of our Neighbours.
- 23. *Premiums*^y on the Exportation of Goods, enable the *Merchant* to sell them so much cheaper at foreign Markets, than he could otherwise afford them; and are of *singular Use* in Cases, where we are underfold by others; for which Reason, it is a *Nation's Profit*, to give *Premiums*, where the Sale of their *Manufactures* would otherwise be lessened.
- N. B. *Each of the foregoing Particulars I take to be undoubtedly true; but any one of them, considered apart from the rest, will be apt to produce a partial; consequently, but an imperfect Scheme; that which follows, is therefore compounded out of them all.*

N U M B. III.

Heads of a Scheme.

- 1. *A Premium*, of 10 *l. per Cent.* for all *Woolen Goods*, of *British*, or *Irish* Manufacture, exported from *Great Britain*.
- 2. *A Premium*, of 16 *s. per Pack*, for all *Irish Fleece*, or *Skin Wool*, imported to *Great Britain*.
- 3. *Irish Woolen Yarn* to be imported to *Great Britain*, free from all Duty.
- 4. *Irish Woolen Manufacture* to be exported from thence to *Great Britain* only, and to pay a Duty of 12 *l. per Cent.*
- 5. *Irish Black Cattle* alive, to be imported to *Great Britain*, as before the first *Prohibition*, 15 *Car. II.*
- 6. *Fleece*

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6. Fleece or Skin Wool, if exported from *Great Britain*, to be subject to a *Duty* of 3*l.* a Pack. A Permit for the same to be granted by the Collector of the Excise, at his public *Sittings*, in that District wherein the Wool was grown and shorn, or pulled, or imported from *Ireland*, or first lodged after shearing, or pulling, &c. The Grower or Vender to make Oath of the Number of Packs, and their Weight; and that it is only Fleece Wool, as it was shorn and wound, or skin Wool, as it was plucked; unpicked, or sorted, forced, or clacked^z; *i. e.* without any other Refuse^a than what is always made by common Wool-Buyers, for home Use.

^z Ch. 11.
^a Ch. 7.
 §. 9. Note.
 §. 2.
 Ch. 8.
 §. 23.

7. An Entry thereof to be made by the Collector himself, and by every other *Officer of Excise* attending at that *Sitting*. The Purchaser or intended Exporter, to pay down half the Duty to the *Collector of the Excise*; and to confess himself a Debtor to the *Crown* for the other Moiety, to be paid to the proper *Officer of the Customs*, at the Port to which it is destined by the Permit; and which Permit shall be good for Days, and no longer. The proper *Officer of the Customs* to see the same weighed, and receive a Moiety of the Duty, with the *Collectors* Permit, which shall be a Receipt for the other Part. The said *Officer of the Customs* likewise shall take an Oath of the intended Exporter, that they are the same Packs of Wool, for which the Permits were obtained, having not been since unpacked.

8. *Combed Wool* to be liable to a *Duty*, of 6*l.* a Pack, on Exportation from *Great Britain*, under the same Regulations, as raw Wool, of a Permit from the *Collector of Excise*, &c.

9. *Woolen or Worsted Yarn* to be subject to the same *Duty* on Exportation from *Great Britain*, and to the same Rules, and in Bales of the same Weight, as combed Wool, which also shall be in Packs of a certain Weight, the same as raw Wool, *viz.* 240 Pounds each.

10. Small *Skains*, or *Cruel Yarn*, to be exported from *Great Britain*, at a moderate *Duty*, in Bales not less than Pounds Weight, after being subjected to a proper View, for preventing Frauds.

11. All *Wool, Yarn, and Woolen Manufacture* to be imported from *Ireland* to *Great Britain*, in Register Ships,

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Ships, &c. conformably to the Statute of 12 *George II.* c. 21. (See *Chap. 142. P. S.*)

11. *The present Laws*, for preventing the illicit Exportation of Wool from *Great Britain*, and of Wool and Woolen Manufacture from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, to be and remain in their full Force, except as by *this Scheme* virtually excepted.

12. *No Wool* to be carried *Coastways*, or upon any River, more than over a Ferry, in the common Ferry Boats.

13. *A Reward* equal to 500 *per Cent.* (instead of all other Rewards) to be paid out of the public Revenue, for all Wool, Yarn, and Woolen Goods, in a contraband Trade seized, at Sea, or unlawfully put on Board any navigable Vessel whatsoever. The Public to avail itself out of the Goods and Chattels, and other Confiscables of the Offender, or Offenders, in the first Place; and further to be entitled to one Moiety of the Forfeitures in such Case incurred, by *Laws now in being*; the other Moiety of the same to be to the *Crown*. The *Captain, Master, or chief Mariner*, having Direction of such Ship or other navigable Vessel, for the Time being, with as many others of the *Crew* as may be supposed privy to the Lading thereof, (without discovering the same) to be always deemed as Accomplices; and in Case of non Payment of the whole Penalty, of 500 *per Cent.* to suffer Death, as *Felons*. And (for preventing Collusion) in Case of any Seizure, and that such accountable *Captain, Master, or Mariners*, or some of them, at least, is not apprehended and committed to some one of the *King's Prisons*: In that Case, the Person or Persons so seizing, to be entitled only to a Moiety of the Wool, &c. seized.

14. All Wool exported to *Guernsey, Jersey, &c.* to be carried to the Port of *Southampton*, from the Places where grown, by Permits; as in the Case of Exportation to foreign Parts. Those Permits to be granted upon Oath, of the Quantity, and that the same is intended for *Guernsey, &c.* and upon a Bond given, with Sureties, for a *Duty*, of 4*l.* a Pack; which Bond not to be discharged, but by a proper Certificate of its being landed in *Guernsey, &c.* within a Time limited; or otherwise, by Payment of the Sums specified.

C H A P. CLXXX.

The Grounds and Reasons of the foregoing Scheme.

1. **A**S no *Orders of Men* take it well to be divested of Advantages long possessed, however unreasonable in themselves, or by whatever Means obtained; and because there is some Truth, tho' not altogether so much as is commonly urged, about *dear Labour* in England, and the comparatively *lower Wages* of Foreigners, the *French* particularly, (which last is owing rather to a more penurious Habit of living, occasioned by a different Climate, and Constitution of Government, than to what is so commonly assigned for it, *high Duties*, &c.) There-

² Ch. 179. ^{fore}, this Premium², of 10 per Cent. is allotted to the N^o 3. §. 1. Exportation of Woolens; as an Equivalent for the present *Monopoly* against the Wool Growers, *by prohibiting absolutely the Exportation of Wool*. For that such *absolute Prohibition* is in the Nature of a *Monopoly*, and can be considered in no better View, than that of a *Premium* to the Exporter of Woolen Goods, I trust, has been sufficiently proved.

^a Ch. 179. N^o 2. §. 23. 2. And tho' a *Premium* is allowed^a to be of great Expediency, in many Instances; yet, as the Matter stands at present, in relation to *English Wool*, it is attended with the following Injustice, as well as Impropriety. 1st. Whereas all *Premiums* should be paid by the State^{*}, *i. e.* the Community, this is a Burden charged, instead of the Whole, upon a Part of the People, the *Growers of Wool only*; which is unjust. 2dly, This *Premium*, thus wrong placed, is improperly paid; as being a *Premium* to the whole Woolen Manufacture of *Great Britain*; when it is beyond Dispute, that at the most, such Part only, as is exported, needs a *Premium*; and this Part, ^b Mr. King, (upon the Foot of former Computations^b) is but $\frac{1}{4}$ of and Dr. the

Davenant.

^{*} See (Ch. 167. §. 7, 8, 9.) the *Premiums* given to what are called the *Royal Manufacturies* of *Languedoc*, but those not paid by any select Interest, or particular Persons, but out of their public Purse, by the *States of Languedoc*.

the whole Woolen Manufacture. So that the Wool-grower lies at present under this double Hardship, 1st, of paying out of his *own Pocket*, what should be paid by *himself and the whole Kingdom besides*; 2dly, of paying four times as much as the *whole Kingdom* needs to pay.

3. Now it being calculated, that upon a Medium, Wool is improved fourfold, in Manufacture; upon that Foot, 100 *l.* prime Cost in Wool, produces Manufacture to the Value of 400 *l.* So that a *Premium* of 10 per Cent. in the *Manufacture*, is equal to 40 per Cent. in the *Material*. And whatever therefore, upon the Consideration of such a *Premium*, on *Woolen Goods exported*, can be advanced to the Grower, for his Wool, will be so much taken from the *Owler's Gain*, (which is his Temptation) and given to its natural Proprietor, the *Grower of Wool*. For here it is to be considered, that by such *Premium* as aforesaid, the Price of Wool can only be advanced, in *Great Britain and Ireland*; and the *Manufacture alone* being entitled to the *Premium*, the manufacturing Purchasers only will be enabled to pay more for their Wool, upon that Consideration.

4. A competent^c *Premium*, for Fleece or Skin Wool imported from *Ireland to Great Britain*, will be a Means N^o 3. to bring the Wool of *Ireland* to *British Markets*, upon §. 2, 3. an equal Foot with *British Wool*; which will be one Means to prevent the Exportation of it to foreign Parts. At present, we are told^{*}, Wool bears a better Price in *Ireland* than in *Great Britain*; which may be thus accounted for. The Runnage of Wool, as well from the Situation of the Country, as from the more general Disposition of the People there, being rather more practicable, from *Ireland*, than from *Great Britain*; the *Monopoly*

^{*} The Author of *A Scheme to prevent the running of Irish Wools to France*, published (1745.) By a Person styling himself, *A Merchant of London*, makes the then Medium Price of *Irish Wools* in *Ireland*, 12 *s.* per Stone, and rates the best at 16 *s.*; 'at which Price (*says he*, p. 32.) 'the fine Wools of that Country were sold, last Year.'

(I suppose he meant in 1743, when all English Wool in^d See England, that of *Coteswold*^d particularly, advanced considerably, but did not come up to the Prices, here mentioned, of N^o 5, 6, 7, Irish Wool, in *Ireland*.) 8.

monopoly against the Grower, is not equally strong in that Kingdom, as in this. In short, the *Owler* running less Risk from *Ireland*, than from *Great Britain*, will trade for less Profit there, and consequently give the *Grower* a better Price for his Wool. This raising the Price of *Irish Wool* in *Ireland*, above that of *English Wool* in *England*, is a Reason why so little raw Wool is imported to *Great Britain* from *Ireland**. And if the lower Labour of *Ireland* than that of *England*, did not bring *Irish Yarn* nearer to a Level with the Price of *British Yarn*, we should find very little of that also imported to *Great Britain*. But with regard to Yarn, it is to be presumed that, allowing for the Difference between a licit, and an illicit Trade, the *British Merchants* give as much for it, as *Foreigners* do; without doing which, they could not have it. By the same Rule therefore that *British Merchants* do now import *Irish Yarn*, because it is, at least, not dearer than *British*; so, when *British Wool*, being sufficiently advanced, in *England*, (in Consequence of a Premium on Woolens thence exported) shall be brought near to a Level, in Price, with *Irish Wool* in *Ireland*; then, will this Premium of 16 Shillings a Pack for *Irish Fleece*, or *Skin Wool* imported, be some Inducement to *British Dealers* to import *Irish Wool*, as well as Yarn; by which means, both the *Runnage of Wool* from thence, and the *manufacturing of it there, for foreign Parts*, will receive some Discouragement.

5. The Exportation of Woolen Manufacture, from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, is a Point greatly controverted. Some hold for an absolute Prohibition. Others contend for the Expediency of an unlimited Freedom in that Case. Several others are for compromising the Matter, different Ways. And thus much is found by Experience to be true, viz. That it is equally impracticable (by prohibitory Laws only) to prevent the Exportation of Woolen Manu-

* In the Year 1700^c, the Quantity of raw Wool imported from *Ireland* to *England*, was 336,292 large Stones; of Yarn, 26617.
^c See Ch. 126. §. 10. (A).
 In the Year 1743, Wool, 19993 Stones; Yarn (Worsted and Woolen) 83846 large Stones. (See *A Scheme for preventing the Running of Irish Wools to France*. By a Merchant of London, (1745) p. 34.)

Manufacture from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, as it is (by the same Kind of Laws) to prevent effectually the Exportation of Wool from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. The Temptation is the Reason, both in one Case, and in the other. It is said that the *Irish* can undersell the *English* in Woolen Manufacture at foreign Markets, 16^e per Cent. This at once is the Ground of the Prohibition, and the Motive for transgressing it. It is for the Sake of this 16 per Cent. that Adventurers do risk the Penalties. Those who contend for an unlimited Freedom, for exporting Woolen Manufacture from *Ireland* to foreign Parts, argue that the Consequence would be, a total Prevention of the Runnage of raw Wool from thence; and for which they urge; 1. The Experience of Times past. 2. The Nature of the Thing; both which I deny. First, whereas they suggest, that the Practice of running Wool from *Ireland*, arose from the *Irish* being prohibited to export Woolen Manufacture, to foreign Parts, Ann. 1699. The Truth is, that the Runnage of Wool from *Ireland* is a Complaint of a much longer standing; but more particularly from the Prohibition of *Irish Cattle*, in *England*. 2dly, From the Nature of the Thing, they alledge, that, granting the *Irish* a Liberty of exporting Woolen Manufacture to foreign Parts: In that Case, the Parliament of *Ireland*, after the Example of *Great Britain*, would make strict Laws, for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, with a like Resolution of executing the same. But admitting this; yet would the *Irish* be just in the same Circumstance with the *English*, as to a *Monopoly* against the *Grower*, and this *Monopoly* would have the same Effect in both Kingdoms, of keeping the Price of Wool, at *under Par.* Consequently a lucrative Trade would still present itself; against which, penal and coercive Laws, (we have been told,) would avail little; but in both Kingdoms, where the Situation was equally convenient, the Runnage of Wool would still be continued. I know it is a common Opinion, that could the Exportation of Wool from *Ireland* be prevented, the same might be effected in *Great Britain*. And so I think too. But then, I apprehend that this is a Matter more difficult to be effected, in either Place, even in *Great Britain*, as well as *Ireland*, than most Persons are apt to imagine. In both Kingdoms,

doms, the Means must be alike levelled at the Temptation. For, as it is true, what *Dean Swift* hath said, that Gold and Silver is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, so neither is it *British*, nor *Irish*, by way of Distinction; but a *Denizen* of the whole World; courted by some Persons at least, of all Nations. And so long as there is an absolute Prohibition, there will be a Monopoly; and that Monopoly will keep Wool below its natural Price; and this will be a perpetual Temptation to clandestine Traders. For though the present Exporters of Wool from Ireland are said to do it upon a Principle of Patriotism, and from a National Pique or Resentment; yet this, like much other Patriotism (so called) has its Foundation in Self-Interest; and which is a Principle very far from being rare or uncommon, or peculiar to one Country or People, more than to another.

6. However, with regard to the Trade of Ireland in Woolen Manufacture, this Scheme takes a middle Course. The Duty proposed¹, of 12 per Cent. on the Woolen Manufacture of Ireland, to be imported from thence to Great Britain only, will make a Difference, both in Great Britain, and at foreign Markets, of 12 per Cent. (besides Freight and Factorage from Ireland to England) between Woolen Goods, of British, and of Irish Manufacture. So that the Irish will not be able to undersell the British, either in one Place or another. And yet the Irish Manufacture re-exported from Great Britain, receiving^k a Premium of 10 per Cent. the Irish will, in effect, pay but a Duty of 2 per Cent. (besides Freight and Factorage) for all Woolen Manufacture exported to foreign Parts. Consequently, their Temptation to clandestine illegal Trade, in Woolen Manufacture, will be reduced from 16 to 8 per Cent. at the most; which 8 per Cent., we conceive, will be no sufficient Inducement to the Continuance of such clandestine Trade; and consequently, by this Means, the Woolen Trade of Ireland to foreign Parts, will be no growing Part of the Trade there. And this, 'till such Time as a proper Union of the two Kingdoms shall be effected, (a Thing sometimes talked of, and to which I am no Enemy) and 'till Ireland shall be brought to share equally in the public Burdens, as well as Profits, with Great Britain, I take to be no unreasonable Restriction; especially, since that Kingdom's having

¹ Ch. 179. N^o 3. §. 4.

^k Ch. 179. N^o 3. §. 1.

having the Linen Manufacture, is allowed to be a full Equivalent for any Restraints put upon it in the Woolen. And therefore, (it is to be observed) this Scheme makes the People of Ireland no Allowances, on this Head, on the Score of their pretended natural Rights in this Case; but it only deals with them according to the common Nature of Men, and what they may be supposed, in Prudence and Caution, to submit to; as well as what, in Obedience to the governing Powers, they ought to acquiesce under.

7. The Liberty of importing black Cattle^m alive, from Ireland to Great Britain, will be a Means to lessen the Number of Sheep, and thereby, the Quantity of Wool; or however, to prevent their Increase in Ireland. And by all these Expedients put together, the Temptation there, to export illegally, either Wool, or Woolen Manufacture, will be considerably less than at present. Particularly, the Temptation to export Wool from thence, will be, at the most, no other, than from Great Britain. And the Temptation to export Wool illegally from Great Britain, will be only the avoiding of a Custom, of 3 l. a Packⁿ.

8. The Temptation, which arises from the present Prohibition, is, (we have seen) equal to 50 or 60 per Cent. Let us say 60 per Cent. Abate then from the Force of this Prohibition, two thirds; and the Temptation will abate to 20 per Cent. and the Price of English Wool in England, would go near to rise 40 per Cent. If then, instead of the Prohibition, a Duty is substituted, on Exportation, equal to 30 per Cent. the Temptation to Runnage will certainly be 30 per Cent. less, and the Price of English Wool, in England, probably, 30 per Cent. more. But adding to that negative Circumstance, this positive one, a Premium^p of 10 per Cent. on all Woolen Goods exported; and 'tis much if the Market of Great Britain, for British and Irish Wool, is not raised full 40 per Cent. upon a Medium, and communibus annis. But the Reason of such Advance not extending to foreign Markets for British and Irish Wool, will be equal to a Tax, of 40 per Cent. on Wool exported; with this peculiar Difference, that there will be no evading of it by Runnage. Add to this 40 per Cent. the fixed Duty on Wool to be exported, equal, we will suppose, to 30 per Cent.

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¹ See Essay by Mr. Dobbs, on the Trade &c. of Ireland.

^m Ch. 179. N^o 3.
ⁿ Ch. 178. §. 14.--16. 35, 36.

^p Ch. 179. N^o 3.

Cent. more; and it is 70 per Cent.; besides Freight and Factorage, which may be reckoned at 10 per Cent.; in the whole, 80 per Cent.; viz. 20 per Cent. more than they have been used, and consequently, *so much more than they can afford to pay.* For, as before observed,[†] Ch. 178. §. 16. Foreigners have always given as much for British and Irish Wool, as their Markets would afford; and the Difference between the Value thereof in Great Britain and Ireland, and in France and other foreign Parts, (abstracting from what would be allowed for Freight and Factorage, in a legal open Trade) is only the Price of Runnage, a Consideration for the Risks run. And to be convinced of this, we need only consider, that in Case of a legal open Trade for the same, the Difference in Price, between British Wool in Britain, and Irish Wool in Ireland; and of those same Wools in France and other foreign Parts, would be no more than the Freight and Factorage. And in like manner, though the Price of these Wools, for clandestine Exportation, may, under the present Laws of Prohibition, vary sometimes, from particular Incidents; yet after a few Vibrations, it soon returns to its natural Centre, or Balance, between the Profits in one Scale, and Hazards in the other.

9. Under the present Laws of Prohibition, Foreigners, the French particularly, pay ordinarily (it seems) 60 per Cent. more for British and Irish Wool, however for British Wool, than the British Manufacturer does pay; the Reason whereof is, the British Manufacturer, by means of the Prohibition, can buy it *so much cheaper*; and the French, &c. cannot afford to pay more than *so much dearer*. But in Consequence of the Scheme proposed, of a Premium of 10 per Cent. on exported Woolens, the British Manufacturer may give on a Medium, at least 40 per Cent. more for British and Irish Wool than at present he does give, or, at any Time, since the Restoration, has given. And the foreign Manufacturer (if he will purchase any) must give (as we compute) 80 per Cent. more, i. e. 20 per Cent. beyond what he can afford. But it has been laid down for a Maxim[†], that, *cæteris paribus*, 'those that are forced to give 10 or 15 per Cent. Advance on the Price of our Wool, cannot trade at all.' And thus will be compassed the Thing so long sought after, of preventing not only the Runnage, but the Exportation

[†] Ch. 179. N^o. 2. §. 20.

tion of Wool. Thus will be effected (what we may suppose has all along been ultimately intended[†] and aimed at)[†] Ch. 179. a constant full Market Price for British Wool, an enlarged N^o. 1. Woolen Manufacture, as well as Woolen Exportation §. 1. Trade.

Some perhaps will be ready to say, that the Runnage of Wool would still be continued, notwithstanding all this Contrivance to prevent it: But here it is to be consider'd, upon what Terms it must be run, in that Case, if at all, and at what Hazard. The Duty which, according to this Scheme and way of reasoning, legal Exporters of Wool must pay, but cannot afford, is 30 per Cent.; or may be made so, if it should prove less. And therefore the Smuggler, if he trades at all, and who has been used to deal at, suppose, 50, must deal for less than 30, as, v. g. for 25 per Cent. Profit; and at the same time, must run far greater Risks, for less than half the Consideration he had been used to be tempted with; which we conceive is too small an Inducement for any, even the most rash and adventurous; especially when considering, that by disallowing the Carriage of Wool Coastways[†], &c. in every Attempt for Runnage, such Wool must necessarily, for the most part, pass through two or three several Hands; each of which risking the whole Penalty, and consequently requiring their Share of the Profit, there would not be, for any one of them, more than from about 8 to 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. possible Gain. And the Payment of 500[†] per Cent. Reward to the Seizer, at the Expence of the Transgressor, or with the Forfeiture of his Life, (the one or the other not to be eluded) would be such a Terror and Discouragement, as would certainly quash all Attempts of that kind. And if this capital Punishment is thought too severe in this Case particularly, I only refer to the known allowed Maxims, (*Salus Reipublicæ, &c. Volenti non fit Injuria*;) and desire them to compare this Clause with that Statute, and the Reason of it, which makes it Death to have Coining Instruments found upon any Person, &c.

10. By proposing to permit the Exportation of combed Wool[†], and Yarn, at a Duty of 6l. a Pack; the single Intention thereof is, to prevent all Combinations and Monopolish Practices, too frequently exercised, in these and every other Branch of Trade; and which, in this

[†] Ch. 179. N^o 3. §. 11, 12.
[†] Ch. 179. N^o 3. §. 13.

Part of Trade more especially (where-ever practised) centers ultimately on the *Wool Grower*, and the *Landed Interest*; all intermediate Dealers making their Reprisals upon one another. And as the *Duty*, in both these Cases, is greater than upon the *Wool raw*, there can be no Detriment to the Public, from those two Articles; since the Labour of combing and spinning is no inconsiderable Part of Woolen Manufacture.

^w Ch. 179. N^o 3. §. 9. 11. As to *small Skains*, or *Cruel Yarn*^w; for the Reason of permitting the Exportation thereof, at a moderate Duty, see Chap. 145. §. 13.

^x Ch. 179. N^o 3. §. 14. 12. And with regard to *Wool*, to be exported to *Guernsey*^w, &c. Whereas there have been many Suspicions and Complaints of Fraud, in that Case, it is presumed that the same are hereby sufficiently provided against.

13. It remains, to fix upon a proper Fund, for Payment of the *Premiums*. This indeed, I apprehend, is the grand Difficulty. But for which, notwithstanding the present State of our *Finances*, none, I think, can be more proper than the *Sinking Fund*; which, as an Aggregate of the unappropriated Surplus of *all other Funds*, is the very Pulse of the *whole Trade of the Nation*, both *Inland* and *Foreign*; falling and rising, just as they ebb and flow. And so far as a *Premium* of 10 per Cent. for all Woolen Goods exported, can be thought to promote the *Exports*, and consequentially the *Imports*, to the Increase of the *Customs*; and so far as an Advance, of 40 per Cent. on *British Wool*, to the *Grower*, may be a Means of increasing the *Income* of the Nation, in that primary Article; and in Consequence thereof, give Life to an Undulation of *Expence* and *Consumption at home*, to the Increase of the *Excise*, and of all other *Inland Duties*: So, in proportion, would be the Increase of the *Sinking Fund*, towards answering the Payment of these *Premiums*; which, at the most, would be but a Commutation of so much Money amongst ourselves, (whatever the Amount thereof should be) by which the Nation might grow richer, could not have a *Shilling less*. It would be but dividing a Part of the *Fruits*, when come to their full Maturity, between the *Lords of the Soil*, and those that had *dug in the Vineyard*. It would be, but, after a *plentiful Crop*, setting aside a small Portion, as
Seed,

Seed, in order to another *Harvest*; while the present *Monopoly* against the *Wool-grower* (reckoning the same but at 40 per Cent. Disadvantage to him) is not only a grievous Drawback from the *Landed Interest*, (already too hard laden in other Regards) amounting, at the least, to 800,000 *l. per Ann.*; but it is a further Loss to the whole Nation; rising in the Circle of one Year, to a mighty Sum. This Defalcation of the *Landed Profits*, as *Dr. Davenant* in another Case, less truly has observed, is like 'lopping off principal Branches, and taking away some of the Bark, and a Part of the Root;' and surely from a Trunk thus maimed, cannot be expected the same Fruit, as from a sound, healthy, wide-spread flourishing Tree?

14. Could no material Advantage be hoped for, to the Public, from the Policy proposed, of a *Premium* of 10 per Cent. on Woolen Goods exported from *Great Britain*, in lieu of the present *Monopoly* against the *British Wool-grower*; yet, allowing the former to be any thing of an Equivalent for the latter; and if we do but consider the Difference between imposing a Burden or Tax, that is supposed to be for a public Benefit, upon the *common Stock of the Kingdom*, and charging a select Body only with the like or a much greater Sum, for the same public End, Equity alone would determine us for the *Premium*, rather than the *Monopoly*.

15. But, from the Nature of the Thing, there is room to look for extraordinary Advantages from the proposed Policy of a *Premium*. I shall here quote two Opinions, which happen to concur with me on this Head: 1. *Dr. Davenant*, in his *Essay on the Balance of Trade*. 'The Bulk of our Woolen Exports does not consist in Draperies made of fine Wool; but is composed of coarse Cloths made of a coarse Wool; which is to be had in other Countries: So that we are not to value ourselves upon the Material. [Therefore] suppose coarse Cloths, not exceeding a certain Value, should, for a Term of Years, receive upon the Exportation, 10 per Cent. Bounty Money, by way of Encouragement from the State, for so much as the Exporters can make appear was carried but to Countries with whom we had no Dealings of that kind before; a Recompence of this nature would, in all probability, increase the
Woolen

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Woolen Manufacture in England, in not many Years, at least one Third.' 2. The Author of *A Scheme to prevent the Runnage of Irish Wools to France, by prohibiting the Importation of Spanish Wools to Ireland* (1745). 'If a small Encouragement, by Bounty on Exportation, was given by Parliament on such Spanish Cloths as are exported to the Levant; I am humbly of Opinion, we should wholly supply both the Turks and the Persians.'

16. The Sense of the two Writers last quoted, in regard to the Utility of Premiums, in two particular Instances, prove equally the general Good of them, in the whole Woolen Exportation Trade. For tho' it be true, that there is not the same Reason, upon the Grounds of the Scheme here proposed, to give a Premium on the Exportation of Spanish Cloths, i. e. fine Cloths made of Spanish Wool only, as on other Drapery made of British or Irish Wool: Neither is there the same Reason to give a Premium on Woolen Goods of any Kind, exported to the British Plantations, as, to other foreign Markets. Yet, for many other lesser Reasons, and to avoid all Fraud and Collusion, all Jealousies and Heart-burnings; and in order to carry the British Woolen Exportation Trade to the utmost Height, of which it is capable, (and of which there is great Need, in Case the Revulsion here aimed at, takes Effect, of all the Wool that heretofore used to be clandestinely exported, both from Great Britain and Ireland); therefore, it is proposed to make the Bounty general; which Bounty will, 'tis true, amount to a large Sum. But then, to allay this Consideration, we are to remember, that every other Scheme which has been proposed for the like End, was to cost the Nation something; and a Registry, a great deal, besides the Trouble it would occasion. And if the Expence of this Scheme shall be thought too much, for preventing the Exportation of Wool, it is a plain Acknowledgment, that such Prevention is not of so great Consequence as it has been commonly represented to be. And it is an Argument, that there is small Hopes of gaining by it those Millions, which many, even of the most moderate, have reckoned upon, from that Event, if it shall be thought too much, to purchase the same with a few hundred thousand Pounds of public Money; and by which, in all Probability, even the Public would not be in the least impoverish-

impoverished. But on the contrary, as Vapours exhaled from the Earth, by the Sun, are returned in fattening Showers; and as Rivers, from Fountains, those Orifices of the Ocean, run into the Sea: So the Public Money, thus issued, would circulate in such wise, that the Sinking Fund would be found in some measure, like the Widow's Meal and Oil, a constant Supply for the aforesaid Purpose, without any considerable Diminution or Waste. I say, in some Measure, and without any considerable Diminution: Because, it cannot certainly be affirmed, that the Increase of the Sinking Fund would be exactly in Proportion to the extraordinary Out-payments thence, in Consequence of this Scheme. Nevertheless, as what present Sinking Fund we have, is but a Consequence of the present Trade, Income, and Expence of the Nation: So, all these being reasonably, nay certainly, to be expected to increase, in virtue of this Measure proposed, (for an Increase in the usual Price of Wool, and for an enlarged Woolen Manufacture in the general, and Woolen Exportation Trade in particular); it follows, that the Sinking Fund would thereby increase certainly, and necessarily, in a good Degree, if not in full Proportion to such Bounties paid; and therefore, though a considerable Sum would yearly issue on Account thereof, out of the Sinking Fund; yet the neat Produce of the same would probably amount to as much, within a Trifle at least, (comparatively speaking) as at present it does, and for past Years, has done. In which View, preventing the Exportation of Wool, by the proposed Expedient, a Premium of 10 per. Cent. on Woolen Goods exported, would in Truth, cost the Nation but a very Trifle, if any thing.

17. I am aware, that there are those, who, though they secretly rate the present Prohibition on Wool at very considerable, yet don't estimate it at much, to prevent the Exportation of it. And these are not Novices, with regard to their own separate private Interest. But even these (I mean if they are not Owl-ers, but Fair Traders in Woolens) must be told, that they have a Consideration given them for what they shall forgoe, by exchanging this Prohibition on Wool, for a more effectual Means of preventing the Exportation thereof. For, on their Account

count chiefly, is proposed the Premium of 10 per Cent. on *Woolen Goods* exported.

18. If it is objected, that, notwithstanding this Premium of 10 per Cent. on *Woolen Goods*, and this Duty of 3 l. a Pack, on Wool, the Exportation of the latter will not be prevented; but, that the Duty will be paid for large Quantities, both of coarse and fine Wool; inasmuch as, and by Reason that, of coarse Work, from coarse Wool, the Premium, of 10, will be far short of raising the Wool, 40 per Cent.; and that for the choicest Parcels of *English* and *Irish* Wool, the Duty, of 3 l. a Pack will be paid. To this I answer, These are Points, to be tried. The Thing would soon demonstrate itself, one way or another. In the mean while, it may be considered, that the coarser, viz. the *Clothing Wools* of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* being confessedly, no rarity, the Duty, alone, of 3 l. a Pack, may well be supposed a sufficient Check to the Exportation of them; and much more, with the Premium, of 10 per Cent. on the Manufacture, whatever that should amount to, in the first Price of the Material, as an Advance, in Consequence of such Premium. And as to the choicest Parcels of *fine long combing Wool* in *England* and *Ireland*, these being improved, in Manufacture, (of fine Stuffs and Stockins) much more than fourfold, the Premium of 10 per Cent. will be just so much more advanced upon the original Price of the Material, as the Labour, in Manufacture, shall exceed the common Medium; which is reckoned, as 3 to 1. If, for Instance, a Pack of fine combing Wool is improved, 6 or 8 fold, in the Labour of manufacturing it; a Premium of 10 per Cent. on that Manufacture, will afford an Advance of 60 or 80 per Cent. upon the Material. And as to the Duty, of 3 l. a Pack; if, upon Trial, it is found too little, or too much, it may be advanced, or lowered, to its proper Pitch. The Judgment of the Thing will be, (and such is the Intention of this Scheme) to fix it so, that the foreign Manufacturer cannot give so much, nor the domestic Smuggler trade for less. And to do both these, is not, I think, impossible; and if it is not, it must be allowed that this Scheme is so far at least a good one.

19. In Behalf of this Scheme, it may be further urged, with the greatest Truth, that it is free from all those Clogs

Clogs and Incumbrances, so heterogeneous to Commerce, that have attended almost every other Scheme, which has, at any Time, been proposed in this Case. It throws off all that Plaistering and Bandage (common to many other Schemes); which tends only to waste the Muscles, emaciate the Parts, and weaken the whole Body Politic of the Nation. This Scheme (it is humbly conceived) has nothing attending it, which is in the least embarrassing to fair Traders, or which deviates from the ordinary Course of Traffic. It is designed to operate altogether, by the most trite and easy Methods, of Premiums, and Duties; and so far as any Bias is requisite to Trade, these are, of all others, the most politic and just. This Scheme removes indeed the Prohibition on *Wool* and *Yarn*; but it only puts those Commodities, the former especially, upon the same Foot, on which it stood for several Centuries together, and in the very best Times, comparatively, of the *English* *Woolen* Trade; I mean the Times of the renowned *Queen Elizabeth*: It only puts them into the same State, with the *Wool* and *Yarn*, and all native Commodities, in every Kingdom of the Universe besides (so far as History informs us) the *Dutch* *Spices*, and the *Silk* of *Piedmont* excepted; which two are not parallel Cases neither. The former of them (the *Dutch* *Spices*) has not indeed its Parallel; and as to the latter, (the *Silk* of *Piedmont*) it is only retained from Exportation, till it is organized; and that, in respect of the Art, and the Instrument or Engine, not of the Material. But though these two, which have been mentioned, are not, yet are there Instances, of other Countries, strongly resembling, in their respective Products, *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, in regard to the Article of *Wool*; which, it may be allowed, is there produced, though not of a peculiar Kind, yet in somewhat of a particular Plenty, beyond most other Nations; although almost every other Nation has its Land of *Goshen*. Thus, for Example, *Russia* has particular Plenty of *Hemp*; *China*, and *Persia*, and *Italy*, of *Silk*: And yet do they all suffer these Materials to be exported, raw, as well as wrought. And to convince us that this Permission is in them, no Effect of Barbarism and Want of good Policy; what would be the Consequence, if they acted differently, (after

^a See
Ch. 122,
123.

(after the Example of *Great Britain*, in regard to *Wool**) may be perceived, from what Mr. *Josua Gee*^a has wrote. Further, *Sweden*, above all other Countries, abounds in *Copper*; and it also manufactures a great deal of that *Metal*; yet, because there is *Copper* in other Parts of the World besides, therefore it is only charged, on Exportation from *Sweden*, with a *Duty* to the *Crown*, of 25 per Cent.

20. The *Effects* of this Scheme may be most certainly known at any time; the *Price of Wool* will be constantly in View; and all the rest, the *Woolen Exports*, may (upon the Foot of this Scheme) be learned infallibly, from the *Custom-House Accounts*; which *Accounts* the Legislature can call for, as often as they please. And indeed, if private Persons had the Privilege of searching there, as in some other *Public Offices*, it might have been of singular Use

* I know very well, what *will*, and what indeed only can be urged, after all, with any Shew of Truth or Reason, for continuing the *Prohibition* on Wool and Yarn, upon its present Foot; namely, the *Benefits of Manufacture*; which are undeniable.—But *Quere*, If this is not to draw a wrong Conclusion from right Premises? A Fallacy that is too easily swallowed! Let it therefore be considered, that tho' it is the only Argument to be made use of, that has the least Shadow of Truth in it, that yet, in regard to the Purpose for which it has been used, it is but the Shadow of an Argument; for which reason, as we have seen in the Course of these *Memoirs*, much greater Stress has been laid upon other Arguments for prohibiting the *Exportation of Wool*; I mean, upon supposed *Facts*, but entirely false. And surely, to prohibit the *Exportation of Wool*, because other Nations can't do at all without it; or because, by the Help of it, they can make twice the Quantity of, otherwise, useless Wool, into good vendible Wares. (*Both which have been alledged, with vast stress laid thereon, tho' neither of them are in any Degree true.*) And to encourage as much as may be, both the *Grower* and the *Manufacturer* of Wool, and the *Exportation of Woolen Manufacture*, to the common Benefit of the Nation, are very different Reasons, and admit of quite a different *Policy*. And it is worthy of Consideration, whether the Scheme here proposed, does not pursue all the *Ends* that are truly desirable in this Case, in the most equitable Manner, and in a Way likely to prove the most effectual.

Use to Writers in this Way; and would probably have saved many *erroneous Arguments*, and much *false History* on this Subject particularly. This, at least, I can say, that under such a Liberty, these *Memoirs* had been more compleat.

21. I should now, in the very last place, take up the following Words of Sir *Josiah Child* upon a like Occasion. 'Tho' nothing can be said for a *public Good*, but what will cross the particular *Ends*, as well as the *Opinions* of many private Persons; yet my Love to *Truth* and *Justice* overcoming those Considerations, I have ventured to expose my Conceptions to public Censure; with this Confidence, that after they have suffered the accustomed Persecution [or Neglect] naturally and constantly accompanying all *new Proposals*, for a while, they will at length, or something like them, come to be generally received, and honoured with the public Sanction, of a Law, or Laws; concerning the Time of which I am not careful—only, for the sake of the *Public*, could wish it might be shortened.' But, as a Check to the most distant Hopes of this kind, it has been remarked, on the Occasion of this Work (to the Undertaker) by several Gentlemen of Observation and Experience, that upon such a Subject, from the very Nature of it, nothing considerable is to be expected.—It is (say they) confessedly, and beyond all Dispute, a very national *Affair*.—But that is precisely the Reason, why no sufficient Number of Persons, of any Class, will give themselves much Trouble, or even Thought about it. *viz.* Because it is so far a National Concern, that no Persons, in respect thereof, can hope or fear, to fare better, or worse than Multitudes of their Neighbours besides. And (say they) Mankind move upon a narrower Bottom, they are actuated by more contracted Principles and Views, than that of *general, common Good*. This has been repeatedly observed; and in making this Observation, Persons, with a secret Applause to themselves, think they have done their Part, and shewn a reasonable Share of *good Sense* and *public Spirit*. And it were to be wished that there was not so much Truth, as undoubtedly there is, in this Observation so frequently made.

————— *Pudet hæc, &c.*

Never-

576 *The Grounds and Reasons* Ch. 180.

Nevertheless, this Delinquency, however notorious and Epidemical, does admit of a very easy and speedy Remedy—If for Instance, those only who so readily and justly make the Remark, and do seemingly lament the Truth of, and therefore despond under it—If *those only*, I say, would but do what is manifestly in their *own Power*, by removing this Indolence in their *own Persons*—If but so many Individuals as now indulge in Complaints on this Head, in regard to *others*, would resolve to act, as becomes *themselves* no less than *others* (and for *himself* every Person may undertake) In such Case, we should have immediately, a *Body of Men* in the Nation, sufficiently respectable, both for their *Numbers* and *Quality*, claiming *Attention to*, and ready to *deliberate upon it*.

And what gives some Glimmering of Hope in this Case, is, that Gentlemen, heretofore, have had but too colourable a Plea for their Neglect and Indolence, from those Clouds of Darkness and Uncertainty, with which this Subject stood surrounded; inasmuch, that a Person was no sooner embarked in the Consideration thereof, but he found himself bewildered with various, inconsistent Assertions and Opinions, such as he could not reconcile, easily believe, or certainly contradict. *Whereas*, this whole Affair is, *now*, very much cleared-up; and as there are not the same Impediments in the Way; so not the like Excuses to be made, as *before*—But those who are truly desirous of Information, in order to their acting properly in their several Stations, have *here*, a *Foundation*, of *Truth*, to build upon, and indisputable *Materials* to work withal. And therefore the Author being fully persuaded of the good *Inclinations* as well as *Abilities* of several, and well knowing the *Force of Example*, does flatter himself, that there will not be wanting, finally, an Attempt at least to graft somewhat upon this Stock of *Memoirs* and *Scheme* for Improvement; and that sooner or later, some Fruit may arise from his Labours here devoted to the *Service of his Country*.

T H E E N D.