FREE TRADE.

OR,

THE MEANES TO MAKE TRADE FLORISH.

WHEREIN,

The Cauſes of the Decay of *Trade* in this *Kingdome*, are diſcouered:

And the Remedies alſo to remooue the ſame, are repreſented.

The ſecond Edition with ſome Addition.

PROPERTIVS.

Nauita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator:
Enumerat miles vulnera, paſtor oues.

LONDON,
Printed by *Iohn Legatt*, for *Simon Waterſon*, dwelling in *Paules* Church-yard at the Signe of the Crowne.
1622.

TO THE PRINCE.

SIR,

YOVR HIGHNES *is no lesse* Happy *to bee the* SONNE *of so great a* KING, *then to be the* Heire apparent *of so many* Kingdomes. *In*

the one, *rare endowments of* Maiesty *and* Magnanimity, *are* Yours *by* generation: *In the* other, *a* Royall Monarchy by inheritance and succession. *The* one *doth fit* You *for the* other, *and* Your Royall Fathers footsteps *for them* both. *In* those *are* Peereleſſe prints: You *cannot caſt* Your Eie, *but they are preſent to* You, *and repreſented in* You. You *ſee in* His Religion, Piety: *in* His Sacred Perſon, Tranquility: *in* His Gouernment, Policy. *In euery* one *of theſe*, all *theſe: and* all *in* You. *In that laſt*, His Maiesty *hath carried a quick* Eie, *ouer the* Commerce *of this* Kingdome: *becauſe it hath relation both to the* Reuenue of the Crowne, *and the* Common-wealth *of all* His Kingdomes. *It is ſaid in* Ezechiels Viſion, *that* One wheele ran within

the other, *which hath an* Emphasis *in that tongue,* הארפן בתוך הארפן; *and surely matters of* State *and of* Trade, *are involued and wrapt vp together. Which latter, because it is at this time in agitation, and there are, not without cause, many.* Quære's *about the* Causes *of the generall decay thereof; hath caused me to put my selfe on this* Enquiry, *to* philosophize *if I could, in these* Causes *and* Remedies. *Not that I would seeme with* Phormio, *to reade a Lecture to* Hannibal: *No, I haue only* mustered *and* marshalled *these* men *into their* Rancks *and* Order; *it is* Yours *to Command them. Great* Philip *of* Macedon, *suffered a meane musition to say vnto him,* Absit, vt hæc tu me melius scias. *But for my part, I dare not in any thing, put* such *an* absit, *to a* Prince so absolute. *Euery thing mooues it selfe*

to its Center. *These little lucubrations present themselues to your* Highnes, *as vnto their proper* Orb. *For as they* looke *vp to the* King, *or as they* looke downe *to the* Kingdome; *In both they looke on* You, *with a double aspect.* You *are the* Ioy *of the* King, *the* Hope *of all these* Kingdomes. *The* Only Sonne You *are, of the* Only King: *An happy* *SEER, *of a blessed* SIRE: *A* Princely Consvl, *of* the Priuy Councel: A watchman, A worthy, *of* David *and of* Iacob.

Ex ראה * *prospexit, prouidit, quasi poriò vidit.*

These Meditations of mine, *are very* meane: *an vnfit obiect for a* Princes *sight: vnlesse as* You *are* a God on Earth; *in this also* You *represent* the God of Heauen; *to accept in your* Princely *pardon and patience,* τὸ θέλειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνεργεῖν. *The Cause is great, your Wisedom's deep, and my* Lord the King *is*

is as an Angell of GOD. YOV *are* HIS, HE *is* * CHRIST, *and* CHRIST *is* GODS.

Not ὁ χριστὸς, but χριστὸς and χρηστὸς

OH GOD, *be thou still the* KING *and* CHRIST, *of this* CHRIST *Our* KING: Euangelize *vnto this* Angel: *double the Spirit of Our* ELIAH, *on Our* ELISHA: *that* HE *may flourish like our* Palme Tree, *and grow vp like our* Cedar *of* * Albion. *Giue thy* Iudgements *to the* KING, *and thy* Iustice *to the* KINGS SONNE: *And let all the* People *offer these sweete* Odours *to* Thee *the* God of Heauen, *and pray for the life of the* KING *and* HIS SONNE.

* Libanon *per Litterarum Metathesin,* Albion.

So prayeth, for HIS Maiestie,
And your Highnesse,

Ἀνωτοκειτῶς,

EDW. MISSELDEN,

Merchant.

From my House at *Hackney* on *Whitson Eue*, the 3. of *Iune*. In the yeare of *Grace*, M.DC.XXII. And of the KING of *Peace*, XX.LV.

To the Reader.

CVrteous Reader, Si ingratum me dixeris, omnia dixeris. *I should haue* premised *my prayer for thy* patience, *to cast thine Eie on such a worthlesse worke: but thou hast* preuented *me with thy kinde* acceptance; *euen of the whole* Impression, *within a very little* Interstitium *of time. So that now thou hast turned my* petition, *into a thankefull* retribution: *for which accept I pray thee, this second* Edition, *with some small* addition, *as a* Symbolum *of my seruice to the publique.*

That I haue proposed any thing to my selfe, then the Commō-good; *I hope I shall neede no* Apologie: *to haue expected to please all men; I might rather haue wish't it, then*

then imagined any possibility. *But if there should be any offence, it shall be* Acceptum *not* Datum, *as I shall* οὐδ ἀπ *make manifest, if there be any cause of* Reply.

Some men aske me, Quorsum hæc Iactura? *Wherefore all this cost and wast of learning & languages, in the trodde way of* Trade? *And tell me that I seem to* plow *with others* Heyfers, *as if it were not cōtingent to a* Merchant, *to be acquainted with the* Muses. *Surely it is with many, the price of these paines: that* litteræ *and* litterati non habent inimicum præter ignorantem. *But it is thy humanity rather to ascribe* learning *to the* vnlearned: *I feare alas, in mine vnlearned lines, the learned finde* Ἀπὸ τῆς Θησαύρου Ἀνθρακας, pro thesauro Carbones. *If there were any, I should pray thee to accept it, for illustration of the matter, not affectation in the Author: and to thinke that learning and languages are an Appendix not vnnecessary to the facultie of a Merchant. And for supply of other mens learning, to* succenturiat *my wants, I needed it, I confesse, but tooke it not.*

Others tell me, that I seeme to detract something from the Netherlands, Nation, and Native Commodities of those Countries.

tries. But for my part, there are many in that Nation, that can report of my loue to either. For the former, as things now stand; I wish wee were not Loosers, *so we had not this* Leaue: *yet that which is spoken of the* Part, *must not alwaies be understood of the* Whole. *And as I must giue them their due, that they are a very* ingenious *Nation; so I wish those whom it concerneth, would shew themselues* ingenuous *also, and deale with vs, as* freely *as* fairely, *in the* Close *of that great* East India Cause. *And for the latter, the learned know, that when* Nothing *and* All things *are opposed, what the sense must be: and that alwaies* In dubijs benigniora sunt præferenda. *Yet least I seem to lacke a* Voucher *for that I said, let them heare* SCALIGER *thus writing to their famous* DOVSA, *on the same subiect:*

Ignorata tuæ, referam miracula terræ,
  DOVSA peregrinis non habitura fidem.
Omnia lanicium hîc lassat textrina Minerua:
  Lanigeros tamen hinc scimus abesse greges.
Non capiunt operas fabriles oppida vestra:
  Nulla fabris tamẽ hæc ligna ministrat humus.
Horrea triticeæ rumpunt hîc frugis acerui:
  Pascuus hîc tamen est, non Cerealis ager.

Hic

Hîc numerosa meri stipantur dolia Cellis:
  Quæ vineta colat nulla putator habet.
Hic nulla aut certè seges est rarissima Lini:
  Linifici tamen est Copia major vbi?
Hic medijs habitamus aquis: quis credere possit?
  Et tamen hic nullæ, DOVSA, bibuntur aquæ.

Thus Curteous Reader, at last I'le let thee rest: And if I haue longer mine, thou shalt haue thine. And shall be alwayes for thy sake,

In Vtrunque paratus,

E. M.

Ex Bibliopolæ officinâ hæc paucula raptim apponebam, 6. Iulij, 1622.

CAP. I.

The Causes of the want of Money in England.

IT hauing pleased God to giue mee my Birth and Being in this Good Land, and vnder the Reigne of so Great a KING; whose Peace and Piety; whose Prudence and Policy; whose rare endowments of Nature and Literature, absit omnis adulatio; doe Lend to the

Christian and *Pagan* world such a *Glorious Lustre*, as that the other *Great Lights* in the *Spheares* thereof do seeme *Eclipsed*: I could not but thinke it my bounden duty, in all humble acknowledgement to *Almighty God*, and deuoted seruice to so *Mighty* a KING, to endeuour to expresse the same, in some *Publique Seruice* for the *Publique good*.

The rather for that there seemes to bee a necessity imposed vpon all men, as much as they can, to performe this duty; according to that generall precept, *Feare God*, *Honour the King*: As if a man could not *Feare God*, vnlesse hee *Honour the King*: nor *Honour the King*, without the *Feare of God*.

Φόβου θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε.

And no maruell, when *God* himselfe setteth these duties in the *Frontispice* or top of both the Tables of the *Decalogue*: The one *Explicit* in the first Table, *Thou shalt*

shalt loue the Lord thy God: The other *Implicit* in the second Table; *Thou shalt honour the King*: as if here were Νόμος and δεύτερος νόμος, A *Law* and *another Law*: yea the *whole Law* comprised in these *Two*: and these *Two* termed the *Great Commandements*, to giue a deepe *Impression* and a liuely *Expression* of so great a duty.

πρῶτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐντολή· δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ.

Yea, he doth honour *Kings* with his owne *Title*, as if he would *Part* with, and *Impart* to them, some of his owne *Honour*: *I haue sayd ye are Gods*: to which that of the *Poet* may seeme ἀναλογικῶς to haue an elegant allusion, *Diuisum imperium cum Ioue Cæsar habet.*

In

And this is it I confesse that hath *Raised* & *Roused* mine *Affections*, to seeke out a *Subiect*, wherein I might set my selfe a taske, and as it is in the *Prouerbe*, might πάντα λίθον κινεῖν, to performe some acceptable seruice, to so *Great a King*, & so *Good a Kingdome*.

But what need I *Seeke* that which *Seeketh* all men? For what is at this time more enquired after then the *Causes* of the *Decay of Trade*? And what can be more fit for my *Meditation*, then that wherein I haue had *Education*? And what hath more relation to matters of *State*, then *Commerce* of Merchants? For when *Trade flourisheth*, *the Kings Reuenue is augmented*, *Lands and Rents improoued*, *Nauigation is encreased*, *the poore employed*. But if *Trade* decay, *All these* decline with it. Neuertheleſſe when I looke vpon the *Face* of the *Great body politique* of this *Weale publike*, and therein consider the *High wisedome* of HIS *sacred Maiesty*, as the *intellectual part* of this *Microcosme*, or *alter orbis* as *Cæsar* calles it: the *Prudence* & *Prouidence* of HIS *Nobles*, as the *Eyes* thereof; the great decay of *Trade*, the *Nerues* thereof: together with the *Parliamentation* and

and *Consultation* of all the *Parts* together about these *Causes* and *Remedies*: I feare I shall seeme τὸ φῶς ἡλίῳ δαυείζειν, to light a Candle in the Sunne, to offer my seruice in that, about which the choicest wits of the *Kingdome* are now in consultation.

But hauing had experience of HIS *Maiesties* gracious interpretation of small seruices of his subiects employed for the publique: though *Others* much more sufficient are *Sent before*, yet could I not but expostulate with my selfe, what if I also *Runne after*, and cast in my λεπτὰ δύο, into this great *Treasury*.

Therefore if herein, any obseruations of mine, either *Forrein* or *Domestique*, may administer any thing worthy the information of that *Great common* and yet *not common Sense*, I shall esteeme my part most happily acted, to haue imployed my *Priuate paines* for the *Publique*

good. The rather, for that, as there are many *Causes discussed* and *discoursed* of at this time, of the *decay of Trade*; so also are there many *Remedies*: wherein if either the *Causes* be mistaken, or the *Remedies* ill applyed; the present sicknesse of the *Trade*, may be brought from a disease in *Fieri*, to an *Habituated* and in *Facto*, as the *phisitians Schoole* hath it.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. Virg.

To find out the *Causes* of things, is a worke of *Philosophy*, and much *Felicity*, to finde out a fit *Remedy*, is of high *Eminency*: But to apply the *Remedy*, is a matter of *State* and *Policy*. And this leadeth mee to the *Method* of my *Discourse*: which parts it selfe in twaine: *viz.* Into a *double Quære*, of the *Deformation* and *Reformation* of Trade. In the *former* may be considered, the *Causes* and *Effects* thereof. In the *Causes*, the *Matter* and *Forme* of Trade. The *Matter* of Trade, is either *Naturall*

The distribution.

Naturall or *Artificiall*. The *Natural matter* of *Commerce* is *Merchandize*: which *Merchants* from the end of *Trade* haue stiled *Commodities*. The *Artificiall matter* of *Commerce* is *Mony*, which hath obtained the title of *Sinewes* of *Warre* and of *State*.

Old Iacob blessing his *Grandchildren*, crost his hands, and laid his right hand on the *Yonger*, and his left hand on the *Elder*: And *Money*, though it be in *Nature* and *Time* after *Merchandize*, yet forasmuch as it is now in vse become the chiefe, I will take leaue of Method, to handle it in the first place.

The Immediate cause of the want of Money in England, is the vnder valuation of his Maiesties Coyne, which hindereth the Importation, and causeth the exportation thereof.

First therefore for the *Want* of *Money* in this *Kingdome*, many reasons may bee assign'd. Whereof some are *Immediate*, some *Mediate* or remote. The *Immediate* reasons of the want of Money, are either such as *Hinder* the

Importation; or as such *Cause* the *Exportation* thereof. And *Both* these are occasioned by the *Vnder-valuation* of *his* MAIESTIES *Coyne*, to that of our Neighbour *Countries*. For who will procure Licence in *Spaine* to bring *Realles* into *England*, to sell them here at Ten in the hundred gaine, which is lesse then the *Exchange* from thence will yeeld; when hee may haue for the same *Fiue and Twenty* in the hundred in *Holland?* Here fiue *Reals* of eight, which make *Twenty* shillings sterling, will commonly yeeld *Two and Twenty* shillings or thereabouts: and the same in *Holland* will yeeld *Forty two shillings and sixe pence* Flemish, which is *Fiue and Twenty* shillings sterling. And how can wee choose but want money in *England*, when the *Iacobus* pieces are currant at so high a rate in *Holland?* For there they goe at *Twelue* Gilders *eight stiuers*

Spanish Reals worth 15. in the C. in Holland.

stiuers the piece, which is *One* and *forty shillings* and *foure pence* Flemish, which is *Foure* and *Twenty shillings* & *nine pence* sterling. And about this rate HIS *Maiesties* other *Coynes* of *gold* & *siluer* are there of respectiue value. For although by the *Placcaets* or *Proclamations* of those parts, the *Iacobus* pieces, & other *Species* of gold and siluer, are there set at indifferent rates answerable to their valuation here with vs respectiuely, which they there call *Permißie gelt*, *Proclamation money*: yet they haue other deuices to raise money, and draw it away at their pleasures. As either by their *Banckes*, when the *Banckiers* will for their occasions giue a greater price for mony then the *Proclamation* suffereth, and then it is called *Banck gelt*: or else by slacke paymasters, that for their owne aduantage in the raising of Money, will pretend not to make present payment

payment of their debts, vnlesse you take their Money at a higher rate, then either the *Proclamation*, or the *Banck* Money. Which being paid and receiued, produceth a third kind, which they call *Current gelt*. And so by the Conniuence of the Magistrate, the same goeth from man to man, and at last becommeth current at an excessiue value So they haue *Permission* or *Proclamation Mony*, and *Banck Money*, and *Current Money*, and all to draw dry the *Current* of HIS *Maiesties Coine*.

Three sorts of Mony in Holland: Permission Money: Banck Money: and Current Money.

And thus the *Hepatites*, or Liuer veine of this *Great body* of ours being opened, & such profusiõs of the *Life bloud* let out; & the *Liuer* or fountain obstructed, & weakned, which shuld succour the same; needs must this *Great body languish*, and at length fal into a *Marasmus*, or Hectike Feuer.

I am not ignorant that there hath beene great abuse in the culling of HIS *Maiesties Coyne* here at home, and

and in melting the heauy money into plate: And that there is a great superfluity of *Plate* generally in priuate mens hands more then is necessary, and farre beyond any example of former times, which must needs also cause scarcity of money: yet on the other side I cannot deny, but that it is better to haue the same in *Plate*, as a *Treasure* of the *Kingdome*; then *turned into Coyne*, and so *turned out* of the *Kingdome*, by the vnder value thereof.

Now the *Mediate* or remote reasons of the want of money in *England*, are either *Domestique* or *Forreine*. The *Domestique* are *General* or *Special*. The *General remote* cause of our want of money, is the *great Excesse* of this *Kingdom*, in consuming the *Commodities* of *Forreine Countries*, which proue to vs *Discommodities*, in hindering vs of so much *Treasure*, which otherwise would bee brought in, in lieu of those *Toyes*.

The Mediate Causes of the want of money are Domestique or Forreine.

The Domestique is generally, Excesse.

Ζηλοῖ δὲ τε γείτονα γείτων. Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων. Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει, καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ. *Hesiod.*

Toyes. For now a dayes most men liue aboue their callings, and promiscuously step forth *Vice versâ*, into one anothers *Rankes.* The *Countrey mans* Eie is vpon the *Citizen*: the *Citizens* vpon the *Gentleman*: the *Gentlemans* vpon the *Nobleman.* And by this meanes wee draw *Vnto vs*, and consume *Amongst vs*, that great abundance of the *Wines of Spaine*, of *France*, of the *Rhene*, of the *Leuant*, and of the *Ilands*: the *Raisins* of *Spaine*, the *Corints* of the *Leuant*, the *Lawnes* and *Cambricks* of *Hannault* and the *Netherlands*, the *Silkes* of *Italy*, the *Sugers* & *Tobacco* of the *West Indies*, the *Spices* of the *East-Indies*: All which are of no necessity vnto vs, & yet are *bought* with ready money, which otherwise would bee *brought* ouer in treasure if these were not. A *Common-wealth* is like vnto a *Family*, the *Father* or Master whereof ought to sell more then he buyeth, according

according to old *Cato's* counsell, *Patrem familias vendacem non emacem esse oportet.* Otherwise his *Expence* being greater then his *Reuenue*, hee must needs come behind hand. Euen so a *Common-wealth* that excessiuely spendeth the *Forreine* Commodities deere, and vttereth the *Natiue* fewer and cheape, shall enrich other *Common-wealths*, but begger it selfe. Where on the contrary, if it vented fewer of the *Forreigne*, and more of the *Natiue*, the residue must needes returne in treasure.

Νήπιοι οὐδ' ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἥμισυ παντός, οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε, καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μεγ' ὄνειαρ. *Hesiod.*

The *Speciall remote cause* of our want of Money, is the great want of our *East-India Stocke* heere at home. Which is a matter of very great consequence, and causeth the *Body* of this *Common-wealth* to bee wounded sore, through the *Sides* of many particular members thereof. For the *Stocke* of the *East-India Company*, being of great value, and collected

The domestik cause in spec all, is the wa of the *East-India Stocke* i this *Commo wealth.*

collected and contracted from all the other particular *Trades* of the *Common-wealth*; and a great part thereof hauing bin *Embargued* and *Detained* now for more then fiue yeeres last past; and that not by a *Profest Enemy*, against whom wee might haue bin *warn'd* and *Arm'd*, but by a *Friend*, a *Neighbour*, a *Next Neighbor*, one obliged to our KING and *Nation* more then to all the Kings on earth: this losse I say, is not onely thus vnkind, but is the more intollerable, in that the Common-wealth hath lost the vse and employment of the *Stocke* it selfe, and all the encrease of *Trade* which the same might haue produced, in the seuerall *Trades* of the *Subiects*, whereby abundance of *Treasure* might haue beene brought into this land in all this time.

rinitus & olater.

It is sayd of *Belisarius* that great and famous *Commander* of the *Romanes*, that euen *Rome* it selfe owed to

to him twice her life: and yet at last was so vnkind to *Belisarius* as to put out both his eyes, and exposed him to beg in a little Cottage built without the gates, where hee often repeated this sentence to those that passed by, *Date obolum Belisario, quem inuidia, non culpa cæcauit.* And certainely our *Nation* may challenge as much or more of these *Vnkind Friends*, then *Belisarius* euer did or could of *Rome*: and they shew themselues no lesse vnkinde, to depriue vs of the *Light* and *Life* of this *Trade* of ours, and suffer this *Nation* to vse so much importunity for their owne.

Homer reports of *Patroclus*, that he would needs put on *Achilles armour*, and ride on *Achilles horse*, but *Achilles speare* he durst not touch, and thereby was knowne to *Hector*, with whom he fought, not to be *Achilles*, and so lost his life. These friends of ours haue sometimes

Hom. Iliad.

times *Put on*, sometimes *Put off*, I had almost said, *Put out the Kings Colours*: They haue sayled in HIS subiects *Shippes*, but that *Hastam fidei* they haue not *vsed* or *Abused* rather; whereby they haue beene *Discouered* to the *Indians*, not to be the *Subiects* of the *Faith's Defender*, as sometimes they would haue *faigned*, though to an euill purpose.

Church-man. pag. 11.

The *Romanes* were wont to weepe, at the sight of *Cæsars bloud* kept in an *Handkercher*. *Cæsars subiects bloud* is kept, not in *Handkerchiefes* but in *Sheetes*, written *within* and *without*, the *Memory* wherof maketh the people *mourne*. The *cry* thereof is *gone vp*: the *King* will remember it, the *King of Kings* will auenge it.

Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

Constantinus the *Great*, the father of *Constantius*, was wont often to protest, that he made more account of one *Christian* then of *all* his *Coffers*

Euseb.

rs filled with *Treasure*. And the Comfort of this *Nation* is, to be the *Subiects* of such a *Soueraigne*, who as *Constantly* as euer did *Constantinus*, hath againe and againe profest, *Not to account himselfe more rich or happy, then in the prosperity of his Subiects*.

In diuers Orations and Proclamations.

Thus much of the *Domestique Remote causes* of the want of money in *England*: the *Forreine causes* follow. Which are either in respect of the *Warres in Christendome*, or the *Trades out of Christendome*. *The Warres in Christiendome* are *Forreine remote causes* of the want of money, either by *Causing* the *Exportation*, as the *Warres of Christians*: or *Hindering* the *Importation* thereof, as the *Warres* of *Pyrates*. I will take the *Warres* of *Germany* for an vrgent instance of the former: which haue rayled the *Riecks daller* from *Two* Markes *Lubish*, to *Twenty* Markes *Lubish*, in

The Forreine causes of the want of money are the warres of Christians amongst themselues, or against them by Pyrats.

many places of *Germany* : whereby abundance of Mony is drawne vnto the *Mintes* of *those* Countries, from all the other *Mines* and parts of *Christendome*.

And for the latter, I will instance the *Warres* of the *Pirats* of *Argier* and *Tunis*, which hath robbed this Common-wealth of an infinite value : the *Cruelty* whereof many feele with *griefe*, others heare with *pitty*, but the *grieuance* remaines. Needes must *Christendome*, and in it *England*, feele the want of money, when either it is violently intercepted by *Turkish Pirats*, the Enemies of *God* and *man*; or the instruments surprised, as *Men*, *Ships*, and *Merchandize*, which are the *Chanels* to conuey it to vs. An *Heathenish policy* it is, or *Hellish* rather, put vpon the *Princes* and *People of Christendome* by the *Grand Siegnour*, to hold with them an outward forme of *Amity*, and in the meane

A Turkish policy.

meane time by his vassalls, vse a cunning and couert *Hostility*.

The other *Forreine remote causes* of the want of Money, are the *Trades* maintained out of *Christendome* to *Turkey*, *Persia*, and the *East-Indies*. Which trades are maintayned for the most part with ready Money, yet in a different manner from the Trades of *Christendome* within it selfe. For although the trades within *Christendome* are driuen with ready Monies, yet those Monies are still *Contained* and *Continued* within the *Bounds* of *Christendome*. There is indeede a *Fluxus* and *refluxus*, a *Flood* and *Ebbe* of the monies of *Christendome* traded within it selfe: for sometimes there is more in one part of *Christendome*, sometimes there is lesse in another, as one Countrey wanteth, and another aboundeth : It commeth and goeth, and whirleth about the *Circle* of *Christendome*,

Or the trades maintained out of Christendome with ready money.

but is still contained within the *Compasse* thereof. But the money that is traded out of *Christendome* into the parts aforesaid, is continually issued out and neuer returneth againe. It is true, those trades tend to an admirable encrease of the stocke of *Christendome* in wares: which if they were purchased with the wares of *Christendome*, according to the true nature of *Commerce*, the benefit were farre more excellent. For *Commercium is quasi Commutatio mercium*, a change of wares for wares, not money for wares. And it is *Libera commeandi facultas, ab ijs qui merces vltro citroque conuehunt.*

Benvenut Strac. de mercatur pars. 1. Calepiu.

Or if the *Common-wealth* of *Christendome* were like to that of **Vtopia*, where gold and siluer are of esse esteeme then Iron, it were a braue exchange to lose money to get wares. For the riches of former ages did not consist in *Re Pecuniariâ*

* *Aurum & argentum sic apud se habent, vt à nullo pluris æstimetur quàm rerum ipsarum natura mereatur: quâ quis non videt quàm longè infra ferrum sunt? Vtop. lib. 2.*

niariâ but *Pecuariâ*. Whence *Pecuniâ*, as *Pliny* affirmeth, was so called *a Pecude, quia Pecus fuit Pecuniæ fundamentum, & antiquitus Pecunia pecudis effigi signabatur.* But when *Immooueable* and *Immutable* things came also to be in *Commerce* amongst men, as wel as those things which were *Mooueable* and fit for change, then came money in vse, as the rule and square whereby things might receiue estimation and value. Therfore the *Ciuilians* affirme that *Numus est* ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, *dictus, quòd institutum sit Ciuile.* According to that of *Aristotle.* Νόμισμα ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὅτι οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ ἐστί. *Numus non est à natura sed à lege.* And thence it is that *Money* in our tongue is deriued of *Moneta, quasi numi nota.*

Omnes veterum diuitiæ in re pecuariâ consistebant. Guich. Plin. lib. 33.

Lib. 1. ff. de Contrah. emt.

Lib. 5. Eth. cap. 8.

Or if there were a *Necessity* to *Christendome* to vse those Forreine wares: or that the *Meanes* whereby they are to be procured, were without the losse of treasure:

Necessarium illud dicitur sine quo fieri non potest. Calep.

or lastly that the same tended to the *Encrease* of the *Treasure* thereof, the exchange were excellent. But first there is no such *Necessity*: for that's necessary to doe a thing without which it cannot be done: And that's necessary to the being of a *Common-wealth*, without which it cannot subsist. But thankes be to *God*, *Christendome* is richly furnished within it selfe, with all things fit for life and maintenance: whether wee respect *Vitall* vse, as foode and raiment: or *Physicall*, as vegetables and mineralls: or *Politicall*, as gold, siluer, and infinite variety of Merchandize. Nor are those wares procured without the *Losse* of Treasure, no nor with *Lesse* Treasure. For as those wares haue cost lesse in *Price*, since some late discoueries; so are they encreased in their *Quantities*, by the ample trade of all parts of *Christendome* thither, more then before: and then

then who knoweth not that a *Lesse* quantity *Deare*, and a *Greater* quantity *Cheape*, is all one in respect of the value. Nor is the treasure lessened by changing the course of Trade into those parts. For the *New* Trades found out, are furnished with a new supply of Money, and the *Old* neuertheless issue out as much treasure as before: by reason that the same are enlarged and become now as great, *Apart*, as heretofore they were, *Together*, when the *New* Trades, were included in the *Old*. So that now so much more of the Treasure of *Christendome* is wasted, as those *Old* and *New* Trades are encreased, which is to an infinite value.

Nor lastly, is the *Treasure* of *Christendome Encreased* by those forreine trades, for the more the stocke of *Christendome* is thereby encreased in *Wares*, the more it decreaseth in *Treasure*: which the parts of

Christendome must needes feele by *Sympathy* and *Compassion.*

And this, that prudent and politique Emperour *Charles* the fifth perceiued in his time, who vpon a question betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* about this matter, the Emperor vsed words to this effect: *You Portugalles for a surety, are enemies to all Christendome; for you carry nothing out of it but coyne, which is hurt to all Countries.*

15. Hen. 8. Hall.

CAP. II.

The Causes of the decay of Trade, in the Merchandize of England.

SVch are the *Causes* of the *Matter* of *Trade* considered in the *Want of Money*, the *Merchandize* followeth. *Merchandize* is that naturall matter of *Commerce*, whereby men busie

busie themselues in buying and selling, chopping and changing, to the encrease of *Artes*, and enriching of *Common-wealths*: according to that of the *Poet*, ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔρις ἥδε βροτοῖσι, *Bona lis mortalibus hæc est.*

Hesiod.

And to the end there should be a *Commerce* amongst men, it hath pleased *God* to inuite as it were, one Country to traffique with another, by the variety of things which the *One hath*, and the *other hath not*: that so that which is wanting to the *One*, might be supplied by the *Other*, that all might haue sufficient.

Which thing the very *Windes* and *Seas* proclaime, in giuing passage to all Nations: the *Windes* blowing sometimes towards one Country, sometimes toward another; that so by this *Diuine Iustice*, euery one might bee supplyed in things necessary for life and maintenance.

And

4. Na. qu.

And this, *Seneca* thought to be a principall benefit of nature, *Quòd & vento gentis locis dissipatas miscuit, & sua omnia in regiones ita descripsit, vt necessarium mortalibus esset inter ipsos Commerciũ. Nature by the benefit of the wind, hath so mixed people, dispersed in diuers places, and so distributed her gifts in diuers Countries, that there should be a necessity of Commerce amongst men.* Which agreeth with that of *Aristotle*, *Est translatio rerum omnium cœpta ab initio, ab eo quod est secundùm naturam, cùm homines haberent plura quàm sufficerent, partim etiam pauciora negotiatione suppleri id quod naturæ deest, quo commode omnibus sufficiat.*

ἔστι γὰρ ἡ μεταβλητικὴ πάντων ἐρξαμένη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, τῶν μὲν πλείω, τῶν δὲ ἐλάττω τῆς καιρὸν ἔχειν διὰ ἀνθρώπους, μεταβλητικὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὑπαρκείας.

De Repub. lib. 1 cap. 9.

And that we doe not goe out of the *Christian world* for an example hereof, let vs consider the state of the *Netherlands*, in what a miserable case those people were, if they receiued not supply from all other

other *Nations*. They haue *Nothing* of their owne, and yet they seeme to possesse *All things*, in the *Supply* they receiue from *All the World*.

And surely if any *Kingdome* vnder the Sunne can subsist of it selfe, none hath more cause to *Blesse God*, then this *Iland* of ours, which *Almighty God* hath richly adornd with varietie of all things necessary for mans life & welfare. As with *Corne*, and our **Wine*: *Cattle*, *Wooll*, *Cloth*, *Tynne*, *Iron*, *Lead*, *Saffran*, *Waxe*, *Hoppes*, *Hydes*, *Tallow*, *Flaxe*, *Fowle*, *Fish*, and many others: whereby, thanks be to *God*, the people of this Land, haue not onely *Sufficient* for their owne maintenance, but do abundantly *Supply* the wants of all other *Nations*.

*I meane *Beere* which forreine parts is of more esteeme then wine. And to vs also in the vse, if there were not abuse farre to be preferred.

Now the *Trade* and *Commerce* of this *Kingdome within it selfe*, and *with Forreine Nations*, consisting of so many rich Commodities; let vs consider them all *Ioyntly*, and then

The decay of the Merchandize of this Kingdom, considered Ioyntly or apart.

then some Principall of them *Apart.*

Iointly considered, the *Causes* of the decay of *Trade* in them, may be sayd either to be *Deficient*, or *Efficient*. *Deficient*, either in the *Generall* want of money in the Kingdome; or the *Particular* want of the *East-India Stocke*. I shewed before, what were the causes of the want of mony: and that the disaster vpon the *East-India Trade* is a *Remote Cause* thereof: but these are *Both Causes* of the *Decay* of *Trade*. For *Money* is the *vitall spirit* of *trade*, and if the *Spirits faile*, needes must the *Body faint*. And as the *Body* of *Trade* seemeth to be *Dead* without the *Life* of *Mony*: so do also the *Members* of the *Commonwealth*, without their *Meanes* of *Trade*. We say, that an *Artizan* or *Workeman*, cannot *Worke* without *Tooles* or *Instruments*: no more can a *Merchant Trade without Money* or meanes. And

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And in the *want* of so great a *Stock*, as is that of the *East-India Company*: the *Body* of this *Commonwealth* hath lost the vse of many of it *Principall Members*; by whose industry, art, and action the *Commerce* thereof might wonderfully haue beene encre'st. The losse whereof, to him that is not wilfully blinde, is apparently sensible in the *Drapery* of the *Kingdome*, wherby the *Poore* are set on worke: and in all the other *Trades* of the *Kingdome*, whereby the *Subiects* are employed: and hath begot that great and generall *Dampe* and *Deadnesse* in all the *Trades* of the *Kingdome*, which wee vnhappily feele at this day.

The *Efficient causes* of the *Decay* of *Trade Iointly* considered, are either *Vsury*, or *Vnnecessary Suits in Law*. In the *Former* I am preuented, and my labour spared, by him that wrote a little treatise against *Vsury*: which

Or Vsury.

Entituled
Tract again
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which it seeme's for *Modesty* he refuseth to owe: Though I could wish, that those that deserue of the *Publique* were knowne to the *Publique*: least they be serued as sometimes *Batillus* serued *Virgil*, and so be forc't too late to proclaime, *Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter Honores.*

I haue a word onely to adde to his *Vsury*, that it is not an *Vsury* of *Ten* in the hundred only, that wringeth this *Common-wealth*, but an *Extortion* also of 20. 30. 40. nay of *Cento per Cento per Anno*, as the *Italians* speake, giuen and taken on **Pledges* and *Pawnes*, and that on *Poore* peoples labours, in *London* especially: which is a biting *Vsury* indeede, and a fearefull crying sinne before *God.*

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Vnnecessary Suites of Law are also *Efficient Causes* of the decay of Trade. Wherein certainely this *Kingdome* exceedeth all other *Kingdome*

Kingdomes in the world. As the *Iustice* of this *Kingdome* is the *Diadem* of the KING, & doth *Stabilire Regis thronum*, and *Tribuere cuique suum*: whereby *Men* may giue *Cæsar Cæsars*, and *Meum* and *Tuum* one to another: so is the *Iustice* of the KING, in the *Sacred Person* of HIS *Maiesty*, amongst other HIS *Royall Vertues*, an *Embleme* and *Representation* of *Highest Maiesty*; and it is an incomparable happinesse of this *Kingdome*, to haue such a *Malchizedec*, a KING *of Iustice*, a KING *of Peace*.

מלכי-
צדק
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Neither may I forget that *Royall Testimony* hereof, which is worthy to be written in *Letters of Gold*, and thankefully to bee remembred of euery *Tongue* and *Pen*; whereof amongst others more worthy, it was also my happinesse to be *Oculatus* and *Auritus Testis*: when HIS *Maiesty* in a *Star-chamber* assembly, lifting HIS *Eye* toward Heauen, & laying

The Commemoration of a royal protestation in the Star-chamber of His Maiesties sincerity in Iustice.

laying HIS *Hand* on HIS *Sonnes Head*, made such a solemne *Protestation* of HIS *Sincerity* in *Iustice*, as may serue for a matter of *Admiration* and *Imitation*, to all the Kings on earth. Those that *went Before*, and they that *Followed after*: Those that *Heard it then*, and they that *Heard of it since*; sayd it was φωνὴ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου *Nec vox hominem sonat, ô Deus certè!*

If such then be the *Iustice* of the *King* and the *Kingdome*, how is it then that *Trade* is hindered by suits of *Law*? Herein *Columellae's* counsell is remarqueable, *Principi prouidendum est, ne legibus fundata ciuitas, legibus euertatur.* There cannot be too much *Iustice*, there may be too much *Law*. For the vse of *Iustice* is excellent, in contayning men within the bonds of *Ciuility* and *Honesty*: in preseruing men from *Iniury*: and in maintayning euery mans *Right and Proprietie*.

De Re Rustica.

Honestè viuere: Alterum non lædere: Suum cuique tribuere. Iuris præcept.

But

But the abuse there-of is a most pernitious and dangerous surfeit in the *Bodie* of euery *Common-wealth*.

And this is our case in this *Weale-publike*: no *Kingdome* hath better *Lawes*; no *Kingdome* so full fraught with tedious, needlesse, endlesse, *Suites* of *Law*. For now this *Litigandi* κακοέξις is become κακοήθης, and waxeth so fast, and groweth so great, that *Suites* of *Law* doe seeme immortall: time doth encrease them, and length of time would not determine them, if the wisedome of those *Graue Fathers* of the *Law* did not put an end to the malice of the *Litigants*: as is now worthily obserued in Chancerie, to his honour and memorie that hath so happily begun the same.

By the growth and greatnesse of which *Suites*, I say, a great number of HIS Maiesties good and lo-

ning subiects are vexed, imprisoned impouerished and ouerthrowne: and whilst the *Litigants* strine together, another taketh away the *Fish*, and as it is in the *Apologue*, leaueth to either of them an empty *shell*. And thus mens time and meanes being spent in *Law*, which should be employed in *Trade*, trade is neglected, and the *Common-wealth* deprived, of the benefit that might be purchased and procured thereby.

The Decay of trade considered apart, in the Ordinance and Munition.

And thus much for the *decay of Trade* considered *Iointly*. It followeth now to consider them *Apart*, in some principall parts thereof. Which may be reduced, to such as tend to the *Fortification of the Kingdome*, or *Maintenance of Trade*. The *former* are *Ordinance* and *Munition*: the too-too common exportation whereof, hath taught vs wofull experience of an invaluable inconuenience thereby which

which euery man is sensible of: and therefore I neede not *presse* it: I wish it did not *Oppresse* vs.

The *Latter*, I will referre to things essentiall, for the preseruation of mans life, as *Victus* and *Vestitus*: yet such of them also as doe aford wondrous variety of Trade, and may be termed the *Nourceries* thereof, as the *Fishing* and *Clothing* of this *Kingdome*. For on these two, all sorts of *Trades* and *Tradesmen*, haue some dependance.

Or in the Fishing.

The inconuenience in the *Former*, is that *Encroaching* of *Strangers*, in *Fishing* vpon our *Coasts*: whereby not onely the *Bread* is taken out of the subiects *Mouth*, but that infinite *Wealth*, which *God* hath made *Proper* and *Peculiar* vnto *Vs*, is become *Common* vnto *them*. Whereby also, their *Nauigation* is wonderfully encrea'st, their *Marriners* are multiplied, and

exceeding great *Trades* maintained into all parts of the Christian World. And Victuals commonly yeelding ready money, and tolleration of exportation thereof, the same hath redounded to an infinite enriching of their Countries with *Treasure*, exhausted out of these *Mines* of our's.

I am not ignorant that a learned man of that side, pressing hard in a Treatise entituled *Mare liberum*, the Communitie and freedome of the *Sea* against the *Portugall* Trade into the *East Indies*; doth cunningly and obliquely, vnder the couert termes of *Populi Romani littus*, defend and maintaine, in the fift Chapter thereof, their *Fishing* vpon our *Coasts*. For thus hee concludeth, *Nemo igitur potest à populo Romano ad littus maris accedere prohiberi, & retia siccare, & alia facere, quæ semel omnes homines in perpetuum sibi licere voluerunt.* And

Mare liberum. cap.5.p.22.

again,

again, *Exteris ius piscandi, vbique immune esse debet.*

Eodem cap. p.28.

To part of which Treatise, there is an answere entituled, *De Dominio Maris*, to which I referre those that desire further satisfaction in this matter. But in my iudgement, which I submit to better iudgement, the Author of *Mare liberum*, though otherwise very learned, strayneth his Arguments for that purpose beyond their strength. For *Ius* is said to be *scriptum*, or *Non scriptum*. And *Non scriptum* is *Consuetudo*. And *Consuetudo non minus est species iuris, quàm ius scriptum*. And by both these, the *Proprieties* of the Seas may be proued, to belong to those *Princes* and *Countries*, to which they are next *Adiacent*.

De Arte iuris cap.13.

For *Custome*, the examples of our Neighbor Countries round about vs are frequent. As of *Coeldine*, *Groeneland*, *Norway*, and *Friseland*,

vnder the *King* of *Denmarke*. *Tunny fishing* vnder the *Duke* of *Medina*. The *Gulfe of Venice* vnder that *Seignory*. And many others I might instance: In all which there is no liberty of fishing, but by *Speciall priuiledge* had from those *Princes* to whõ the same belongeth. Which being so, we may well conclude with the *Poet*, *Cùm ventum ad verum est, sensus moresque repugnant.*

Her.

For the *Law* it selfe, it is not hard to produce some of his owne Authors against himselfe. As the *Emperour Leo*: of whom hee thus speaketh, *Voluit* πρόβυρα, *hoc est, vestibula maritima eorum esse propria, qui oram habitarent; ibique eos ius piscandi habere.*

Mare liberum p. 25. Nouella Leo. 56.

Also *Rodericus Suarius*, whose testimony because he was a *Spaniard*, he produceth against the *Portugals* in the end of his fift Chapter: whom, if hee had pleased, he

hee might also haue thus cited: *Redditus piscariarum consueti, vt est gabella, seu aliud tributum solui consuetum, de his quæ in mari piscatores faciunt, seu à mercatoribus de his quæ emunt aut vendunt, Principibus conceduntur.*

Rodric. Suarius de Vsu Maris, consil. 5.

To which I will onely adde that of *Bartolus*, whom the *Civilians* call *Iuris Lucernam*, thus speaking: *Vt Insulæ in mari proximè adiacentes, sic & mare ipsum ad Centum vsque milliaria pro territorio districtúque illius regionis cui proximè appropinquat, assignatur.*

L. Insulæ. §. de iti. & L. Cæsar. §. de public.

The rest that the Author of *Mare liberum* enforceth, of the Community and Freedome of the *Sea* to all *Nations*, he vnderstandeth of matters in question, betweene the *Portugals* and those of his *Nation*, concerning their *East India Trade*, and not of their *Fishing* vpon our *Coasts*. Which *Question* in my iudgement, being *out of question*

were better determined by *Action* then *Disputation*: It being a *Royalty* of the King, and a *Regall Priuiledge* of this *Kingdome*, assigned by *Almighty God*.

Or in the Clothing.

From the *Fishing* come wee to the *Clothing* or *Drapery* of this *Kingdome*: the consideration wherof is of very high consequence, and concerneth both the *Soueraigne* and the *Subiect*, *Noble* and *Ignoble*; euen al sorts, and callings and conditions of men in this *Commonwealth*. For this is sayd to bee a *Flower* of the Kings *Crowne*, the *Dowry* of the *Kingdome*, the chiefe *Reuenue* of the King. This is a *Bound* to fortifie, and a *Bond* to knit the subiects together in their seuerall societies. This is the *Gold* of our *Ophir*, the *Milke* & *Hony* of our *Canaan*, the *Indies* of *England*: and therefore *Desire's* & *Deserue's* to be had in an euerlasting remẽbrance.

The *Draperies* of this *Kingdome* are

are termed *Old* and *New*. By the *Old*, are vnderstood *Broad Cloathes*, *Bayes* and *Kersies*: By the *New*, *Perpetuanoes*, *Serges*, *Sayes*, and other *Manufactures* of *wooll*.

The *Causes* then of the *Decay* of *Trade* in these *Draperies*, are either *Domestique* or *Forreine*. The *Domestique causes*, are some *past*, some *Present*. *Those Past*, are apparent in the late disturbance of the Cloth-trade; which is so obuious to euery man, that I had rather *Passe by it*, then *Presse vpon it*, because it is *Past*: and I would to God that so were the effects of it also. In charitie wee may thinke it was *Good* in the *Purpose*, though it proued *Ill* in the *Practise*. For thereby the *Draperies* of this *Kingdome* are much diminished, and the forreine aduanced and aduantaged. The quantities of which last, were formerly few or none, but now they exceede our highest numbers issued

ed out of the land: as by a collection thereof, which my selfe made in those part, by HIS *Maiestie*, speciall cõmand, in the time of *Secretary Winwoods* seruice, may appeare.

These Present, may be discern'd in the *Cloth-trade*, either vnder the *Clothier*, or vnder the *Merchant*. Vnder the *Clothier*, either by *Ill making*, or *False sealing* the Cloth.

The decay of Clothing vnder the Clothier, or vnder the Merchant.

For the making of good and true Cloth, many excellent lawes haue bin inuented & enacted by the wisdome of the *Parliaments* of this land, from time to time. And the Statute of 4. of the *King Cap.* doth seeme to bee an *Epitome* or *Compendiary* of all the former Statutes in this kinde. In this Statute is prescribed, the true breadth, and length, and waight, that may conduce to the making of a true and perfect Cloth, Kersie or Manufacture. If a Clothier make a Cloth of lesse waight, then is set downe in

4. Iacob.

Vnder the Clothier, by ill making, or false sealing of Cloth.

in the said Statute, he offendeth in *Quantitie*: If of lesse breadth, or length, or of forbidden kindes of wooll, hee offendeth in *Qualitie*. If a Clothier offend in *Neither* of these by his *Owne Act*, yet he may offend in *Both*, by his *Instruments* or *Workmen*: Either by the *Weauers*, in *not putting in* the stuffe *at the making*; or by the *Tuckers* in *pulling out* the stuffe *after the making* thereof.

A Cloth also may be well made; & yet false sealed. A Cloth may be said to be lawfully made, when it is truly sealed. For althogh it may be impossible to make some Clothes, iust of those quantities and qualities prescribed by the Statute; as the *Clothiers* terme is, *A man cannot cast a cloth in a mould*: yet I hope, they will giue me leaue to say, that it is possible that a Cloth may bee true sealed, though false made. And then a *Cloth ill made*, and *true sealed*,

sealed, whereby the buyer may see what hee hath for his money, may bee said to bee a good or lawfull Cloth according to the Statute.

Now the execution of the Statute for *Searching* and *Sealing of Clothes*, seemeth to be referred to two sorts of men: which are either the *Aulnager* or *Searcher*. The *former* may seeme originally to haue beene an Officer appointed for that purpose, as well by the *Notation* of the name, as by some *Ancient Statutes*. For *Aulne*, and *Aulnage*, and *Aulnagier*, are all *French* words, taken from the measuring of Cloth. And thence it is, that in that tong they are wont to say *Aulner draps* to measure Clothes, by a *Trope* taken from the *Instrument* by which they are *Measured*.

11. Hen. 4. 6. &c.

But because the care of the *Aulnage* is committed to so *Noble and Honourable a Personage*, that will not

not suffer any abuse in the execution of that office: and the said Statute of 4. *Iacobi*, and the former Statutes of 39. and 43. *Elizabethæ* doe referre the *Searching* and *Sealing* of Clothes, to certaine *Ouerseers* or *Searchers*, so called by the said *Statutes*, I will proceede vnto them.

And forasmuch as *Execution* is the *Life* of the *Law*, as HIS *Maiestie* in high *High wisdoma* admonisheth: and the *Prudence* and *Prouidence* of the *State*, haue beene very great in deuising and enacting such good lawes from time to time, as might tend to the encrease and aduancement of the *Drapery* of this *Kingdome*: If therefore now any thing bee amisse therein, it must needs come through the want of *Execution* of those *Lawes*. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*! This *Bonum* according to HIS *Maiesties Regall rule*, is not *Benè*. For these *Ouerseers* and *Searchers*

In His Maiesties speech in Parliament. In *Iune* 1611.

Eeadem Oratione Regia.

Searchers being silly Countreymen, and generally not expert in the *mystery* of making of Cloth: in the *Search* whereof, there is as much neede of skill as in the making: for how should they finde the fault, that know not how it is committed? These Searchers I say, thus being ignorant and vnskilfull in their offices, and nelgigent also, (in which last, it hath beene againe and againe confest, that they haue set the seales of their office, to Clothes they neuer search't nor saw) needs must there be a great abuse, in the *Execution* of those good *Lawes*.

Nay I would I could not say, how much our Nation hath beene vpbrayded by the people of forreine parts with this abuse, that the *Searchers Seales* of *England* are *bought* and *sold* as in a market, and put on the Clothes by the *Tuckers*, and other the seruants of the *Clo-*

Clothiers, as if the same had beene lawfully *Searched* and *Sealed* according to the *Statute*; when as the *Searchers Eye* neuer so much as beheld the *Clothes*.

Wherein the people of the *Netherlands* are so exact, that you shall neuer find any of their Country Clothes false *Search't* or *Seal'd*. For you shall haue a *Seale* set vpon the Cloth when it commeth from the *Weauers*: another when it commeth frõ the *Tuckers*: another when it cõmeth from the *Dyers*: and that by men of good quality, appointed for that purpose in euery *City* and *Towne* where Cloth is made, termed *Curemasters*: so called from the *Care* they ought, and doe performe, in the execution of their office: wherein indeed they are so exact, that you shall neuer finde any of the *Seales* aforesaid, set to any manner of *false* or *Defective* Cloth.

For indeed the *Searcher* being a *sworne*

Sworne Officer, ought to be as a witnes without exceptiõ betwixt man and man: that when a man seeth the *Searchers seale* set vpon the Cloth, it should serue as a true *Certificat* of the true making thereof. It is a great impiety before *God* and *Man*, to be a false witnesse in any case: but these *Searchers* are false witnesses *Ipse facto*, when they doe *Testifie* to the world by their *Seales*, that those Clothes are *Good* and *True*, which indeede are vtterly *False*. And which aggrauateth the matter yet more, that *the Kings Seale of Armes*, wich is *testis omni exceptione maior*, should also bee set to Clothes thus *Falsely searched* & *sealed*; whereby not onely *the Kings Subiects*, but the *Strangers* also in *Forreine parts* are deceiued, is a very grosse and grieuous abuse.

An example of Clothes ill made, searched and sealed.

Amongst other abuses of this kinde, one precedent come's to my minde, of *Ten* Clothes bought not long

long since by a *Merchant*, of a *Clothier* of *Wiltshire*. Which Cloathes were all *Sealed* by the *Searchers* of that place, for good & true, according to the Statute. But being tried by the *Merchant-Buyer*, and afterward by the *Sworne measurer* of the Citie of *London*, were found so defectiue in length, breadth and waight, that where these *Ten* Clothes cost but 60. *lib.* or thereabouts, the faults in these *Ten* Clothes came to neere 20. *lib.* which was one third part of the value of the Cloth. And it being a notable contempt of the law, the *Lords* of HIS *Maiesties most Honourable Priuie Councell* were informed thereof; who were pleased to send downe a *Messenger* into that *County*, and fetch't vp both the *Clothier* and *Searchers*, who worthily vnder-went the Condigne Censure of the Lords.

Vnder the *Merchant* also the

he Cloth ade suffereth nder the Merchant, t home and broad. At Home by Exportation of the Materials, or Imposition of Charge.

Cloth-trade suffereth both at *Home* and *Abroad*. *At Home*, by *Exporting the Materials*, either of *Woolles* or *Wooll-fels* from the *Sea coasts* of *England*, and the *Kingdome* of *Ireland*: or by *Ouer-lading* the *Cloth-trade*, either with any *generall* or *speciall* charge.

The *latter* I cannot pretermit: for as the chiefe waight of the *Cloth-trade* lyeth on the *Merchants-Aduenturers*; so also is the burthen of charge most felt vnder that *Trade*. For the *Impositions and Impreſt money* by them layd vpon the *Cloth*, for defraying the charge of their Gouernment, and payment of their Debts; haue driuen many good *Merchants* out of the Trade, and giuen the *Clothiers* occasion to complaine of want of *Buyers*, and thrust the Trade it selfe more and more into the *Strangers* hands.

Abroad by vnfit Residence.

And *abroad*, by the *vnfit place of Residence*, which the *Merchants-Aduenturers* are fallen vpon in

Holland. Whither they goe with great perill of Shippe and Goods: And where they come farre short of that they hoped for; and of that quicke and ample vent of their Cloth they found in *Zeeland*. The *Agitation* of which remooue; is vehemently suspected to haue moued the *Merchants* of *Holland*, to procure *Priuiledges* of the *States Generall* to *Incorporate* themselues, and *keepe Courts*, to confront the *Merchant Aduenturers*; which they neuer did before: To haue drawne the * *Taring* of Cloth into *Holland*, where the *Buyers* are in some sort *Iudges* & *Parties*; which before was in the *Mart-towne*, where the *Seller* was present: And lastly, to haue hastned the great *Imposition* in *Holland*. All which are matters of moment, and concerne the *Cloth-trade* verie much, and whereof the *English Factors* there residing doe generally complaine:

* That is, abating for the faults thereo

Yet *These* I rather instance then vrge : leauing the further Ouerture thereof to their own relation.

Forreine Causes of the decay of the Drapery, are the warres and the great Imposition in Holland.

Now the *Forreine Causes* of the decay of the *Drapery* of *England* : are either *Generall*, as the warrs in *Germany* : or *Speciall*, as the *Great Imposition* lately laide vpon our Cloth in *Holland*.

By the *Former*, the Course of Trade is stopt and hindered, that Merchants cannot passe without perill from place to place : and the monies become so variable, that when a Merchant hath sold his Cloth, and hopeth to haue gained something thereby ; by that time that the terme for payment is expired, hee receiueth lesse in value then the Clothes cost, by the *Raising* and *Rising* of the monies.

By the *latter*, the *Merchants* of the *Netherlands* are discouraged, whereby many of them haue giuen ouer their Trades, which heretofore they followed in ample man-

ner, in our *English* Clothes bought of the *Merchants-Aduenturers* from time to time : which hath also tended to the aduancement of the *Dutch Draperies* ; because the same are freed of all manner of charge.

CAP. III.
Of gouerned Trade, and therein of Monopoly.

HItherto the *Matter of Trade* hath beene considered in *Money* and *Merchandize* : the *Forme* followeth, and that either in respect of *Gouernment*, or *Want of Gouernment* in trade. *Gouernment* is a representation of the *Maiestie* and *Authoritie* of *the* KING. The subiect that is honoured with *Gouernment*, is inuested with part of the KINGS *Honour*. The *Trades* of this *Kingdome* which *by* HIS *Maiesties especiall Grace and Fauour* are reduced vnder *Order and Gouernment* into *Corporations*, *Companies*, and *Societies*, doe certainely much

Aduaunce and *Aduantage* the *Commerce* of this *Common-wealth*, and farre excell the trades of any other forreine Merchants in their vngouerned trades.

But as the *Vse* of *Gouernment* is excellent for the restraint of vnskillfull and disorderly trade: so the *Abuse* therof is as inconuenient, if at any time the same be too strict, and come within the compasse of a *Monopoly*. And because the name and nature of *Monopoly*, is more *talk'd of*, then well *vnderstood* of many; and some thinke that the reducing of trade into *Order* and *Gouernment*, is a kinde of *Monopolizing* and restraint of trade: I haue thought it not vnseasonable to bestow some speciall paines in the diligent inuestigation thereof. Not that I would haue the trade of the *Kingdome* so circumscribed or appropriated to any, that others of His *Maiesties* Subiects should bee depriued

depriued of the libertie thereof; but that vpon equall & reasonable termes, trading vnder *Order* and *Gouernment*, without that ill tincture of *Monopoly*, the KINGS *high way of trade* should be opened vnto all.

The name therefore of *Monopoly* in our English tongue, is deriued, as the learned know, of the Greeke word Μονοπόλιον: whence also the latine word *Monopolium* is borrowed. Some deriue it of Μόνος *Solus*, and πωλέω *Vendo*, to sell alone. Others of Μόνος *Solus*, & πωλέωμαι *Versor*, to cõuerse alone. Other of Μόνος *Solus*, and πόλις *Ciuitas*, *quasi vnica negotiatio in Ciuitate*. But all these agree in one meaning of the word, that it is *Singularis Negotiatio*, a diuerting of *Commerse* from the naturall course and vse thereof, into the hands of some few, to their benefit, and others preiudice. I also find many *definitions* of *Monopolies*:

uſmodi
ractus tan-
mptionis &
ductionis
litudine
fundebatur,
vix ac ne
quidem à
s conſuliis
rnoſci poſ-

tom. ad tit.
b. 18. & 19.
Rep. lib. 1.
11.

and a great queſtion among the *Ciuilians*, whether a *Monopoly* may bee exerciſed of one alone; and whether it conſiſt aſwell in *Locatio Conductio*, as they ſpeak, as in *Emptio Venditio*. Which laſt is out of queſtion with all. And of the former, I finde an inſtance in *Ariſtotle* of *Thales Mileſius* his *Monopolie*: who by his knowledge in *Aſtrologie*, fore-ſeeing one yeare in the winter, that there would bee great plentie of *Oyles* the next yeare, hired before-hand all the places and engins for making of *Oyle* through both the Ilands of *Melazo* & *Chius*, and afterwards let out the ſame againe at his owne pleaſure & price. In the ſame place hee maketh alſo mention of another, who bought vp all the Iron in *Sicilia*, which afterwards he ſold againe, and made one hundred *Talents* of that which coſt him but fiftie. Amongſt others I will take the *definition* of *Althuſius*

Althuſius for all the reſt. *Monopolium*, ſaith he, *Eſt Commercium emendi, vendendi, permutandiue, à paucis vel vno etiam vſurpatum, reliquis ciuibus præceptum, quo pretia augentur cum lucro negotiantis, & reliquorum damno.* That is, *Monopoly is a kind of Commerce, in buying, ſelling, changing or bartering, vſurped by a few, and ſometimes but by one perſon, and fore-ſtalled from all others, to the Gaine of the Monopoliſt, and to the Detriment of other men.*

Politic. cap. n. 20.

The parts then of a *Monopolie* are twaine. The reſtraint of the liberty of *Commerce* to ſome one or few: and the ſetting of the price at the pleaſure of the *Monopolian* to his priuate benefit, and the preiudice of the publique. Vpon which two *Hinges* euery *Monopoly* turneth. And theſe two parts are reſpectiuely repugnant to the two fundamentall requiſites of al good Lawes

Lawes: to wit, *Equitie* and *Vtility*. For it is against *Equitie*, that one Member of a *Common-wealth* should bee more free then another of equall ranke and condition. And what can be more contrary to *Publique Vtility*, then that some one or few persons, should sway the price of any thing vsefull to the *Common-wealth*, to their owne *Enriching*, and the *Common Losse* of other men? And heere it is to bee well obserued, that vnlesse these two parts concurre in a *Monopoly*: it cannot truely and properly bee so called, nor ought it so to bee accounted. And therefore *Althusius* following *Decianus*, saith well of that restraint of the *Comon Liberty*, which we call *Suit of Mill*: which compelleth men to vse this or that *Mill to grinde corne*, and none other: that it doth onely *Sapere Monopolium*, Sauour of Monopoly: but that it is not truly and properly

Althusius polit. c. 2.
Decianus Crim. c. 11.
Mach. lib. 2. §. 9.

ly a *Monopoly*. For in that case of *Suit of Mill*, vnlesse there be a greater Tolle or recompence exacted for grinding, then at other Milles, it falleth onely within the first part of a Monopoly, to wit, *of the Restraint of the Publike Liberty*; but not within compasse of the other part, *the Setting of the Price*. But for this *Restraint of the Publike Liberty of Commerce*, it may bee so ordered by *the Wisdome of the State*, that it may bee both *Lawfull* and *Beneficiall* to the *Common-wealth*. Which assertion, because it may seeme strange to some, I will make euident by *Good Authoritie* and *Examples*. *Peter Martyr* that famous light of the Churches of the Gospell, defendeth the restraint of *Solomon*, that none should buy *Horses of Egypt* without his Licence, to bee Lawfull. And of this kinde is the *Preemption of Tinne* heere in *England*, granted by His *Maiesties Gracious*

P. Martin 1. Reg. c. 10. &

Gracious Letters Patents to some few, with restraint of all others: which I dare boldly affirme is not only *lawful*, but very *beneficiall* also to this *Common-wealth*. For therby our *Thrice Noble Prince* receiueth a good reuenue, and the *Tinne* of this Land is sold for many thousand pounds a yeare more in Forrein parts, then otherwise it would, to the great increase of the *Common stocke* of this *Kingdome*. Also the Law of this *Realme* alloweth, that if any man inuent a new Art, beneficiall to the *Common-wealth*, hee may haue a Patent to vse that Art solely, with restraint of all others for seuen yeares: as well in recompence of his industry, as for the incouragement of others, to studie and inuent things profitable for the publique *Symbiosis*. The *Statutes* of the *Kingdome* restraine from the exercise of sundry *Crafts*, all such as haue not serued an apprentishood

prentishood vnto that *Art* which they would exercise: to the end that those *Artes* might be brought to better perfection, and the things made, might be good and seruiceable for those that buy and vse them.

The restraint of the *Publique Libertie*, is sometimes exercised by *Priuate Authoritie*: sometimes by *Publique*. Which distinction is made by the *Emperour Zeno*. *Iubemus ne quis pro sua authoritate, vel sacro elicito rescripto, &c. Monopolium audeat exercere.* Cod.lib.4.tit.59.

The *former* is practised, when any one or more, haue by their owne priuate contracts, gotten any Commoditie or matter of *Commerce*, wholly into their owne hands. Of this kinde are the examples aboue cited out of *Aristotle*.

The *latter* is, when by Publike authority, the liberty of the subiect is

is restrained: which is done, sometimes by the *Prerogatiue of the* KING: sometimes by *Act of Parliament.*

The *Former*, by dispensing with a generall Law in some point, and applying the dispensation to some one or few, with restraint of others. The *Latter*, by prohibiting all, but some one or few persons to vse the benefit of the Law in some point or other.

For dispensing with the Lawes, it is without question, that *the* KING hath power to dispence with a *Penal Law*, when it prohibiteth that which is not *Malum in se.* For the *Parliament* hauing made a *Statute* with intent of the *Publique good*: yet the same by reason of something not foreseene at the making of the Law, may proue verie preiudiciall in the Execution. And then the *Malum prohibitum*, as the *Lawyers* speake, may be dispenced

penced with by *the* KING. Thus the *Parliament* hauing prohibited the exportation of white Clothes vndrest aboue the price of foure pound the Cloth: the obseruation of that Statute was found by experience to be very preiudiciall to the Trade, and free vent of the Cloth in forreine parts. Whereupon Q. *Elizabeth*, granted a Speciall Licence to the Fellowship of the *Merchant Aduenturers*, to transport all sorts of white Clothes vndrest, with a *Non obstante* to that Statute. And although all other men stood lyable to the Statute still, and were restrained, yet the *Vtilitie* that hereby arose to the *Common-wealth*, did farre exceede the restraint of the *Publike Libertie.* For within few yeares after the granting of this Licence, the vent of Cloth in forreine parts increased to twice as much, as formerly it was during the strict obseruation of

33. H. 8.

Anno 6. El.

of the Statute. Other like dispensations of Statutes, I might instance: as that of the 28.*H*.8. concerning the retailing of *Gasgoigne Wines* at two pence a quart: which is dispensed with, by a Licence to the *Company of the Vintners*: but these may suffice for euery mans vnderstanding of this kinde of restraint.

For *Prohibition by Act of Parliament*: such is the Act whereby all the subiects of this Realme, excepting such as are of the Corporation of the *Muscouy Company*, are forbidden to trade into any part of *Russia*. Also that of 3. *Iacob*. concerning *Artizan Skinners*, whereby all but the *Company* are forbidden to buy and retaile some sorts of Skinnes. In these and the like, the *Parliament* maketh restraint of the *Common liberty of Commerce*, and the same restraint is againe released, not vnto all, but to some persons

Iacob.

sons or *Corporations* by *speciall Exercise and Prouiso* of the Act of *Parliament*.

The Later kinde of Restraint by Publique Authority, is when that which seemeth by the Lawe to be free to al, is by some *Patent or Proclamation of the Prince*, prohibited to all, sauing some certaine *Corporations*, or persons specially excepted and authorized in the same *Patent* or *Proclamation*. Of this kind are generally reputed all *Corporations* of *Merchants*, which are not confirmed by *Act of Parliament*. Which are generally reputed to carry with them a restraint to others, of that *Liberty*, which the Law doth seeme to offer to all in point of *Commerce*. Whence it is that so many pleade the *Freedome* of subiects, and *Presse* or rather *Oppresse* that plea of equity, that it is equall that all subiects should bee alike free to bee Merchants in all

Trades. To whom I anſwer, that firſt there is no good *Equality* in it, becauſe it is againſt the *Publique Vtility*, that all ſhould bee Merchants at their pleaſure. For that's not equall, that may ſeeme profitable to one, and bee hurtfull to many. *Atque ipſa vtilitas iuſti prope mater & æqui*, as *Horace* ſpeaketh. And yet what point of *Equity* is broken, when the freedome of Societies is ſo carryed, that it is open to all men vpon equall termes; that is to ſay, either by ſeruice or purchaſe? Otherwiſe it were very vnequall, that one man ſhould ſerue for his freedome, or buy the ſame: and another man ſhould haue it for nothing. If this point were well thought vpon, I preſume the *Gracious Grants and priuiledges* of HIS *Maieſtie*, conferred vpon *Societies*, would not ſeeme ſo much a *Restraint* of the *Common liberty*, as a prudent ordering

ring and accommodating thereof vnto the *Publique Vtility*. For it hath euer beene a *Policy* of this *State*, to reduce the *Trades* of *Merchants* of this *Kingdome* into *Corporations* and *Societies*, for the aduancement of Trade, by the benefit of order and gouernment: well foreſeeing that there cannot bee any greater *Bane* to a *Well-gouerned Common-wealth*, then *Ill-gouerned and Diſorderly Trade*. Whereof I ſhall haue fitter occaſion to ſpeake in the next Chapter, when I come to treat of the Inconueniences of the want of gouernment in Trade. So that in this caſe the general rule muſt be this; that ſuch a *Restraint* of the *Publique Liberty*, as is before mentioned, is alwayes to be allowed, when the ſame is recompenced with a *Publique Vtility*. According to that of *Tacitus*, *Omne magnum exemplum habet in ſe aliquid iniqui, quod vtilitate publica contra ſingu-* Tacitus.

los compensatur. Also the liberty that the Law seemeth to giue the subiects in Trade, is to bee vnderstood, of imploiment *Within the Kingdome*, not *Without the Kingdome.* For what liberty can a *Nationall Law*, giue to a *Forrein Trade* vnder a *Forreine Iurisdiction*, when the liberty or restraint thereof dependeth vpon those *Forreine Princes and States* where that Trade is tollerated? Therfore the *Law* may giue the subiect Liberty *Within the Land*, but it is the KING that must enable men to trade *Without the Land.* For all the *Trades* of the *Merchants* of this *Kingdome* into *Forrein countries*, are grounded vpon the *Amity* of the KING, and the *Treaties of Peace* contracted by *the* KING, with the *Kings and Rulers* of those *forreine parts*, at his owne charge, and by HIS own Authority, without the assistance of HIS *Parliament.* And therefore it holdeth

deth good congruity, that *the* KING by HIS like Authority, may haue the disposing and ordering of such HIS contracts at his owne pleasure.

The second part of *Monopoly* remaining, of the *Setting of the Price* at the pleasure of the *Monopolist*, to his *Priuate gaine*, & the *Publique losse.* This *Gothofredus* calleth *the Forme* of a *Monopoly.* And in truth it is the very *Soule* and *Accomplishment* thereof. And he or they that haue this power ouer the price of the thing they negotiate, may well be said according to the notation of *Monopoly*, from μόνος and πωλέειν, to *conuerse alone.* For in so doing, they so liue, as none can liue by them, in respect of their singuler gaine in this kinde: Contrary to that honest Prouerbiall rule of the Dutch, that men must *Leuen ende Laeten Leuen*: So liue as other men may Liue by them. But here I

Cod.4.59.

cannot but discharge all those *Corporations* of this *Kingdome*, of this part of *Monopoly*, which afford to euery particuler Trader thereof, the managing of his owne stocke, in buying and selling as hee can, without any combinarion with others. In which it is as impossible as vnusuall, for any to haue command of the price of their *Commodities*: because there is such a multitude of Traders of thē, and euery man is at liberty to buy or sell, without any rule by any generall order, or meanes to hold one price. But the greatest suspition of *Monopoly* in *Corporations*, is in such as Trade in *Ioint stockes*. Whereof if there be any that tradeth in a *Ioint stocke*, and hath the *Sole* buying or selling of any *Commodity*, and buy and sell the same *Iointly*, as by one person or common factor, such is guilty of *Monopoly*.

For

For *particuler men*, they may also commit *Monopolizing*: either by procuring *Patents* by misinformation of the *State*, for the *Sole Importing* or *Exporting*, buying or selling at their owne prises, to the restraint of the *Common Libertie*, and the *Publique Vtility* of the *Kingdome*: or else when some one or few, without any Authoritie, doe ioine together to engrosse and buy in a Commodity, and sell it out againe at their owne price. Of the former kinde, are those *Catalogues* of crying *Monopolies*, which HIS *Maiestie* in HIS *High Wisedome and Grace* damned in HIS *Princely Proclamation* of the tenth of *Iuly* last, in the xix. yeare of HIS *Maiesties most happy Reigne ouer this Kingdome*: Many of which were abused in the *Practise*, from that which they appeared to be in the *Institution*. And here a pretty question occurreth. When a

Patent is granted to a certaine person or persons, so as he or they haue power to licence others to exercise some kinde of *Commerce* solely, and consequently with command of the price: the question is, who is then the *Monopolian*, whether the *Patentees*, or their *Assignes*? In this case I suppose, that both the one and the other commit *Monopoly*. For first, the *Patentees* make their price at their pleasure vpon their *Assignes*, and they againe vpon the *subiects*. So that here is *Monopoly* vpon *Monopoly*: like your *Salt* vpon *Salt*, *Interest* vpon *Interest*, or the *Decompositum* in *Grammer*.

In the latter, some sorts of Tradesmen in *London*, are said to offend. Which being matters of Generall note, and willing to auoid offence, I will passe by such particulars. And this shall suffice for the *Definition* and *Distribution* of *Monopoly*.

CAP.

CAP. IIII.

Of want of Gouernment in Trade.

SVch is the *Forme of Trade* considered in the *Strict Vse* or *Abuse* of *Gouernment*, by way of *Monopoly*. It now remaineth briefely to shew the *Too Loose Vse* thereof, by *Vngouerned Trade*.

It is a *Maxime* in the *Mathematiques*, that *Rectum est Index sui & obliqui*. And the want of *Gouernment*, cannot better be demonstrated, then by the benefit of *Gouernment* it selfe. For thereby the *Common-wealth* hath beene much aduantaged, both in the encrease of the natiue Commodities of the *Kingdome*, and the aduancement of their vse and price in *Forreine parts*: and also in keeping the forreine

reine wares at a moderate rate within this *Kingdome*. This will be yet more perspicuous, if we cast our eye first vpon the seueral *Societies of Merchants* which trade *vnder Gouernment*: and then on those which trade *without Gouernment*. For *Contraria iuxta se posita, magis elucescunt*.

The Merchants-Aduenturers.

In the first place therefore consider we that *Ancient* and heretofore *Famous fellowship* of the *Merchants Aduenturers of England*. Hath it not by their politique rule and order, eaten out the *Societie* of the *Hans-townes* of *Germanie* and the *Merchants* of the *Entercourse* of the *Low Countries*, in those trades, which a long time they enioyed in this land? And whereas those of the *Hans*, vented in *Germany*, only a matter of *sixe thousand* of our Clothes yeerely and at low prises: and held this *Realme* as it were beholding vnto them for their shipping

ping: yea vpon some discontent for denying of them priuiledges, durst offer some hostilitie in the time of *Edward* the fourth. Wheras the *Merchants-Aduenturers* by their *Charters*, granted from time to time by the *Princes of this Realme*, and fauoured by *Parliaments* successiuely; by their orderly mannaging of their trade, haue supplanted the trade of the *Hanses* in *Germany*: and brought the said *Sixe thousand* vented by them in *Germany*, vnto *Thirtie thousand* Clothes yeerely & at great prises. And it is worthy to be remēbred to their *Honour*, that seruice which the *Merchants-Aduenturers* did to the *State* in *Anno* 88. when they supplied the *Nauie Royall* with a whole ships lading of *Powder and Shot* from *Hamburgh*: which came luckily euen *in articulo temporis*, when there was a very great want thereof. These also haue from time

time to time employed and bred vp many worthy Masters of ships and Mariners: and built many Tall, warlike and Seruiceable shippes: which as they themselues also, are at all times ready to doe seruice to the KING & STATE vpon all occasions. None of all which they had euer beene able to haue done as particular men, in a loose, distracted, and disorderly trade.

The East-India Company.

Great benefit also hath arisen from the *East-land Company*: who haue wonne like ground of the *Hanses* of the *Baltique Sea*: and do employ in that trade a great number of proper *Shippes* and *Men*.

The Muscouy Company

The *Muscouy Company* also by the benefit of *Gouernment*, besides their imployment of many proper Ships and Men, haue discouered the passage by the *North-Cape*, as also of *Greenland*: and done many other seruices to the *State*: which as particuler men, they could neuer haue performed. The

The Leuant Company.

The *Leuant Company* likewise by their trade vnder *Gouernment*, hath built a great strength of warlike, Tall & Lusty Shipping, which they employ in that trade: and by their industry haue wonne from the *Italians* the trade of the *Leuant*: the *Commodities* whereof were before brought into this *Realme* by *Argosies* to the encrease of *Forreine shipping*, and at *Deare* rates: and is now reduced to the *Natiues* of this *Kingdome*, to the encrease of *Shipping*, and the benefit of the *Publike*. Which without *Gouernment* and good order, had been impossible for them to haue done.

The French Company.

The *French Company* also, though but lately reduced to *Order*, haue reformed many abuses in that trade, in maintaining the *Natiue Commodities* of this *Kingdome* in much better estimation, and in keeping the *Forreine* at moderate prices: and in employing greater shipping,

ſhipping, then at any time before. Which were impoſſible for them to effect *Singly*, without *Societie*.

The East-India Company.

Laſtly, for the *Eaſt-India Company*, whereof I am preuented to ſay what I might, by two ſeuerall diſcourſes publiſhed in print, the one by that worthy & rarely qualified Gentleman Sr. *Dudley Digges* Knight, the other by that diſcreete *Merchant* M. *Thomas Mun*: yet this I ſay, that this *Great and Noble Societie* by the benefite of *Gouernment*, hath ſet on foot a very *Mightie Trade*, farre beyond any other *Company* of this *Kingdome*: and accordingly hath excelled in *Greatneſſe of ſhipping*, and making *Mariners of land-men*, beyond the example of any other Corporation: and had not *Enuy* thought that *Trade* too great a *Treaſure* for this *Kingdome*, doubtleſſe they had in *Encreaſe of Trade*, excelled all the *Companies* of *Merchants* in this *Common-wealth*. But

The obiection anſwered, that the Merchants of other countries trade without gouernment, which is examined by a particular enumeration of diuers Countries.

But here the ordinary obiection encountereth me, that in *Germany*, *Spaine*, *France*, *Italie*, and the *Netherlands*, there are no ſuch *Companies*, nor *Reſtraint of Merchants*, as here in *England*: and yet that thoſe *Countries* thriue better in their Trades, then we in ours. I anſwer, that if it be granted, that they haue no ſuch *Companies* nor *Reſtraints* of any, and that they thriue better in their trades then we; yet it will not follow, that this their better thriuing is becauſe euery man is at libertie to be a *Merchant* at his pleaſure. This is the *Fallacy* which the *Logicians* call Τὸ μὴ αἴτιον ὡς αἴτιον, *Non cauſa pro cauſa*. For if that were the cauſe, why then ſhould not our *Spaniſh Trade*, that hath no *Company* nor *Reſtraint*, proſper better thē the other Trades which are *Gouerned in Companies*? whereas to ſpeak as the truth is, *This* Trade & *Theſe Merchants*, are the moſt miſerable of

of all the other *Trades* and *Tradesmen* of this *Kingdome*, and all through want of *Gouernment*: thorough whose sides the *Commonwealth* suffereth, and hath already lost mady Millions in value of the *Wealth* of the *Weale-publique*, as I shall shew anon. But to the *Assumption*. I deny that the *Merchãts* of those *Forreine Countries*, trade without *Gouernment*. For *Germany* hath anciently had one *Society*, or *Corporation* of *Merchants* in all their *Sea-townes*, called the *Society* of the *Hans*, before noted: as their houses of *Staple*, yet standing at *Bridges* in *Flanders*, *Antwerpe* in *Brabant*, *Nouogrode* in *Russia*, *Bergen* in *Norwaye*, and the *Steelyard* in *London* can witnes. Which trade of theirs flourished, as long as it continued vnder *Gouernment*: but hauing lost their *priuiledges*, partly by their own *Stragling*, and partly being ouertop't by the flourishing of

As first Germany.

of the *Merchants Aduenturers Trade*, their Trade is now almost quite fallen to the ground.

For *Spaine* and *Portugall*: all men know that their *Sea Trade* is little, sauing to the *East* and *West-Indies*. And those Trades are carryed with *Gouernement*, and farre more restraint then ours.

Spaine and Portugall.

For *France*, there are not (that I know) any *Companies* of *Merchants* for forreine parts. Which I take to bee the cause, why those Merchants shipping, is of so small burthen, and of as little sufficiency for seruice. Which is an effect of a stragling vngouerned Trade.

France.

For *Italy*, that consisteth of so many seuerall *Iurisdictions*, that it were impossible to make a generall *Corporation* for any one kinde of *Sea-trade*. For example, were it not in vaine for *Genoa* to make a *Corporation* & *Orders* for Trade, whilest *Florence* held a contrary course? It were

Italy.

were certainly all one, as to haue a *Company* of Merchants for *Spaine* at *London*, and the *West-parts* left loose to Trade without *Order* or *Gouernment*, which were a meere mockery. But the Trade in many parts of *Italy*, being carried by *Families*, and euery *Family* being as it were one Person, there is a kind of *Gouernment* in their Trades, and the same performed with merueilous credite, policie, and iudgement.

The Netherlands.

The *Low Countries*, by that *Vnion* which is of the seuerall *Townes and Prouinces* vnder the *States Generall* (which neuertheless is as much, and endureth as long, as euery seuerall *Prouince and Towne* listeth,) haue of late yeeres erected their *East India Company*, and the like for *Guiny*, and are in hand with the like for the *West Indies*. Also the *Cloth-buyers*, the principall *Merchants of Holland*, haue lately obtained

obtained *Octroy* so termed, which is *Priuiledges & Immunities* of the *States*, to assemble themselues, and to keepe Courts, and make Orders for their Trade; and principally to confront & oppose the *Merchants-Aduenturers* Trade, vpon some differences, lately fallen out betwixt those *Cloth-buyers* and the said *Company* about the *residence* before noted. For their other Trades of *Germany*, *Poland*, *England*, *France* and *Spaine*, they rather wish then finde it possible, to ioine the seuerall *Townes* in one Rule and Order. And who so conuerseth with that *Nation*, shall find that they very much complaine of the disorders of their Trades, for want of that kinde of *Gouernment*, which many of them take notice of here in *England*: and some of them of late haue desired instructions from hence in that behalfe. Besides all this, these people as they

they are borne and bred in an *Vnited Country*, so doth their nature and disposition encline much to an *Vnion* and *Communion*. in Trade. Insomuch as oftentimes they are able to worke their feates by *Confederacy* and *Combination*, against an *Incorporation* in our *Nation*. For they wisely consider, that their interest is inuolued in the *Publique*: where, in our *Nation*, men commonly preferre their *Particular*, to the *Common-good*.

And thus hauing answered the obiections against *Corporations*, of *Merchants* and *Gouerned Trades*, and shewed the many and manifold benefits arising to the *Common-wealth* thereby: It is now easie to shew the Iniury and Inconuenience to this *Common-wealth* by the want of *Gouernment in Trade*. Those that Trade without *Order* and *Gouernment*, are like vnto men, that make *Holes* in the bottome of that

that *Ship*, wherein themselues are *Passengers*. For want of *Gouernment* in Trade, openeth a gap and letteth in all sorts of vnskilfull and disorderly persons: and these not only *Sinke* themselues and others with them; but also *Marre* the Merchandize of the land, both in estimation and goodnesse: then which there can bee nothing in Trade more preiudiciall to the *Publique Vtility*. And to make good these particulers, I take this for a ground: *Nemo nascitur artifex*. Which as it is true in the occupations of *Artizans*: so is it much more true in the *Trades* of *Merchants*: wherein there is so great variety of difficult points to bee learned, before a man can learne his *Stucke*, as the Dutch-men speak, or be his *Crafts master*. And how can the *Merchant*, that hath no skill in his Commodity, looke to it, that the Maker performe his

part? Or how can a falsified Commodity, hold his estimation and vse? The ill experience whereof, is not more remarqueable in any of HIS *Maiesties* subiects, then in those that trade into the *Dominions* of the *King* of *Spaine*, without *Order* or *Gouernment* in Trade. For at the beginning of HIS *Maiesties* most happy Raigne ouer this *Kingdome*, this Trade by HIS *Maiesties Princely fauour*, was made a *Corporation* and *Societie* of *Merchants*, and flourished vnder *Gouernment*. And then the new *Draperies*, and other the *Natiue Commodities* of the *Kingdome* were maintained in their estimation and goodnesse at *Home and Abroad*: But soone after by the clamour of some who preferred their owne liberty, to the vtility of the publique, and by some misinformation giuen the *Parliament* of that time, this *Company* after it had flourished

two yeares, was dissolued, and euer since exposed to confusion and disorder in Trade, and is become a receptacle and *Rendes-vous* for euery Shopkeeper, Stragler, and Vnskilful person: and may serue for a liuely representation of the hopes that may be expected, by such a loose trade, as many now a daies so much desire, not rightly conceiuing or considering the benefit of *Gouernment*, nor the Inconueniencies that doe perpetually accompany trade in the want thereof. Which in the *Effects* will be more *Perspicuous*, to which in their Order we now proceede.

CAP. V.

Of the Effects of the former Causes as they concerne the KING.

SVCH were the *Causes* considered in the *Matter* and *Forme* of

trade. The *Effects* follow: which doe either concerne the KING, or the *Common-wealth*.

Such as are the *Causes*, such also must needs be the *Effects* arising from the same: and those doe either respect *the* KING in point of *Honour*, or in point *of Reuenue*: and both in the *Matter* and *Forme* of Trade.

ffects to the ing in point f Honour.

In point of *Honour*, there is a relation to the KING from the *Matter* of Trade, considered *Generally*, or *Specially*.

Generally, in the generall neglect of all trades, by temerous, rash, and litigious suites of law: whereby the *Peace* of the *Kingdome* is disturbed, the *Iustice* thereof abused, and in both the KING dishonoured.

Or *Specially* in some speciall *Commerce* of this *Kingdome*, abused by *the* KINGS Subiects, or Strangers. By *the* KINGS Subiects, in the *Drapery* of the *Kingdome*, when HIS

HIS *Maiesties Seale of Armes*, which, as I said, is, *Testis omni exceptione maior*, shall be dishonoured by false Cloth and other Manufactures, that are vnworthily honoured therewith: and whereby, those that buy the same both *within* and *without* the Land, are perswaded the same is good and true, when the same is vtterly false: which is a great indignity offered to the KING.

By *Strangers*, in the *East India Action*, and the matter of *Fishing*. In the *East India Action* certainely the KINGS *Honour* is interessed; not onely to protect his subiects against the Iniuries done them by the *Dutch* in the *East Indies*; but also to maintaine the *Glory and Renowne*, *of* HIS *Sacred Fame*, which hath heretofore beene *Illustrious* euen vnto the *Heathen*: which some haue dared to doe what they could to obscure. The *Fishing*

Fishing hath also reference to *the* KINGS *Honour*: for it is a *Royalty* of the *Crowne*, which the KING in Honour cannot but protect.

There is also an *Effect* that extendeth it selfe to the KINGS *Honour* in the *Forme* of Trade, as it is *too strict*, or *too loose*. *Too strict*, in respect of *Monopolies*, wherein the *Prerogatiue of the* KING is abused, and therein HIS *Honour* also, by those that thereby seeke to priuiledge and Patronize things vnlawfull.

Too loose, in the disorderly Trade of the subiects out of *Gouernment*. For those *Strangers* that haue not beene in our *Countrey*, nor seene the Order of HIS *Maiesties Gouernment*, must needes *Ex vngue Leonem*, guesse at the *Souueraigne* by the *Subiect*: And like to *Archimedes* who drew the whole pourtraiture of *Hercules* body, by his footstep onely found in Mount

Mount *Olymphus*, proportion the *Royall and Regall Gouernment of* HIS *Maiestie At home*, by the deportment of his subiects *Abroad*. And as the Orderly Trade of *Merchants* is an *Honour to the* KING, when the same is contained within the listes of *Gouernment*; so the contrary cannot choose but produce a quite contrary effect.

In point of Reuenue.

In point of *Reuenue* the KINGS treasure is diminished, in the *Matter* also and *Forme* of Trade. In the *Matter* of Trade, eyther in the *General* course of Trade, or in some *Particulers*. In the *Generall*, the great want of money, and decay of Trade throughout all callings and conditions of men, must needes cause a great diminution of HIS *Maiesties Reuenue*, both in HIS *Customes* and *Supplies*. For the *Customes*, those perpetually rise and fall with Trade: And for *Supplies*, the subiects beeing impoueri-

shed

ſhed through want of Money and decay of Trade, are diſabled to doe that ſeruice to HIS *Maieſty*, which otherwiſe they would be willing, and heretofore haue beene able to performe, in flouriſhing times of Trade. And if our experience hereof had beene in the θεωρία and not in the πρᾶξις, in the *Contemplation* only, and not in *Action*: we had been much more happy in this *Kingdom* and *Nation*.

In the *particuler* courſe of Trade, it ſhall content me to inſtance onely the *Eaſt India Action*, and the *Fiſhing*, before referred to the KINGS *Honour*, here to HIS *Reuenue*. By the *Eaſt India Action* there is a very great loſſe to *the* KING in HIS *Cuſtomes*, by the loſſe of all the *Cuſtome* which that Trade would haue produced in all this time: and of the *Encreaſe* alſo of *Trade*, which that employment had brought with it, which would haue

haue yeelded to HIS *Maieſty* a great *Increaſe* of *Cuſtomes* anſwerable to the ſame. Of both which if we had not beene depriued, certainely HIS *Maieſties Ferme of* HIS *Cuſtomes* had yeelded *Many Thouſand pounds a yeare*, more then now they haue done.

By the *Fiſhing*, the *Cuſtomes and Tolles* which are vndoubtedly due to HIS *Maieſtie* for the Strangers *Fiſhing* vpon our *Coaſts*, together with the encreaſe of Trade, and conſequently of *Cuſtomes* thereby alſo, wold amount to ſo great a value, that I cannot wonder enough, that the ſame hath beene neglected all this while.

And laſtly in the *Forme* of Trade, *the* KINGS *Reuenue* is mightily diminiſhed, when by the diſorder of Trade, the very courſe of Trade is inuerted, and therein the KINGS *Cuſtomes* and *Subſidies alſo*.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

Of the Effects of the former Causes as they concerne the Common-wealth.

FRom *the* KING, come to the *Kingdome.* Wherein there are also manifold *Effects* of the precedent *Causes*, both in the *Matter* and *Forme* of *Trade.*

And although in the very same things, wherein the *Honour* and *Reuenue* of *the* KING are inuested, the *Wealth* of the *Common-wealth* is also interessed; yet the same may otherwise be distinguished; that so they may bee made the more perspicuous and cleere to euery mans iudgement.

Effects to the Common-wealth Actiue and Passiue.

The *Effects* then that arise out of the *Matter* of *Trade* and fall vpon

on the *Kingdome*, may be saide to be either *Actiue* or *Passiue. Actiue*, when they are done by *Our Selues*: *Passiue*, when they are done to vs by *others. Actiue*, in the vse of *Law*, either *Too much*, or *Too little. Too much*, in *Suits of Law*, whereby one subiect vexeth another: which make this peaceable *Kingdome* seeme to be at Warre within it selfe. For whilest men are thus at *Deadly Feude* in Law, by the losse of their Times, and Trades, and States; the thrift of the *Common-wealth* must needes bee neglected. *Too little*, In the *Non-Execution* of *Lawes*, which tend either to the enlargement of *Clothing*, or the restraint of the Excesse of the *Kingdome.* The *Former* is, either in respect of the *Ill searching* and *Sealing* of Cloth, or in the *Transportation* of the *Materials* of our Cloth before mentioned. In the *former* of these, the *Merchants Aduenturers* can

can giue you an account of *Tenne thousand pounds* a yeare at least losse to this *Commō-wealth*, by the *Tare* or abatements vpon the Cloath in forreine parts, for the false making and sealing thereof: Besides the other *Effects* of the decay of the *Drapery* it selfe, and other Trades depending thereon, the losse whereof is vnualuable. In the *Latter*, euery man is sensible of the losse to the *Common-wealth*, in robbing it of the *Materials*: whereby not onely our *Draperies* are *Impaired*, but the *Forreine* also are thereby much *Improued*.

Also the want of restraint of the *Excesse* of the *Kingdome*, in *Vsury* and *Prodigality*: the one beeing a *Viper* in a *Kingdome* that gnaweth through the bowels thereof: the other a *Canker* that fretteth and wasteth the stocke, in spending the forreine wares, more then it venteth

teth of our owne: both and either doe produce intollerable effects in a wel ordered *Kingdome* and Common-wealth.

Or *Passiue*, in the ill *Effects* that fall vpon the *Kingdome*; in things done to vs by *Others*. And that either by *Friends* or *Foes*. *The Former* is done by *Imposition*, or *Vsurpation*. By *Imposition*, in the *Merchants Aduenturers* Trade in *Holland*: where there is lately taxed vpon a Pack Cloth 9. *Gilders*; vpon a long Cloth 18. *Gilders*, and vpon a fine Cloth 24. *Gilders*, which is 18. 36. and 48. shillings of our money. And yet neuertheless they free their owne Countrey Cloth of all manner of charge; nay, they giue encouragement to the makers thereof by many *Priuiledges and Immunities*: whereby it is more then manifest that they do what in them lyeth, to *Plant* their owne *Draperies*, and to *Supplant*

ours, to the infinite disaduantage of this *Kingdome.*

By *Vsurpation,* those Friends of ours, depriue vs of our *East India Trade,* and *Fishing*, which here againe occurre, and offer themselues for this purpose also. By *the Former*, the *Common-wealth* hath not onely been dispossest all this while of so great a Stocke, as is that of the *East India Company*, but of the employment and encrease of Trade also, that thereby in all this time would haue accrewed vnto this *Kingdome*. And it is to be feared, that their policy is not onely to depriue the *Company* of their *Stocke*, but the *Kingdome* also of the *Trade*: which they thinke too great and glorious a *Fortune* for this *Common-wealth* to enioy, and the onely hope of their's. And hence it is that the *Restitution* is so hard to be had, because they think by detaining it, and spinning out the

the time, they shall in time *Weary* and *Weare* vs out of that Trade: And so in the meane while, by *Plowing* vp those *Indian Seas and Soyle* with our *Heifers*, they may at last *Reape* all the *Harvest*, and possesse and dispossesse at their owne pleasure, to the wonderfull enriching of their *Common-wealth*, and the impouerishing of *our's.*

By *the latter*, to wit, their *Fishing vpon our Coasts*, the *Common-wealth* looseth that which they gaine: which is merueilous increase of *Trade*, of *Shippes*, and *Marriners.* Whereby their *Nauigation* is mightily *Strengthened*, their *Marriners multiplyed*, and their *Trade* encreased: Of all which this *Common-wealth* is depriued, and *their's* enriched.

By *Foes* also this *Common-wealth* is lamentably *Passiue*, in the *Cruelty* done by *Turkish Pirats* vpon our *Men* and *Ships*, and *Goods.*

The griefe is lamentable, the losse intollerable.

Lastly, there are ill Effects that fal vpon the *Common-wealth* in the *Forme of Trade*: and that in respect of *Monopolies*, or *Vngouerned Trade*. By *the Former*, this *Common-wealth* is depriued of that true liberty of Trade, which belongeth to all the subiects: when the Commodity of some few, is preferred to the publique good.

By *the Latter*, which is most remarqueable in the Trade of HIS *Maiesties* subiects into the Dominions of the *King* of *Spaine*, and the *Mediterrane* Sea; the Trade of this *Kingdome* consisting in *Bayes*, *Perpetuanoes*, *Kersies*, *Waxe*, *Tinne*, *Lead*, and other the *Natiue Commodities* of this *Kingdome*, is betrayed into the hands, both of those with whom we are in *Amitie*, and others that are with vs in *Enmity*. The one taketh aduantage of our vnmerchant-

merchant-like courses for lacke of *Order*: The other, of our Shippes sent foorth stragling for lacke of *Fleets*: and both through want of *Gouernment in Trade*. Whereby the *Perpetuanoes* and other *new Draperies* haue by little and little bin made worse and worse, so that now they are become quite out of vse, the *Trade lost*, the *Traders ruinated*, the *Manufactures by other Nations supplied*, the *Nauigation hindered*, by the losse of many *worthy men*, and *Seruiceable Shippes*: In all which, the *Decay of Trade* is exceeding *Great*, the *Common-wealth's* losse *Infinite*.

CAP. VII.

Of the Remedy for all the former Causes of decay of Trade.

HAuing shewed the many and manifold *Causes* of the decay of Trade in the *Matter* and *Forme* thereof: It remaineth now to present the *Remedy*. Which according to the precedent Method, I will apply vnto all the particulers in their order. Onely the *Remedies* for the *Effects*, I shall present in the *Causes*: for the *Causes* being remoued, the *Effects* must needs cease, according to the common *Maxime* in *Philosophy*, *Sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus*.

In my former distribution I considered the *Causes* of the decay of Trade, in the *Matter* and *Forme* thereof: and in the *Matter* I insisted on *Money and Merchandize*. The *Causes* of the want of money, I shewed some to be *Immediat*, some

some *Mediat* or remote. The *Immediat* Causes, I noted to be such, as either hinder the *Importation*; or such as cause the *Exportation*; and both in the *Vnder-valuation* of HIS *Maiesties* Coine. The *Remedy* offer's it selfe, which is double. First, how it may be got: and next how it may be kept. *The former* may be done two wayes: By Raising of the KINGS Coine; and by making current *Forreine Coines* at equall value. Wherin it is to be obserued, that the more the *Coynage* is abated, the lesse the *Coyne* it selfe need to be raised. *The latter*, to wit, the keeping of *Money* within the land, may also be done 2. waies: By another maner of Execution of the Statute for Employments then heretofore: wherein there is some reason not to expresse my selfe as I might: And by HIS *Maiesties Princely and Prudent Negotiation*, with the *Princes* of our *Neighbour*

The Remedy of drawing money into the Kingdome, must needs be the raising therof

And by making forreine Coines currant at like value.

bour Countries, the *States* of the vnited *Prouinces* especially, to keepe a more constant course in the values of their Coines. Neither of which can be done by that *Par* of Exchange, which is now againe in agitation, and hath taken more then twenty yeeres to bring it to perfection. Wherein, *absit invidia verbo*, that I say, there is neither *Parity*, nor *Purity*. For it is not the rate of Exchanges, but the value of monies, here lowe, elsewhere high, which cause their Exportation: nor doe the Exchanges, but the plenty or scarcity of monies cause their values. Or if I should grant that to be the cause which is not: yet it doth not follow, that because the Stranger, like enough, would be a deliuerer heere of money at a high rate, that therefore the English must take it. And then the consequence will be ill: for if the rate be such as the *Taker* like not, then

then the *Deliuerer* is yet more thrust vpon the exportation. But I leaue this Proiect to whom it is committed, with this, that his opinion seemes to be *eiusdem farinæ*, with another of the same, in his *Canker of Englands Commonwealth*, in these words: *And it were to be wished, that our Cloth were sold at so deare a rate, and according to the price of forreine Commodities, that thereby other nations would take vpon them to make our Clothes themselues: which might easily bee remedied, by selling our woolles the dearer, whereof they must make them.* Which seemes to haue in it much more *Dutch* then *English*, to deprive this *Kingdome* of so Royall a Manufacture, whereby so many thousands of poore families, are maintained in the same: as if hee would cure one Canker with another, contrary to our *Sauiours Argument*, that Satan cannot cast out Satan.

Canker of Englands Commonwealth. p. 46. published in *An.* 1601.

Satan. But I returne to mine owne *Station*: and therein to answer the obiections that doe occurre the raising of *Money*: which are wont to be principally, either the continuall *Raising* of it, to follow the *Rising* of forreine Coine; or else the ineuitable losse that thereby will fall, *Generally* vpon all men in the endearing of all things; and *Particulerly* vpon *Landlords* and *Creditors*, in their rents and contracts.

The obiections against raising of money, answered.

For the continuall *Raising* of the Coine, that will be needlesse, if the meanes be sufficient for executing the *Statute* for *employments*, whereby the *Money* may be kept within the land when we haue it. And for the dearenesse of things, which the *Raising* of *Money* bringeth with it, that will be abundantly recompensed vnto all in the plenty of *Money*, and quickning of Trade in euery mans hand. And that which is equall to all, when hee that buye's deare

deare shall sell deare, cannot bee said to be iniurious vnto any. And it is much better for the *Kingdome*, to haue things deare with plenty of *Money*, whereby men may liue in their seuerall callings: then to haue things cheape with want of *Money*, which now makes euery man complaine.

Lastly, for *Landlords and Creditors*, their losse is easie to be preuented by *Prouiso*, that the *Contracts* made before the raising of the *Monies* shall be paide at the value the *Money* went at, when the *Contracts* were made: according to the disposition of the *Ciuill Law* in this case: *Valor monetæ considerandus & inspiciendus est à tempore contractus, non autem à tempore solutionis*.

Gailius 2. lib. Obseruat. ca. 73.

The raising also of the *Coine*, would raise the price of *Plate*: whereby either there would bee lesse superfluity that way, or else more

more old *Plate*, which perhaps in ſome mens hands is kept vp for *Treaſure*, would be brought out, to be molten into *Coine*.

The *Mediate* or Remote *Cauſes* of the want of *Money*, I obſerued to bee either *Domeſtique or Forreine*. The *Domeſtique*, *Generall or Speciall*. The *Generall*, the great *Exceſſe* of the *Kingdome*, in conſuming the Commodities of forreine Countries in ſuch abundance, to our owne loſſe. And amongſt thoſe, the great exceſſe in *Tobacco* is none of the leaſt: which if it might ſeeme good to the High Wiſedome of His *Maieſtie*, to reſtraine, or at leaſt to giue a tolleration of the *Virginia* and *Barmudo's* only; there might be a great deale of *Pietie* and *Policy* ſhewed in this *Remedy*. For in the one reſpect, it would tend to a great enriching of that plantation, which ſo happily ſucceedeth through Gods bleſſing; and

Remedy r exceſſe.

and in the other it would aduantage the KING and the *Kingdome*, in the redreſſe of the diſorder of the *Spaniſh Trade*, and in bringing in *Treaſure* in ſtead of that *Toye*, more then the Rent that is now raiſed to His *Maieſtie* for the ſame,

The Superfluity of other Commodities may bee reſtrained by lawes *Veſtiary* and *Sumptuary*, according to the example of *Germany* & other our Neighbor Countries.

The *Speciall Remote Cauſe* of our want of *Money*, I noted to bee the want of our *Eaſt India Stocke* in the *Common-wealth*. The *Remedy* wherof, is in the *Princely Power and Gratious Fauour* of His *Maieſtie* to apply at His pleaſure, to this Languiſhing body. And if His *Sacred Maieſtie* will vouchſafe to apply His Gratious *Mouth*, to *this Mouth*: His waking *Eye*, to *this Eye*: His powerfull *Hand* to *this Hand*: then ſurely this fainted *Body*

A Remedy for want of Money in the remote cauſe thereof.

Body will receiue *Breath* and *Life*, from the powerfull influence of so *Great a Maiestie*, and reuiue also the many other *fainting* Trades, that are *fallen* in it. The *Forreine Remote Causes*, I obserued to be the *Warres in Christendome*, or the *Trades* maintained with ready *Money Out of Christendome*. The former, either cause the *Exportation* of *Money*, as do the *Warres* of *Christians*: or hinder the *Importation* thereof, as doe the *Warres* of *Pirats*. A *Remedy* in the former of these I know none, besides that blessed disposition in His *Maiesty* to spare no *Cost* to make *Peace*: which hath made His *Fame* shine as farre as the Sunne shineth, and shall last as long as the Sunne and Moone endureth: and as sure as the Lord is faithfull, will be remembred on His *Posterity* for euer: Besides this I say, I know none, but *Patience* and *Prayer*: that *God* would

Remedy of the Warres of Christians.

would auert the heauy Iudgments at this day on the Christian world, and giue vs grace to consider *Our peace*, in this *Our day* thereof. A *Remedy* in the latter, may be either by reducing of the stragling trade of His *Maiesties* subiects into the Dominions of the *King of Spaine*, into *Gouernment*; whereby they also might goe in Fleetes, as other gouerned Companies doe, and the better defend themselues against so *Common* and *Cruel* an enimy: or else by seeking restitution of our wrongs in this kinde, where it may be had: so farre as it may concurre with the *Honour* of the KING, to whose Great and Princes iudgement, I submit the same.

A Remedy of disorderly Trade.

The Remedy for the *Exportation of Money* out of *Christendome* by the Trades before mentioned, dependeth much on the good Conclusion hoped for, betweene the *Dutch* and our *Nation*. Whereby not

A Remedy for the exportation of Money out of Christendome.

not only the *Indian Commodities*, which in those Trades are the principall, may be bought much better cheape, and consequently spare a great deale of the *Treasure* now issued out for the same: but also, the *Natiue Commodities* of either Country, and as much as may bee of euery Country, may be brought into *Trade* and *Traine* with the *Indians*, and aduanced in their vse and price: that so at last in stead of Money for Wares, we may giue Wares for Wares according to the Law and nature of *Commerce*. And this good conclusion betweene the *Dutch* and *Vs*, is the rather to bee wished, and the more to be hastened, because the subtilty of the *Indians* is great, in taking aduantage of this vnhappy *Faction*, or rather *Fraction*, that is fallen betwixt vs. For those that haue trauelled the *Indies*, and obserued those people can tell, that the *Indians* doe ascribe

ascribe so much to the light of their vnderstanding, that they doe account the rest of the world blinde in Comparison of them. Only they vouchsafe to the people of *Europe* this honour, to call them *One Eied men*. Which also *Maffeius* taketh notice of, in his History of the *Indies*, that those people dare beyond modesty thus to brag; *Chinenses duos habere oculos; Europæos vnum; & quod hominum est reliquum, cæcutire. That the Chineses haue two Eies, the Europeans one, and all the rest of the people of the world are blinde.* And indeed they do approoue themselues to be *Quicke-sighted* enough: for they are the *Antipodes* of *Christians*, and are in scituation fartheſt remote from them, and yet can finde the *Meanes*, to pry into the *Mines* and *Treasure* of the Christian world. And therefore I say, it is high time that the *Dutch* and *We* left *Darting*

Ioan. Petr. Maffeius Hist. Ind. lib. 6.

at one another, and so ioine together, that as with one *Hand*, and one *Heart*, and if they will needs haue it so, *with that* one *Eie*, we may collect and contract our sharpest sence & sight into it; that as it is said, some *Monoculists*, by the sharpnesse of the sence drawne to one Eie, see better with that, then both: we may at last put this remedy in practise, that we seem no longer blind men, to those *Indian* people. But herein on both parts, are we humbly to implore HIS *Maiesties Regall Intercession*, that these differences, betwixt the *Dutch* and *Vs*, may no longer *Hang in suspence*, but at last be drawne to that happy and hopefull *Period* wee haue so long looked & longed for. That so the *Maiesty* of the KING, arising like the *Glory* of the *Sun-ring* vpon this our *Horizon*, may *dispell* and *disperse* all the tempestuous *Mists* and *Fogges*, that haue obscured

red the same; and lend such a glorious *Light* and *Life* vnto this *Orbe* of ours, that *They* & *We*, like louers and friends fallen at oddes, may be redintegrated, renewed, and reunited, in vnfaigned *Amitie* and *Vnity*, that the name of *Hostilitie* betwixt *Them* and *Vs*, be neuer hereafter told in *Gath*, nor publish't in the streets of *Ashcalon*: And that the Publike complaints aswell of their * *Owne* people, as *Ours*, may no longer come vnder the view and censure of the world.

Another *Remedy* of this kinde, may bee HIS *Maiesties* gratious protection of the *Persian Trade* now so happily set on foote: that so neither the Enuy of any at Home; nor the *Power or Policy* of any abroad, supplant vs in the same. Whereby the *Cloth* and *Tinne*, and other the *Natiue Commodities* of this *Kingdome*, may be brought into *Vse* and *Commerce* amongst

* In a Translation out of a *Dutch* Copy, lately published in *Holland* by the *Dutch* themselues: in the face or Title whereof, these words are vsed: *That notwithstanding the extreme wrongs done by the* MAIORS *to the English Nation, Trading to the East Indies; yet it is the Iustice of God, they thriue not with it themselues.* Printed 26. *Iune*, 1622.

Another Remedy of the former kinde.

mongst the *Persians* also. Which through Gods blessing, and his *Maiesties Royall Assistance*, may be a means to draw the whole Trade of the *Persian* silke into this *Kingdom*, and make it the *Magazin* thereof, for the supply of other Nations: to the weakning of the *Turkes* power, the increase of Trade in this *Common-wealth*, and with it His *Maiesties* Customes, the Nauigation, and employment of the poore: to the Great Honour of the King, and enriching of all His *Kingdomes*.

And so much for the *Remedies* about the *matter* of Trade in *Money*; the *Merchandize* followeth. Which I considered *Iointly*, or *Apart*. The things that hindred the whole Trade, I noted to be *Deficient*, as the *want of Money*, or the *East India Stocke*, which haue their *Remedy* before: or *Efficient*, as *Vsury* and *Litigious Suits of law*, to the *Remedies* whereof we now proceede.

A Remedy for Vsury.

The *Remedy* for *Vsury*, may be

plenty of *Money*. For then, men will haue no such cause to take *Money* at interest, as when *Money* is scant. For as it is the scarcitie of *Money* that maketh the high rates of interest: so the plentie of *Money* will make the rates low, better then any Statute for that purpose. For although in the *Netherlands*, it is lawfull for a man to take twenty in the hundred if he can get it: (wherein it seemes the Author of the Tract against Vsury was misinformed,) yet there, commonly money is let at 6. and 7. in the hundred, by reason of the plenty of Money.

Another Remedy for Vsury.

Or there is another Remedy for Vsury, in giuing liberty to the subiects, if so it may seeme good to His *Maiesties High Wisedome*, to buy and sell, and to transport Billes of debt from man to man: according to the Custome of *Germany* and the *Low Countries*. Which is found

to be an excellent meanes to ſupply mens wants in courſe of trade; and tendeth alſo to the enlarging thereof. And for the *Extorſion* vpon the poore aboue noted: if a ſtocke of Money were raiſed in manner of a *Lumbard*, or otherwiſe in *London*; and in the *Countries* where much poore depend on Clothing, and elſe-where where there is cauſe, whereby the multitudes of poore wherewith the *Kingdom* ſwarmeth, might be from time to time ſupplied for a ſmall conſideration; it would certainly giue great encouragement to the poore to labour, it would ſet on worke many fatherleſſe children that are ready to ſterue, it would benefit the *Common-wealth* by their labours, and it would be an acceptable worke to *Almighty God*, ſo to ſupply their wants, and not to ſuffer the faces of the poore to be ground by the extorſion of any.

And

And I am perſwaded, that euery good man would be willing, either to giue, or to lend, toward the raiſing of a ſtocke of *Money* for this purpoſe.

For *Litigious ſuits of Law*, if men beſtowed halfe that ſtudy and coſt in trade, which now adaies is ſpent in temerous and raſh ſuits of Law; ſurely the benefite that thence would ariſe to the *Common-wealth*, would equall or exceede in value, that which is ſpent in Law, which I thinke cannot be valued. The *Remedy* requireth great conſideration, for ſuch is the Cauſe.

Remedies for Litigious ſuits of Law.

That the *ſuites of Law* in this *Kingdome* are now infinitely increaſt, to that they were in elder times, I thinke it is out of queſtion: The *Quære* is about the cauſe thereof. *Litigious ſuits of Law*, may ſeeme anciently to haue beene reſtrained, either by *Sureties*, or *Fines*, or both. *Of the Former* there is

yet a defaced print in the Common-Pledges of *Doe and Roe*. Which were of old the names of true and reall sureties, but are now become formall only, and faigned names of Course and Solemnity. Whence also it is, that in stead of Reall sureties in *London*, faigned sureties are deuised from the dwelling of the party *Plaintife*: As for example: if the plaintife dwell in *Cheape-side*: they enter for his Sureties vpon the Record of Court, *Iohn Cheape*, and *Richard Side*. And in like manner wheresoeuer else the *Plaintife* dwelleth.

Of the Latter, to wit of *Fines*, the vse of them both in the *Kings Bench*, & *Common-Pleas*, continueth vnto this day. *In the Kings Bench* the *Fines* are not so ancient, for those began in the 8. yeare of His *Maiesties* Happy raigne ouer this *Kingdome*: neither are they of like value to those of the *Common-Pleas*.

Where-

Whereof His *Maiestie* made then a *Graunt* to certaine *Patentees* for terme of yeares. But in the *Common-Pleas*, the *Fines* vpon *Originall Writs*, are held by the learned in the Law, to bee as ancient as the *Common-Law* it selfe.

Now whether the vse of *Sureties*, or the Institution of *Fines*, were inuented for the restraint of *Ligitious suits of Law*: or the Disuse and inequality of them, tendeth to the encrease thereof; I humbly leaue that, to the wisedome and iudgement of the *Reuerend Iudges*, and others learned in the Law: least I seeme ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν. Neuertheleſſe there seemes to me, to be a print of them, in the Lawes and Customes of *Forreine Nations*. For which, if you please, let vs heare MAIMON a great RABBI. HEBRÆI, *litigiosum hominum genus*, saith he, *duplum rependere coegerunt, qui debitum scienter denegaret*. Also

מורה נבוכים
Maimon. lib. 3

odin. de Rep. 6. 6.

Also FESTVS POMPEIVS, cited by BODIN. *Romani decimam partem eius rei, quæ in controuersiam veniret in priuatis, aut qui tam in publicis iudicijs, imperabant. Ac licet Romani in Republica libera, Vectigalia & tributa imperare sibi difficilimè paterentur, Vectigalia tamen Iudiciaria patienter tulerunt.*

In Part. iurisf. De Actionib.

Also HOTTOMAN. *Romani Sacramentum constituerunt, certam viz. pecuniæ summam, vt qui iudicio vicisset, suum sacramentũ auferret, victi autẽ ad ærarium rediret.*

De Rep. lib. 6.

And lastly BODIN. *Carolus nonus Vectigal Iudiciarium ad cohibendam litigatorum hominum indomitam atque effrænatam licentiam imperauit. Quo vix vllum afflictis ærarij opibus vtilius, & Galliæ Imperio litium innumerabili multitudine oppresso, splendidius cogitari poterat.*

There is also in *France* an excellent

lent restraint of Law suits, by a *Law Merchant*, established in *Roan*, *Lions*, and *Tholosa*: whereby the other higher Courts of Iustice are eased of those Knotty questions that often fall out in matters of *Commerce*, which are harder to bee determined by the learned in the Law, and not so hard for Merchants and men of Trade.

Like to which, is that of the *Court of Conscience*, and the office for *Pollicies of Assurance* in London. The one granted by an Act of Parliament, in the 3. yeare of HIS *Maiesties* happy Raigne, the other by the Statute of 43. *Eliz.* And both are executed by *Merchants* and men of Trade: though in the latter the Statute ioineth certaine Ciuill and Common Lawyers with them in Commission, to assist them when there is cause: because such Assurances are grounded on the Ciuill Law. By which

which meanes HIS *Maiestie's* other Courts of Iustice are eased of the multiplicitie of Questions that might arise by suits of Law of this kinde.

And thus hauing been bold to make this short Relation of my poore obseruation herein, I most humbly submit this *Remedy* to the High wisedome of HIS *Maiestie*, to dispose thereof in such Manner and Measure, as the Nature and Number of the suits of Law, at this day in this Kingdome doe require. In the restraint whereof, HIS *Maiestie* shall haue great *Honour*: HIS *Kingdome Peace*: the *Iudges Ease*: the *Subiects Quietnesse*, and the *Common-wealth* increase of *Trade*.

medies for dinance.

The Trades considered *Apart*, I reduced to such, as tend to the *Fortification of the Kingdome*, or *Maintenance of Trade*. The former I noted to be *Ordinance* or *Munition*.

In

In which case the *Philosopher* gi-
ueth good Counsell, Δεῖ φιλεῖν ὥσπερ μισήσοντα, μισεῖν δὲ ὥσπερ φιλήσοντα. *Sic amandum tanquam sis osurus, sic oportet odisse tanquam sis amaturus.* Bias.

The latter I reduced to *Fishing* and *Clothing*, as the *Nurseries* of Trade. For the *Fishing*, the infinite treasure that Strangers search out of our Seas, the variety of Trade that thereby they purchase, the multitude of *Mariners* they breed, the Fleets of Shipping they maintaine, me thinkes should euery of them apart, or all of them together, be vnto vs as so many prouocations to rouze vs vp to the exercise thereof: Whereby HIS *Maiestie* might receiue such a Tolle or Custome of them, as other Princes doe in like case, and be once againe *Lord and Master* of the Seas, for all the dispute of the Author of *Mare liberum*: and the Natiue subiect encouraged by some Immunity or Priuiledge,

The Remedy for Fishing.

Quæ non prosunt singula, multa iuuant. De remed.

Priuiledge, to lay hold on that benefit, which God and Nature hath brought home to our doores.

For the *Clothing*, that also is a point of *State* and *great consequence*. The *Causes* of the decay whereof, I obserued to bee either *Domestique* or *Forreine*. The *Domestique* some *Past*, some *Present*. In which former, it may perhaps seeme strange, to speake of a *Remedy* for a thing past. Wherein the best Remedy I can thinke of, is, to be warned by those harmes, not to disturbe or distract Trade vpon any suggestion, though neuer so specious. It is a safe rule, that in *Rebus nouis constituendis euidens esse debet vtilitas*. And in *Proiects*, though they promise much, yet the vtility is commonly *Contingent*, which may be, or may not be. But in the mutation of the naturall course of Trade, there ought to be *Perspicuity* and *Apparency* of *Euident*

Euident Vtility: Else a *Breach* may be sooner made in Trade then can be *repaired*: and the *Current* once *diuerted*, will hardly bee *reuolued*, into it genuine *Source* and *Course* againe.

The *present Domestique Causes* of the Decay of *Clothing*, I considered in the Trade vnder the *Clothier*, or vnder the *Merchant*. Vnder the *Clothier*, I noted the *Ill making* and *False sealing* of Cloth: and both through the *Non-execution* of the Statute of 4. of the KING. The abuse wherof is growne to be very great, and the reformation hath beene by HIS *Maiesties* Proclamations and otherwise, so much and so oft attempted of late yeares, and nothing therein effected, that it seemeth a very difficult matter to reforme the same. Neuertheleſſe if it may please HIS *Maiestie*, to commit the care of the execution of the Statute, to some of the Principall

The Remedy for Clothing

The Remedy for Clothing.

cipall Cities and Townes in the Clothing Counties, where Broad Clothes, Kerſies, and Perpetuanoes are made; and to make them the *Ouerſeers* mentioned in the Statute, inſtead of thoſe ignorant and negligent *Searchers*, with reaſonable allowance for their paines; I am confident it would proue a ſinguler Remedy. For we haue not only the example of the *Low Countries*, where this courſe is taken, but alſo here with vs: as *Worceſter* for that ſort of Clothes, *Colcheſter* for Bayes, and *Canterbury* for Sayes. In all which places the former abuſes are remoued by this means; and the Clothes, and Bayes, and Manufactures of thoſe Cities, triumph in great credit and eſtimation. Which execution of the ſaide Statute, is the rather to be committed to the care and charge of the principall Cities and Townes in the Clothing Counties; becauſe by

Examples of Worceſter, Colcheſter, and Canterbury.

by ancient Statutes not repealed, all Clothes and Kerſies ought to bee brought to the next City, Borough, or Towne Corporate, to be ſealed, before they be put to ſale. And if ſuch Clothes ſo ſealed, proue defectiue, that Corporation or Townesſhip that ſo hath ſealed them, ſhall forfeit the whole value thereof.

4.&5.P.&M.5.

The reformation of which abuſe will redound to the benefit of the *Clothier*, as well as the *Merchant*. For none is more hurt with falſe Cloth, then that Clothier which maketh true Cloth: becauſe his markets are alwayes hurt by the cheapneſſe that falſe Cloth may be afforded at. Therefore to facilitate this Remedy, I haue made a collection of all the principall Cities and Townes in the Clothing Counties for this purpoſe, as by a liſt thereof, fixed to the end of this diſcourſe may appeare, that ſo a

worke of this nature be no longer deferred, wherein the *Honour of the* KING, and the *Benefit* of the *Publique* are so much inuolued.

A Remedy for the exportation of Wools.

Vnder the *Merchant* I obserued the Cloth-Trade to suffer at *Home* and *Abroad*: At *Home*, either by exporting the *Materials* of Clothing, or by Ore-lading the Cloth-Trade with charge. The Remedy in the former, were to lay a restraint of exportation of Wools and Wool-fels out of *Ireland*, and to quicken the execution of the Statute for that purpose in *England*, by encouraging the discouerers of such abuses.

The latter is the Sur-charging of the Cloth Trade, either generally or specially: this last, in the Impositions and Impreſt monies imposed by the *Merchant Aduenturers*: which as it is a charge laid vpon the *Drapery* of the *Kingdome*, I conceiue, vnder fauour, is a matter that

that trencheth into the Supreme power and dignity of the KING, and is peculiar to HIM alone. And if for *Gouernment*, or other iust causes in *Societies* and *Corporations*, there be a necessity of paying of debts, or defraying of necessary charge; I should thinke it better policy to spare the *Cloth*, and other the *Natiue Commodities* of the *Kingdom*, and to implore HIS *Maiesties* fauour, to leuy such charge vpon the *Forreine Commodities*: according to the Counsell of *Stephanus*, *Si Vectigal nouum euitari non potest, tunc onerentur merces peregrinæ, quæ ad luxum magis quàm ad necessitatem faciunt.* And this I conceiue would be a good remedy for easing the Cloth Trade of the present charge vnder the Merchants: which would also bee a meanes for paying of their debts, with a little more length of time, and a great deale of encourage-

A Remedy for the charge vpon the Cloth.

Stephan lib. Senten.

ment, both to Clothiers and Merchants in the Cloth Trade.

And *Abroad*, if it appeare vpon examination, that the Residence of the Merchant Aduenturers at *Delft* in *Holland* be inconuenient for the Trade: As HIS *Maiestie* was graciously pleased to giue them that liberty for a tryall, so it may please HIS *Maiestie* to dispose thereof, in some more fit place for their's and the *Publique good*.

The *Forreine Causes* of the Decay of the *Drapery*, I noted to bee *Generall*, as the *Warres*; or *Speciall*, as the great *Imposition in Holland*. The one is the worke of *God*; the other of the KING, to remoue the same. To whom I recommend them both.

A Remedy for Monopolies and too strict Trade.

And thus farre for the *Remedies* in the *Matter of Trade*, considered in *Money* and *Merchandize*: the *Forme* followeth in *Gouerned* and *Vngouerned Trade*. In the *Former*

I obserued a *too strict*, and in the *latter* a *too loose* forme of Trade. The *Remedy* in the One, if it seeme good to the high wisedome of HIS *Maiestie*, may be *Priuatiue*, in racing and rooting out the name and vse of *Monopolies* from amongst this Nation, as HIS *Maiestie* hath royally begun in that HIS Gracious Proclamation before mentioned. And to free and open the course of Trade, where now it is vnequally stopt, to the encouragement of the subiects, and the benefit of the Publique.

In the other *Positiue*, by disposing the Trades of HIS *Maiesties* subiects that are now distracted; into *Order* and *Gouernment*. Whereof none hath more need, as hath been shewed, then those that Trade into the Dominions of the *King of Spaine*. Whose Trade the rather calleth for redresse, because it exporteth Cloth and other the Ma-

A Remedy for too loose Trade.

nufactures of the *Kingdome*, and importeth *Treasure*, the life of Trade: In both which there is now a marueilous great defect, and Trade in all mens hands *become so poore and leane*, that it doth scarce, *hærere ossibus*. For where *Trade* is *disordred*, and the *Traders vngouerned*, there they are like a house deuided, which cannot long subsist: according to that of the Orator, *Nec domus vlla, nec Ciuitas, nec Societas, nec Gens, nec hominum vniuersum genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec sine imperio mundus ipse potest.*

Cic. de Legib.

μόνῳ σοφῷ Θεῷ δόξα.

- The Principall Cities and Townes, for execution of the Statute for searching and Sealing of Cloth, are in Counties,
  - Three greater
    - Wiltshire
      - Salisbury. Wilton
      - Westbury. Trubrig
      - Wotton-Basset. Deuiz
      - Malmsbury. Chipna
      - Castlecomb. Calne.
      - Bradford. Bromhil.
      - Beckinton. Warminst
    - Somersetsh.
      - Bath. Wells.
      - Freshford. Taunton.
      - Philips-Norton. Fron
      - Somerton. Wellingtor
      - Bridgewater. Ilmister.
      - Axbridge. Glastonbu
    - Glocestersh.
      - Glocester. Tedbury.
      - Strowdwater. Dursley.
      - Wotten-vnderhedge.
      - Ebley. Witcomb.
      - Winchcomb. Thornbu
      - Teuxbury. Cirencestc
  - Sixe lesse
    - Oxfordshire. Burford. Witney.
    - Worcestersh. Worcester. Kidderminst
    - Herefordshire. Hereford. Lidbury.
    - Warwickshire. Warwicke. Couentry
    - Deuonshire. Exceter. Tanton.
    - Hampsh. Southampton. Portsmouth