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OBSERVATIONS,
FOUNDED ON
F A C T S,
UPON THE
PROPRIETY OR IMPROPRIETY
OF
EXPORTING COTTON TWIST,
FOR THE PURPOSE OF BEING
MANUFACTURED INTO CLOTH BY FOREIGNERS.

“ Nothing extenuate, or set down aught in malice.”

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY,
BY A. WILSON, WILD-COURT, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

1803.

TO

JOHN HORROCKS, Esq.

M. P. FOR PRESTON,

IN LANCASHIRE.

SIR,

THE liberal spirit of enterprize by which you are animated, your extensive knowledge of the manufacturing interests of this Country, and the important share you have in those interests, will abundantly justify me in dedicating the ensuing pages to a Gentleman who is so essentially connected with the subject.

But

But I am induced to submit it to the Public, under the protection of your name, because I have derived a multiplicity of useful hints from you in preparing it, and because I wish to testify the esteem with which

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

GEO. WALKER.

Craven-street, May 5, 1803.

OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

THE public mind has been agitated for some time past by meetings of those concerned in the Cotton Manufactory at Manchester, Glasgow, and other places, all, with one voice, calling for a *repeal* of the duty upon the importation of *Cotton Wool*; how far such a measure may be politic or not is a matter which the wisdom of the Legislature must decide.

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I have been led to the Observations I mean to offer upon the subject of the cotton trade, not altogether by the above circumstance, but by what I consider as of very serious import, viz. a total *disagreement* between the *spinners* and *manufacturers* upon the *propriety* or *impropriety* of the *exportation* of cotton twist.

The press has groaned with pamphlets, letters, and papers upon the subject, and I am sorry to say, with a degree of rancour and animosity not at all becoming so respectable and valuable a body of men: argument is drowned in aspersion, and fair discussion kept out of view.

No disinterested person having as yet given an opinion, I hope, as I am

neither spinner nor manufacturer, the conclusions I shall draw from the arguments on both sides, will entitle me at least to the credit of impartiality.

National prosperity, which is the object of all law, cannot be effected by partial considerations, but depends upon the result of the whole. *The statesman* must, therefore, view all the parts in their mutual connection and dependence, that the public welfare may be advanced, and no class of men encouraged in such a manner as to hurt another engaged in a different branch of the same manufacture.

Universal justice is inseparable from general good, and in no branch of public service is its impartial distribution

more evidently requisite than in the important department of the *cotton manufactory*.

The Cotton trade of this country has risen to an unrivalled state ; in fact, it has become a *staple commodity*—and although we have not an absolute monopoly of the importation of cotton wool, yet, from the *ingenuity* of our *artizans*, we can work in such a way that foreigners are anxious to obtain our Yarn at any price, the quality being so much superior to their own; it is therefore to them an article *necessary* and highly valuable.

Upon the first introduction of our ingenious machinery for spinning, it was viewed with surprise ; but that
surprise

surprise was raised to the greatest admiration and astonishment when Factories were seen springing up all over the country, as if by Magic ; the Legislature then also stepped forward to shield from the insidious attacks of our neighbours the *daring* spirit evinced by our trade, and enacted strong laws against the seduction of artificers or exportation of machinery, similar to those in force for the benefit of the woollen manufactory.

Situated as we are, I may venture to say, were self-interest for a short time kept in the back-ground, we should soon engross to ourselves not only the spinning but the manufacturing of cotton goods for every country. Our local situation particularly qualifies us for spinning; we have the most industrious and *persevering*

severing mechanics in the world ; we have coal, rivers, and brooks which are never dry, on account of the temperature of our climate—no parching heats or rigid frosts ; an abundant supply of the raw material, and of the very best quality, at a low rate, so that the progress of our machinery is never impeded: to these advantages we may add the great benefits our inland commerce derives from the incalculable effects of numerous canals and navigable rivers.

Of every one of these benefits the foreigner is in a great measure debarred ; he must have the raw material principally from this country ; the frosts in winter are more severe on the continent, and in summer the heat is proportionably

portionably excessive ; he has no Coal, and Wood is too expensive a fuel for an Engine, the routine of business cannot go on, and the machinery, from want of employ, must fall into decay : every man acquainted with the process knows this, and that the Twist is always injured by a too hot or too cold a season, *moderate weather alone* being best suited for spinning.

Our continental neighbours view our commercial exertions with Hawks' eyes ; they are ready to stoop and pounce at every thing tending to their advantage, and, instead of throwing up the lure to them, we are caught and *hood-winked* by it ourselves.

The exportation of twist is the surest method of encouraging foreigners to manu-

manufacture, and they are convinced of it, for no restrictions or duties are placed upon its *importation*.

When, as I have already stated, the spinners had arrived so near perfection, foreign agents were employed in this country to purchase twist, which they did to a great extent; the Spinners also became the exporters themselves: this practice was in fact aiding our rivals, and frustrating the acts *against the exportation of machinery and seduction of artizans*; but they were not contented with this error, the foreigner, from the blind and interested views of individuals, must be further aggrandized. Without mentioning names, I shall allude to circumstances within the knowledge of every man in Manchester: a *merchant in Prussia*, who

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uses a great quantity of twist in his *manufactory there*, and also retails it to other manufacturers, has established Two Sons as spinners at *Manchester*, and they regularly export every thread they make. Another foreigner has purchased a spinning Factory, which is carried on fictitiously under the name of an inhabitant of that town, and all its produce goes abroad. Can we for a moment suppose, that such men would have taken these steps had it not been for the advantage of *themselves* and their *country*? or, would they have come so far from their own manufactories for the mere purpose of spinning, *if* they could have done it at home? Let it, however, be understood, that this branch of the manufacture does not consist much in

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manual labour, but chiefly in mechanism.—Foreigners have the former at one third of what we have it in England. Manual labour in making wool into twist here, forms but a small proportion of its value; but manual labour in making twist into cloth is very considerable.

Before the exportation of *our* cotton twist took place, in what a *languid* state was the manufacturing of piece goods on the Continent.—Their spinning was bad, and their web being no better, it was morally impossible for their weavers to make even cloth of a tolerable quality—they had, therefore, no consequence in the market, and their goods rotted before a chapman was

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to be found. But, when *English twist* comes amongst them, the Manufacturers pluck up their spirits, (and well they may;) they say to their weavers—“ Now you have the same materials as the English to work upon, you cannot complain of the twist, and surely you can produce the same quality of cloth.”

Besides, by having the start of us in being so much nearer the foreign market, and unincumbered with the expences of freight and insurance, these are, certainly, great advantages; but were our spinners, instead of exporting, to work up their spare twist, we should soon overcome them.

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West,

Weft and *twist*, I allow, are made on the Continent; but do we not export the greatest part of the *twist*? by which their manufactory is very considerably extended, and the demand for Cotton wool, for the purpose of making the *weft*, increased.

The value of *twist* exported, averages *at nearly double* the raw material imported; it gives employment to thousands, and leaves this difference of profit in the country.

Five times however the number of hands are necessary in the process of manufacturing it into cloth, and the article is increased to *four* times its original value.

The prevention therefore of the exportation of *Twist*, never would, in my opinion, influence the trade of our spinning manufactories. Large capitals are sunk in these works, and if, whilst the spinner can afford to let the yarn go out upon the profit arising from the spinning alone, Government were to impose a considerable duty—foreigners are not so ignorant as to hazard their capitals in a *precarious* business, when they can have the article *better* on such easy terms. It may be said, that if you increase these terms, they will of course betake themselves to spinning; but as I shall *hereafter particularize* the various countries to which our *twist* is exported, surely no person will be bold enough to say, they *will all*

all become spinners : or, that having placed such a duty upon the exportation of twist, your piece goods in return will be prohibited ; but both these positions I think are easily refuted.

We know well enough that foreigners have as much ingenuity, if not indeed more than ourselves, but want the *perseverance*. They are not possessed of the capital ; but even supposing they were, and could erect spinning mills upon nearly the same principle as our own, their trade would still be but in its infancy. We have already the superiority, and from the daily improvements in mechanics, there is no doubt that we should still be able to keep it—and to spin the yarn, so as with profit

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to dispose of it at an inferior price, and consequently enable the manufacturer of piece goods to bring them also lower to market.

Although I cannot pretend to any practical experience, yet I believe every spinner will acknowledge, that, from any given quantity of cotton, the best twist is spun at the least expence, and more yarn comes from the same quantity of wool, than from a like proportion of an inferior quality ; consequently piece goods cost less when manufactured from the best twist. Therefore the foreigner, until he can equal us in the yarn, never can make cloth of the same quality. To establish this fact we need only look into the different manufactories of our own country for the

the quality of the twist, and we will find weavers making a *difference equal* to a *profit* betwixt *good* and *bad* twist. Check, therefore, the practice of supplying him from hence, and he may attempt to rival, but never can equal us.

I do not think the assertion of the spinners, that the manufacturers wish to ruin them, at all founded in fact. It reminds me of the fable of the conspiracy of the different members of the body against the belly. What brought the spinning mills to their present flourishing state, but the demand of our own manufacturers for their twist? The spinners in fact are the active members of the body, but the manufacturers are the vitals. Their interests are so *spun* and *wove* together, that if one is injured

jured, the other must eventually be equally affected: nor can it well be imagined that the weavers would kick the ladder down which raised them up.

The spinners seem to act on a complete Dutch system; they would even injure the manufacture of their country, by supplying their rivals, at a small rate, with *the only materials they want*; and, from the difference in the price of labour, enable them to glut the markets of the world with their goods, to the total exclusion of the British Trader, and consequently the loss of freights to the merchant ships in our service.

An appeal has been made by a writer

on the subject to the country gentlemen. I am glad he has made that appeal, but it has not been placed in a fair comparative view. He asks if every man's estate is not benefited by the erection of a *Cotton Mill*? I readily allow it is; but what is the difference to the same estate when a *Cotton Manufactory* is established on it? It will not be denied that the population, and consequently the number of tenantry, is increased *five to one*. As a proof that manufactories are of great advantage to the country, I shall only mention one amongst many instances. At Preston in Lancashire, from the commencement until the close of the war, a period of ten years, when the price of labour was very low, and provisions higher than ever they were in the memory

mory of man, there was no additional burthen upon the landed interest, but so much the reverse that the property of the landholder was increased full twenty per cent. This fact I can pledge myself to prove, if called upon; but if the Foreigner, from the exportation of the twist, can *once* undersell us, the manufacturer must dismiss his hands, the *poor rates* will increase, and the Spinner must supply the foreigners with twist on easier terms.

Another writer, under the signature of "Candour, (a title he ill deserves,) holds forth the following threat: "*The spinners are a numerous body; and it is much easier to excite discontent and riot than to allay them.*" Were these riots to take place, and a deluded

mob be induced to commit acts of violence, for which they become amenable to the offended laws of their country, would not every *man of candour* say, "That the above writer was the exciter and instigator of the unfortunate sufferers, and that their deaths lie at his door?"

We have seen strange revolutions and changes of popular opinions, numerous insurrections have taken place, and many lives have been sacrificed in the manufacturing parts, both of England and Scotland*, from the prejudice the country people had against the erection

* We have, at this moment, several melancholy instances arising from similar prejudices against the late improvements in machinery in the woollen manufacture, in the western counties of England.

tion of spinning jennies; but now we are told they are so much in love with them, that, "touch our master's interest, we rise in a body, and destroy the whole set of weavers." They forget there are five to one against them: they had, however, "better study to be quiet, and mind their own business."

There is another threat, "That rather than *pine* here, they will betake themselves to another country." Of this rashness there is little danger; yet I think they should be warned, that almost every instance we have of emigration, has begun in slavery, and ended in misery. Foreign diet does not suit an Englishman; and it is a fact, when any of our artificers are carried abroad, the natives view them with the utmost jealousy

jealousy, and the manufacturer retains them no longer than until he has made himself master of the knowledge they possess, and then runs them out to find a precarious livelihood elsewhere. If, however, they do put their threat in force, inquisitorial and domiciliary visits will soon convince them of the error they have committed, and compel them to lament the blessings they have left behind in their parent country.

Let us now look back to the origin of our cotton trade, and we shall find (contrary, however, to the assertions of the Spinner) that the twist used in the manufactories of this country, was all *imported from India*. Large sums, to be sure, were sent to Germany for *linen warps*, which were woven with cotton weft. Actuated by that adventurous spirit
which

which characterizes the British trader, ingenuity was set to work, capitals were risked in the undertaking, and perseverance enabled him to excel all others. The importation of India twist therefore was *the parent of the trade*.

Does it not prove then most forcibly, that if the twist, which our ingenuity, capital, and perseverance, have raised to its present unrivalled quality, is allowed to be exported in the manner it now is, we give the balance to the foreigners, and depress our own manufacture? we enable them to extend their manufacture of piece-goods at a much lower rate, a circumstance that must prevent the demand for cloth from this country, and *ultimately* give a deadly blow to the British cotton trade, the labour

and profit on which is an object of the utmost national importance.

The ingenuity of our mechanics, and the great capitals required for spinning, will be the means of *keeping this trade still in the country*. The spinner, however, contends, that if any restraint is laid upon the exportation of twist, he is ruined, in having sunk this very capital, and, on the faith of the foreign trade, erected buildings which cannot be converted to any other use, and that his machinery becomes absolute lumber. Here I beg leave to observe, that he has no just ground for calling in foreign aid, if the accounts laid before the House of Commons are correct, and I am bound to hold them so: they clearly prove, that the quantity

of twist *as yet* exported is *trivial*. That he speculates upon increasing it, when he has ruined the manufacturer, there is little doubt; but he cannot say government ever gave him any pledge as to the exportation trade; he can only insinuate, that there is no duty upon this article. It is a fair venture, and I will take my chance.

But if this trade, upon an article not in a complete form, rises to such an height as to spread itself all over the globe, to the material detriment of our own country, by depressing the industry and exertions of the manufacturer of the finished goods, is it not high time for the State to interfere and investigate the evil? and, should it appear of such magnitude as I presume it

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would be found to be, either to lay restrictions, by imposing duties, or totally to prohibit it.

It may be proper here to state something in reply to an argument of the spinners, viz. "That their trade is a complete manufactory of itself." To this position I can by no means agree.

A few years ago, (and in some parts it still is so,) the Carders and Rovers of Cotton were a distinct body from the spinners of the Yarn; but now the majority of our spinners find it much more to their interest to embrace and carry on this branch of the business within themselves; and the most prosperous companies in the trade are those who *concentrate* under one concern the whole process of the manufactory,

from the raw material, until the article is fit for use. The routine of business is reduced to so regular a form, so little time is lost in going from one operation to another, and articles of such superior texture are produced at so easy a rate, that I may safely say, to this *concentration* alone is the Cotton trade indebted for its present flourishing situation; and were the whole manufactories throughout the kingdom thus to be combined, it would turn easily upon *one hinge without grating or jarring*. It is a known fact, that in this mode, the Manufacturer, after receiving the raw material from the Importer, can with ease, in the space of two months, return the Piece-goods to the Merchant, ready for exportation; but if these different operations are sub-

divided, could we supply the foreign merchant with the best Piece-goods at the lowest prices? circumstances which increase the demand, and are undoubtedly objects of the greatest national advantage. / *No persons*, therefore, but those who confine themselves solely to the *exportation of twist*, can object to this plan; and their objections are only grounded upon their individual interests, not those of the Country.

The Dyers also, by adopting this course, have risen to what they now are.

They were formerly employed by the country people, and shop-keepers, to stamp and dye remnants of cloth; and thus acquired the name of *Stampers*, or *Printers*.

These

These fancy articles came into vogue, and the demand for them increasing, the printer augmented his number of hands*.

In the course of time, in the country, the Printers establishments being increased, he did not choose to risk a precarious employ, but began to purchase the Cloth itself, and proceed to print on his own account. This being one step to improvement, he next found it would be still more to his advantage

* However, in the vicinity of London alone, shopkeepers still continue to send out the *white* goods they have purchased from the manufacturer in the country, to be printed according to the newest pattern that invention or taste has dictated in the metropolis; but from local situation, and a desire to gratify the whim of our Belles, does this circumstance arise.

vantage to become his own Weaver: this measure also succeeds; and in the course of a short time he betakes himself to spinning: and we find him ultimately his own *Spinner, Weaver, Bleacher, Dyer, and Printer*, and enabled to produce an elegant fabric at an easy rate. /

To the vast improvements in our Cotton-Manufactories is to be attributed the great reduction in the prices of India Goods; and I very much fear, that, if the *exportation of twist* from this country is allowed to continue, it will tend to annihilate this branch of the India Trade. Foreigners at present purchase these goods for the purpose of printing; but if they have our yarn, with the immense advantage of the cheapness of manual

manual labour, they will soon be enabled to make cloth sufficient to answer all their purposes.

But the Spinners, Manufacturers, and every branch of the cotton trade, ought cordially to unite, their interests being reciprocal. I would recommend to their perusal the advice the *Old Man* gave to his Sons respecting the *bundle of twigs*; it seems perfectly applicable. If they follow it, their fondest hopes will be realized.

The Spinners rest much upon the subject of their *Capital*, which will be so dreadfully affected by a tax upon the exportation of twist; but they entirely forget a class of men equally beneficial, and who have much *greater* capitals sunk,

sunk, namely, the Bleachers, Dyers, and Printers. *They* might, indeed, come forward with great force and truth on the subject of *capital*, and boldly alledge, if a stop is not put to the exportation of twist, their trade is ruined, and their capitals irretrievably sunk.

But this Sheet-Anchor of the Spinner, fixed in his deep capital, and, as he imagines, firmly held by a strong *yarn* cable, if he strains on it much more, I think I shall oblige him to slip it, and run before the wind without a stitch of sail. Nay, I think I could even force him to quit the Vessel itself, take to his boat, and, after reaching shore, find himself not one whit worse, unless his nerves are a little shaken by his fright.

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But I shall leave this *sunken* capital not in so distressed a state as I found it. I can shew the Spinner how it may be raised and realized. I hope, however, I have said enough to these Gentlemen to convince them I know "which way the land lies."

If the Manufacturer were to spin his own twist, and a duty were laid upon that exported, the piece goods made here would be sent to a foreign market at such a low price, that neither spinning or manufacturing into cloth would be objects worthy the attention of the foreigner.

Weaving might be extended in this or any country where there are plenty

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of hands, of whatever description, men, women, or children.

Certain manufacturing houses have so simplified the principles of the art, that every head of a family, wherever situated, and *without being cooped up* in a factory, can instruct his children so as to carry on the business with profit to himself and advantage to his employers. If, therefore, the manufacturer were to be encouraged, and the twist prevented from being sent out of the country, instead of being only Spinners for the Continent, we should become a nation of Spinners and Manufacturers, manufacture all the twist we spin, and be enabled to compete with the whole globe; employ many hands who are now idle, and give new life to the Bleachers, Dyers, and Printers, who,

who, from the articles they use in their operation, contribute greatly to the public revenue *.

With

** List of Articles used by Dyers, Printers and Bleachers in the Cotton Manufactory, and for which Duties are paid upon the Importation.*

- Alum
- Alum, Rouish, or Roach
- Annotto
- Archelia
- Argol
- Ashes, Pearl Ashes, from Europe
- Do from America
- Do. in British built ships
- Do. from Colonies
- Do. Pot Ashes from Europe
- Do. from America
- Do. in British built ships
- Do. from Colonies.
- Barilla
- Berries
- Do. yellow
- Brimstone, from Europe
- Do. not from Europe
- Do. in making Oil of Vitriol
- Cochineal

With all due deference, then, to the spinner, and without meaning to draw any invidious comparisons, I do not allow him, *individually*, to be so great an object of national benefit and importance as the weaver. There is a degree of intemperance and immorality prevalent amongst those assembled in the

Copperas, Green
 ——— Blue
 ——— White
 Drugs, Arsenic, or Rosalgar, white or yellow
 Cream Tartar
 Gum Senega
 ——— from Europe
 Madder Roots, Madders and
 Mull Madders
 Oleum Vitrioli
 Saccharum Saturni
 Turmeric
 Verdigræase
 Vitriolum Romanum
 Galls
 Glue
 Indigo

Indigo

the cotton mills, (and indeed had become so notorious, that it has been found necessary for Parliament to interfere, and it is to be hoped their enactments may produce the desired effect,) while the labouring weavers, a much more numerous class, find comfort in the bosoms of their families, and the country, from their exertions, derives greater advantage.

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Indigo Colonies
 ——— America
 ——— East Indies
 Black Oak Bark
 Orchal
 Safflower
 Salt-petre
 Shumac
 Valonia
 Weld
 Brazil wood
 Fustic
 Logwood
 Brazil wood, British Colonies
 Starch
 Soap.

A trade or manufacture is deemed valuable to a country in proportion to the number of hands it employs, and the families it maintains; because in them is national strength, and the produce of their labour is the truest riches. The solidity of this maxim is evidently striking, when applied to the preparation of any articles destined for the consumption of foreigners. On this sound principle it is, that the exportation of our wool, unwrought, is strictly prohibited. I shall quote a valuable author, who says, "The woollen coat, for example, which covers the day-labourer, as coarse and rough as it may appear, is the produce of the joint exertions of a great multitude of workmen. The Shepherd, the Sorter of the Wool, the Carder, the Spinner, the Weaver, the Dyer, with many others, must all

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join

join their different arts in order to complete even this homely production."

It does not appear to me that the manufacturers can have the object in view which the spinners avow, namely, that of confining them to this country, and thereby forcing them to sell their yarn at the manufacturer's own prices. On the contrary, I have heard, yes, and believe it too, that whenever there happens to be a stagnation in the trade, and the Spinners have a large stock on hand, rather than let the Manufacturer have his yarn at a lower rate, they uniformly make a *sacrifice* of it to the foreigner.

The language of the manufacturer, I think, is extremely temperate; he says, "If you do make more twist than we can consume, either work it up yourselves,

selves, or let it go abroad, but not at *such a rate* as to enable the *foreigner* to undersell us in every market; and, from the want of demand for our goods, drive us from the field of competition. On this ground alone we differ; you have your opinion, we have ours. But 'tis like the boys and the frogs; what's *sport* to one is *death* to the other. *We wish the matter fairly discussed. Time alone can shew whose opinions are most correct.*"

Another plea made use of is, that the importation of Cotton wool into foreign countries has *decreased*. On the contrary, I aver, that, in proportion to the exportation of cotton twist from this country, the demand has *increased*; and I have in a former part given reasons why such must be the case.

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It is asserted, "we cannot monopolize all the manufacturing trade of Europe." Perhaps not; but, let the spinner, as I have already advised him, begin to work up his spare twist into cloth, which he easily might do, in a superior style; by that superiority, and the lowness of the price, (the best goods being always the cheapest,) who will be able to equal him in the foreign market? Let them not be alarmed for prohibitions or consular decrees; they will find their customers. We need only refer to 1792-3, when the price of piece goods fell full 20l. per cent. When the foreigner found he could have our goods at this reduced rate, did not the demand for them, and employment for our artizans, wonderfully increase? As a proof, I need only refer to the ex-ports

ports of British piece goods during that period. I shall prove, from the arguments of the Spinners themselves, and I readily concur with them, that even the wealth and power of *India* cannot compete with us, while we continue to go hand in hand. A writer under the signature of "Mercator," on the subject of *muslins*, says, "By the cheapness and superior quality of our yarn, we are enabled to employ thousands of looms in the production of this valuable article of dress, to keep in the country millions of specie, *which was heretofore sent to the East* to purchase this commodity, and to cloath ourselves with this fabric at one third of the expence formèrly required." This is exulting; but in following Mercator's tract a little, I find to my sorrow, that,

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instead of the kindly *Pilot* I imagined was guiding me, I have been led astray by a *Will of the Wisp*, and left in the mire; for, in the very next paragraph the deceit appears. "By furnishing our continental neighbours with twist, we enable them to manufacture *all, or nearly all, the calicoes they want*, from which a double advantage results to us; *we gain* by our dealings with them in yarn, and *we make them better and richer* customers, by giving them an opportunity of employing their capitals and industry in manufactures, *instead of sending their money out of the country.*" This declaration is throwing cold water upon us, nay, completely drenching us; but I cannot leave him and his *convincing* proofs yet. He addresses the manufacturer thus, although

not precisely in the same words. "What do all these improvements arise from? Why, by substituting for manual labour agents which consume no provision and *pay no taxes*; this you must do to come up to us; dismiss your thousands of hands; never mind the industrious poor; do as we do; put money in your own pockets; pay no duties; never mind the country; but, above all, don't let the Government know what we are about, or how we have been juggling." He would leave the astonished Minister standing by the treasury cup to guess how he has conjured the golden ball into his own pocket, the cork one to the manufacturer, and left the Treasury *empty*. He would turn up his sleeves, shew his hands, and cry "All's fair!" and, while chuckling at

at his own dexterity, pretend not to observe his confederate, the foreigner, picking the pockets of the gaping spectator, *John Bull*.

Although the Spinners declare that the War affected the exportation of piece goods, yet they cannot pretend it had the same effect upon yarn. I would ask them, were the foreigners not to have *it*, would their inferior piece goods ever come in competition with ours?

We are told that any restriction upon the exportation of yarn would ultimately drive the Foreigners to spinning. The Public ought, however, to be informed, that the Spinner is only joking, and has not a fear on the subject, nor does he seem

seem to care whether it could be put in practice or not. Can we for a moment suppose, that he would so readily take under his charge the sons of his Foreign Correspondents for the express purpose of teaching them the Art? Nay, even taking Foreigners as *Partners*, (I could name some at Manchester,) thereby enabling them to obtain capital experience and connexions, and instructing them in the art of making machinery and twist for the supply of his own manufactory of piece goods on the Continent: while he is thus receiving every information he possibly can wish for, he is not paying for it; on the contrary, he is realizing a large capital, and ingratiating himself with our artizans. He does not, however, act the *unnatural* part of our Spinner towards his native country.

No,

No, he feels the great advantage he can render her, from the instructions he has derived by the sordid avarice of these men; and, when a proper opportunity offers, having already remitted home the fortune he has made, he follows it, and the Machinery he has been daily exporting in small quantities, *packed up in the bales of twist*, carries with him one or more of our ablest Mechanics, and erects a Spinning-mill in the centre of his own Manufactory. Can we blame him? Undoubtedly not.—Where the odium rests, is obvious. Where are the pains and penalties of the law against the exporters of machinery, the seducers of our artizans, and their aiders and abettors? Is *Justice* lulled asleep by the noise of our Cotton Mills? Is it not

not high time she should be roused, and the laws put in their full force ?

Let us now look to those countries which prohibit our piece-goods ; they are *Prussia, Austria, Spain, Portugal,* and *France* ; these are our rivals in trade : they smuggle over our models, inveigle our artizans, and receive three-fourths of the twist we export ; fortunately of the former they cannot much avail themselves, but the latter is an article so indispensably necessary, that without it their manufactories must stop. I have pledged myself to state facts ; no oblique insinuation, therefore, can do away my allegations. I say our CottonManufactory must be protected, particularly when we see Regal power with its Public Treasury encouraging

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the exportation of Twist, to the total demolition of our piece-goods manufactory. The government of Prussia has advanced a large capital, and established a firm called " The Twist Company," for the sole purpose of importing English twist. This article, on its arrival at Berlin, is lodged in their stores, and retailed out to the petty Prussian manufacturers in three or four bundles at a time, at a trifling profit of 5l. per cent. This is the policy of the State, and it is aided by the agency of certain great houses at Manchester, which, for the present, I shall forbear to name. These foreigners cannot stir without our twist, and I am warranted in saying this, from what passed in 1800, when twist was at what is called by the trade the 60s. list *,

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* A list is 10lbs. weight.

full as much as was exported in 1802, when the same was but at 36s. per list. Having stated those countries which actually prohibit our piece goods, it may be necessary to shew of how little avail such prohibitions are, and that my former assertion, "*they would find their customers,*" was not unfounded. *Germany*, we all know, is subdivided into many petty states, and its trade is carried on at the fairs held in various places throughout the year. The places where these fairs are held may be safely said to enjoy the privileges of *free ports*, and are frequented by the merchants of all countries, as much as *Hamburgh* was during the war. These merchants come for the express purpose of purchasing English cotton goods; and although prohibitions do *nominally* exist, it is

the policy of the states to overlook these sales, as it tends so much to their own internal advantage. To elucidate the benefit arising to the towns where these fairs are held, and consequently to the country, I shall mention a fact which proves the injury an actual prohibition effected. About four years ago, the Prussian manufacturers, flattering themselves with an idea that they had obtained perfection in the manufacture of cotton goods, petitioned their Government for a prohibition of the English articles at one of these fairs, held at *Frankfort* on the Oder. There were three fairs held annually in this town, and although Prussia prohibited our goods, they were still liberally imported there without restraint, and merchants from all the north of Europe frequented

quented them for the purpose of making purchases. The Prussian Government, from motives best known to themselves, acceded to the representation of their own manufacturers, and strictly prohibited the further importation to this town, and sale at these fairs, of English goods. The consequences from this ill-judged step were soon felt: all the foreign merchants deserted that place, because they could not purchase the articles they wanted; and the inhabitants, who depended upon the high rents they received for their houses during the fair, had soon the mortification to find them always empty, and hundreds of families, looking to their subsistence from this great resort of strangers, were reduced to ruin and beggary.

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A similar application was made by the Saxon manufacturers to the Elector, as to the fairs at Leipzig, where merchants from all parts of Germany, Poland, Hungary, Turkey, Greece, and Russia, constantly attended for the purpose of purchasing English goods. The fate of Frankfort on the Oder, struck the *Saxon Government* with dismay, and the application was rejected. From the fairs of Frankfort on the Mayne, I do not think it at all probable that we shall ever be prohibited; that territory is very confined, has no manufactures of its own, and the Senate is well convinced of the value of the trade in English goods. From *Italy* we have also little to fear; should a prohibition be attempted, then the trade which is carried on by the Italians in those

those commodities with Dalmatia, the countries on the Adriatic, the Morea, and the Archipelago, would instantly fall into the hands of the Genoese or Livonese. Genoa also, were the *Tuscan* government to attempt it, would lay hold of that traffic which the Leghorn merchants now have with Corsica, Sardinia, Greece, Turkey, and the coast of Barbary—In *Lombardy* they must have them.

I would now ascertain what the actual loss to the country is, from this said exportation trade; and as it must speak to the feelings of every Briton, not engaged in this traffic, I shall make very little comment upon it—“*Facts are stubborn things.*”

Labour and profit of making wool into twist 100 per cent.
Ditto wool into cloth 300

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The loss, therefore, on the exportation of twist to the country, must be very considerable. The Spinner will not, I dare say, tell us what it is.

Does this prove, then, that the Spinner is more beneficial to the National prosperity than the Manufacturer? or does it appear that self-interest sways one more than the other? I think it does. The Spinner, not contented with the profit and advantage he derives from his local situation and machinery, and supplying the manufacturer at a moderate rate, strains every nerve to make as much twist as possible, and has the constant plea of the *demand* from the continent to keep up the price at home. The Foreigner, therefore, having the same materials, at so easy a rate, and the advantage of the cheapness

cheapness of manual labour, must inevitably undersell us every where. Can these proofs, therefore, induce any disinterested person, to believe that the manufacturer is attempting the ruin of the spinner: on the contrary, if he is suffered to proceed as he now does, he must in time ruin the manufacturer, by confining him solely to the consumption of this country. One simple fact the public ought to be informed of: the Cotton twist exported from this country to Ireland *pays* a duty of 14l. 12s. 1d. per cent. while that sent to

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| Denmark, | Flanders, |
| Russia, | France, |
| Sweden, | Portugal, |
| Poland, | Madeira, |
| Prussia, | Spain, |
| Germany, | Canaries, |
| Holland, | Italy, |
| | Turkey, |

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| Turkey, | British Continental |
| Isle of Man, | Colonies, |
| Isles, | and West Indies, |
| America, | |
- pays none* *

For centuries past we observe the care bestowed upon the welfare of our woollen manufactory. In it, neither the private interests of the King, Lords, nor Commons, who have had the enacting of the laws for its regulation, are looked to; the manufacturer of the cloth alone is the object of attention, and,

* On what policy this is grounded, I cannot well imagine, unless it was intended as a prohibition; but surely it cannot have that effect while the Irish are enabled to import British twist from Hamburgh at 6½ per cent. profit. Our twist we also see goes to Russia. She exports her flax and cloth, but not one thread of the yarn is allowed to leave the country.

and, while he is protected, the thousands of persons employed in the various branches of the trade must prosper.

What would the Country say, if woollen yarns were to be exported as extensively as cotton? The Linen trade also is carefully protected: the raw material imported duty free, and a bounty given on all linen goods exported; whereas, in the Cotton manufacture, duties are imposed upon the raw material imported; and, except upon the exportation of the *Yarn*, followed up to the finished piece goods. The exportation, therefore, of the twist is the bane of the country, and the manufacturer who contributes to its revenue. I confess I can see in such a measure neither sound policy or impartiality.

tiality. Would it not be a national benefit if a tax were placed upon the *exportation* of twist; and, when our manufactured piece-goods come to be exported, that sum given as a bounty? this mode would have many advantages. Supposing the Foreigner could spin, (which it is pretty evident he never will,) it would not only compensate for the material difference he enjoys in the price of manual labour, but also, what must be a very desirable object to the government, it would ascertain the actual value of both the twist and piece-goods exported.

The manufacturer, therefore, only asks a matter of simple justice; and it is to be hoped the Legislature will not deny it to him.

I am the more induced to believe my premises are correct, when I see a first rate *Spinner*, and *Manufacturer* also, coming forward in Parliament, and, after moving for various accounts relating to the cotton trade, (which I hope will give us much information,) giving notice that he intended to submit to its consideration certain propositions, which "he conceived would be not only conducive to the general interest of the trade itself, but also of advantage to the country.

I can scarcely imagine that the gentleman I allude to, is actuated by any *personal views*. On the contrary, that public spirit alone dictates his sentiments; and, from the thorough knowledge he must possess of both branches

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of the manufacture, I trust we shall obtain candid information on every point, his own interest and character being equally affected.

Since this notice, anonymous publications, without number, have appeared in general, teeming with abuse, but one and all deprecating any inquiry into the trade; this shews the "Snake in the grass." These Gentlemen suspect, that the Mover of the measure will give Ministers such information and insight in their concerns, as will satisfy them it is *high time the business should be investigated*.

I am certain that this inquiry is what they are afraid of, judging from their own publications; and that their

expressions

expressions of *sunk capitals*, taxes, loss of trade, and ruin, are but *a tub thrown out to amuse the whale*. One writer says, "Have you no fears in exciting the attention of government towards your trade?"

"Is there not more danger from the agitation of the question, than from any other circumstance?"

Another gives an anecdote of some French merchants, who, having been liberal in their loans to the Minister, he wished to make them some sort of recompence, and asked what he could do for their commerce? The reply was, "The best favour your Excellency can grant us, is to let us alone."

From

From their own avowals, then, I may safely draw this conclusion: *There are faults which will not bear investigation*; but it is to be hoped there are some amongst them, bold and honest enough to speak the truth to government. For,

The upright man,
Unbiassed holds his way,
Unawed by int'rest,
Or the rabbles sway.

Upon the whole, I am convinced, and I trust an impartial Public will be satisfied, that the evil should be remedied, and those pernicious benefits conferred on foreigners, to the injury of our manufacturer, and the country at large, done away; and that so far from depressing or fettering the trade, it will be benefited, and our manufactured goods, by such a measure, be extended
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in greater abundance than ever all over the world.

I shall now conclude with my hearty wishes, that the matter may be probed to the very bottom. I expect, indeed, to be told that, not being fully acquainted with the practical parts of the cotton trade, my arguments are merely theoretical. To this objection I can safely say, that I have bestowed the most sedulous attention to every branch of this great source of national wealth; and if my observations are theory, that theory is founded on facts.

THE END.

Printed by A. Wilson, Wild Court.