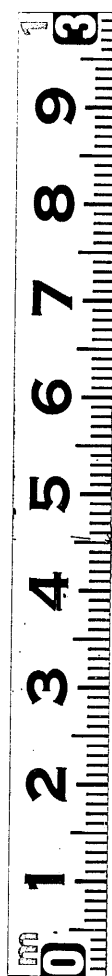


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A
S U M M A R Y,
 O F Certain P A P E R S
 About
W O O L L
 As the I N T E R E S T
 O F
E N G L A N D
Is Concerned in It.

By **W. C.**

London, Printed for the Author Anno Dom. 1685

SUMMARY

OF THE

WOLLE

As the

ENGLAND

WOLLE

Author

TO THE
READER

Having wrote a Treatise, about fifteen Yeares agoe, and then presented to his Late, and Present Majestie, Intituled ENGLANDS INTEREST by the Improvement of the MANUFACTURE of WOOLL, the same was pretended to be answered in Anno 1677, tho' it was not, by a PAPER Intituled REASONS for a LIMITED EXPORTATION of WOOLL, to which I made a REPLY in the same Yeare, and there detected the weakness and insufficiency of that ANSWER.

But finding in my Attendance on a late Committee of the Honourable House of Commons, appointed to consider a Bill depending before Them, for the Explanation and better Execution of two Acts of Parliament, made in his late Majesties Reign, Prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, that ANSWER was urged by some against me, supposing no REPLY was made to it: I have for that and other Reasons, now reprinted an ABSTRACT, both of my first DISCOURSE my Opponents ANSWER and my REPLY thereunto, wherein I have endeavoured to remove that Gross mistake, as if the hindering the EXPORTATION of WOOLL was the Cause of the low Price thereof, the Cause of the

To the Reader.

Assert, and shall plainly Demonstrate the true Cause thereof, Evincing, that the hindering the EXPORTATION of WOOLL will Cause the recovery of our TRADE, the raising the Price of WOOLL, and Consequently of LANDS which is the Principal Drift and Design, of the Following DISCOURSE.

I will for Arguments sake, suppose that by a Liberty to Transport such a limited quantity of Wooll as is propounded; the price of a Pack of rough Wooll, for one or two Years were advanced from 8l. to 10l. which is 4os. p. Pack more then 'tis now, and that the Price of a Pack of kemberd Wooll were advanced from 20l. proportionable, for the latter is the sort of Wooll, which is most usually exported to France, a Pack of such kemberd Wooll, manufactured, makes Stuffs and Stockings worth above 120l. Ster. as more particularly hereafter appears.

But if we Export our Wooll unkemberd, we give the French another advantage, in mixing it with their own course Wooll and and fine spun Linnen for Druggats, by which means, one Pack of our unkemberd Wooll Exported to France unmanufactured, worth 10l. as aforesaid, prevents the working up of two Packs in England, which I thus prove; if the French had not our Wooll, they must have our Woollen-Manufacture, but the French by having and working our Wooll to supply themselves, with Stuffs Druggats, and Stockings, that they have no occasion for those sorts of our Manufacture, and by that means, the more Wooll remains in England, on the Graziers and Farmers hands, and so the 40s. per Pack advanced as supposed, for one Year or two at first by such an Exportation, would in a short time, not only sink to nothing; but the price of the Pack at 8l. would dwindle and consume in like

To the Reader.

a Pack than we do; and refusing to accept of our Manufactures it cannot but naturally follow, that our Wooll at home will grow cheaper and cheaper, notwithstanding such a Limited Exportation.

Upon enquiry it will appear, that before such quantities of Wooll were Exported as lately have been, the City of Exeter alone vended above the value of three hundred thousand pounds Ster. every Year to France in Serges and Perpetuanys more then now: that City does in any one Year.

And Dorcet, and Hampshire almost depended upon the French Trade, besides many parts in England, especially Norwich for Stockings, which Trade is almost lost.

Give me leave to name two Towns (viz.) South-hampton and Rumsey, where within this 20 Years, 30 Clothiers and upwards employed in making Cloth Rashers, most of which, was sent to France, and now there is not 10 Clothiers in both these Town. who make that Manufacture, and those drive but very small Trades I am somewhat sure, not a 3d. part if a 4th is now made in those Towns, of what was formerly, and that which is made is so much debased in the price, that the Clothiers are discouraged from making it, and all caused by the Transportation of Wooll; and yet those Gentlemen, that are Favourers of Transportation of Wooll are complaining of the low price of it, which is the Natural Effect of that Transportation.

Now we will suppose to Illustrate this Argument further, that there was only Kent in England, that produced Wooll, and on Pickardy in France, that did take of and consume our Manufacture of that Wooll, and admit that there grows Yearly in Kent, 600 Packs of Wooll, more or less. (Rumney-Marsh alone produceth

To the Reader.

this were manufactured here, and exported into Pickardy, two thirds of it into Stockings and Stuffs, and one third part in Cloth, for that is the usual proportion; suppose the Stockings and Stuffs, sold here at 120l. Ster. per. pack, and the Cloth at 50l. per Pack, comes to 579999l. when the Wooll of those Packs at 10l. per Pack comes to 60000l. so that the County of Kent, if those Packs were exported raw would lose, 519999l. which Instance I mention as a Plea to the Charge given by my Opponent, pa. 5th wherein he reflects upon me for cruelty in detecting and prosecuting the exporters of Wooll he supposing that for want of Exportation of Wooll, was lost in Rumney-Marsh 12320l. which if it were true the comparison of this loss in Rumney-Marsh (which by the computation, is near one third part of the Wooll in Kent, as before mentioned) I say when the comparison is truly made, I hope to be cleared by the Impartial Reader, and the cruelty justly to be charged upon the said Exporter, that shall hinder so much profit to the Poor in Kent, as well as to the Gentry in Kent, upon which occasion I will use my Opponent's own words (Viz.) By which pray y' Judge how many Millions are Yearly lost through all England: where is now the Cruelty? I must confess this contention is not with any pleasure, but mere necessity draws it from me.

Besides the loss of our Manufacture to France, we of course come to another and greater loss, by the Exportation of our Wooll to France: For the French by this meanes not only prevents the Importation of our Woollen-Manufacture, but becoming Rivals with us in the said Trade, can undersell us in other more remote parts, having this advantage of us, if they paid double the Rate for Wooll, that the English doth, because the Workmanship is 5 times more then the worth of the Wooll, and the French wor-

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A N
A B S T R A C T
O F

Englands Interest, by the improvement of our Woollen-Manufacture.

IF I should value the discouragements of appearing in publick in this Matter, I should be silent, but observing the Nature of this National Mischief of exporting Wooll, and the necessity of preventing it; that the greatest Strength of the Nation in People, the greatest Power upon the Seas in Shipping, the greatest Revenues of his Majesty, being his Customs, do all arise from Clothing.

And considering these great Advantages are endeavour'd to be gained from us by a powerful Neighbour abroad, while some at home are not only reasoning, but appear in Print for it, and others despairing upon a preposess opinion, that all endeavours to recover our selves, will be rendred fruitless and vain.

The consideration whereof, hath prompted me to use the utmost of my little Skill, that the threatned Ruine of all may be prevented, and some good part of that, which is lost, may be recovered.

I shall therefore in this Discourse relate very little more than Matter of Fact; the Wooll of England, before King Edward the 3d's time, was always of great account and esteem abroad, sufficiently testified by the great Amity which it begat, and for a long time maintained between the Kings of England and the Dukes of Burgundy, only by the

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great advantage from that Commodity did accrue to those People (who at that time had the sole Manufacturing of *Wooll*) in so much that they received the *English Wooll* at 6 *d. per l.* and returned the Cloth made thereof into *England* at 10 *s. per yard*, (whereas *Wooll* now worth 10 *d. per l.* will not make Cloth worth above 6 *s. per yard.*) to the great enriching of the *Burgundian* State, both in the advancement of the Revenues of their Dukes, and in a full Employment of their People, whereby the Merchants of *England* were occasioned (as a People unwilling to be wholly dispriviledged of so great abenefit) to transplant themselves (with their Families in great numbers) into *Flanders*, from whence they held a constant Commerce with most parts of the World, this Amity continued without intermission, between *England* and *Burgundy*, until King *Edward the 3d.* made his mighty Conquest over *France* and *Scotland*, and during his residence in *Flanders*, where he acquainting himself with the *Flemings* Affairs, and obtaining then by his assistance in their War with *France*, thereby gained a good opinion amongst them, and he, in order to draw over the *Woollen* Artificers into *England*, represented to them, the danger they were in by the bordering Wars with *France*, and the peaceable condition of *England* and freedom of the People that are Subjects here, propounds an Invitation for them to come over hither, wherein he promises them the same Priviledges and Immunities with his own Subjects, which they accepted and came over, and brought their families with them; and the said King most Royally performed those promises, and by it also replanted many of his own Subjects in *England*, who had been long settled in *Flanders*, and in a short time by Act of Parliament prohibits the exportation of *Wooll*, the advantage whereof hath been very great to this Nation thereby, for some hundred years past, by the vigilancy of the Government, and the protection of its Laws, in the careful execution

cution thereof upon Offenders; but so it is (for some years past) the *French* by their Diligence to enrich themselves upon us, hath so far exceeded our Care to preserve our selves that its come to, if not beyond, a question who may have the greatest benefit of the Manufacture of *English Wooll*, they who have no right to it, or they to whom of right it doth belong.

That this is so will appear, that not only *Holland* hath for a long time been Rivals with us in our Trade: But *France* is like to be too hard for us also, for the reasons before given, besides our damage, in putting that value on the *French* Fancies, by giving them double the worth for the same Manufacture, (which we our selves make) of our *English Wooll*, so much have we been deceived (in this matter) that whereas in the time of the late War with the *Dutch* and *French*, that *French* Druggets, and other Stuffs, not coming so freely from *France*, some *English* broad Cloaths striped, at 10 *s. per yard*, were rent in 3 parts (*Viz*) Breadths, and put in the form of *French* Druggets, and each part sold for 8 *s. per yard*, which makes that one yard come to 24 *s.* which, as *English* Cloth was sold for 10 *s.* and the like Fancy many have for *Dutch* Black Cloth, if it have the name of *Dutch*, tho' of our own Make, this is real matter of Fact.

To return, it's aver'd, that the Exportation of *English* and *Irish Wooll* is of a Dangerous and Destructive Consequence to the very Being of our Trade, and to the riches and strength of this Kingdom, and to his Majestie's Customs, notwithstanding the Objections produced against it, with respect to the Graziers Advantage thereby, supposing, as before at large premised, that 40 *s.* upon a Pack of *Wooll* was advanced for a year or two by Exportation, yet other things would be lessned by it, it being not to be denied at the same time, that the poore and laborious People can be employed, as to have money to buy them Bread,
Beef,

Beef, much less Mutton, the want of which must of necessity fall the price of all manner of Victuals, and if we name only Mutton (which is relative to our subject) and that be sold but 6 d. per quarter the less, which being 2 s. in the carcass, which comes to 10 l. for 100 Sheep, they producing a Pack of *Wooll*, which at that rate is the value of the said Pack modestly computed: But then for Beef and Corn, if that be lesned proportionable, it must be of course a greater damage to the Farmer and Grazier, it being reckoned three times the value of *Wooll* throughout the Nation, one with another. And supposing there should be growne yearly in *England* Fourteen Hundred Thousand packs of *Wooll*, one year with another: And supposing that once in foure years the sheep were all kill'd, (*Viz*) 25 yearly, which 25 Sheep valued so low as 10 l. which is the value of the *Wooll* yearly shorn.

It may therefore prevaile upon us to beleave, that Beef and all sorts of Corn must be of a far grater value than Mutton, (and consequently of *Wooll*) because the greatest number of *People* by far, are the poor and labourious *People* which consume Beef, Bread and Bear, and few of such do often buy Mutton, or at at least any quantity proportionable to other provision, and therefore whatever some others think, that a Country can be enriched without the poor laborious *People*, I am of another opinion: For it's matter of Fact, that in *England* it self, in those parts where the inhabitants are thin, and the Countries not full of *People*, that the Land in those parts will not yeild much above half the value, as Land of the same goodness will yeild near Townes well Inhabited, or Countries where Trade is good, and if thus in *England* it's much less in *Ireland*, which I think is a good Demonstration; for the Clothier can no way possibly conceale his Markets, being betrayed by his hastning his Cloth not then ready for the like Market, by which meanes the Grazier raiseth the price

price of his *Wooll*, and the Workfolks advance their wages, the profit whereof goeth to the said Grazier and Farmer, it being obvious such people do not lay up their money, but lay out most for the Belly.

These things considered on the other hand, it will manifestly appear, that the Exportation of *Wooll* unmanufactured will not only be destructive to the Merchants and Clothiers Trade, and the exposing the poor to distress, for want of employment; but consequently the Farmer and Grazier will not be able to pay his Rent: For if it be so, that whilest we have some little Trade left, there are such general complaints, what may be expected if our Forreign Trade should be wholly taken away, which is now in more danger, by the *French*, than it hath been this three hundred Years past, and we seem to sleep and take no notice of it.

And then we may consider what price *Wooll* will bear, when we, some of us by our remissness, and others wilfulness have lost our Trade, by the circumventing practises of Forreiners, and we our selves helping forward, for fear they should not be able to do it alone, and all this for a meere fancied and supposed profit, for there was not more Art and Skill used by our Ancestors, to bring home the workers at first to the *Wooll*, and Prohibiting the Exportation thereof, and setting the Manufacturing of it in *England*, than is now us'd to Export the materials unmanufactured to Forreign Artificers; and if by the means of that which is exported already, *Wooll* is now made so cheap as it is, a greater Exportation would make it yet cheaper, supposing ten thousand Packs shipped into *France*, which by their sort of working it and mixing it with Lining, and their own course *Wooll*, and thinness of their work, goes as far there, and makes as many yards in the whole, as twenty thousand Packs if Manufactured here, into more thick and substantial Cloth and Stuffs, which Ten Thousand Packs

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Packs, if they were not Exported into *France*, it would unavoydably follow, that *France* would take of us the quantity of Twenty Thousand Packs, in our Manufacture.

By all which it's obvious, that in time to come, the *Wooll* in *England* will be much more cheaper than now it is, because, by the aforesaid meanes, more *Wooll* will be Exported, and less will of course be used in *England*, and that little which will be Manufactured here can beare little or no price, Forreigners making that themselves, which we should furnish them with; which if it be true, as it's generally asserted, that *Wooll* is as cheap in *France*, as in some parts of *England* at this time, it's but rationall to think it must be much cheaper hereafter, when our *Wooll* does encrease on our hands, and our Manufacture decrease, both in quantity and value.

For the better clearing of this point, give me leave to insert one instance or two, as matter of Fact: That when *Wooll* was wholly Manufactured in *England*, and very little, if any at all Exported raw, the price thereof for several yeares together continued, betwixt 12 *d.* and 18 *d.* per *l.* weight, and I verily beleive as much, if not more, *Wooll* was grown in *England* at that time, (*Viz*) betwixt 20 and 30 yeares agoe, then is now at this time, the reason is plain, from the great quantity of our *Woollen* Manufacture vended beyond Sea, which was so considerable, that it kept up the price of *Wooll* at home. On the other hand in *Ed. 3's* time, when all the *Wooll* was Exported Un-manufactured, it was sold for 6 *d.* per pound, as is before asserted, by which it's manifest, that the advancement of the price of *Wooll*, consists in the consumption and vent of our Manufacture freely beyond the Seas, and not in the Exportation of our *Wooll* Un-manufactured.

Before I conclude, give me leave to add here, what Sr. *Walter Rawlegh* in his time presented to King *James* the first,

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first, (*Viz*) that by meanes only of the Exportation of Cloth undyed and undressed, was lost to the Kingdom above Four hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, in the Workmanship, which the Dressers and Dyers, and other Artificers would have gained thereby, besides the damage to the King, in discouraging the Importation of Dying Stuffs, which pay a considerable Custome.

Now, if it was thus with *England* when the *Wooll* was made up into Cloth, and that only for want of the Dressing and Dying it here, so much loss came to this Kingdom thereby, what must the loss be, when 'tis not Manufactured here at all, but the Materials Exported raw, without any manner of gain to any Artificer at home?

For if we first consider his Majestie's loss, next the Merchants and Clothiers, after which must follow, the Detriment to all other Persons depending on Trade, there being such a connexion of Trades one to another, that the damage of one harmes the rest, and profit of one advances others, while the whole is enlarged by the abounding of working and laborious people, who supply the Farmer and Grazier with money, with which he payes his Rent to the Nobility and Gentry, and they again disperse it amongst Tradesmen, by which circulation all degrees of Men are either employed or enriched or both, and hence naturally comes content, harmony and pleasure, that one condition of Men take in the other, the poor being by employment delivered from fear of want, the Nobility, Gentry, Merchant and Trades-man, being also secure from those inconveniencies, the want of poor may naturally expose them to, employment rationally is the strength of any People, but Idleness brings Poverty, Shame, and Ruine, which is a temptation to Theft, and all manner of villainy; certainly we are all concerned more or less in this rich treasure of *Wooll*, because 'tis that which sets more than half the hands of the Nation to work, I may say three parts

parts of the laborious and industrious employed about it, considering that much of the Shipping is employed in this affair, and also many other Trades-men depending, either for materials, provision, or other necessaries on the Clothing Trade, and so from his Majesty down to the meanest, all are more or less concerned, the King mostly, not only in that his People are by that most employed, and provided for, but because so great Revenues comes directly into him, upon the Trade of Importation occasioned thereby.

But before I conclude this first part of my discourse, give me leave here to insert the advantage we do receive by one Pack of *Wooll*, manufactured into Stockings, being that which is obvious to the meanest capacity, (*viz.*) a Pack and half of fleece *Wooll*, worth 10*l.* per. Pack, making a Pack of comb'd worth 20*l.* and one pound of such *Wooll*, at that rate comes to 20*d.* which will make two pair of Hose at 5*s.* per pair, or three pair at 3*s.* and 4*d.* or the lightest, four pair at 2*s.* and 6*d.* per pair; either sort, the pound of *Wooll* is improved from 20*d.* to 10*s.* So that a Pack of such *Wooll* containing 240 pounds weight, being so many 10*s.* in Stockings, comes to 120*l.* out of which deduct 20*l.* for the *Wooll*, and there remains 100*l.* Sterling, gain'd only by the labour of spinning and knitting, besides the dying, leging, packing and fitting it for Sea; but there are some sorts of Stockings made about *Normich*, worth 7 or 8*s.* per. pair, made of fine *Wooll*, and one pound will make 3 pair of such Hose, so that such a Pack would be worth 200*l.* and more, and some sorts of Stuffs made in *Normich*, worth 6*l.* and the *Wooll* not worth above 10*s.*

I shall in the next place, Impartially relate the substance of what hath been objected against me, in my Opponents answer, called *Reasons for a Limited Exportation of Wooll.*

F I N I S.

Reflecting 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 their *Wooll*; 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 Englands Interest, I have here endeavour'd to winnow his handfull 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.

1. SINCE the time of E. 3. (the founder of the *Woollen-Manufacture*) the trade of *Wooll* hath been one of the chiefest riches of this Nation: I employs many persons, brings many profitable returns, encreases the Shipping, &c.

2. On the contrary, the diminition 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 acknowledg 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 whilest

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they can work; when Age, Sicknes 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 then they had before.

3. The profit arising by the Transportation of a *Manufacture* is much greater (supposing equal vent) then that of unwrought materials. Art increasing the value so much as the thing wrought is more useful, and the working laborious.

4. The transportation of wooll is a benefit to others (as all things vended to Foreiners are, who else would not buy them) it increaseth their *Manufactures*, giving other Nations the advantages we wish our selves; and particularly it much profits the *French*, helping them to work out their own course wooll, &c.

5. It were therefore to be wished, and all endeavours ought to be used, that our superfluous wooll (which we spend not our selves) might be vended 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.

11. But all these being granted, the question still remains: Whether since the *Manufacture* of our superfluous *Wooll* cannot be vended abroad, it were not better to permit the *Wooll* unwrought to be Transported, with such limitations as may be least detrimental to the Kingdom?

And

And this we affirm:

1. Because otherwise a profitable commodity will be utterly wasted, and so not the *Manufacture* only, but the *Farmer* and *Landlord* also, will be so very much damaged; that the one cannot pay his rent, nor the other sustain the Taxes. And is not this the chiefest, if not the sole reason of sinking our Rents, throwing up *Farmes*, and the misery of the whole Country? 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 then a few *Artificers* imployed in working the superfluity of our *Wooll*, or the *Merchants* who gain by the exportation of our *Manufacture*, is manifest. 1. Because they are Masters and Proprietaries of the foundations 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 burthens; 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 burthensom soever) and are the only hindrances of the confusion which would follow upon equality. Whereas ordinary working-

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sons may, if one employment fail, presently undertake another without any great inconvenience or detriment. Now then suppose *Wooll* 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 *Wooll* (plowed lands at least from Harvest, to Seed time and longer when they lie fallow) consequently the Taxes (which now are generally on Land, and ever proportioned to Rent, the ancient maner of taxing by *10ths. 15ths.* being of late out of use much to the advantage of the Ufurer, but to the prejudice of the Country Gentleman) will be also lessened when they come into the Kings Coffers: yet the constant charges of the Kingdom do not lessen. Therefore our Taxes must be still 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 Transportation of *Wooll*, or perhaps any one thing can do.

2. By hindering Exportation of *Wooll* pray y' consider the great loss this poor Nation sustains. I shall instance in *Romney* and its neighbouring Levels, which

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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 *132000* Sheep, whereof *300 Fleeeces* will at the least *4 Packs* of good *Wooll* (*240 pounds* to the pack;) so then there are yearly shorn *1760 Packs*, each of which were formerly constantly sold for *12*l.** In the year *1647*, when Exportation of *Wooll* was first prohibited, it was sold for *15*l.** the year after by reason of the great Rot added to the mighty destruction of Sheep in (the Wars) it was sold for *16*l.** per Pack; but the Mortality of Sheep being recovered, yet the prohibition continuing, *Wooll* has almost every year since abated of its price; and now there are divers persons, who have *4* and some *5* years *Wooll* upon their hands, not being able to get above *4*d.** or *5*d.** per *l.* that is *4* or *5*l.** a Pack for it; and I hear it has been sold this very year in some places for *3*l.** *10*s.** per Pack. Thus by the most modest computation, and such as no man can gainsay, there is lost upon every pack of *Wooll* *7*l.** which supposing all the *Wooll* of that Level sold, it is evident *12320*l.** is quite lost every year in that little place onely; 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

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damage do adventure to help themselves by Exportation? Tho' they had much rather be content with a moderate price in their own Country.

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 Superiours may conclude, since 'tis either impossible, or extreme difficult, to hinder Exportation, and that there may arise troubles (as some have been killed) for endeavouring it, it is much better and more natural to permit Exportation under the most advantagions terms their wisdom shall think fit. For in truth is it not very absurd to imagine, 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 Landlords, who choose rather to lose all their Rent than abate the least part of it.

3. A limited Exportation will be more for the advantage of our Woollen-trade (and less for that beyond Sea) than the hindering of it has been. For if strangers might come hither to buy *Wool*, tho' they bought greater quantities, yet should they pay dearer for it than they do at present: and the dearer their Commodities, the dearer must they sell their Manufacture, consequently the more easily we may beat them out of their Trade. For when a poor man (none else now will venture to Transport it) comes with a Freight of

Wool

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Wool into France or elsewhere, they make him take their own price for it; his necessities and his danger forbid him carrying home his Merchandise, as well as staying there to contend for a better price: But being slenderly paid for his Charges, and little or nothing for his pains and hazard, returning thinks he comes off very well whilst undiscovered. Yet to have the names of Merchants, and to gain perhaps sometimes more than 12 *d.* a day, to live with more ease tho' with grater hazard, possibly some may still be invited to continue this Traffick notwithstanding any the severest Prohibition. After this manner strangers now, and will hereafter, have our *Wool* almost as cheap as our selves can buy it. But were our Trade laid open *Englishmen* might will buy their *Wool* at reasonable prices, but strangers must pay the dearer for it; as the Custom, Officers Fees, Freight, Factorage, and other charges amount unto which will perhaps be equal to the first peny paid for the *Wool* it self. 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.

4. My next reason against the hindering Exportation of *Wool* is, because by our Fore-fathers it never was prohibited, unless upon some great occasion, and for some small time, till *Anno 1647*, and then also upon pretence that there was not *Wool* enough to furnish our

own necessities. Which (if true) might be because 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-workers*, (who liked much better to rob and plunder for half a Crown a day, than toil at a melancholy work for six Pence 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, either in our Acts of Parliament or credible Historians concerning this *Wool* business, and with all convenient brevity.

1. Tho' there were several Ordinances concerning *Wool* in other Kings Reigns, yet the Prince did not seriously begin to set himself to make the best advantage of *Wool* till the ninth of *Edward* the third, at which time all *Wool-workers* were invited to come and settle in *England*, to have places assign'd them, many Priviledges and liberties granted, and wages from the King, till they could gain a livelihood by their Art, &c. whereupon many *Flemings* and others; chiefly Subjects to the Duke of *Burgundy*; repaired hither, and set up the Manufacture of *Wool* in *England*.

2. 11.E3.c.4. It was made felony to carry *wooll* out of the Realm, till otherwise ordain'd. This prohibition (saith *Speed*) was made to shew the *Flemings* the necessity they had of leaguing with *England*, as soon after they did; and the prohibition was taken off, or, as
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Walsingham saies, to humble the *Flemings qui plus saccos quam Anglos venerabantur*. The same year it was enacted (no doubt for the better vending their *wooll*, the Exportation whereof being prohibited, made it of small value at home) that none should wear other then *English* Cloth except the *King*, *Queen*, and their Children. But persons of such degrees might use foreign furs, and face part of their garments with *Silk*. Also that no beyond Sea Cloths should be brought into *England*; and that foreign Cloth-workers should have several privileges. Whereupon (saies *Speed*) many presently came over.

5. My next reason for the permission of Exportation is, because it will better his Majesties customes: for it being impossible absolutely to hinder the exportation, (Men naturally inclining to run any hazard rather then apparent beggary, by suffering their goods to perish in their hands) the customs must of necessity be lessen'd. What perishes unwrought, and what is exported by stealth, pay no custom. But besides this, it was the frequent use of our Fathers to help the Prince and ease the Subject by imposing taxes upon *wooll* Exported. Sometimes 50s a pack, sometimes more, as occasion required which was the ordinary way; being also a most easie one, of gratifying the Prince. If it be answered the customs would advance much more if the *wooll* were exported in manufacture; we confess and seriously desire, that our *wooll* were manufactured, and so exported and sold Tho' this was never yet done in *England*, nor do I think
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can be: But our question here is concerning our superfluous wooll, which remains after we have here made, or vended what we can; after the Cloth-market is finished; or our workmens hands all employed.

6. The reason of the decay of Clothing is not exportation of wooll as *W.C* supposes, but the contrary. For the decay (if any be) is since this prohibition: So that by hindring this we apply a wrong remedy to the disease. But it proceeds from divers other causes; as first, because other Nations have of late improved their Manufactures, as we did in *Edward* the third's time, the *Dutch* ever since 1616, the *French* now lately, both of them working very accurately, if not more, than our selves, as well as more honestly, by the confession of those of our own Nation. Secondly, Cloth is not so much worne in these parts of the World as formerly, it not being now so convenient a wear as when our fashions were constant. Our Clothes then were made strong to endure many years, and a great part of the great mens inventories then were their ward-ropes left as Legacies to their best Friends and Children, who did not despise to wear the Clothes of their Ancestors: whereas now the Mode hardly enduring two months, slight stufes are sufficient. Besides, when the custom was for men to wear gowns, cloaks, and other loose garments, substantial Cloth was more proper then now it is, for little breeches and a close coat. To second which humor of the times Silks and Stuffs are imported in greater a bundance, sold at easier rates then formerly, and manufactures of them set
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up in our own Nation; by which the beautifullest and lightest garments are become almost the cheapest also: Which I fear will render it difficult to reconcile the mode to Cloth, tho' much to be desired. Thirdly we have more Sheep in *England* then formerly, because of the draning of the fens and other grounds; and the laying down of Tillage, for the cheapness of Corn till these two late years. Fourthly, *Irish* Cattle being prohibited, they breed more Sheep, and bring in more Wooll into *England*, besides what they send beyond Sea: which will infallibly bring our lands in *England* as low as those in *Ireland*, i. e. to as low a rent, and to as few years value in the purchase, nay lower: if they be suffered, First to glut *England* with their *Wooll*, and then to furnish the markets beyond Sea; yet we prohibited the same privilege: which is our present condition. And undoubtedly the forbiding *Irish*-Cattel 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 *Wooll*: in which even the breeding-lands receive more los by the low price of their *Wooll*, than they reap advantage by this Act in the price of their Cattle. This Act also is injurious to the Nation, by sending our own and Foreign Merchants Ships to Victual in *Ireland*; by the want of returnes from thence, by los of our Trade for Hops, Hides, Butter, Cheese, &c. which Trades now are taken up by the *Irish* to the ruine of many Counties of *England*; by discouraging Navigation; for it is said 100 of our Ships were continually employed in this Traffick of
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lean Cattle. And lastly by discouraging our Clothiers and other Manufactures; who since they must live out of their labours, the dearer they pay for their diet the more they must have for their Work. This *Irish* Act therefore making our Beef dear, yet the *Dutch* having it from *Ireland* delivered in *Holland* for about a peny a pound, they may afford their Cloth cheaper then possibly we can: which will speedily enable them to get from us also our foreign Cloth-trade, and be an irreparable damage to this Kingdom. If the Parliament in their wisdom do not prevent it, Thus this Act, which in its preface designs the advancing our rents & 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: but to our purpose. 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, to the infinite prejudice of our Trade: and I have been informed, that this was the first occasion, which put the *French* upon making Cloths and Stuffs of their own. But for the various abuses of this kind I refer you to a little Book called the *Golden Fleece*, by *V.V.S.* and I am informed that the *Dutch*, taking occasion from our dishonest work-manship, have vended their own worst Cloth for right *English* Cloth; and thereby have got from us much of our Trade, and greater reputation to themselves. Sixthly, the Sword, Plague, forein Colonies, and re-peopling *Ireland* have of late years much de-
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minished our stock of People: therefore the consumption of the commodities is less; for if we do not vend our *Wool*-Manufactures, the 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 *V.V.C.* seems to affirm, He must therefore grant we want vent for our Cloth when made. But will the prohibiting Exportation cause more vent? If the *Dutch* can work cheaper, better, and more honestly than we, 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 and sell multitudes of fine & gaudy silks at a cheap rate, can we persuade people not to prefer them? But if 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 the Grazier bear all the loss? No, the Landlord must abate of his rent, or the Farm thrown into his hands; the Tenant being poor, half ruined by his losses, his Landlord takes the Farm, and at length having to his Tenants misfortunes, added those inconveniencies of intrusting servants, &c. He 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

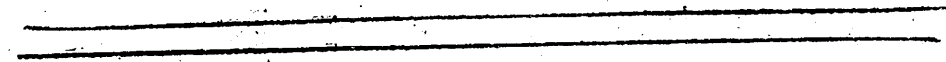
fold the same score, that he despairs of a chapman, &c. and this is our present condition.

7. This beating down the price of Wooll is prejudicial even to the Manufacturers themselves; because if Wooll be cheap, the product of it must be so too. Cloth must bear a proportion to the value of Wooll: or if it doth not, the disadvantage is on the Clothiers side; his commodity being ever cryed down beyond measure when Wooll is cheap. Besides the less money a tradse-man turns for the same commodity, the less must be his gains. The Clothier then making the same quantity of Cloth as formerly, and as good, selling it for less, has none to revenge himself on but the Gazier, and the poor work-man, who must then work harder, or abate of his already too poor wages. Who then gains by this cheapness? they only who are so eager against the Exportation of Wooll; a sort of Men, who call themselves Merchants of the staple; but are in truth only Brokers: (those Caterpillers of trade, and sworn Enemies to poor Men; who make their cheif gain of other mens necessities,) these are sure to get both by buyer and seller, whosoever loses. To the Clothier they complain that there is no vent for Cloth, that Wooll is so cheap they may have Cloth for nothing, till they have bought it at their own rates: But when they come to sell it to the Draper or Merchant, they then change their note. Wooll's so dear that poor Clothiers can hardly go to the price of it, &c. These and a thousand other Artifices they use to scrape from both sides.

F I N I S

THE
REPLY
OF
W.C.

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Full and Clear

R E P L Y

To a Paper INTITULED,

R E A S O N S

For a Limited EXPORTATION

O F

W O O L L.

BEfore I come directly to reply to the said Answer, I shall premise a few things; First, though my Antagonist finds his Design Opposed by several Discourses under the Name of *W. C.* (and chiefly by one called *Englands Interest*) yet he hath done me the Honour to Front his Discourse

course with divers Propositions, allowed even by himself;

I shall therefore answerably endeavour to treat the said *Author* with all that Civility, that is necessary in this Case, granting to him what is true, rectifying what I conceive to be mistaken; and answering such objections, as are material.

I must needs say, that I had no thoughts of appearing in Publick any more, and could not easily have been moved thereunto, had not my Zeal to the Commerce of the Nation (which is at present solely maintained by the Woollen Manufacture of it) Raised my fears so far as to believe a great Prejudice is coming upon Us, and so far as to doubt also that we may be hastning of it, by those very means we would endeavour to prevent it.

And therefore I cannot but like the dumb Child speak, when he saw a Knife at his Fathers Throat, I mean, when I consider the extremity we are like to be in from the *French Kings* Vigilancy, and the great Endeavours that he hath of late used to acquire the making of the Woollen Manufacture in his own Kingdome, and

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and what Artifice and vast Expence he doth use to effect his said design, both in *France*, and by his Agents here in *England*, even at this very day, notwithstanding his Mind is and cannot but be so much engaged in the present Wars: And if he doth this in the very midst of his distractions, what will he not do, or what may we not expect hereafter from him when he shall be at Peace with all his Neighbours, especially having already gotten such Quantities of our Wooll, as he hath.

And to encourage the Manufacture thereof in his own Kingdom, he hath even very lately issued forth his Edict, for the erecting Hospitals in many Towns in *France*, both for the setting all sorts of Persons at work (that are able) in the Woollen Manufacture, and for the Maintenance of all Indigent Persons, and not to suffer a Begger there.

And if the *French* King, how fair soever he pretends a Friendship to us, be Designing by all wayes and means, to Undermine our Commerce, and by it to prejudice us in our Trade and Strength by Sea, I may I hope be pardoned, if I am more than indifferently concerned,

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ned, or more than ordinarily warm, to think that we our selves should endeavour to perfect His Design by delivering up our Wooll, the Foundation of so Rich a Manufacture, into His hands; for that which is moved, is moved principally (if not solely) for the *French* Kings advantage, and that which is desired (if granted) tends to our own Inevitable ruine.

Nor can we hereafter think of so Vain and Idle a Thing, as to recover our Woollen Manufacture once lost, or to preserve the Kings Customs, or the Strength and Shipping of this Great Kingdom without it.

Upon all which considerations, I cannot but humbly entreat the Nobility and Gentry, (and more especially such as have the Honour to serve their Country, in Parliament) seriously to reflect upon the wisdom of that Great Prince, King *Edward* the 3d. and upon the Method which he in his Reign used, now so long since to gain the Woollen Manufacture out of *Flanders* into this Countrey, and withal impartially compare that with the present Practise of the *French* King before mentioned.

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And then to Consider whether, we have not Reason to do the utmost we may to Prevent his Design, or whether we have Reason to do all that we can (nay more than he himself doth ask or expect from us) by a Law to promote and Incourage his Design.

We must be very short-sighted, if we understand not that after he hath supplied his own Country, he will not only endeavour, but will soon be able, to supply *Flanders, Portugal, Spain,* and the *Streights*, to gain an Advantage to his own Subjects; for if he may break the Laws of Commerce, and lay what Impositions he pleaseth upon our Cloth, and all other our Native Commodities, even while we are at Peace with him, why may he not also lay an Imposition upon all our ships that pass the *Streights*, or that shall dare to Trade or bring the same Commodities that he doth in any Port of *Italy, or Turkey*, where the Subjects of his Greatness comes? And when our Commerce is lost and our Manufacture gon, and our Ships imposed upon that shall pass the Seas, what shall be left to defend our selves in case we will not also receive his Codex, or what-

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soever he shall (for the greatness of his name) think fit to require of us.

All which things, whether they be convenient not only to be wished but to be Contributed to by a Law, I humbly leave to my Opponents themselves to judge. For when the Trade that not only brings such a Revenue to his Majesty, but is the Riches and Strength of this Kingdom shall be lost, as is now attempted, what Way or Means may we as Rational Persons, think (on) to prevent any of those Mischiefs before mentioned.

This General being premised, I shall now enter upon the *Discourse* it self: the main Aim or Scope of my Antagonist divides it Self into two Parts, the one to prove that there ought to be a *Limited Transportation of Woolb*; the other that by a *Limited Exportation of Wooll* the Price of it may be *Raised*: and by the *Raising* of this, the Rents of Lands, may and will be encreased, and his Majesties Customs greatly Advanced; and if these things were Really Practicable, I should not only be so Just to my Self, and to my *Opponents*, but so Just to the *Nation*, as not to put Pen to Paper to trouble

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ble my Reader, and much less to expose my self to a Stage of Contention, as I am now like to do; but for as much as the quite contrary will (if I mistake not) appear, I shall therefore *Examine* and *Weigh* those *Reasons* and *Grounds*. which my *Oppnent* hath brought for those *Assertions*.

Whereas my *Opponent* doth endeavour to Alarm the Nation, that for want of the vending our *superfluous* *Wooll* abroad, that the *Farmer* and the *Landlord* are so much *damified*, 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 amongst many, and that a very small one; the true Cause of the abateing the *Price* of *Land*, and lessening the *Rents*, shall be given in the Answer to the next pretence in this *Head*; (*Viz.*) That it is much more the *Concern* of the Nation to preserve the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and those that the *Land* of this *Country* belongs unto; rather than regard a few *Artificers*, who are employed in the working

king up of the *Wooll* of this *Nation*, or to regard the *Merchant*, who gains by the *Exportation* of our *Manufacture*.

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 the *Interests* of the *Merchant*, *Mariner*, and *Artificer*, were not only *Opposite* to, but wholly *Inconsistent* with the *Interest* of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Farmers*, whereas there is nothing more evident than the contrary; so that the whole *Argument* it Self falls for want of a *Foundation*. For the clearing of which let us consider, that in as much as it is *Impossible*, that we should defend our selves, as an *Island*, otherwise than by the strength of our *Shipping*, and seeing this is much less possible to be done now, at such a *Juncture* of *Time* when our nearest *Neighbours* do (partly out of *Fear*, and partly out of *Emulation*) multiply *Shipping* upon us, and use all endeavours that are possible to gain the *Dominion* of the *Sea* from us, it is hence clear, that we must either say, that the *Intrest* of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Farmer*,

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is not the same with the Interest of the Nation, or if it be the same with the Interest of the Nation, it must be their Interest then, to uphold the Trade and Shipping of this Country, and Consequently to uphold the Merchants.

But for as much as all that understand Trade, do well know that all the Commerce of this Nation, doth for the value and bulk of it, Intirely depend upon the *Woollen-Manufacture*, Consequently it must be the Interest of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Farmer*, to uphold the *Woollen-Manufacture*, as much as 'tis to uphold Trade, or to uphold the Strength of our Shipping by Sea: For what will the Lands of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* profit them? or what will become of the Priviledges and Rights of English Men, if through the Loss of our *Woolen-Manufacture*, we Loose our Trade, and by the Loss of this, we want Shipping to Defend our Selves?

To this Argument let us also add, that if there be no opposition between the Interest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and the Interest of the *Farmer*, (as no Man doth pretend there

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there is) than there can be no Opposition between the Interest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and the Interest of the *Artificer*, who Works up the *Wool* of all the Count r y.

For besides the Proffit that doth arise to the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, by the Houses which are taken, and by the Lands that are Rented by the *Clothiers*, and by the Workmen under them, it's well known, that the said *Clothiers*, and Workmen are Serviseable to the *Farmer*, not only for the buying up of his *Wool*, but for the buying up all manner of Victuals also; by the which not only one, but all the parts of the *Farmers* Rents come to be discharged, one *Clothier* Imploying not only one or two Hundred Persons, but sometimes one or two Thousand; and Consequently, if we shall admit that there are in *England* not above five Thousand *Clothiers*, and that each of these (one with another) do maintain but two Hundred and Fifty Workmen, the whole will amount to upward of one Million; wherefore if we allow for each of these People, but four pound *Per. An.* one with another; the whole will amount to between
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four and five Millions of Pounds Sterling Per. An. which Yearly Sum the Farmer doth Immediately receive, and Consequently the Nobility and Gentry, from the Poor and Contemptible Artificer, over and above what is further Contributed by them to the Shoemakers, Taylors, and other Trades, that could not live and be Maintained without them, nor the Farmer himself, if all these Trades should Fail.

And this leads us also, to take notice of another mistake in my Opponent, and such as is no small one, which is, that inasmuch as it is Matter of Fact, and such as may be clearly demonstrated; that there is at least if not much more than a Milion of Persons, employed in the Clothing-Trade, and hath their dependance wholly upon the said Manufacture: It's hence evident, how much my Opponent hath mistaken himself in supposing, that though our Clothing-Trade should be lost, yet all the Persons that are now employed in it, might find work from the Farmers, foreseeing it's Matter of Fact, that the Farmer is able to supply himself with as many Labourers, and more than he hath occasion for, without somuch as meddling with that
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of the Clothing-Trade: It must unavoydably follow; that if our Manufacture should be totally lost, as there will be above a Million of People; that must either Starve, or Beg, or be put to the Charge of several Parishes, or be forced to Steal or Rob, or leave the Kingdom; so it's as evident, that the Farmer after all this, will not only be less able to employ Labourers, than he was before, but less able to pay his Landlord, by Four or Five Millions every Year.

And when such an Abatement as this shall be made of the Farmers Income: I shall leave it then to any wise Man to Consider what will become of the Price of Lands, or Value of Rents, and how much this will advantage the Grower or Breeder of Wooll? and to make good this Computation, and free it from all Suspicion of Slightness, we shall further offer to Consideration, that whatsoever is the true Vallue of all the Wool-len-Manufacture of England, the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty do receive among them, near, if not more than Nine Parts of Ten. For inasmuch as all who are well acquainted with the Clothing-Trade, do know that it is not a Tenth Part of the Profit, nor sometimes the

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Twentieth that is gained by the *Clothier*, or first *Employer*, who frequently loofeth of the very Interest of his *Mony*; consequently it must of necessity follow, that Nine of the Ten Parts, if not Nine-teen of Twenty Parts of the whole Value of the said *Manufacture* must be distributed to the Nation; so that admitting the whole *Wollen-Manufacture* of this Nation, comprehending *Cloath, Stuffs, Bays, Stokings*, and all other of the said *Manufacture*, do amount to Four *Millions* of Pounds *Sterling* Per. *An.* (more or less) there will not come of that Great Sum to the *Clothier*, or first *Employer*, much above Two Hundred Thousand Pounds (if so much;) so that Three *Millions* and Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds Per. *An.* must of necessity be distributed to the Nation by Virtue, of the said *Clothing-Trade*; whereof we cannot but suppose the *Farmers*, and therefore the *Nobility* and *Gentry* must receive the greater Part.

It is well known also, that it is solely by our Trade, that not only this Great City of *London* it Self, but several other Large Cities of this Nation do wholly Depend; and which if our Trade

Trade were removed, they would soon be deserted by their respective Inhabitants.

And then we cannot but offer to Consideration, where the *Nobility, Gentry, or Farmers*, would find a Market for their Commodities, or find a Price answerable to them.

All which Particulars I have been the larger in, to remove that Mistake, which is almost as Distructive to the Nation, as the *Pestilence* it Self; which is that mentioned by my Opponent (*Viz.*) that the Interest of the *Merchant*, or the Interest of the *Clothier* and *Artificer* is not Consistent with the Interest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; the contrary being made sufficiently to appear.

My Opponent's Third Argument is, that *Wooll* was at twelve pound Per Pack in the Year 1647, when *Wooll* was Prohibited, and that in the following Year, it was sold for sixteen pound Per Pack, but that *Wooll* ever since by reason of the said Prohibition, (as is pretended) is fallen of its price, and is now not worth above four or five pound Per Pack.

In which Argument, there seems to be a Failure in two Respects, one, as if the *Wooll* of the

the Nation hath never bore any Price since the time of the Prohibition, whereas it may be made appear, that after the Year 1650, *Wooll* bore a very considerable Price, from ten pound *Per* Pack to twenty foure Pound *Per* Pack, according to the goodness of the said *Wooll*, and continued so for some time, which shews us another mistake in his Arguments, as if the fall of the price of *Wooll* were wholly to be ascribed to the Prohibition of it, whereas indeed there are two other causes that are very evident.

First. From the discouragement that hath been put upon the *Clothier*, and upon the Vent of our *Woollen-Manufacture*, by the *French Kings* Arbitrary Impositions upon it, to the almost utter Prohibition of it; whereby now there cannot be so much wrought of it as formerly, which had otherwise certainly been, and then no such occasion or pretence as this would have been taken to complain of Superfluous *Wooll*, and therefore as this cannot be denyed to be a true cause why more of our *Wooll* comes to be unwrought than formerly, so 'tis clear that those very Men that are now
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pleaded for by my *Opponent*, (I mean the *Stealers* and *Transporters* of *Wooll* about *Canterbury*, and the places adjacent, not for necessity, but for filthy greediness of *Gain* and *Lucre*.) have highly contributed to it, notwithstanding the Lawes of the Nation against it, and notwithstanding the Ruine of the Nation that is Dayly Jeoperdied by it, in which respect I cannot but Confess, that *Rumney-Mans* hath indeed Created an Interest by it self, but it's such an Interest, which neither is, nor hath been Consistent with the Interest of the Nation, nor with the Interest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* in General, so that the said *Stealers* or *Transporters* of *Wooll*, have been the main and principal Cause of both these Inconveniencies, (*viz.*) both of the Loss of our *Manufacture*, and the Loering the Price of our *Wooll*.

The other Cause of the Fall of the Price of *Wooll*, especially of late Years, hath been the Necessitating of *Ireland* to stock their *Pasture* Ground with *Sheep*, instead of great *Cattle*, and those of the best Breed of *England*, by which meanes, as *Wooll* hath of late Years
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been more increased, then ever at any time before within his Majesties 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 to be sent Abroad into Forreign Parts, as it bears now almost as smale a Price beyond Sea as Here; and therefore in this Argument, my *Opponent* hath Assigned that for a Cause; which is no Cause at all, may clearly Appear, because it's matter of Fact, that *Wooll* bore as good a Price, if not a better (after the said Prohibition as it did before) for many Years, till that breach of Commerce which was put upon us by the *French King*; which wee 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 the Impove-

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rishing *England*, as will not quickly (I fear) be Recovered.

The next thing Alleged by my *Oppoent*, is, that a Limited Exportation of *Wooll*, will be more for the Advantage of our *Woollen Trade*, and less for that beyond the Sea, than the hindring of it hath been.

Which Ascertainment, if my *Opponent* had Really, 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 *Wooll* soever they please, they would Pay Dearer for it, then now they do, and that our *Clothiers* would therefore have it the Cheaper, and by this Advantage would be able to under-sel the *Strangers* in their *Manufacture*. I say finding little or nothing more; to be brought, either by way

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of Reason, or of 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's 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 not likely that any Grower whatsoever, will sell his *Wool* to the Natives of this *Countrey*, for a less Price than he presumes he may have of Strangers: And therefore not at all likely, that our own Manufacturers should Buy it Cheaper than others.

Secondly. Admitting that 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 of what they need, yet it would no way follow, but Strangers may have their Agents and Factors here, that may Purchase it at the same ease, with the same conveniency, and at the same Rates that our Cloth-

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ers are like to do, nor can I perceive any thing propounded by my *Opponent*, that would be able in the least, either to Prevent it, or Obviate it.

Thirdly. And this great Omission in my *Opponent*, I could not but take the more notice of, because if no *Expedient* can be found out by him (which I doubt there will not) to prevent Strangers, from giving what Commissions they please, to Buy up what Quantities of *Wool* soever they shall think fit, here in this *Countrey*; as I see not how, or by what means, the Exportation of our *Wool*, should be any way possible to be *Limitted*, so neither do I see how the *Clothier* here, should be sufficiently, and certainly Furnished, or how the *Manufacture* it self should be Capable of being any way preserved, and if these Mischeifs, and Inconveniencies cannot but follow, and cannot but be a Necessary Consequences of such a Law, as is propounded by my *Opponent*; and that nothing to Obviate or prevent these Inconveniencies, hath been either Regarded, or so much as attempted by him: I cannot but take it to be a very

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great Blot to his Judgment, barely and boldly to Offer at such a thing, which is attended with so much Hazard.

Fourthly. Because my *Opponent* seemes to to put his cheifest Strels in this, (*Viz.*) that a large *Custom* may be put upon all *Wooll* that is *Exported* by *Strangers*, and that at least by this meanes, they may come to Pay double the Price of what our *Clothiers* do, and not only so, but by this means also, his *Majestie* may receive an *Advantage* by the *Custom*, that is *Imposed* upon it.

To try the weight or strength of this Expedient, or rather to shew the Vanity of it. Let us suppose that 3*d.* or 4*d.* *Per Pound*, should by a *Law*, be *Imposed* upon all *Wooll*, that shall be *Shipt* out by *Strangers*; or others, as it will not follow, that the said *Custom* should be *Paid* to his *Majestie*, for one half of the *Wooll*, that shall be so *Shipt* out: Seeing under the Colour of one *Hundred* Packs, many *Hundred* may be *Exported*. So this will much the less follow, from the very *Observation*; which my *Opponent* himself hath made, of the nature, of the *Stealers* or *Transporters*

ters of *Wooll*; for if as he *Confesseth* they will be contended with 12*d.* a day profit so they may play the *Merchants*; & if they are content to run the hazard of their *Necks*, and to be tryed as *Fellons*, for so small a matter as this amounts to, which cannot be above 8, or 10*s.* upon a pack, how much more then, will they bee encouraged to steal the *Custom* of it when their excuse shall be fairer, and their advantage much greater, and the hazard less a hundred times then now it is? but in the *fifth* and *last* place, let us admit for *Arguments* sake, that if 4*l.* was imposed upon every Pack of *Wooll* that was *Transported*, and let us admit, that all this *Custom* was duely *Paid*, yet I see not the least *Ground* for my *Opponents* Confidence, that we shall for this Cause be able to undersell the *French*, in the *Woollen-Manufacture*.

For beside that the Nature of their *Manufacture* being but slight; and such as takes up much less *Wooll* then ours doth, and a great part of their warps, being made of their fine-spun *Linnen* and their own course *Wooll*: I say besides this, the *Impositions* that have been of late, Arbitrarily put upon all our *Woollen-Man-*

Manufacture in France; and considering also there is no Custome at all put upon *Wooll* there, when Imported, both these will utterly prevent, our Selling the said *Manufacture* there, Cheaper than the *French* can make it, though they shall not only give double, but treble the Price, that we our Selves do give for *Wooll*.

The next thing Alledged by my Opponent is, that our Fore-Fathers did never Prohibit the Transportation of *Wooll*, unless upon some great Occasion, and for a certain Season, till of late Years, for making good of which, a Summary of several Statutes, are brought from the Time of *Edward* the 3^d. downwards to our Times.

For answer to all which Statute, I shall make use of no other Argument, than what my Opponent himself hath put into my Mouth, which is; that *Wooll* was for many Ages, by the Wisdom of the Government, at least very often Prohibited; and that whensoever the Govenment it self saw, there was a greater Occasion than ordinary for it, they did alwayes Prohibit it; and Consequently, if
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the Interest of the Nation at present be such, and the circumstances relating to our Neighbours about us, be not only so great, but so Instant and Importune, 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; for the clearing of which, let us consider, that the Circumstances peculiar to this present Time are, that we have not only been Possessed for many Ages, of the *Manufacturing* of our *Wooll*, 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 remotest Parts of the World.

By which means, as our Wealth came greatly to Increase, so we our selves became more Powerful in Shipping than ever, which greatness of our *Trade* and the *Strength* of our Shipping being not only Observed, but forth-

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with Emulated by some of our Neighbours, and seeing it was likewise clearly discerned, that the cheifest meanes for the Maintenance of it proceeded from our *Woollen-Manufacture*, as the *Hollander* therefore first, so the *French* since, have by many undue Lawes and Pressures upon us, contrary to the ancient Treaties of Peace and *Commerce*, endeavoured to Rob the said *Manufacture* from us.

Nor is the state of the Contest now at present between us only, who shall have the *Trade*, but who is fittest to have the Strength and Dominion of the Sea.

Wherefore if my *Opponent* be not only an *Islander*, but so much an *English-Man*, and be so true a Subject to the Interest of his Majesty, which I doubt not but he is, as to think there is none so fit as his Majesty to Command the Sea, then my *Opponent* must of necessity grant, that nothing ought at this time to be done by us, that may hazard the greatness of our *Trade* and *Commerce*, and Consequently, that nothing ought to be suffered by us, (so far as we are able in any wise to prevent it) that may either lessen or endanger our

our *Woollen-Manufacture*, and Consequently, if nothing can so much hazard it, and hazard the very loss of our *Trade*, and of the Dominion of the Sea it self through it, as the countering and contributing to the *Woollen-Manufacture* now set up in *France*, then this is not to be done by us, but is rather, if we will pursue the Interest of the Nation, by all means to be prevented by us.

And Consequently till my *Opponent* shall be able to make it appear, that the Dominion of the Sea, if lost, will be no great harm to us, or till he make it appear, that we are able to keep the Dominion of the Sea; even, notwithstanding our *Trade* and *Commerce* should be utterly lost, and notwithstanding our *Woollen-Manufacture*, should be wholly carried away by our Neighbours.

Or till he make it appear by other Arguments than hitherto he hath done, that the *French* though they encrease their *Woollen-Manufacture*, will neither be able to Under-sell us abroad, nor be able to prevent our *Clothes* and *Stuffs* from going into *France*, as formerly.

I say till my *Opponent* shall be able to make good all these things, I must crave leave to differ

differ from him wholly, and plainly to affirm on the contrary.

1. That the Transportation of *Wooll*, if allowed by a Law, can no way be Limited. Because if the Transportation of *Wooll* shall be allowed by a Law, no meanes, (speaking rationally) is able to prevent the *Hollanders*, *Flandrians*, and *French*, to give each of them such Commissions as they please, to Buy up here what quantity of *Wooll* soever, they shall think fit.

2. In regard that this can no way be prevented, and that my *Opponent* himself offers not the least grain of an Expedient towards it: I therefore farther affirm, that it cannot appear that our *Clothiers* or *Manufacturers* here, shall have the least Priviledg above the Stranger; either in poynt of Provision, or point of Price.

3. That our *Clothier*, or *Manufacturer* here, must of necessity have a far greater disadvantage, with reference to the furnishing himself, than the Stranger abroad, in regard it cannot be thought, he shall be able to raise any such
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stock of Money as the Stranger can, to prevent the Strangers Forstaling of him; and Consequently (if it be Lawful to talk Reason) there can be no ground to Imagin, that our *Manufacture* shall not in short time be utterly lost, and this being lost, as our *Trade* and strength at Sea must be Inevitably lost with it, so not only the Honour, Wealth and Rents, but the very Priviledges, Liberty, and Property of the Nation, must be hazarded to such Strangers as shall carry away the *Trade* and strength from us.

As to the next Allegation, made by my *Opponent*, (*Viz.*) that the *Transportation of Wooll, will better his Majesties*: Customs I see but little in it that may require my Answer to it, inasmuch, as I have spoken already to this, under the *Fourth* head: Nevertheless I must crave leave to say, that my *Opponent* here also goeth upon an extraordinary Mistake, it being not at all in dispute between us, whether his Majesties *Customes* would be bettered if a Subsidy were paid only for that *Wooll* that is now *Exported*, instead of haveing it all stolen: But the dispute between us strictly is, what

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his Majesties Customes will hereafter amount to, Comparatively to what they at present now are, in case there should be a Law for the free and Unlimited Exportation of *Wooll*, and that by reason of this Law, and the Consequences that must follow from it, our *Woollen-Manufacture* shall come to be wholly and entirely lost: For it becomes not a wise *Man* (and such I must in Civility Judge my *Opponent* to be) in making such Proposals as tend to the altering of Lawes, to look at the present only, but to look more principally at the time to come.

And therefore it is not in this case at all, to be considered what the advantage will be, that may come to his Majesties Customes for a few moneths, or a single *Year*, but it is to be considered, what the advantage or disadvantage will be to his Majesties Customes for the time to come; admitting these Inconveniences, which I have before mentioned to be unavoydable, from the Law which is Propounded by my *Opponent*.

Besides my *Opponent* cannot doubtless be so Ignorant, as not to have Considered, that the
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greatness of his Majesties Customes (which is at this Day greater than ever) is not at all Raised Comparatively from the Export but from the Import, which is 10. if not 20. times greater than the Export, the Vallue of all which Import must proportionally fall, as the quantity of our *Manufactory* shall faile to be carried out, and as our raw and unwrought *Wooll* alone shall instead of it be Exported, and Consequently to pretend that by such a Law as is desired, his Majesties Customes would be advanced, is either greatly to betray Ignorance, or greatly to betray the Revenues of the Customes it self.

The next thing alledged by my *Opponent* is, that the cause of the decay of our Clothing doth not lie in the Exportation of our *Wooll*, but on the contrary, (*Viz.*) because our *Wooll* 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 *Manufactory*, comes properly from the Prohibition of our *Wooll*, the stopping or hindring of it is but the applying to our Disease a wrong Remedy.

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Which Argument, had it been brought by a Stranger, we should immediately have turned it into Merriment, as supposing that he thought us such Children, that any thing would easily Deceive us? but being brought by a Gentleman, and an *English-Man*, I confess I could not possibly think what might be the meaning of it, unless it were, that my *Opponent* was resolved to cross the Proverb for a while, and by a piece of Wit to make it appear, that it is not always *True*, that *Interest cannot Lye*; for that nothing can be more contrary to *Truth*, than what is here alledged, or more against the Interest of the Nation, and of an *English-Man* than what is here Asserted, (if that be the very Interest of my *Opponent*) is most Cleare.

For if it be *True* which my *Opponent* saith, that the decay of our Clothing-Trade, is not from our Exportation of Wooll, but rather the Contrary, because no more of our Wooll is not Carried out Raw and Un-Manufactured, it must follow then, by how much the more our *Wooll* is thus Exported, by so much the more our
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Manufacture will not only be Preserved, but Encouraged, and the Reason for this must needs be, that if we are once rid of our *Wooll*, and have got a good Price for it, we need not trouble our heads so far as to Imagin, that they who Buy it will do any thing with it, but only will lay it up to look upon it: For if we shall Seriously Believe that they will have so much Wit as to make Use of it, and to make Use of it as becomes Rational Persons, in order to the Increase of their own *Clothing* by it, we cannot be so sottish as to think, that they do intend after this to Buy our *Manufacture* any more, but do on the contrary design to prevent, and shut out the Importation of it, as a thing not Expedient for them.

And if this and no other be really the intent of Buying up of our *Wooll* by our Neighbours, then must it not necessarily follow, that by how much the more *Wooll* they have, by so much the more *Manufacture* they will make for the Furnishing themselves, and Furnishing their Neighbours, and then by so much the less Place, or Possibility, there will be that we should be able to Furnish them, and then also

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by so much the greater stop must of necessity be put to the Vending of our *Cloths*: And is it not plain that by how much the less we Vend of our *Manufacture*, by reason of the Increase of it abroad in other Places, by so much the more our *Manufacture* must decay: Not only in point of Price, but in point of its Necessity and Use?

And is it not then as manifest, that by how much our *Manufacture* Decayes, our *Trade* must Decay, and our Wealth must Decay, and the Strength of our Shipping must Decay, and we our selves must be the more made a Scorn, a Prey, and a Laughing-stock by it to our Neighbours: And if all this be not for the Interest of the Nation, but the contrary wholly, is it not plain that my *Opponent*, seeing he is an *English-Man*, and seeing it is for the Interest of the Nation that he Writes, doth cross the Proverb, and give us a Demonstration by his thus Arguing, that Interest may now and then Lye, though not alwayes?

But in the next place, to try whether my *Opponent* be in earnest, or not, let me humbly Beg of him, to tell me truly, why those

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those naughty Men that Usurped the Government in the Year 1647. did upon such Penalties strictly Prohibit the Exportation of our *Woolles*; if he saith, it was because they were not only Rebels, but Men of no Reason, and Understood not the Interest of the Nation: Will he not by this brand many of the Parliament also that now sits? who though they did not Confirm the Rebels Law, did think fit at least to make a new Law to the same purpose, even soon after his Majesties most happy Restoration.

Granting then that the Laws now in force of the 12 and 14 of his Majesties Reign, were not made by other, than by the Wisest and most Loyal Persons of this Nation, the said Persons must consequently have some grounds or other for making of the said Laws, and if we may guess at their grounds by their own words in the preambles of the said Lawes, they appear mainly to be these three following, (*Viz.*)

- 1. For the setting on Work the Inhabitants of theis Realm.
- 2. For the Improving the native Commodities of this Country, to its best, fullest, and utmost Use.
- 3. And that the advantage accruing hereby might Redound to the Subjects of this Kingdom, and not to the Subjects of foreign Realms, as hitherto, and as it would, and must otherwise do.

Wherefore, either these three grounds, when the said Lawes were made, were either good and sufficient Motives for the Prohibiting our *Wooll*, and for the laying so great a Penalty upon such as should Export it, or they were not: If my *Opponent* shall say, they were not good and sufficient Grounds, then he must say that the Wisdom of these Honourable and Loyal Persons, who at that time served in Parliament, were indeed not much better than that of the Usurpers of the Government in the Year 1647. But if the said grounds

grounds were Good, Valid, and Sufficient, and such as did both Regard and Comprehend the True and Sincere Interest of the Nation; then my *Opponent* must confess, that the said Lawes ought to Stand, or he must shew wherein the Case is altered now, from what it was then, with reference to the said Motives or Grounds, that the said Parliament then went upon, in making the said Lawes. For,

- 1. If my *Opponent* can make it appear by letters that he hath lately received, that the *Hollanders* have laid down their *Woollen-Manufacture*, and that they in *France* are altogether grown Sick and Weary of it, and that the *French King* hath wholly forbidden it, and hath released all the Impositions that he hath of late Years put upon it, then I must needs confess the Case is altered, and that the said Lawes ought Justly to be Repealed; or,
- 2. If my *Opponent* hath received Information from sure and good Hands, that the *Hollanders* make use of no other *Wooll* than that of their own Growth, though they breed few or no Sheep, and that he hath also received Information from good and sure Hands, that

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the *French* make use only of their own *Wooll* in all their *Manufacture*; or,

3. If my *Opponent* can make it appear, that the setting on Work the Inhabitants of this Realm, is not now a thing so convenient or fit, as it was when the said Acts were made; or,

4. If the Improving the Native Commodities of this Country to its best and utmost Use, be found by Experience to be no good Policy, but to bring many Inconveniences with it; or,

5. If it be much more adviseable that Forreiners should goe away with the Gain of our *Manufacture*, and with the sweet of our *Trade*, rather than that his Majestie's Subjects should have it, in all these Cases I must confess, it must Inevitably be for the Interest of the Nation to Repeal the said Acts, and lay them aside.

But on the other hand, if none of all these *Five* Cases can possibly be put, and that those very Reasons and Grounds do still remain, and are the same now, which they were when the said Acts were made.

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Then my *Opponent's* motion to Repeal the said Laws, must be against the Interest of the Nation, or Interest doth not alwayes speak True; which was the Paradox intended to be Argued by my *Opponent*.

As it is clear then, that by both these Arguments, my *Opponent* hath wholly mistaken himself in the Cause of our *Manufactures* decay, to evidence yet farther the manifestnes, and palpableness of this mistake, we affirm that it is Matter of Fact, that our *Woollen Manufacture* did greatly encrease after the *sd.* Prohibition of *Wooll*; and not only encreased, but bore a good Price, and that I may not be found like some others, who regard not the Credit of what they affirm (and particularly, like him who hath contracted the Arguments of my *Opponent*, and hath published them together in one Sheet of Paper) I shall to justifie what I say, appeal for the Truth of it, not only to the *Custom-house* Books, and to the quantity of the *Woollen-Manufacture* there entered; but to the *Gentry* themselves: And to the Price that the Land bore (and Victuals) for many Years together after the *sd.* Prohibition.

Yea,

Yea, as our *Manufacture* did encrease for many years together, after the *sd.* Prohibition of the Exportation of *Wooll*, so it had to this day still encreased, had not those accidents happened, that laid so effectual a Foundation for the ruine 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 own workmen to gain the *sd.* *Manufacture* from us; and on purpose to prevent our *Cloths* and *Stuffs* from being brought into his Country, (the Fruits of Exportation of *Wooll*) 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 ruine of the *Grower*, but to the ruine of the *Clothier*, and to ruine of the very *Trade* of *England* it self; and which if it should continue to stand un-repealed, must necessarily, and inevitably ruine more and more:

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Both the *Gentry*, *Merchant*, and *Clothier* every day.

And therefore as a further Proof of 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 of the *French Kings* Arbitrary Impositions upon us, and that *Act* against the Importation of *Irish Cattel*) *Exeter* alone, hath lost of what it did formerly Vend, near, if not above *three Hundred Thousand Pound Sterling* every Year: And if we shall reckon Proportionably for all other Countries and Cities, we shall then easily see there is a Just Ground for the Decay of our *Woollen-Manufacture*, and for the fall of the Price of our *Wooll* by it, and for the fall and ruin of our Rents, not as my *Opponent* Allegeath by reason of the Prohibition of of Transporting our *Wooll*, but truly and really by reason of the Multiplication and Increase of our *Wooll*, to that degree, that the Exportation of it hath almost been Necessary.

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The serious consideration of which true and real cause of the decay of our *Manufacture*, I shall humbly leave to the Wisdom of the Parliament. And shall likewise leave it to their Wisdom to be considered, whether in this Conjecture of Affairs, and according to the Circumstances which now attend Us, while our Neighbours do not only Emulate us, but are become actual Rivals with us, not only for our *Clothing*, but for our *Trade* it self; and for our Strength and Dominion at Sea, we shall, or ought so far to contribute towards the Design, and towards the Certainty and Effectualness of our own Ruine, as either to Repeal our Acts that Prohibite the Exportation of our *Wooll*, or to let that Unfortunate Act stand, which makes the Transporting absolutely necessary, whether we will or no, and by this means make our Neighbours scorn the *Commerce* and *Trade* they formely had with us, and thanked us for it.

And whereas my *Opponent* doth lay a great stress upon the false makeing of our *Manufacture*, as one cause of the decay of it, I cannot but confess there hath been to much aid to
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great cause for that Complaint, we ought therefore to consider the maine reason thereof, (*Viz.*) that as the said *Manufacture* for a great part is under no manner of Regulation, yea not so much as it may not be restrain'd to an *Apprentiship*, by which meanes, persons Unskilful, and Unable also in point of Estate, undertaks it, having got some credit, and when they have got a considerable Estate of other persons into their hands, in a little time Breakes, not only to the great loss of their Creditors, but to the dishonour of our *Woollen-Manufacture*, and the Nation it self; Instances to many may be given, (the like may be said of *Merchandice* when Irregular,) but though this Abuse hath not been Redressed, notwithstanding which, the generality of the most Substantial *Clothiers*, though not tyed to it by any Law, hath for their own Repute and Advantage, made such an alteration in the makeing our said *Manufacture*, that neither *Dutch*, nor *French*, (whose Fancies we are apt to follow) doe come near us, either for the Accuracy and Goodness of our *Workmanship*,
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or for the Honesty and Integrity, that is used in makeing both of *Cloth*, *Stuffs* and *Bays*.

And that I may here Vindicate the Credit of what I Say, and that it may be Clear, I Speak nothing but Truth, I shall Appeal to the most considerable Dealers in all *London* either as *Merchants*, *Drapers* or *Mercers*, whether there be not many *Clothiers*, many *Stuff* and *Bay-Makers*, who tho they be under no Check at all at present; do nevertheless so Value their Name, their Word and their Repute, that they dare Adventure all the *Commodity* they make, to be Forfeited, if it do not prove as Long as Broad, and as truly Made and as well Quallified, yet there are many both *Drapers*, *Mercers*, and *Merchants*, who will trust to the private Mark of divers *Clothiers*, with less Scruple then they will trust to the stamp of some sorts of Coyn.

Yea I should much wrong many of the *Clothiers* of *England*, if I should not upon this occasion
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professedly declare, (and whoever denyeth it, will greatly Injure them) that such is the sense which they themselves have had for divers *Years*, how much it is for their Interest, and for the Name and Honour of the *English* Nation it self, to keep up an exact goodness in all the *Woollen-Manufacture* of this Kingdom, that they have for many *Years*, not only Solicited the Parliament, that they might be Incorporated in each County, and that none might be admited to take upon them the making of *Cloth*, and other *Woollen-Manufactures*, but such only as have served a due number of *Years*, to learn the profession of it, might be sufficiently Versed and Skilled in it; but they have for many *Years* desired also, that all and every the sorts of the *Woollen-Manufacture*, might be brought to such a certainty of Regulation for the Length and Breadth of each *Manufacture*, and for the true Making of it, that it may not be in the Power of any Unskilful or Deceitful Person to Falsifie it, but that by marks of their own, as is used in *Colchester Bays*, all maner of Cheats and Defects should be openly signified; than which I humbly

bly conceive there is scarce any thing can be instanced that might, or would tend more to the general good and advantage of this Nation, and to the promoting and recovering of our *Manufacture* again, and Consequently for the Consumption and Advancing the Price of our *Wooll*, which is the thing mainly my *Opponent* seemes to drive at, and in that we shall agree.

But here my *Opponent* may perhaps say, that after all I cannot deny, but there is a surplus of *Wooll* which cannot be wrought up by the *Clothiers*, and that I offered not one word, how it should for the future be disposed of: (to which I answer)

1. That it appeareth not by any thing which my *Opponent* hath hitherto said, at least not by any thing that he hath hitherto proved, that the *Clothier* either cannot or doth not work up the *Wooll* of the proper growth of *England* to the full of it, but if a far greater quantity of *Wooll* be brought into *England* from *Ireland* then ever until of late *Years*, as the *Clothier* cannot be Responsible for his not Buying up all the *Wooll* which is sent into *England*

land, 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 *Wooll*, by reason of the said Glut. Notwithstanding which Glut I may presume to say, (or at least to suppose) that if an account was taken both in *Ireland* and *England* before the time of shearing, there will not be found one quarters Growth, or at the most 6 Months *Un-manufactured*, in the greatest Year of plenty of *Wooll* and dulness of *Trade*; which duly considered, doth require more care for a stock beforehand in *England*, and not to suffer it to Engrossed and Stored up in *France* and *Holland* as now it is: And for ought I know would there be a Peace concluded abroad, that our *Trade* was Revived, and our *Clothiers* were Encouraged, we might find a want of *Wooll* before the next shearing; notwithstanding our great complaint of a Surplus of *Wooll*, as it hath frequently accurd in *Corn* very lately, and more formerly as in Sr. *Walter Rawly's* Remains.

2. If the proper and only way for removing all evil effects, be to remove their respective

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tive causes, and that this is and must be acknowledged by all rational Persons, then considering what we have said before, and not only said but proved and made it appear; (*Viz.*) that the cause of the said Surplus of *Wooll* (with the Cheapness of it at present) among us, is partly from the *Irish* Act that Prohibiteth the bringing in of live Cattle, and puts the Kingdom upon the Breeding of *Wooll* whether they will or no, and partly by the Decay of our, *Manufacture*, through the supply that we our selves do make to our Neighbours of our own *Wooll*, for the Promoting of their *Manufacture*, to the Ruine of our Selves.

The proper Remedy then, for the removing the Cheapness of our *Wooll* on the one hand, and Employing our Poor, and Recovering of our *Trade* on the other hand, must necessarily be the Stopping the Excessive Growth of it in *Ireland*, and as Strictly Stopping, and Restreining the Export of it from *Ireland*, and from hence.

And here I must take the Boldness to say again, what I have in part said already in my
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second Argument, (*Viz.*) that where a Nation is not Rich in Mines of *Gold* and *Silver*, it is not capable of being Enriched any other way, than by its *Manufacture*.

And consequently if it be from our *Manufactures* alone, that the Riches of this Nation comes, and if it be from our *Manufacture* chiefly that our Shipping is Employed, and our *Marriners* bred, if it be from our *Trading* alone, and from the Riches which our *Trading* brings in, that his Majesties Customes are Raised, and that our Fleet have been hitherto Built and Maintained, and the Dominion of the Seas hath been Preserved, than it is and must be from our *Manufacture* only that our *Bullion* hath been brought in, and that the Rents of our *Nobility* and *Gentry* doth Depend and are Sustained.

And therefore it must be granted me, that there is no higher Interest in the Nation, than that which preserves his Majesties Customes, and that which Sustains the *Nobility* and *Gentrys* Rents, and that which Supports our *Navy* and Shipping.

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Then in regard our *Manufacture* alone doth by all this, our *Manufacture* alone and the Encouragement of it must necessarily be the greater Interest of the Nation it self: And I must crave leave to say that whoever placeth it in any thing elce (as the circumstances of this Nation stands at present) must either mistake the Interest of this Nation, or can be no Freind to *England*.

Wherefore if it be granted by the Wisest of *Layers*, that a Mischeif is better than an Inconvenience, some privat Men ought to suffer rather than the whole Nation: Which I humbly conceive is a sollid and sufficient answer to my *Opponent*, as to this part of his Objection.

Supposing also that our *Manufacture* and the Encourageing of it, is the main and cheif, if not the sole and only Interest of the Nation, then as no Interest besides can, or ought in reason to stand in Competition with it, so much less the *Irish Act*, without the Repealing of which; Nevertheless it is simply Impossible, that either our *Manufacture*, or that the *Trade*, or *Navigation* of the Kingdom should be preserved: For if there be no reason to
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make a Law that they must Starve in *Ireland*, there can be no reason to forbid their breeding of *Sheep*, if we will not let them employ their Lands in the breeding of *Cattle*.

Admitting also that the pasture Lands of *Ireland* are proportionable to the bigness of that Kingdom, far larger than the pasture Lands of *England*, as they are and must necessarily be, partly through the smalness of their Tillage, (their *Corn* being not capable to be Exported) and partly through the thinness of their Inhabitants, and it must necessarily follow, that these being converted mostly to the feeding of *Sheep*, must breed a vast quantity of *Wooll*, and such as must equal, if not Exceed the quantity bred in *England*, by our selves.

Wherefore it must needs be plain to every person, that not only the breeding of *Wooll*, but the disposing of it, andt he disposing of it to most Advantage, is now become the Interest of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Yeomandry*, and of all others whatsoever that have a concern in *Ireland*, which if it were possible to prevent, it ought to be allowed to none besides our
Selves,

Selves, whose whole proper and intire Interest it is, to be Sole *Manufacturers*, or *Workers* of it.

The Breeding, Growing, Disposing and Improving of *Wool*, being now by our Selves, made the intire Interest of *Ireland*, who desired it not of us, and would have been very well Content without it, if we cannot desire their *Nobility*, or *Gentry*, to burn their *Wool*, we cannot then deny them, to take all such Lawful and Just Courses, whereby they may Improve their *Wool*.

Wherefore seeing these Courses can be but two wayes, either to send it where it is most wanted, and where it will yeild the best Price, which is to our Neighbours, to Improve and Increase their *Manufacture*, or else to keep it themselves, and *Manufacture* it up in that *Country*.

And seeing one of these Courses are wholly Inevitable, and that both one and the other do not only tend, but must and will certainly, and effectually bring an utter destruction to the *Trade*, *Commerce*, *Strength*, *Shipping* and *Navigation* of this Kingdom, we have small

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reason to expect our Neighbours the *Dutch*, or our Neighbours the *French* should help us, or pity us, when we do wilfully contribute to the Ruin of our Selves, and may (if we will) either prevent it, or easily remedy it.

And indeed if our All be at stake, by reason of the continuance of that Unfortunate Act; and if this All, I mean the very Interest of the Nation it self, will not move us to alter it, I think it would be very Impertinent, to insist upon lesser Arguments.

And therefore, though it would be for the Interest of the Nation greatly; to arrest this occasion, I mean the cheapness of *Wool*, to beat out our Neighbours, in the *Forraign Trade* of our *Manufactures*, and by Under-selling them at least Abroad.

And though this might now more easily be done then ever, seeing our *Manufacture* is Improved of late *Years* in the Goodness of it, and might soon as we said before, be brought to an Absolute Perfection.

And though it be but Equal and Just, to Forbid the *Commodities* of those Countries that are near us, who refuse to deal with us for

our *Commodities*, or by Exorbitant and Arbitrary Impositions laid upon them, do in effect Prohibite them; and though the doing of this, is but agreeable to the rules of Justice, and to the Law of Nations, and Law of *Commerce*.

Though also it cannot be denyed, that it must be greatly consistant with the publick good of the Nation, to make sumptuary Lawes, and to restrain the excess that is at present among Us; yet I must humbly crave leave to say, that this is but like the taking much paines, to stop the leaks of a Barrell, and let the Liquor run out at the Bung; for these are all petty things to the main Concern of the Nation which must be Ruin'd, and Ruin'd, as I humbly Conceive Irrecoverably, if the *Irish* Act doth stand.

~~And though this might now more easily be done than ever, being our Manufactures improved, and the want of the Commodities of it might soon as we said before, be brought to an Absolute Perfection.~~

F I N I S. And though the Commodities of those Countries that are near us, who refuse to deal with us for

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