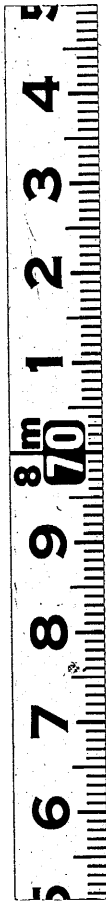


87-30



0377

W O O L

Encouraged without Exportation ;

OR,

Practical Observations

On Wool and the Woollen Manufacture ;

WITH

STRICTURES

On the ANCIENT STATE thereof in this
Kingdom.

[PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.]

W O O L

Encouraged without Exportation;

OR,

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS

On Wool and the Woollen Manufacture.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

CONTAINING

STRICTURES on APPENDIX N^o IV. to a Report
made by a Committee of the Highland Society, on
the Subject of Shetland Wool.

PART II.

Containing a BRIEF HISTORY of WOOL, and the
NATURE of the WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE
as connected with it.

*Si tibi lanicium curæ, primùm aspera filva
Lappæque tribulique absint ; FUGE PABULA LÆTA ;
Continuòque greges willis lege mollibus albos.*

Virgil, G. 3, l. 384.

By *HENRY WANSEY*, F.A.S.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

1791.

TO

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, Bart.

SIR,

Having had the pleasure of corresponding with you on the subject of Wool by several letters since the time I subscribed to the Association at Edinburgh for encouraging the improvement of British Wool, I do not know how I can more properly introduce the following Publication to the notice of the world, than by placing it under the sanction of your respectable name—a name well known to every Lover of his Country, because ever to be found where any opportunity offers of doing her service. In this commendable attempt of improving and encouraging this native commodity and peculiarly valuable article of commerce, you, Sir, stand foremost; and may Heaven grant success to your honest endeavours upon the broadest basis of Public Good.

I remain, Sir, with great esteem
and truth,

Your obliged humble servant,

HENRY WANSEY.

August 6, 1791.

A

P R E F A C E.

A Pamphlet was lent me by a Member of Parliament, entitled "Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, on the subject of Shetland Wool," which gave me much pleasure and satisfaction in reading; and I cannot sufficiently commend the noble and patriotic motives and endeavours of this respectable Society. But I confess I much wondered to see such a Paper as N° IV. bound up with it; as it is not only full of historical errors and false quotations, but is far from being so liberal as one should naturally expect from the quarter whence it comes. The Author holds up the manufacturers of wool to view, as men whose designs are injurious to the interests of their country, and calls the laws against the exportation of wool "a system of oppression to the wool grower—a miserable system of policy—laws destructive to the breed of fine-woolled sheep, &c. &c."

Whenever a man attacks a whole body or profession, I must, without examining any further, condemn such a person; but if, upon examining the historical facts he refers to and forms his judgment upon, they are found false quoted or misrepresented, I think he deserves still greater condemnation; for certainly the best cause in the world ought not to owe any of its support to deceit or misrepresentation. We are not to do evil, that good may come.

[ii]

I had the honour to be one of those Deputies that attended Parliament about three years ago, to obtain a revision of the Wool Laws, and am one of the profession thus attacked; and though not possessing "the pen of a ready writer," and though my opponent is backed by two such able assistants as Smith and Young, yet I shall not fear to enter the lists against him, who defies whole armies of Manufacturers, though armed with only a sling and a stone.—I think he stands on false ground; from whence he has levelled his artillery against those laws of his country established by the experience of ages, which I mean to defend as well as I can; as I think them (and I believe without prejudice or partiality) founded on the clearest views of its best and most extensive interests.

The Doctor published many of these opinions about nine or ten years ago, in his otherwise commendable "Essay on encouraging National Industry," and no one having controverted them, he has repeated his attack upon a body of men, who are now called upon to justify and defend themselves.

I hope the candid public will make all possible allowances for the inaccuracies of this Treatise, the Writer having but little leisure for a work of this kind; yet he felt it his duty to say something on the subject, in answer to DOCTOR ANDERSON'S ASSERTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

DOCTOR Anderson's Observations on Wool (particularly in a paper, Appendix, N° IV. to the Report of the Highland Society at Edinburgh, on the subject of Shetland Wool) abound with many statements contrary to fact, and (what is worse) conclusions are drawn from them, and points established, which may tend to mislead many a well-wisher to his Country, for want of their being controverted.

My only object in the following Treatise is, to prevent the Public being *misled* by a partial representation on a subject wherein the Interest of my Country is so much concerned. I shall only observe that the knowledge I may have acquired of the nature of Wool, is the result of twenty-five years *practice*, as well as theory, in the manufacturing part of it; and I have made the history of it a favourite study.

I agree with the Doctor, that our wool is *much degenerated*, but not in the *degree* or *manner* he states; and also that there is no doubt but it may be so *improved*, as to supply ourselves with *much more* fine wool than at present, and so prevent the *necessity* of importing so many
thousand

thousand bags of fine wool annually from Spain; yet many strong reasons subsist why it is better to encourage the growth of fine wool by premiums at home, than to seek the premium of a foreign market.

The Doctor condemns the good policy of this Country for ages past, in keeping its wool at home, and reminds us of the great exportations of wool in the time of Edward 3 to the Low Countries. But would he wish to see the two countries in the relative situation of those times? They were then a country full of manufacturers, and we were only wool growers; they were rich, and supplied all Europe with money, and we were poor, and forced to pay our troops with wool, having but little money*. We are now (thank God) able

* That Edward 3 paid his army with wool instead of money appears from Dugdale's Baronage, v. II. p. 138. Lord Bradestone received wages for serving in Flanders, with 4 knights, 15 esquires, 20 archers on horseback, and himself and retinue, for one campaign (16 E. 3) 28 sacks of wool. Also Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, 77 sacks. Also the Lord Poynings, the same year, 21 sacks of the King's wool, as wages for 15 men at arms, 4 knights, 10 esquires, and 12 archers, also many others.—The 10,000 sacks mentioned by the Doctor, p. 38, from Rapin, as carried into Brabant by Edward in 1337, was scarcely a month's provision for the manufacturers of the single town of Louvain, so great was their trade in those days, though now they have very little.—The Duke of Brabant, whose territory was not larger than Cornwall and Devon, offered 50,000l. with his daughter as a dowry to the Black Prince, a sum in that age greater than any sovereign in Europe could have given with a daughter. Edward himself did not offer half so much with his daughter to Alphonso King of Castille. *Anders-*

able to improve every pound of our wool ourselves, be it fine or coarse, 4, 5, 6, and 700 per cent.

The Doctor does not seem to comprehend the true difference between parting with our wool in the raw state as nature gives it, and parting with it after it has been fully manufactured; in the former case, the balance of trade would soon be many millions against this country; and even to the wool-grower himself the advantage, in my opinion, is very doubtful, as I shall probably shew. But the Legislature is surely too wise to sacrifice the general interest to the few; and I am convinced a proper discussion of the subject will discover it to be the truest and best policy of this country, not only to keep all our wool at home, but to encrease the quantity, by our own encreased and improved growth, if possible, to as great extent as we can find hands to employ in its manufacture.

Having premised this, I shall only add, that the same motive which influences the learned Doctor

son's Hist. of Com. p. 318.—This ability and these riches were entirely owing to the great extent of manufacture in his dutchy.—When Queen Jane, the wife of Philip the Fair, paid a visit (anno 1301) to the Duke of Brabant, the ladies of Bruges put her Majesty out of all patience, says Guicciardini, to see how splendidly they were decked with jewels and rich attire. "I had thought, says she, that I was the only queen here, but I find here are above 600, besides myself, queens of this city."

[vi]

Doctor to write; induces me also to take up the pen, to wit, *an ardent desire to encourage the growth and improvement of our British Wool*; an object well worthy the attention and support of every friend to his country; nor do I think it at all necessary, in pursuing this object, that the *landed* and *commercial* interests should be set in opposition to each other, or those of the *wool grower* and *manufacturer*. The rise of the *latter* does not at all stand on the depression of the *former*; for I conceive the interest of the former to be so blended with the advantage of the latter, that it must be an illiberal, or at least a very narrow mind, that attempts to separate them.

REMARKS

On Dr. Anderson's Memorial concerning British Wool, in Appendix N^o. IV. in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, 1790.

THE Doctor mentions; that in 1337 *English Wool* Page 38, line 14, sold in Flanders for 40l. per sack, that is 2s. 3d. per lb. ancient money, or above a guinea per lb. modern money. This would argue a great degradation indeed. But the fact is far otherwise. It is easily proved that Rapin (from whom he quotes) mistakes pounds weight for pounds sterling. And that English wool never at any time yielded in any instance whatever, one fourth part of the price here stated by the Doctor.

That the price of our wool at that time was about 6l. per sack, appears from Stowe, Hume; and many other historians, if the Doctor would have taken a little more pains to have investigated the matter. Stowe must be good authority, whose evidence was collected more than two centuries ago; was himself bred up in the woollen line, with a merchant taylor; and seems to have interested himself much in the subject of wool, of which it appears he well understood the nature and history.

Stowe a better authority on the subject of wool, than Rapin, and why.

See his edition of 1692, black letter.

Wool taken up on the credit of his subsidy, to account for at the rate of 40lb. per sack.

tory. He says, 12 E. 3, (which is the very year above mentioned) that a Parliament was holden in London, wherein the Clergy granted him a tenth, and the Commons a fifteenth: that at the same time the King took wool, to a certain number of sacks, at a low price, in every county, by his agents, (the grant of the Commons probably operating too slowly for the King's immediate necessities.) The number set on Staffordshire was 600 sacks, price 9 marks the sack of good wool; i. e. 120s. for 360lb. of wool, which makes just 4d. per lb. But Stowe says immediately after, that the King took a fifteenth of the Commonalty, to be paid in wool, price of every stone (containing 14lb.) two shillings: this will amount to hardly 2d. per lb. I could not at first comprehend his meaning, in stating two prices so different, supposing he meant that the best Staffordshire wool sold for 4d. per lb. when the common sort yielded only half the money; but it soon occurred to me, that as he begins with saying the King was to have the wool at a low price, it must mean that he took the wool at the latter price (2d.) when it was really worth the former (4d.)

The King's profit on a sack of wool was 40lb. of wool, which would fetch him 13s. 4d.

Let us next refer to Hume, who is generally very correct in his facts. He says in 1337, Edward was granted by his Parliament a subsidy, not of money, but of the ninth on all produce of lands, and of sheep, and all moveables; that is, out of each sack of wool of 360 pounds exported, he was to have 40 pounds. Thus it was, that the King had 40 pounds of every sack of wool sold into Flanders, for all taxes were then paid in kind.

I shall here introduce an authority respecting the price

price of cloth in the age of E. 3, which cannot be disputed, and from thence adduce a fresh proof of the value of the wool. It is the statute book of William of Wykeham for his college near Winchester, and from which I got a friend to copy it a short time since. He directs, "That the gowns of the superior members of that society should be made of cloth taken from a piece containing 24 yards (virgatas), valued at 42s. the whole piece (i. e. 21d. per yard), and that the gowns of the scholars and clerks should be made of cloth taken from a piece containing 24 yards at the least, which should not exceed 33s. 4d. the whole piece." (i. e. 16d. $\frac{2}{3}$ per yard.) Here we have the undoubted prices of two kinds of English broad cloth at the time above mentioned, that for gentlemen at 21d. and that for the scholars and commonalty at 16d. $\frac{1}{2}$. And if we consider that every yard of cloth used up 2lb. of wool, and that the expences of manufacturing it must raise it at least three times the original value of the wool, we see evidently that wool at this time could not be worth in England more than 3d. or 4d. per lb.

Price of woollen cloth in the time of Edw. 3.

Further the Doctor asserts that "The fineness of the British wool induced the Romans to establish a cloth manufacture at Winchester for the use of the Emperors. This therefore must have been deemed the finest wool in the universe at that time."

Page 28.

So far from there being any proof of that inducement, there appears great doubt whether any such manufactory was ever established here. It all rests upon the explanation of three words mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, where an office is mentioned in Britain under

[4]

the title of *Procurator Cynegii Ventensis*:" we will, to avoid all cavilling, admit the last word to mean Winchester (though there were several towns here besides Winton, which bore the name of Venta): we will also admit Cynegii to mean Gynæcii, and that Gynæcii means the sacred workshops*. A person the least conversant with history knows that the Gynæcii were common in almost all the provinces of the empire, and means no more nor less, in my opinion, than simply a manufactory, or in the largest sense, a manufactory for soldiers cloth, of which, as Britain maintained three legions, besides auxiliaries, there must be a considerable consumption; admitting this therefore to be the case, how can it warrant the Doctor from so simple a fact, to draw the following conclusion in the next page, "It was here the Roman Emperors, during *their most luxurious æra*, chose to supply themselves with their most sumptuous robes."

But giving up every thing to the Doctor that I have said, and even admitting that Imperial garments were made there, he is still unwarranted in the last assertion, because the Notitia was not drawn up till just as the Romans were quitting Britain, when usurpers were continually starting up in this island. To put on the

Imperial

In the time of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius.

* "Procurator Cynegii Ventensis," after all, may have nothing to do with either wool or cloth; it is much more likely the root of the word Cynegii is κυνηγετης, a hunter, from κυνος, a dog, than from Gynæceum, a workshop; which opinion Camden himself seems to favour, British dogs being much more celebrated by the poets than British sheep. Perhaps therefore, the office here described would in modern English be much nearer the truth, if rendered *Master of the Buckbonds*, an office still found in our British establishment.

[5]

Imperial purple was an essential ceremony in proclaiming an emperor. An usurper could not have it from Rome or Constantinople; it would betray his designs; he must therefore have had it manufactured as near to his own place of residence as possible, and in as private a way as he could. *Such cloth for such Emperors* might have been made, but *such* is not worth enquiring for: we know that no man dared presume to keep the true *Imperial purple* in his custody, as the Imperial laws both of the Theodosian and Justinian code, regarded this cloth with the most jealous suspicions. The Doctor therefore, *in my opinion*, has no excuse whatever for imposing that on the world for fact, which is only the result of his own warm and lively imagination.

Though the fact is perhaps not worth contending for, and no way relative to encouraging the growth of modern fine wool, yet it discovers a great want of candour, which I am sorry to remark is visible through the *whole of his Appendix N° 4*, although he introduces his subject by saying they are all facts taken from authorities that may be relied upon.

He says, "The exportation of wool, though subject Page 44 and 45. to a high duty and liable to temporary interruptions on monopolizing principles, was still however permitted in one way or other till the time of Charles II. and from thence leads his reader to conclude that this system of legislation, by occasioning an immense glut at home of fine wool, made it not worth the wool-grower's while to rear it!! Regardless therefore of the quality of his wool any longer, his attention must now

B 3

" be

“ be turned chiefly to improving the carcase of his
“ sheep, &c. &c. &c.”

The new system
of enclosing and
turnip feeding,
is not the effect,
but the cause.

Strange assertions these! and much stranger con-
clusions are drawn from them for two or three pages.
What, Sir, has the increased cultivation of our lands,
and the gradual improving state of our trade and com-
merce nothing to do in bringing about this event?

It is an old observation, that States in the lowest de-
gree of cultivation value the skin more than the carcase;
but as they proceed in improving their lands, the car-
case becomes gradually of more estimation than the skin,
and wool of less relative value. But it will at once
destroy all the Doctor's hypothesis and conclusions about
the glut of fine wool, when I tell him from good au-
thority, that at the very time he states this immense
glut of fine wool, there was no such thing, but on the
contrary, considerable importations of fine wool from
Spain, which sold in London, 1 Cha. 2, for 2s. 6d. per lb.
when the best English would yield only from 16d. to
18d. per lb. there being then a superiority in the quality
of the Spanish, in nearly the same proportion as there
is now*.

No glut of fine
wool, 1 C. 2, but
a want of it so as
to require im-
portation.

But

* An ancestor of mine, who was a clothier at Warminster as early as
1 C. 2, has made the following entries in his book of accounts:

“ July 27, 1664, bought of Mr. Sheppard of Kinton (Herefordshire)
at Bristol fair, 34 stone of wool at 16s. a stone, 12lb. to the stone; 27l. 4s.”
(This must have been the best English wool.)

“ April 20, 1665, bought of Mr. Hugh Smithson, jun. (a Spanish mer-
chant in London, an ancestor of the present Duke of Northumber-
land) 1 bag of short Spanish wool, N^o 28, 1 .. 2 .. 22, tare 9lb. at 1s. 8d.
per lb.”—This was an inferior sort, as appears by the next entry.

“ March 25, 1668, bought of Hugh Smithson 4 bags of Spanish wool,
2 of refine at 2s. 6d. and 2 of short at 1s. 8d.”

He

But the Doctor is not only mistaken in his foregoing
deductions, but even in his first assertions; for as early
as the year 1260, in the time of H. 3, it was enacted
among the Statutes and Provisions of Oxford, and con-
firmed by Parliament, “ That the wool of England should
“ only be manufactured within the *Kingdom*, and that
“ no part thereof should be transported out of the realm
“ to strangers.” There is also to be seen in the Sta-
tutes at large of the present edition, a law of 11 E. 3,
passed to make it felony to transport any wool from this
realm into foreign countries, and with forfeiture of life
and limb. And though Edward's necessities for money
to carry on his French war, soon occasioned this law to
be changed, it appears that he began seriously to take
such methods to improve and increase the manufactures
of this country, as in the end to prevent the necessity of
sending it abroad. Edward called several Parliaments
almost entirely to encourage the manufacture of cloth
(an art almost lost during the continual wars of the

Stowe,

Wars, foreign or
domestic, was a
continual hin-
drance to the
progress and ma-
nufacture in the
former ages of
this country, and
always is the
cause.

Plan-

He found this Spanish wool at 2s. 6d. per lb. answer so well in his
cloth, that he ever after, for 30 years, continued to buy Spanish
wool, of which there are regular entries in his books, although he
gave almost double the price he did for fine English; an evident proof of
its intrinsic superiority above 130 years ago. The inferiority in price of
English wool is much the same now, although Dr. Anderson says it is kept
down in its price by the arts of the English manufacturer. If the Doctor
doubts this importation of fine wool so early as the time of his supposed
glut of wool, he may inspect the custom-house books; as it particu-
larly is mentioned, that they were weighed in the King's warehouse.
In Charles the Second's time there were two sorts of Spanish wool im-
ported into this country, Refinos and Finos, and the same two sorts still
continue to be imported.

B 4

Plantagenet Princes), not (as we find) to increase the quantity of his wool, that he might have larger profit in exportation, but to enable his subjects to work it up themselves, and so prevent the necessity of sending it abroad; for he found it of no use to enforce his statute of the 11th of his reign, unless his subjects first rendered themselves capable of working it all up into cloth. He must have observed in his intercourse with Brabant, Hainault, and the Low Countries, what great riches, power, and consequence they arrived to solely from manufacture, although in the first instance they were obliged to import the raw material, for they could buy of England *forty thousand pounds* worth of wool at credit, and repay the whole debt with *a quarter part* of the same wool, when they had manufactured it. The Flemings, by means of their two great sea-ports of Ostend and Bruges, received wool from all parts of Europe, as well as from us; and the detention of our wool from them by the act of 11 E. 3, did not seem to have given them umbrage, or stopt their manufacture; they were glad to have it, though from their great importations from other countries they could do without it, though it is said our's, from the goodness of its quality, was very desirable.

Was Spain to adopt our improvements in agriculture, and recover their ancient spirit of trade and commerce, their wool would degenerate much the same as our's have.

But the reason why the farmer or wool-grower became regardless of his wool, was not from a despair of selling fine wool, but from his being enabled by the improving state of his country (arising from its increased commerce, riches, and luxury) to make the flesh of the sheep a principal object of attention; a larger breed of sheep was therefore adopted, which naturally produced a coar-

a coarser kind of wool; but finding the natural feed of the country would not maintain this new sort, he had recourse to artificial grasses and turnips, which latter is found very injurious* to wool, but the farmer still made as much money from his fleece as he did before, though sold at a less price, because of the increased quantity of it; and this is still the language of every farmer of the West of England, who finds his coarse wool sell as readily as his fine formerly did; for to one man who buys a coat of fine wool, there are ten at least who buy inferior qualities.

Though we want more fine, we cannot do with less coarse.

The flesh of mutton was not formerly the principal food of the English, as it now is. Sheep are now kept for the sake of the mutton, which formerly were kept chiefly for the sake of the wool, as is the case with the Spaniards, whose fine-woolled sheep is a mere carrion, and never eaten. The English in ancient times lived chiefly on salted provisions, and much on bacon. In Domesday Book frequent mention is made of *porcarii* or pig-drivers; but keepers of sheep are seldom mentioned. And Edward of Sarisbury, Sheriff of Wiltshire, in the Rents of his Shrievalty, received 132 hogs and 32 fitches of bacon, and only 52 lambs and 240 fleeces of wool, but no muttons for the larder. As the Doctor asserts a continued state of manufacture at Winchester from the days of the Romans to the time of King John, I searched Domesday Book in Hantescire (but in vain) for any traces of manufacture there. On the contrary, there

* I have heard an eminent woollapler say, that the effects of turnip feeding are so pernicious to fine wool, that he can distinguish it while drawing it apart in his fingers, from its acquired harshness. This is a very serious consideration.

there is hardly any mention of sheep, lambs, or wool, in that county, although there is continual and repeated mention of hogs, such as *Silva de 160 porc. Silva de 150 porc. Silva de xxx porc. de pasnag, &c.*

P. 38. Respecting the Spanish vessel taken in 1470 by an English privateer, with wool on board, I understand it thus—A sack of wool was a known and determinate quantity alike in all countries, viz. 364 pounds; the wool in question weighed only a quintal, that is 100 lbs. which was stated as being worth in the Netherlands at the rate of 4l. per sack, and amounts to about 22s. 3d. not 9l. 12s. as stated by Dr. Anderson.

By Dr. Anderson's observations, p. 45, on our wool exported to Flanders, he does not seem to have considered the nature of the sales of wool in Edward the Third's time. All wool, whether coarse or fine, was at that time saleable in Flanders, and the English had no need to employ persons to sort it; it was undoubtedly sent unsorted as it came from the sheep. The Flemings manufactured goods of all sorts and prices, and could use the coarse just as well as the fine; and as to the expence of carrying it from our coasts to Flanders, it never could be so great as the Dr. states (5l. per sack).

P. 36. What Dr. A. mentions about Don Duarte, King of Portugal, is plainly this "That Edward King of Portugal (he calls him Don Duarte) a grandson of John of Gaunt, and of course great grandson to our Edward the Third, after whom he was named, was much beloved by the English nation. He resided a considerable time in London, when only Duke of Coimbra, at which time he did the nation some signal service in healing the
breach

breach between the King's uncles Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort (as may be read in Hall). He had the misfortune to have his brother taken prisoner by the Moors at the siege at Tangier. Puffendorf says he tried every means in his power to effect his delivery, though without effect. It is most probable this cloth of gold, being a rare and valuable present, was intended for this purpose, the date agreeing thereto; but the merchants to whom the King applied, seem to have made a point with the King before they would part with it, that he should use his interest with his relation the King of England, to procure them 60 sacks of Cotswould wool, being a sort of wool they could not otherwise easily procure.

I cannot conclude from hence, as the Doctor does, that it was therefore held in Italy in such estimation as to be preferred to gold itself, any more than I do that the man who gives a guinea for a sack of wheat, prefers the wheat to gold itself. There is no proof I believe that these sacks of wool were intended for Italy, although the cloth of gold was made at Florence. The English wool which was particularly coveted abroad, was that which grew in the Cotswould, which seems to have possessed some desirable quality that rendered it superior to other wool. When Florence and other towns of Lombardy bought our wool, they bought also wool from Catalonia and other parts.

The Plantagenet Princes were so taken up with war, that manufacture and other arts of peace were but little attended to, and we might well spare 100,000 sacks

now

One town in Brabant used more wool than all the growth of England, even in the time of our Edw. the Third.

Importance of the ancient trade and manufacture of the Low Countries.

now and then. But what was this 100,000 facks towards supplying the manufactories of Flanders, or even the small dutchy of Brabant, when the single town of Louvain employed 150,000 weavers*, each of whom could work up a sack per annum at least, which was more than all England could supply. Besides which, we know there were large manufactories at Ghent, Ypres, Bruffels, Boisleduc, Oosterwick, Lisse, and many other places. At Bruges they had the finest market in the world, and the greatest conveniences for a quick export of their cloth and import of their wool to and from all parts of Europe; the Cloth-hall was so large that a branch of the canal flowed through it, and vessels from sea, full of merchandize, could sail into it, unload and load again, in any weather, by night or by day, with the greatest dispatch and privacy if needful, in the centre of their hall, as if on dry land; which was an inconceivable advantage to their trade; a conveniency to which the trade of this country has never yet arrived, any more than it has to the great extent of their exports and imports of woollen merchandize; for they carried on their trade in a style far superior to any thing ever exhibited since, to which their connexion with the Hanse towns greatly contributed. Within a few years, there were still to be seen the ruins of seventeen ancient palaces, formerly the residence of the consuls of the different nations, besides a multitude of noble and grand repositories for supplying the various merchants who

traded

* It is still to be read in the annals of this town, that when the weavers went home to their meals, a great bell was rung to give notice to mothers to take their children within doors, lest they should be trampled to death by the crowd of workmen passing by.

traded thither with every article of life or luxury then known in the world.

P. 59. I cannot agree with the Doctor when he asserts that the Spanish wool is not finer now than it was in ancient times: it certainly has been much improved, as I shall endeavour to shew in the second part of this publication.

P. 30. Neither the instances of Alfred's mother, nor the family of Edward the Elder, were proofs of any proficiency in woollen manufacture in this kingdom under the Saxons. Though it proves some existence, it is rather a proof of scarcity and rareness, otherwise it would not have been worth the author's while to take notice of it.

“ The departure of the Romans (says Dr. Henry, in “ his most excellent History of this country) was followed by a total destruction of the arts and sciences in “ Britain.” The victories and massacres of the Saxons, and the bloody and continual wars of the Heptarchy, followed also by the cruelty, plunder, and oppression of the savage Danes, reduced Britain to the lowest state of humiliation; every art, every idea of comfort of life, was lost in that of preserving even existence. Forests, dens and caves, and the wild mountains were the most eligible places for Britons, and under these circumstances, how can we pretend to trace a progression of the arts, or of woollen manufacture. Cold, hungry, and naked, and destitute of every comfort of life, the arts of manufacture must have been totally and universally laid aside and lost. The wise Alfred, knowing the true interest of his kingdom, might attempt to introduce it again

again by the *example of his own family*, but nothing more; and the confusion which soon followed must, *if it had been the case*, have again consigned it to oblivion. And as to British sheep, they must in those ages have been

The bleatings of the Sheep would discover them at all times, though secreted.

Pigs more easily raised and multiplied; hence the great use of bacon in ancient times.

almost exterminated. A flock of sheep could not escape the prowling eye of a Danish troop, who would slaughter them as fast as they could seize them. Hence probably arose that general use of bacon and salted provisions, and the breed of pigs instead of sheep; which we trace in the Domesday Book, and which continued some hundred years after. Pigs were not so liable to be seized as sheep. The latter required pasture, the former could be kept in the smallest room without betraying their situations, and easily and expeditiously increased, whilst the bleatings of sheep could be heard at a great distance. Under these circumstances, this country could neither make any progress in the arts of weaving, nor even preserve the knowledge of it*. Pray where, Doctor, were they, *in such perilous times*, to get cards or spinning-turns for spinners? looms and shuttles for weavers? oil, soap, racks and tenters for fullers? Or if any of these were found, how were they to compel workmen to return the property entrusted to them, if they chose to detain it? There were no laws then but such as strength and violence chose to dictate. You see in *Madox's History of the Exchequer*, account of Woad imported in six places, and one of them happens to be Southampton; and you at once conclude, "the manufacture of woollen cloth

Madox, p. 34.

"still

* The Doctor, notwithstanding, speaks positively, and says (p. 31) that this manufacture had always been considered in this island, from the days of the Romans in it, as its chief and favourite manufacture.

"still kept its ground at Winchester, where you say "the Romans established it," because forsooth Southampton is the port of Winchester.—Small premises, Doctor, with large conclusions!*

It is tedious to point out all the instances of this kind, which occur in this *Appendix*, professedly given from such authorities as may be relied on, yet such are found in every page. Suffice it to mention one more. P. 32, you say "that the art of dying was carried on by "a Guildry I have *not been able to learn*, though it is "highly probable; but that it was carried on as a separate, honourable, and lucrative business, *is clearly proved by the following fact from Madox, anno 1201*: "David the dyer pays one mark that his manor of — "may be made a burgage."—Now if this record was so, I draw a contrary conclusion, that it proves the scarcity of the art, since the appellation of "the dyer" was a sufficient distinction in an *Exchequer account* to identify such a man. But the Doctor has made a most unfaithful extract, for there is no such word as manor mentioned. I have referred to Madox myself, and find it thus—"David the dyer paid one mark that his *mesuage* might be made a burgage, and that he might "have the same liberties as other burgessees had in Carlisle." Just before this (5 R. 1) Madox mentions, that

* Woad was used for other purposes than dying; and by old dying receipts, even down to Edward the Sixth's time, it appears they dyed not only blues, but browns, pukes, tawnies, and every other colour as well as blue with woad, and used four or five times the quantity that is now deemed necessary, to produce the same colour; and after all, the whole importation of the kingdom there mentioned, amounts only to a return for 60 sacks of wool.

that the burgeses of Carlisle had paid 10 marks to purchase their liberties; and this man (probably from his insignificance, or not living there at that time) was omitted. I do not say that the Doctor purposely altered the word burgage to manor, to raise poor David's consequence, and give him manerial rights; in order to support a weak argument, because the Doctor in the outset says he shall produce only such authorities as may be relied on, *but it looks very much like it.* Nor does David's possessing a small messuage at Carlisle, prove *that occupation* in England at this time to have been either an *honourable* or *lucrative business*.

A few weavers in England temp. H. 1, who went much to decay in the time of H. 3.

To shorten these Remarks by a more general answer, I would observe that the Exchequer makes no mention of *Textores* or *Telarii* till the reign of Henry 1, and they were in too infant a state for the Kings of England to raise a fine upon, till the time of Henry 2. Madox's Hist. of Exch. vol. 1. p. 339, says, "Oxford paid a mark of gold, 22 H. 3, and 6l. in lieu thereof, 29, 31, and 41 of H. 3, for the ferm of their gild, yearly, that nobody within five leagues of that burgh should exercise the art but themselves." Notwithstanding this encouragement to increase the art, they petitioned E. 1 to have this fine abated, representing they were not able to pay a mark of gold for their ferm, their fraternity being reduced from 60 weavers to scarce 15, *who were poor* and decayed. In consideration whereof E. 1 reduced their yearly ferm to 42s. I extract also from p. 400, what each town in *England* paid into the Exchequer for their ferm, or for leave to exercise their *weaving trade*, and from thence shall endeavour to ascertain the extent

extent of the *weaving trade* in *England* during the period above mentioned, when it was said to be flourishing.

5 H. 2, the *Telarii* or weavers of London paid into the Exchequer 4 marks of gold (equal to 12l.)—11, 15, and 24 H. 2, they paid 12l. for each year.—and 1 R. 1. they paid 12l.—12, 14, and 31 H. 2, the *Telarii* of Oxford paid 6l.—5, 14, and 31 H. 2, Nottingham paid 40s. per ann.—12, 14, and 31 H. 2, York paid 10l.—22, 27, 31, and 52 H. 3, York paid 10l.—5 Steph. Huntingdon paid 40s.—9, 15 H. 2, and 30 H. 3, Huntingdon paid 40s.—5 Steph. Lincoln, paid 6l.—5, 9, 12, 14, 15 H. 2, and 41 H. 3, Lincoln paid 6l.—5, 9, 15, and 18 H. 2, *Telarii* and *Fullones* of Winton paid 6l.—and 9 R. 1, the same paid 6l. each.

Madox, vol. 1, p. 400.

7 H. 3, the *Textores* of Oxford paid a *case* of wine to have liberty in the making of cloth as well as other things. (Wherein the *Textores* differed from the *Telarii* is not to the present purpose necessary to mention.)

P. 414.

The men of Worcester fined 100s. that they might buy and sell dyed cloths (*pannos tinctos*) as they were wont to do in the time of H. 2.

P. 468.

The following places are also mentioned to have had leave to sell cloth, *Bedford, Beverly, Norwich, Huntingdon, Northampton, Gloucester, Nottingham, Newcastle, Lincoln, Stamford, Grimsby, Barton, Stafford, St. Alban's, Baldack, Berkhamstede, and Chesterfield.*

It appears from Madox, that much cloth was imported into England at this time. Hen. 3, by letters patent granted to Simon de Campis, merchant of Douay, that he might trade throughout England, he paying to

P. 765, 36 H. 3.

the King his rightful duties, and that no impost should be taken to the King's use for Simon's cloth.

From the above accounts I think it is not difficult to ascertain how many weavers (*Telarii*) were in England in the time of Henry the Second, a flourishing period, if we take the petition of Oxford for a guide: for when there were 60 weavers, they paid 6l. but when reduced to 15 weavers, they paid only 42s. My mode is as follows:

The <i>Telarii</i> of Oxford	—	31 H. 2,	paid 6l.	equal to 60 weavers.
London	—	24 H. 2,	— 12l.	— 120
Nottingham	—	31 H. 2,	— 2l.	— 14
York	—	31 H. 2,	— 10l.	— 100
Huntingdon	—	15 H. 2,	— 2l.	— 14
Lincoln	—	15 H. 2,	— 6l.	— 60
Winchester	—	18 H. 2,	— 6l.	— 60
				428

If any other town made cloth, it was too inconsiderable for the King to lay any fine or tax upon; and from this document it appears, that in the most flourishing times of Henry 2, there were not near 500 weavers in the whole realm of England, a number so insignificant that every petty town in Flanders and Brabant could produce as many. Though the Kings of England gave much encouragement, yet the genius of the English did not excel in this way till many ages after; instead of being progressive in the art and practice, they were retrograde; that though more than 17 towns petitioned and obtained liberty to sell cloth, there were only 7 or 8 that attempted to make it, some of which, though indulged with exclusive privileges, could not maintain themselves, but fell into decay, and petitioned the King

Number of weavers in England in the reign of H. 2.

Sir Mat. Hale.

Madox.

to take their case into consideration and lower their fine, which was done *two thirds*.

As to any claim of priority in the art which the Dr. seems to lay much stress upon in favour of Britain, it is well known that the arts of weaving and spinning were common in all ages and countries. Alexander presented *Syfigambis* and other ladies of the court of Darius, with some woollen cloth, the workmanship of his mother and sisters, in which, though he intended a compliment, yet it was thought at first an affront to these ladies of quality, because woollen cloth was so common a thing in Persia, that none but the lower classes of people used it. For the vulgarity of this present Alexander was obliged to make an handsome apology.

Rollin's Ancient History.

We read that Augustus Cæsar wore woollen garments, spun and woven by his mother and sister. That the unfortunate *Lucretiâ*, who at first sight inspired the lustful Prince of Rome with so ardent a passion for her, was then employed in carding and spinning wool with her domesticks. And not to mention the pensive Queen of *Ithaca*, nor the beautiful *Helen*, nor any of the Princesses of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we may look upwards to the times of King Solomon for his description of a virtuous woman; where we find a skill in spinning wool; a shining part of her character; or if we wish to seek 500 years further back into more remote antiquity, we shall find that while the mighty *Sampson* slept in the lap of his *Dalilah*, she was busily employed in using his hair for forming the warp of her loom. A very ingenious woman indeed she must have been, and well qualified had she been still living, to have wove on this fine

warp of hair some of Miss *Ives's* fine spinning, as recorded by the Doctor: but in this I hope I shall be understood not to pass the *least reflection* on the abilities of that ingenious lady, which deserve the highest commendation, though I must beg leave to remark, that a maker of superfine cloth would not be induced from this *circumstance* to purchase it in preference to Spanish wool; on the contrary, he would prefer wool that did not possess this (power of) ductility. It is a good property for combing, but not for clothing wool. This property is, I suppose that which *Dionysius Alexandrinus* means to celebrate in the quotation given by the Doctor, as well as what *Lewis Guiccardini* calls "*lane finissime*," in contra-distinction to the Spanish, which he names very properly "*lane bonissime*," the latter being far superior (for all kinds of good cloth) to the former.

And now, while I am speaking of the antiquity of the woollen manufacture, let us trace it up to its remotest antiquity. Among the *Institutes of Moses* we find the following: "*Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of linen and woollen together;*" and in another place, "*This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen, or in the warp or in the woof, or in any thing made of skin to make it clean or unclean, &c. &c.*" It is said of *Moses* that he was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. To speak of the warp and the woof, and to forbid manufactures of *linen and woollen* intermixed, denotes a considerable knowledge and proficiency in the weaving arts 3300 years ago; yet above 200 years before this, we read of a fond father who presented a favourite son with a coat of fancy cloth of many colours.

If

If then dying with various tinctures was not unknown within 600 years of the Deluge, the *art of weaving cloth* must have been still earlier than that of dying. Can we suppose the *Father of the faithful*, who with his kinsman *Lot* possessed such prodigious flocks of sheep and of herds, that as the Scriptures *metaphorically* express it, the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together; can we, I say, suppose that *Abraham*, who had so prodigious a household as to be able to arm (upon short notice) 318 trained servants born in his own house, could find no employment for his female servants, who must have been equally numerous? or that he did not find a proper use for the large quantities of wool which he must have annually shorn from so many thousand sheep?

I shall not trace the woollen manufacture any higher, because I cannot prove that the garment *Shem* and *Japhet* took to cover the indecent situation of their father, was of woollen cloth; though I have no doubt but it must have been of some *Antediluvian* manufactory.

The lowest degree of manufacture in a country is where every family makes something for its own use: this is common even in savage countries: the next step is to work for their neighbours: the third degree is when so increased and improved as to be carried to the public market; but it becomes only considerable and extensive, when it becomes an article of export. The art will exist for ages in the first state, before it reaches the next, and in others it never arrives to the latter.

Pliny says in his *Natural History*, lib. 8, "that the Gauls manufactured a kind of cloth (or rather felt of wool)

wool) without either *spinning* or *weaving*, which is said to have been so strong *when vinegar was used in the making of it*, that it resisted the blow of a sword." The *Savages* of the *Sandwich Isles* have war matts of nearly the same description, though for want of *wool* they make it of *another material*.

This method of *felting* by means of *vinegar* is quite unknown to us *manufacturers* of the present day, but perhaps to mention it may give a *useful hint* to some who read this.

The Doctor says (p. 36), "From the days of Edward 1. to those of Cha. 1. the woollen manufacture and the exportation of *woollen cloth and wool*, were the principal objects of legislation, and during this period British cloth was sought for with *avidity* by all nations, &c." Here is a variety of things blended together, some true and some not so. I first answer, that a great exportation of cloth must have precluded a great exportation of wool, in the same manner that a dairyman who makes much cheese will be careful not to sell much of his milk. But the fact is, that there was not cloth enough made for our own consumption till long after the days of Edw. 1. And as to the Doctor's quotation, p. 35, of the duties Edw. 1. laid on woollen goods exported, I have looked into the authority he quotes, and there is no such duty to be found; and the whole is an imposition. We know (from *Madox*) that the father of Edw. 1. gave Simon de Campis, merchant of Douay, leave to import and sell his cloth in any part of England, which probably would not have been allowed if we had made enough for ourselves and

to spare for exportation. Anderson's History of Commerce says (p. 335) that down to 1354 we had no exportable manufactures of our own, except some *coarse* woollen cloth which *was but a late manufacture*, and some worsteds; and that we were still obliged to take the *greatest part of our fine woollen* and linen cloth from the Netherlands. Edw. 3 in 1338 granted leave to the towns of Brabant freely to bring over and sell what number of woollen cloths in England they pleased.

There was certainly some quantity of English cloth exported to the Baltic (as a return for fish) in the times of R. 2 and H. 4 (*Hackluit*), but I have not met with any certain accounts before*, and this export was soon on the decline. The Hanse merchants intimidated us by their cruel usage of every English merchant ship they met on the seas, and we had very little foreign trade till the reign of Edw. 6 and Q. Eliz.—Where then is the proof of that assertion of the Doctor's, that English cloth, from the days of Edw. 1 to Cha. 1, was sought for with *great avidity*† by all nations!! The *little* export trade we had was not of much benefit to England, being chiefly managed by the merchants of the Steel-yard

* In Ed. 3d.'s time (1354) it is on record that we imported 1831 fine woollen cloths, worth 6l. each, and that we exported of our manufacture 4774 cloths, all of which were coarse cloths, worth only 4os. a piece; but I much doubt if it occurred again for many years.

† This about Edw. 1 is another gross imposition on the public. So far is this from a possibility of being true, that the very author he quotes says almost 200 years after this, "that a subsidy was granted to Hen. 6, on wool, woofels, and cloth exported, anno 1452, and that *this* is the *first* mention of a subsidy laid our own woollen cloth exported." Yet the Doctor draws some bold conclusions from this false statement also. How shall we venture to read so doubtful an author!—What can we think of such an unfaithful quoter of ancient history!

yard (mostly foreigners resident here, who returned home when they had made their fortunes), who kept this country poor. Hen. 4 threatened them. Hen. 7 set up an English company against them; but Edw. 6 invalidated their charter granted them by H. 3; and upon their defeat our trade and manufacture rose.

I shall, to avoid *growing tedious*, shorten my other observations on *Dr. Anderson's Appendix*, N^o IV. as much as possible, by the following general answers, as I fear a longer detail would grow dull and uninteresting to my readers.

P. 41. I admit his *first* remark, but his *second* is totally erroneous; for though our Cotswold was the best of wool, the Flemings made it into much *finer* cloth than we did, the *cloth of Ypres**. The third and fourth remarks are true, but the fifth *partly* true and *partly* false.

P. 42. The first is true; the second *partly* true and *partly* false. Third, true; for the Spanish wool is *acknowledged* to be the only sort *now* for making the finest cloth. Fourth, the Doctor does not seem to state his argument clear. No man I think of the least knowledge could *maintain* any such assertion. The *French*, as is well known, do not *covet* any of our wool for their *fine cloths*, but for their *coarse worsted stuffs*; and they cannot, any more than ourselves make their superfine cloths of *their own wool*, but only with *the best wool* of Spain. Fifth, is true.

P. 43. First inference is true. Second, *very doubtful*. Third, not true; it is certainly from *natural causes*, the sheep being kept for *different* views and purposes, and

* "Fine cloth of Ypres, that named is better than our's."

A Poem in Hackluit, under date of 1436.

fed on *artificial grasses* and *turnips*, as well as *deprived* of their wide range on the *maiden downs* which are put into *inclosures*.

P. 42. Not true. The French cannot make their best fine cloth out of their own wool any more than ourselves; they must have their fine wool from Spain as we have: they certainly have made some finer and more perfect cloth than we, but not from incapacity in us, but because the English customer would not go to the price of the French customer. Till lately no draper would give more than 16s. per yard for his superfine, even if it was made worth a guinea, the study therefore of the manufacture was to produce such a superfine cloth as he could afford to sell at that price; but since the commercial treaty, *French cloth* having come over at 26s. and 30s. per yard, I have seen superfine cloth, made by *Mr. Waldron of Trowbridge*, equal, if not superior, to the best French, 1s. per yard cheaper, after allowing for the *ad valorem duty*.

P. 66. The Doctor values the wool by the length of the staple; this is no recommendation to fine clothing wool, though good for combing. The former is the *principal* object to this country, and I much doubt whether the Doctor is right in stating that the large breed of sheep may be made to produce it. By all the best authorities I have collected, it appears that the fine woolled sheep of Spain is not a large sheep, as the Doctor asserts, p. 65, but a small one with short legs, though the coarse woolled common sheep of Spain is certainly a large, long-legged animal.

P. 44. Begins with some *abusive insinuations* against the *manufacturers*, calling the *non-exportation laws* a *monopoly*,

[26]

monopoly, &c. for the benefit of the manufacturer at home: This is not a fair description, nor do they any way operate as a *monopoly*, or even check the spirit of the farmer and wool-grower.

The manufacturers of this island are the *best purchasers* of this native *commodity*, and where could the wool-grower get a better price? Holland and Flanders are *now no longer what they were*. The *manufacturers* of England are of themselves *ten thousand rivals* to each other. They are too many, and their views too varied, ever to *operate* in such a *combination*. Those who have the *best trade* and *largest orders*, will always give the best prices, and buy up the wool in the face of others that have *less trade*. This is instanced every day in the *West Country*, for whenever *Yorkshire* has *plenty of orders* they send down into the *West Country* and advance the prices; nor will any *manufacturer* in his senses ever refuse to buy wool at *any price*, when he has trade to answer it.

Besides if *leave* was given to *export* wool, you cannot reason upon it in the abstract. It is probable from the nature of trade, and for the sake of *back carriage*, or of making *convenient* returns for other *commodities*, wool would be carried out at a less price than it would fetch at home, or more, according as ships wanted *freight*, sometimes *monopolized* and returned again at a *forced price*, all which would create such an *embarrassment*, such an *uncertainty* to the *home manufacturer*, that it would discourage him from *extending* his trade, or engaging for more orders than he was *certain* of getting wool for. This cramping of the *manufacturing trade*

would

[27]

would soon be felt by the *idle hands*, which would be repeatedly thrown on the public to *maintain*.

Few people are *competent* to reason on so complex a subject as *manufacture*. What will hold good on the export of *corn, grain, hops, grocery*, &c. will not apply to that of *wool*, which, from the time it is sold, is *progressively* accumulating value by the labour of our poor, till after *increasing* three, four, five, or even ten times its *original* value, it becomes in the most *improved* state an *advantageous* article for *exportation*, realizing into national wealth the *labours* of men, women, and children, old, young, lame, or decrepid, for they all get a *livelihood* out of it.

It should also be remembered, that while the *clothier* or *manufacturer* is *working round* his profit of 20s. the various people he employs make on the same wool at least an *hundred shillings* profit, two thirds of which is laid out in *purchasing* the *produce* of the land to the *great advantage* of the landholder.

A good trade, *fully encouraged* at home, becomes the *best possible encouragement* to the *wool-grower*, who, generally speaking, is also a *farmer*. The subject is much *misrepresented* by those who assert that a *foreign market*, in our *present state* of *improvement*, would *benefit* the *wool-grower*. It should be always taken into the same argument, that on every 20s. worth of wool sent abroad, there is above 60s. worth of labour *taken* from the *community*, who in lieu of that *deprivation* must subsist on *something*, and that must *ultimately* fall on the *landholder*. No circumstances can justify the step but a *great redundancy* of wool at home, and when such a case happens,

it

it is time enough to seek it. Let us for instance suppose, that half our next year's growth of wool is exported, and it rises to *double* the price, what is the *consequence*? the *manufacturer* receives his order from the *merchant* on the usual terms, but finds from the great *advance* of wool, he shall not *save himself*, he must therefore *decline the order*, unless he can get such a price of the *merchant* as to *insure him some profit*, (a little advance upon an article of manufacture will turn the current of a trade, though no such effect happens on such articles of life as corn, sugar, groceries, &c. which *must* be bought) the *merchant* not having this in his power, *returns* the order to his *agent abroad*, and the *clothier* remains without a trade, *accumulating* a heavy stock of materials made at a dear rate: his first step to *save himself* and *family from ruin*, is to discharge his *work-folks*, of which any manufacturer of consequence employs from 500 to a 1000. In consequence of this loss of trade from rise of wool, many 100,000 people are thrown out of bread, the effect of which is *universal distress* and *discontent*, and God knows where the evil would end! The first object of the mob would be to procure the *names* of those who voted for the *exportation of wool*, and their lives would be probably the *sacrifice*! and the next step would be a *numerous emigration* to that country to which the wool was conveyed, which no doubt *would be glad* to receive them; as was actually the case with the *Brabanters* under their Duke *Wenceslaus* in the 14th century; with the *Dutch* upon the introduction of the *Spanish Inquisition*; with the French under Louis the 14th, upon the *revocation* of the *edict* of *Nantz*; and in

Spain

Spain under *Ferdinand*, upon his *compulsion* of the *Moors* to change their *religion*, &c. &c. *Further*, if a lesser *exportation* takes place than the half, or *even so much* as to distress the *manufacturer*, and induce him to *lessen* his trade from a doubt of *advantage*, the evil will be *nationally* felt, more or less, according to the *circumstances* and *extent* of the evil.

Having premised these things in answer to *Dr. Anderson*, I shall now proceed to state my conclusions in consequence.

1st. That *Britain* in ancient times produced wool much finer than any part of *Europe*, and in a much larger proportion to its coarse wool than it does at present; I mean during the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

2d. That the wool of *Spain*, during that period, was so far inferior as to debase the wool of *England* whenever it was mixed with it in manufacture. One particular defect in its quality, besides its coarser nature, was, that it would not prove or thicken in the mill.

3d. That during the above period *England* was very poor, its land much uncultivated, had but little manufacture, and was thinly inhabited.

4th. That in those ages while *England* and *France* were wasting their strength in war with each other, *Spain* was full of inhabitants, industry and manufacture producing much wool; though to make their fine goods, they bought wool the growth of other countries, chiefly at the Flemish market, where the greatest part of the wool of *England* was carried for sale, but that they *mostly* coveted the English wool that grew in the *Cotswold*.

5th.

5th. That upon the expulsion of the *Moors* (a very industrious people) and the discovery of the rich mines of *South America*, which immediately followed upon it, the industry and thrift of that nation declined*;

6th. That previous however to this, some people of *Spain* procured, at the conclusion of a treaty between the two kingdoms, from one of our kings, leave to export a few *Cotswold* sheep, which by a careful mode of manage-

* Ferdinand the 5th banished nearly 100,000 industrious people because they were Moors, for which the Pope honoured him with the title of Catholic. Philip the Third, his successor, to acquire the same merit with the holy father, banished from Valencia 140,000 more of them; and, in the three following years, 600,000 more from Seville, Mercia, and Grenada: the greatest part of these were weavers and husbandmen.

Ferdinand the 2d. on his taking Seville from the Moors, anno 1248; found there 16,000 looms for weaving, but in 1665 there were only 60 looms. The Spanish Government have seen their fatal error, and have many times since attempted to re-establish their lost woollen manufactories; particularly about forty years ago, a Thomas Bevan of Melksham in Wiltshire, was engaged by the King of Spain with a pension of 500l. a year, and established at Guadalajara, with a view of using their fine wool themselves; but nothing could conquer the natural indolence of the Spaniards, so that the scheme was dropt, finding it more profitable to sell their fine wool to us, than to fabricate it themselves. Since that time the Spaniards have been making coarse serges called *Serge de San Fernando*; out of the old native sort of wool, which no foreigners would buy of them; and to encourage it the more, the serges of Exeter (which had supplied Spain) were loaded with a duty of 50l. per cent. yet notwithstanding this disadvantage, an Exeter merchant told me a few months ago, that they had beat them out and out, and obtained a preference even in their own market. He said, that he had seen many of their serges, and that they looked worse after milling than before, the same imperfection remaining in the wool as in ancient times, that it would not prove or felt in the mill. In cotton, they have succeeded much better, for at Barcelona, at this time, according to Mr. Townsend's well-written Journey in Spain just published, they have fourteen Manchester machines at work for spinning cotton, in consequence of a model brought them in 1785.

management, and being put under certain convents and privileged houses, have so increased, that though the views of those wise men did not come to pass in the way they had intended, from the declination of their people from their ancient industry, yet however in consequence thereof, they are become able to supply those countries with fine wool, which used to supply them.

7th. That though the *English* in those times could make but poor progress in manufacture (though considerably helped by their Kings), yet at last being emancipated from their difficulties*, have since become the greatest manufacturers in *Europe*: that from this improved state of trade, industry, and commerce, the landholder has been induced (as also by its increased population with its manufactures) to turn his attention from the ancient small breed of *English* sheep, to a larger and stronger sort, producing more mutton, of considerably more weight and value than the former sort: that though the natural feed of the ground would not maintain this large breed, he could have recourse to artificial modes of feed and manure, to feeding with turnips, and turning the downs into inclosures; the high price of all kinds of produce being a further inducement to the highest cultivation of his lands, his landlord having also raised him high in his rents.

8th. That though he observes this has a visible effect on the fineness of his wool, it does not deter him, because of the additional profit on his mutton.

9th. That in *Spain* there has been for ages, and still is, two distinct breeds of sheep, the one (*trashú mantes*) a small

* The Hanse merchants monopolized all our trade, and kept the nation poor.

small short-legged animal, producing fine wool; and the other (*estantes*) a large long-legged sheep, producing a poor lank wool resembling flax, which has no elasticity, nor will it prove or thicken in the mill: this latter is the native ancient sheep of *Spain*, whose wool is fit only for making a coarse kind of serge, and is the same which our ancient laws forbid the mixing with our wool.

10th. That notwithstanding the improved system of husbandry in *England* has depreciated our fine wool, yet by increasing the quantity, it has greatly compensated the loss (for instead of 100,000 sacks anciently of fine and coarse, it now grows above 700,000 middle and coarser) enabling this country to extend its manufactures, coarse wool being as essential as fine wool.

11th. That this country still has some advantages in a kind of wool which no improved system of husbandry has yet deprived her of, namely the long combing wool, which is coveted by the *French* for their *estifanes* and other worsted stuffs, and which is found to flourish well in inclosures.

12th. That however as *England* expends a large sum of money in purchasing the finest raw materials from *Spain*, which supply may not always hold, and as many parts of *Britain* remote and uncultivated would breed this fine wool equally as well, if properly encouraged, it is truly patriotic in any man, or body of men, who, by holding forth premiums, purchasing fine-woolled rams, ascertaining the best and fittest food for fine-woolled sheep, pointing out improved methods of treating, sheltering, and feeding them, and such other encouragements, do promote the culture thereof.

PART

PART THE SECOND.

Containing a brief History of the Wool of this Kingdom, when it began to be exported, the Customs thereon, and the ancient Prices thereof, and of the nature of Woollen Manufacture as connected with it.

GAUDET OVIBUS.

AMONGST the various animals with which Divine Providence has stored the world for the use of man, none is to be found more innocent, more useful, or more valuable than the *Sheep*. The *Sheep* supplies us with food and clothing, and finds ample employment for our poor, at all times and seasons of the year, whereby a variety of manufactures of woollen cloth is carried on without interruption to domestic comfort and loss to friendly society or injury to health, as is the case with many other occupations. Every lock of wool that grows on its back becomes the means of support to *Staplers, Dyers, Pickers, Scourers, Scriblers, Carders, Combers, Spinners, Spoolers, Warpers, Queelers, Weavers, Fullers, Tuckers, Burlers, Shearmen, Pressers, Clothiers, and Packers*, who, one after another, tumble and tofs, and
D twist

twist and *bake* and *boil* this *raw material*, till they have each extracted a *livelihood* out of it; and then comes the *Merchant*, who, in his turn, ships it (in its *highest state* of improvement) to all quarters of the globe, from whence he brings back *every kind of riches* to his country, in return for the *labours* of these his neighbours exported with it.

Besides this, the *useful animal*, after being deprived of his coat, grows us another against the next year; and when we are *hungry* and kill him for *food*, he gives us his *skin* to employ the *Fell-mongers* and *Parchment-makers*, who supply us with a *durable material* for securing our *Estates, Rights, and Possessions*; and if our enemies take the field against us, supplies us with a *powerful instrument* for rousing our courage to repel their attacks. When the *Parchment-maker* has taken as much of the skin as he can use, the *Glue-maker* comes after and picks up every morsel that is left, and therewith supplies us with a *material* for the *Carpenter* and *Cabinet-maker*, which they cannot do without, and which is *essentially necessary* before we can have *elegant furniture* in our houses, tables, chairs, looking-glasses, and a hundred other *articles of convenience*; and when the winter nights come on, and we are deprived of the cheering light of the Sun, the *Sheep* supplies us with an *artificial mode* of light, whereby we preserve every pleasure of *domestic society*, and with whose assistance we can continue our work, or write or read, and improve our minds, or enjoy the social mirth of our tables. Another part of the *slaughtered animal* supplies us with an ingredient necessary for making good *common Soap*, a useful store

for

for producing cleanliness in every family rich or poor. Neither need the horns be thrown away, for they are converted by the *Button-makers* and *Turners* into a cheap kind of buttons, tips for bows, and many useful ornaments. From the very trotters an oil is extracted useful for many purposes, as well as their affording good food when baked in an oven.

We have now picked the poor animal to the bones, yet these are useful also, for by a late invention of Dr. Higgins, they are found, when reduced to ashes, to be a useful and essential ingredient in the composition of the finest artificial stone in ornamental work for chimney-pieces, cornices of rooms, houses, &c. which renders the composition more durable by effectually preventing its cracking*.

If it is *objected* to the meek inoffensive creature, that he was *expensive* while living, in eating up our grass, &c. it may be answered that it was *quite the contrary*, for he could feed where every other animal had been before him and grazed all they could find, and that if he took a little grass on your downs, or in your fields, he *amply repaid* you (for every blade of grass) in the richness of the *manure* he left behind him. I forgot to mention

No animal bites the grass so close as the Sheep.

* Any curious person would be much entertained to see the manufactory of Bone Ash, now carried on by Mr. Minish of Whitechapel, New Road, wherein the bones of Sheep and of Cows undergo many ingenious processes. — 1st. there is a mill to break them; — 2d. a cauldron to extract their oil, marrow, and fat; — 3d. a reverberatory to heat them red hot; — 4th. an oven for those bones to moulder to ashes; — 5th. a still to collect the fumes of the burnt bones into a brown fluid, from whence hartshorn is made; — 6th. furnaces for making parts thereof into Globar's salts; — 7th. a sand heat containing twelve jars, for collecting a chrysalizing vapour into Sal-ammoniac.

mention the service he yields to the ladies, whose fair soft hands he protects from the cold wintry blast by providing them with the softest *leather gloves*. Every gentleman's *library* is also indebted to him for the neat binding of his books, for the sheath for his sword, and for cases for his instruments; in short, not to be tedious in mentioning the various uses of leather, there is hardly any furniture or utensil of life but the *Sheep* contributes to render it either *more useful, convenient, or ornamental*.

I have already remarked that there were *very few Sheep* in this kingdom during the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, and the reasons of it; also observed how seldom wool or sheep are spoken of in Domesday Book, although there is continual mention of *pig-drivers* (*porcarii*), and of acres of ground *appropriated* to the feeding of hogs.

The first mention of the *existence* of the weaving art upon the records of the Exchequer appears to be in the time of H. 1, in favour of some inhabitants of Oxford (of which probably the original deed is still to be seen among the Rolls of the Exchequer). Madox mentions, vol. 1, p. 339, that Oxford paid a mark of gold into the Exchequer, 22 H. 3; also the 29th, 31st, and 41st of that reign, "that nobody within five leagues of that burgh, should exercise the art but themselves," which they state "to have been first granted them by H. 1." and this is the only instance I could there find of the weaving art existing in England as early as the reign of Henry the First, though Anderson's Hist. of Commerce mentions, *in addition to Oxford, London and Winchester*.

It

It was probably introduced here by the Flemings, who came over to England in the reign of Henry 1, upon a large inundation of the sea into their country, the King planting them in various parts of the kingdom. But the weaving art did not become flourishing till the reign of Henry 2*, when, according to the illustrious Sir Matthew Hale, "this island greatly flourished in the art of manufacturing woollen cloth; but by the troublesome wars in the time of King John, Henry the 3d, Edward the 1st, and Edward the 2d, this manufacture was wholly lost, and all our trade ran out in wool, woofels, and leather, carried out in specie." Edward the 3d revived it, and it continued advancing during the reigns of Richard the 2d and Henry the 4th; after which it again declined exceedingly, and did not thoroughly revive till the reigns of Edward the 6th and Queen Elizabeth. It again declined under the Stewart Princes, but under the Brunswick Princes it has not only revived, but within these last forty years been extended to a greater degree than ever was known in this island.

On the Exportation of English Wool, and ancient Prices thereof.

THE first mention on *public record* of any wool exported from this kingdom (according to Madox, vol. 1, p. 776) is in the 8th year of Rich. 1, at which time several *merchants* paid into the Exchequer 23l. 12s. as duties to the King during two years license to export

* Henry 2 granted a fair, for the Clothiers and Drapers, to be held in the church-yard of Bartholemew Priory near Smithfield, for three days, which spot still goes by the name of Cloth-fair. *Noortbouck*.

port wool and leather out of England.—N. B. *If this export had been all of wool, and the duty or fine, half a mark per sack (as was the fixed duty soon after) it would have amounted in two years only to 70 sacks.*

Price of wool
2d, farthing per
lb, anno 1199.

In the 10th Rich. *Gervase of Aldermanbury*, the King's Chamberlain accounted to the Exchequer for 45 sacks of wool taken to the King's use at Hull and there sold for 225 marks, i. e. 3l. 6s. 8d. per sack, or 2d. $\frac{1}{4}$ per lb.

In 1260, in the reign of Henry 3, it was forbidden to be exported, and it was enacted that it should be manufactured only within the realm.

It was not a *regular article* of export till Edward 1, when a public scale was erected in London to weigh the wool for exportation; at this time *Custodes Custumæ* were appointed at the several ports of *Newcastle, Kingston upon Hull, Boston, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Southampton, Bristol, and London*. Madox says, "The Mayor of London and other citizens, in obedience to the King's order, caused a public scale to be erected (somewhere near Cornhill) for weighing of wool, that the King might have his due custom of half a mark per sack. Soon after, the King levied an aid towards a war with France of 40s per sack on wool; the Commons complained of this *heavy duty*, (a long account of it in Fox's Book of Martyrs), and it was taken off, and he commanded his *Custodes* to forbear receiving the same, and his sheriffs to proclaim that those who designed to export wools, &c. might safely carry them to those parts where the King had a cocket, they paying only the old duty of 6s. 8d."—

N. B. At this time our *woollen manufacture* was much declined

Madox, vol. 1,
p. 788, on
Tronage.

declined from what it had been in Henry the 2d.'s time, and the wool therefore not wanted at home.

9 E. 1. Some merchants of *Lucca* resident in England rendered account of monies received for the *new* custom of wool (skins and leather) 771 sacks, and 7 stone exported from *Newcastle* in the port of *Hull*, the wool *customed* at half a mark per sack.

9 E. 2. A custom was levied for every sack of wool carried out of the port of Bristol, 6s. 8d.

Madox,
vol. 2, p. 1374

In Edward the 3d.'s time (as before noted, 11 E. 3) an act passed to make it *felony* to transport any wool from this realm into foreign countries, and on pain of forfeiture of life and limb.—N. B. This law was soon suspended on account of the King's necessities for carrying on his war with France. In his reign (anno 1337) the price of *good Staffordshire* wool was 4d. per lb.

Price of wool
4d. per lb. anno
1337.

In the 5th vol. of the *Fœdera*, p. 369, we find however, under the year 1343, that Edward, to keep up the value of his wool, got the prices to be fixed by Parliament, that none should be bought under the following prices, viz. Shropshire (the best) 14 marks (9l. 6s. 8d.) per sack; Oxford and Staffordshire (the second best) at 13 marks, or 8l. 13s. 4d.; Gloucester, Leicester, and Hereford, 12 marks, or 8l. per sack; and in the same manner in other countries, till it came to the lowest priced wool, which was that of Cornwall, valued no higher than 4 marks per sack. *Anderson's Hist. of Commerce*, vol. 1, p. 316. This enhancement of the price was of great advantage to the views of Edward, who being preparing to enter with vigour into the war with France, hereby got all the wool trade into his own

D 4

hands,

hands, by which he was enabled to raise what money he wanted.

It is said that Edward exported 100,000 sacks per ann. but I apprehend this was not done every year, the growth not being equal to it. Mr. Dillon averages it at about 30,000 sacks; this I think is putting it too low.

Stat. at Large.

14 Hen. 6. A law passed that neither wool nor wools shall be exported out of the King's dominions, and only to Calais, at that time *part thereof*.

Wool when exported sunk in price to 1 1/2 per lb.

During the wars of the Roses our manufacturers again went into decay, and our wool was exported to an unlimited extent, yet it proved of small benefit to the wool-grower, for it sunk in price to 20d. per stone and 1 1/2 per lb.

In Edward the 4th's reign a stop was put to the exportation of wool, to every place but Calais. The people of Bristol (as well as Norfolk) complained to Parliament of the great decay of the woollen manufacture, owing, as they state, to the wool being exported. (Barret's Hist. of Bristol.)

Fenn's Orig. Let. vol. 4, let. 52.

Extract of a letter to Sir John Paston, a member of the first Parliament of Edw. 4: "The people of this country live in hopes ye shall help to set a way, that they may live in better peace in this country, and that wools shall be purveyed for, that they should not go out of this land, as it hath been suffered to do; then shall the poor people live better than they have done by their occupation therein."—Marg. Paston to Sir John her husband, he being in Parliament.

As a proof that the exportation did not help the price for

for the wool-grower, in the same letter we read further,

"Thomas Bone hath sold all your wool here for 20d. per stone, to be paid at Michaelmas, and it is sold right well, because the wool was for the most part right feeble." Price of wool 20d. per stone, 1464.

3 E. 4, it was enacted that no alien should export wool out of this realm.

4 E. 4 enacts from what places and on what conditions wool should be allowed to be sent to Calais. Stat. at Large.

12 E. 4, during five years, wool of certain counties only shall be carried to Newcastle, and all others only to Calais, on pain of felony.

Many good laws were made in the short reign of Richard 3, for the advantage of trade and manufacture; one only I shall mention, "that no alien not made a denizen, shall make any cloth or put any wool to work in this realm, nor carry on trade by retail."

We had so little of the woollen manufacture in England just after the bloody wars of the Roses, that H. 7, in 1490, in a treaty with Florence (according to Anderfon, v. 1, p. 530) agreed that that state should be entirely supplied with wool from England for their manufactures, and that except 600 sacks allowed to the Venetians, no other part of our wool should be brought into the Mediterranean. The only important clause on the part of England seems to have been, that it should only be shipped on English bottoms.—This seems to have been the first attempt at our navigation laws.—It does not appear how much wool the people of Florence manufactured in each year; but Dillon quotes from Marino Sanuto, that the eleven cities of Lombardy at this time manufactured 9000 pieces of cloth per ann. which

which is no great quantity, being only a consumption of 1500 sacks of wool in the whole, or 16 pieces per week, the average of each city.

It made but little difference to England who had her wool, when she could not use it herself, though certainly impolitic in Henry not to have encouraged manufacturers more, at home; but it seems, that to preserve himself on the throne, to lessen the power of the Barons, and to hoard up a good stock of money in case of a second exile, engrossed his whole attention.

Henry 7 however established the *English merchants* trading to *Zealand, Brabant, and Flanders* (who soon exported a great deal of cloth) into a company, giving them the title of "*Merchant Adventurers*," a great benefit to *England*, because a check to the impositions of the *Hanse merchants*, who had from the days of H. 3 engrossed the foreign trade of England and kept her poor.

Institution of the company of Merchant Adventurers of England.

6 H. 8. A law was made that *no wool of Norfolk* fit for *worsted*s and for *stammins* should be exported from this kingdom, under penalty of 40s. for every stone so exported.

N. B. By this *successive progress* of the wool laws, it appears to have been the constant care of the *Legislature* to provide first for the wants of the *manufacturer*, and to cherish and encourage as much as possible that useful and important branch of the community, whose labours find employ for *so many hundred thousand* of his Majesty's poorer subjects, and it seems only to have been permitted to be exported, when it was not possible for the subjects to use it themselves. Hen. 8 first put the penalty to about 3s. per lb. which our law still retains. Edw. 6 rendered

dered great service to the trade of *England*, by the determination of a famous suit at law brought by the *Hanse Merchants*, or *Merchants of the Steelyard*, against the Company of *Merchant Adventurers of England*, to call in question their right to the patent granted them by H. 7. An affair of such consequence occasioned embassies to the young King from all the *Hanse towns* (*Hamburgh, Lubeck, &c.*) in their behalf, and it became a point of most serious deliberation, the *Lord Chancellor* and the two *Secretaries of State*, *Sir Robert Bowes* and *Sir John Baker*, were consulted, and at length the result was "to confirm the grant of H. 7." From this time our foreign trade began to *encrease*, and be carried on in a more considerable way, so as to help the manufacturers.

When *Philip and Mary* reigned, the *Hanse towns* applied again to recover their privileges, but though *seconded* by the House of Spain, they *could not obtain* them. A sure proof, says my author, it had been *against* the interest of England.

The *good and flourishing state* of manufacture and commerce under *Queen Elizabeth* was greater than *England* ever knew before. A stone of wool, which in Henry the 6th's time sunk to 1s. 6d. was now cheerfully purchased by our manufacturers at 12s. our cloths were exported by our own merchants to all parts of the world; the Queen graciously condescending, for the advancement of trade and commerce, to give letters *under her own hand*, directed to the Sovereigns even of the remotest countries, wherever her merchants would choose to *adventure themselves*; of these letters we have many

No wool exported in Queen Elizabeth's time.

many copies still preserved in Hackluit's Voyages.— James the 1st pursued a *different policy*, every thing was to be sacrificed to the *glory of the monarch* and the *extent of the royal prerogative*, the *people* made for the *King*, and not the *King* for the *people*. By the *bad policy* at home the *Dutch* got our *East India trade* from us (a very extensive and valuable trade in those times), where our cloth at that time bore such fame and obtained such credit, that the *Dutch acknowledged* they could not sell a yard of theirs till they had imitated our *clothiers' marks*, the *English packages*, and our *merchants' marks*; and soon after we were so weak as to obtain leave of Parliament to export our cloth to *Holland half dressed*, whereby the *Dutch undersold* us with *our own cloth*, and at length entirely beat us out of the market. They also by degrees got our *Eastland trade* from us (*Germany, &c.*) And as the foreign trade had at that time taken off two thirds of all the cloth made in *England*, the loss of it occasioned a *very dull trade* and *universal discontent*. Bills were brought in session after session “to encourage trade and set the poor on work,” but nothing could then be done till too late; the fault was laid on the *Company of Merchant Adventurers*. Sir Edwin Sands, 6th of June, 1604, presented to the *Commons* a report of the proceedings of their Committee on this business, before whom it was declared “that this Company of only
“ about 200 persons, had the *sole management* of two
“ thirds of all the *clothing trade* of this realm, which
“ would have maintained many *thousand merchants*,
“ whereby it had grown into a *monopoly*, ruinous to the
“ trade of this kingdom, inasmuch as they thereby op-
“ pressed

Journals of the
House.

Ditto p. 218.

“ pressed the *manufacture*, in supplying him with arti-
“ cles for manufacture at *their own price*, and bought
“ his cloth of him on *such low terms*, that the *clothiers*
“ often returned home with *loss* instead of *profit*, com-
“ pelled by necessity to lay their cloth to *pawn* and to
“ *slack* their trade, to the utter ruin of their *poor workmen*
“ with their *wives* and *children*.” The object of a petition then from the manufacturers was to dissolve this monopoly, which had occasioned a *general decay of trade*, and to procure a *free trade*; but these *Merchant Adventurers* were so rich a body, and their interest so powerful *in the House*, that the business was postponed day after day, till it was lost, or the bill so altered as to be of no use. Trade at length got so bad, that *few manufacturers* could live in it, the consequence of which was a *great stock of wool upon hand* (which might have been avoided if they had been relieved in time), the manufacturers being reduced to half their number. Upon this the *wool-grower* added his complaint of the decay of trade, and no remedy could now be found but leave to *export wool*; and the glory of Edward the 3d being remembered, a subsidy was granted to James out of it, as follows, “*We, your*
“ *said poor Commons, by the advice, assent, and authority*
“ *aforsaid, do give and grant unto our said Liege Lord our*
“ *Sovereign, for the causes aforsaid, another subsidy; that*
“ *is to say, of every merchant born denizen, of and for every*
“ *sack of wool (exported) 33s. 4d.; and of and for every*
“ *240 woolfels 33s. 4d.; and of and for every last of hides*
“ *and backs 3l. 6s. 8d. &c.; and of every merchant stranger*
“ *not born denizen, for every sack of wool 3l. 6s. 8d.;*
“ *and of and for every 240 woolfels 3l. 6s. 8d. &c. &c.;*
“ and

P. 520.

7 Jac. 1.

“ and so of every the said wools and woolfels, hides and backs;
“ and every of them after the rate, to have, take, and enjoy,
“ and receive the subsidies aforesaid, and every of them and
“ every part and parcel of them, to your Highness; from
“ the 18th day of March last past, during your life
“ natural.*”

This grant was a *fatal stroke*, and laid the foundation of our *civil wars*, in putting the evils of the working part of society *beyond a remedy*, and producing (says my author, who wrote in *Queen Anne's reign*) a train of misfortunes, which hath attended the kingdom to this very day. Great *emigrations* of the *industrious* part of the nation took place, and the *idle and disorderly* remained behind (ready to join in those commotions which took place in the reign of his son *Charles*). From hence to the 18th Jac. continual speeches in the House on the *decay of trade*, but no effectual remedies are applied.

See Journals,
P. 552.

An attempt was afterwards made to remedy these evils. 13th March, 18th Jac. a petition was presented to restrain the *exportation of wool*, stating “ that one tod exported, gave our foreign rivals an *advantage* of “ mixing two tods more with it of their own *inferior* “ wool, and thereby rivalling us *threefold*,” (which is “ the case at this very day, 1791.) Mr. *Coucher* and Mr. *Berkely* spoke against the exportation: Sir *Edward Coke* that cloth makes nine parts in ten of the commodity of the kingdom. Mr. *Towersson* stated that wool was very cheap, yet no *clothier* could live, and the reason was

* There was no mention of place or quantity in the shipping of this wool, so that for 10 packs shipped, which paid a duty possibly, 20 or 30 might be shipped that paid no duty at all.

was plain, ill management had lost our *foreign cloth trade*.

P. 597. 30th April 19 Jac. Upon the second reading of a bill to prevent the *exportation of wool*, the House seemed earnest to pass the bill, and make it *felony*, and no *dissentient voice*, yet the third reading of this bill was not brought on for more than six months.

P. 628. Serj. *Davys* observes, wool is a *principal* Observations in the House of Commons. pillar of our kingdom, and that to be the reason why the *Judges* of the land sit upon *woolstacks*.—P. 633. The decay of trade from bad to worse.—P. 633. Sir *Edwin Sands* says, we ought not any longer to *palliate*, but to make to the King a *true remonstrance* of the state of the kingdom, to *speak fair words in the country*, but the *truth in this place*.—P. 635. Sir *Edwin Sands* reflected on afterwards in the House for his *honest speech*, the word *palliate* offensive to the *Court*, but he is *justified* by the *vote of the House*.

P. 647. 20th Nov. 1621. The House again debating upon the decay of trade and want of money; the kingdom oppressed with *monopolies*.—P. 648. The King presses for money.—P. 653. The wool-bill, notwithstanding its second reading in April, is not brought forward for its third reading *till this time* (November). Mr. *Mynn* states, that he saw lately the manufactures of the *Netherlands*, and their *materials*; saw there *English wool* and *Fullers earth*, brought out of *England*, as plentiful as here. They *confessed* they could make no cloth without *Fuller's earth*, and could have none nearer than *Silesia*, except from *England*. Mr. *Carvyl* called this bill a *monopoly*. It was agreed to stand over to the
1st

1st of December, at which time Mr. *Glanville* said the bill had many imperfections; that *he had drawn up a new bill*, which he wished to be read, and the old bill to stay as it now is; and there it ended*.

At this time, according to Mr. *Mifenden*, a merchant at *Hackney*, the imports amounted to 2,619,315l. and the exports but to 2,320,436l. 12s. 10d†. The King now appointed a *special committee* from all parts of the kingdom, to consider of the decay of trade, and the want of employ for the poor, who were starving; but the revenues of the crown was *too tender a point to be meddled with*, when there was *no better understanding* between the Court and the people, no Parliament having sat from the 8th to the 20th year of this reign, except one short session‡. The King having then a subsidy on wool, was therefore *sufficient* to hinder this bill from being again taken up to *prevent the exportation* of it, and our manufacturers were obliged to *emigrate to the countries whither our wool was carried*.—I need not here observe where the encreasing discontents of the subject

* An act to prevent the exportation of wool passed the House of Commons 22 James (26 April), but was lost in the House of Lords.

† P. 527. Sir *T. Row* proposes in the House to send for some merchants of the *East India*, *Spanish*, and *Turkey Company*, who best can inform, how the scarcity of money groweth.—Sir *Ed. Sands*. The clothiers' looms laid down 200 in a town, one loom maintained 40 persons.

‡ On the Journals of the House we find at this time, a message sent from James I to the House, that unless they forthwith proceed to treat of his supply, he will dissolve the Parliament. P. 505.—A threat no King ever made before. One in the House stood up and said that the King had given away to one man 1000l. per ann. old rent, which was more than Queen Elizabeth gave in 44 years to all her servants.—P. 506. The Parliament was dissolved the next week.—*A bad humour to part in.*

ject ended. I shall only remark, that soon after the Restoration of Charles 2, the bill passed to *prevent* the exportation of wool, and to make it *felony*; but the loss of trade and manufacture, like a chronic disease in the human body, was as slow and gradual in recovering itself, as it was in its declension. This bill was however founded on a *clear and comprehensive view* of the general interest of the kingdom; our commerce always *depending* on the success of our manufactures, in which the interests of *thousands* are blended, that have no connection with either manufacture or trade. The *Dutch* in the mean time found themselves so strong in the *East Indies*, that under some false pretext they seized upon our *merchants* in the *East Indies* and our *consuls* at *Amboyna*, whom they put to death in the most cruel tortures, to *intimidate* any others from coming to succeed them, whereby they at length totally excluded our *merchants* from any longer share in this lucrative trade, and we were at that time too weak to resent it, and glad a few years after to send our cloth to *Holland* for them to sell it for us, and so to *recover* our manufacturing strength under their auspices. Large warehouses of English goods were established at *Dort*, the cloth lying on our account till the *Dutch* should buy it of us to supply their friends, formerly ours. Within the last fifty or sixty years we have been getting out of their hands, and now rival the *Dutch* in every part of the world (I think except *Japan*), and we are still progressive, and within the last twenty years have encreased our manufactures of all kinds in a great degree, to which the invention of *spinning* and *carding machines*

E

have

have greatly contributed. Of these inventions it will not be amiss here to speak a few words. The cotton *spinning engine by water*, like many other of our inventions, has been long known in *China*, and used in some parts of *India*. The first *spinning machine* by water was set to work about twenty years ago near *Manchester*, by Sir *Richard Arkwright*, at that time only a barber, but a very strong mechanic genius. As long as 33 years ago there were *spinning jennies* at work upon a small plan worked by hand, at *Bolton on the Moors*, 12 miles from *Manchester*, where the first ever made is still to be seen, much inferior in point of contrivance to what have since been made. The water machine is a very different engine, the thread being drawn from between rolling cylinders, like those used in flattening wire. Mr. *Arkwright* was many years finding out a perfect mode, and his patience was wonderful, having exhausted all his property and some thousand pounds beside. The application of the distaff mode of spinning helped to perfect the invention, but after all, for want of a mode of slobbing, or spinning the material into a large thread preparatory to it, his invention stood still, and he was almost ruined. In the mean time some cotton of a very long staple was brought to *Manchester*, which no one knew how to card, till a common workman contrived it by drawing it between two cylinders; and this was the beginning of the invention of the carding engine, the first of which was erected at *Bolton* also. I have heard that *Arkwright*, then only a barber, was shaving a common sailor, during a discussion of the subject in his shop; the sailor over-hearing them, said he had seen such a thing at work in *China*, and by the descrip-

description he gave, discovered the very desideratum which *Arkwright* wanted, to bring his machine to perfection.

Of the Qualities of Wool, and the Improvement thereof.

Taverner observes in his extensive Travels, that the wools of *Asia* are incomparably finer than those of *Europe*. Poets and Historians are too diffuse or ignorant on the subject to be much depended on, when they speak of the fineness of wool; and speculative writers are apt to mislead us; besides wool of apparent equal fineness may be widely different in its intrinsic value. The *Athenians* found the wool of *Colchis* a golden fleece to them, who before purchased all their manufactures from *Egypt*, and no wonder they adored *Minerva* as a Goddess who taught them how to spin and weave their new acquired fleecy treasure.

Ezekiel tells us, that the city of *Tyre*, in his time was supplied with their white wool from the neighbourhood of *Damascus*, as well as their famous purple dye from the *Archipelago**, not having then acquired the art of making it.

All

* Neither down to *Alexander's* time had the *Tyrians* acquired the art of manufacturing the purple dye, for which in after times they were so famous.—*Quintus Curtius* says on his taking *Babylon*, the seat of the *Persian* government, he there found 5000 quintals of *Hermione* † purple, the finest in the world, which had been treasuring up 190 years, notwithstanding which its beauty and lustre was no ways diminished. *Rollin*, reducing it into French money, reckons its value at 100 livres per lb. i. e. about five times the price of cochineal. There is no mention of this precious drug, among the spoils of *Tyre*, conquered the year before, by *Alexander*.

† A town in Greece, bordering on the *Archipelago*.

Climates not so different in countries abounding with hills.

All the countries hitherto known producing fine wools, though in very different degrees of latitude, in one circumstance all seem to agree, viz. *that they abound with lofty hills and wide ranges of pasture*; this is *highly essential in my opinion* to producing of fine clothing wool, which is the material chiefly wanted in *extensive* manufacture.

Wherever *Agriculture greatly flourishes*, and lands are highly cultivated and enclosed, it is *impossible* to raise fine clothing wool. The loss of *Spanish* wool is not so much feared by us, from any *embargo*, Spain may lay upon it, as from the consequences of a *better Government*, encouraging arts, and improving their husbandry, and the cultivation of their lands. This event may not be so distant* as we may suppose, and in this case, where shall we obtain fine wool, unless we can rear it ourselves?

This is another reason why we should, by all the means in our power, endeavour to cultivate the growth of fine wool in our own island.

Another essential object towards improving the qualities of our wool, is keeping the sheep to a good age: they

* The causes of their depopulation being well understood at this time in Spain, as appears by Mr. Townsend's Journey 1787, just published in 3 vol. they are adopting every encouragement to industry and population. Since 1723, he says, they are increased two millions and half of inhabitants; agriculture is increasing, and the sheep masters are continually complained of as a trouble and injury to the husbandman; and though they plead the privileges of pasture granted them by the *Mesta Code*, it is probable *these laws will in time* give way to an improved system of cultivation and enclosure. When that code is abolished, *then goes the fine wool of Spain*.—The Hospicio, or House of Industry, at Barcelona, is a noble institution, and shews what may be done in a little time.—See *Townsend's Journ.* vol. 1, p. 123.

they should also be kept in much exercise, by driving them from one place to another over the mountains, and not exposed much to the extremes of heat and cold. Our *Cotswold* fleeces were the most famous in ancient times^a, and these *Sheep* were always cotted or protected from the cold, by there being built for them on the open downs, long ranges of buildings three or four story high, with low ceilings and a slope at one end of each story to the other. I believe the having many such houses built on open, exposed downs, would be of great service; Sheep are fond of *sheltering themselves* from the sun, wind, or cold. The form I would recommend for building such sheds is like the letter L, the angle of which should always be to the south, as I think it would afford them more shelter, and the inner part, or court, to the north, would suit *asthmatic* sheep, or such as should dislike the close rooms within*.

Wool of Heath sheep, I have observed, is always finer and better for manufacture than of those who live on the richer pastures adjoining; the cause I apprehend to be, the animal is kept poor, and is obliged to *walk a great deal* to pick up his daily subsistence; and I think the perambulations in Spain were (from the first) practised with a view to its effect on the quality of the wool; it gives a vital elastic property to the wool, and clears it from any dead white hairs which are never to be found in Spanish wool.

The

* To explain myself clearer—Let a long building be raised in a direction from N. East to S. West, and another of the same size join it from the direction of N. West to S. East; the angle will point to the South, and the court within the angle will be a shelter, as well as the house itself.

The wool of a fickle or murrain sheep I have also observed is always much finer than the rest of the flock, yet in some respects it is the worse for it, though not discoverable till the cloth is finished.

Fine and coarse are but vague and general descriptions of wool; and all fine fleeces have some coarse wool, and all coarse fleeces some fine. I shall endeavour, for the information of my reader, to distinguish the various qualities of wool, in the order in which they are esteemed and preferred by the manufacturer.—1st, Fineness with close ground (*i. e. thick matted ground*); 2d, pureness; 3d, strait haired, when broke by drawing; 4th, elasticity (*rising after compression in the hand*); 5th, staple not too long; 6th, colour; 7th, what coarse is in it, to be *very* coarse; 8th, tenacity; 9th, not much pitchmark. Sand is no other disadvantage than the loss of more weight in scouring. The bad and disagreeable properties are thin grounded; topky; curly haired; and, if in an unsorted state, little in it that is very fine, a tender staple, no elasticity, with many dead white hairs* in it, very yolky, &c. Those who buy wool for combing, and other light goods which do not want milling, wish to find, 1st, length of staple; 2d, fineness of hair, though it should be thin in the ground; 3d, whiteness; 4th, tenacity †; 5th, pureness; 6th, elasticity; 7th, not many pitchmarks.—In these descriptions I may not perhaps be critically exact, but I believe nearly so, at least to the best of my knowledge.

It

* Some call them *cats hairs*; they abound very much in Welsh wool.

† This is the quality for which the French covet it. We observe that of late, the combing wool has not that degree of *tenacity* it formerly had; we attribute it to the forcing quality of the turnip feed; it is of serious consequence to some manufactures.

It is unnecessary for me to write much on the management of sheep, as *Sir John Sinclair* has favoured the public with so good a treatise on this subject, in his Address to the *Edinburgh Society*, Jan. 31, 1791, and sold by *Cadel* and others in *London*, to which I wish to refer my reader. However, I shall add a few words on the *giving of salt* to the sheep, as *Sir John* has said but little on this head.

With respect to the use of salt, of which the Spanish sheep have a great deal, I conceive it to be of much more effectual service, than the helping to digest coarse food, as some have supposed; for though the herbage of Spain is very different in the several tracts through which the sheep are driven, the salt given them is always in the same proportion. The owner of a flock of a 1000 sheep allows 100 aroves, or 25 quintals of salt for the flock to eat in 5 months, that is, 8 ounces per sheep in 30 days*. The shepherd places 50 or 60 flat stones, at about 5 steps distance from each other, and leads the sheep slowly along, that every sheep may eat to his liking, the effect of this (added to the dryness of the climate, and their constant exercise) is, the increasing the insensible perspiration, and not only hardens the flesh, and prevents a gross habit of body, but likewise disposes the skin for throwing out a finer pile, and contributes very probably to the fineness of the wool, by means of that pure animal oil in which it grows, and which in some degree softens each hair of the wool and incorpo-

rates

* This account I have no authority for but the *General Evening Paper* of 22d. Jan. 1788; it makes but 2lb. and half to each sheep, or half a pound per month; though the quantity seems but small, yet being constantly given, must have considerable effect on the constitution of the sheep.

rates itself with it (ilk itself being only an animal oil), and no doubt our own wool might acquire that silky soft quality in cloth for which Spanish wool is coveted, and which seems to render it superior to all other wool. With regard to the grasses on which the Spanish sheep feed, although I do not place much stress on this*. I have opportunity of giving the reader full satisfaction on this head.—A friend has lent me a book published at Sarragossa in Spain, in 1784, by D'Assò, an eminent physician now living in that city, on the Fossils and Animals of the Kingdom of Aragon, which, for the sake of being a faithful translator, I shall give in his own words:—“*Migrantes hybernant in regno Mur-*
“*ciano et Valentino; æstate vero ad pascua siccanea agri*
“*Lobetani seu Albarracinenfis revertuntur. Hæ corporu-*
“*lentia stabiles superant et lanam inter nostras præbent*
“*laudatissimam.*”

“*Plantæ, quæ in predictis pascuis frequentiores prove-*
“*niunt,*

* I refer my reader to Mr. Anstie's Letter to the Bath Agriculture Society, particularly to his Observations on two Anglo Spanish Fleeces sent him by Sir Joseph Banks.—After all I have said, I must again urge that the chief and primal cause of the declension of our fine wool is the system of inclosures; it was complained of in some parts of England as early as the time of Henry 7th, for a law was then made to check it; see the Statutes of 4 Henry 7, cap. 19.—“Inclosures,” says my Lord Bacon in his Life of Henry 7th, “began at this time to be more frequent, whereby
“arable land was turned into pasture.” This bred a decay of people, says he, and of towns, churches, tythes, &c. His arguments and deductions which follow are certainly good as far as they go, but not applied to manufactures, which alter things again, by encreasing population. He however in general very justly condemns that policy which destroys the middle man, and converts all to very rich or very poor—all noblesse or peasantry.—Mr. Anstie, I think, has fully shewn the influence of soil, in meliorating the quality of wool.

“*niunt, sunt: Festuca ovina, et Aira cristata vix digitum*
“*longæ: Trifolium repens pusillum et Medicago Lupulina.*
“*Secundum locum obtinet lanæ, quæ è grege stabili in agro*
“*Cæsar-Augustano et Monegros appellato tondetur. Inter*
“*plantas hujus tractûs pecori gratissimas sunt Plantago*
“*albicans, Artemisia herba alba, varietas Ononidis tri-*
“*dentatæ.*”

As these names are given after the Linnæan* system, they may be easily traced out, and I believe may, most of them, be found very common in England.

Although we have heard lately much of the wool of Thibet, from which the fine shawl is manufactured, and which appears by Hackluit to have been known in England in the time of Queen Elizabeth, yet I apprehend such wool is not peculiar to that remote kingdom from which it may be so difficult to obtain it, but common to many other States of Asia in the temperate zone. In the *Mercurio Italico*, published in 1789, there is a letter from Mr. *Peter Allegretti* to a friend at Florence, dated from Otsok, May 1788, giving an account of his journey thither; he says, there are fine ranges of mountains, which extend from Little Tartary as far as Kamchatka. Among the nations through which he passed he mentions the Koriacchi, spelling it after the Italian pronunciation; and probably the same nation which Strabo speaks of (the Coraxi, an Asian nation), famous for its fine-wooled rams worth a talent each. Some of these

* Linnæus also in his vol. 4, p. 179, gives us account of 387 kinds of grass and plants the sheep feed on, and of 141 which they leave untouched. Among the former, he places the *Festuca ovina* as the first and most preferable, and next to that, the *Erica*, or sweet broom or heath. The former makes the sheep fat in a short time; but will it help the fineness of the wool?

these might easily be procured through the medium of our Russia merchants resident in London, and not only this, but probably a very good investment for themselves might be found from the Cossacs and Tartars, who are supplied with British manufacture at Peterburgh, and could easily make a return in the article of wool, by means of some of their large rivers, to avoid the expence of a heavy land carriage: this is worth some consideration, as it is a great impediment to the extension of this trade (as I understand), that the Country Merchants are at a loss to make a return, having but little money.

I expected to have seen in D'Affo some account of the origin of the fine-woolled sheep in Spain, which is clearly a distinct species from the common sheep of the country; the former is a small, short-legged animal, producing a fine matted wool, soft, filky, and elastic, and that felts well in milling; the other a large, long-legged animal, whose wool hangs strait and long, resembling flax, has no degree of elasticity whatever, and will not prove at all or felt in the milling. Spain in ancient times, grew no wool but the latter sort, of which they raised great quantities, and made it up (besides exporting a great deal) into coarse goods, such as suited an age which had but little taste for the finest cloth; and which, being brought to England (by the Spanish merchants in a course of exchange, and bartered among other commodities, and sold at a low price), induced some people to mix it with our good English wool, to make it cheaper, to the loss of the fair trader, which occasioned a petition in the reign of H. 2 from the weavers

weavers of London; (and leave was granted) that if any cloth was found mixed with Spanish wool, it should be seized and publickly burnt*.

Swinburne, in his Travels in Italy, relates that Alphonso, King of Naples offered to supply the breeders of sheep at Naples with a fine new race, which should be imported to them from his dominions in Spain (he being a Prince of the House of Arragon), originally presented from Edward King of England, with information to them of the modes of treating and feeding them; similar, he must mean, to what was then practised in Spain.

Stow

* As to giving the credit of the improvement to Columella, or his uncle Marcus, because he says he imported some rams from Barbary, I object: in the first place, that we don't know whether it was to mend the size, improve the mutton, encrease the wool, or refine it; and in the second place, it happened 1700 years ago, in the time of Claudius Cæsar, and no body (unless the Doctor does) will urge a progressive system in the culture of wool in Spain from that time.

Mr. Townsend in his Journey through Spain in 1786 and 1787, just published, speaks of the travelling sheep in Spain, and says the privileges of the Mesta can be traced back to the year 1350; but I am still of opinion this does not invalidate the testimony of Stow, as that mode of driving the sheep, and depasturing them, might have been practised as an improvement before they had tried our Cotswould sheep, Spain at all times raising large quantities of wool; for there is no traces or proof of any of this fine wool in Spain till after 1465.

Mr. Townsend makes an extract from their records as follows, vol. 2, p. 179—"In 1437 a tax was imposed on all wool in general, called *Servicio y montazgo*; but to encourage the production, this was changed by Ferdinand VI. into a duty on fine wool exported. The coarse is kept at home." This rather confirms Stow's account, at least it does not at all contradict it; for Ferdinand the 6th did not reign till 250 years after Stow's account of the introduction of the Cotswould sheep, by which time they might easily be so encreased, as to allow a particular tax on the fine wool exported.

Stow seems to point to the same fact in his Chronicle, where he says, "In 1465 Edward 4 concluded a treaty of amity and league with Henry King of Castile and John King of Arragon, at the conclusion of which he granted licence for certain Cotswold sheep* to be transported into the country of Spain, which have there since mightily encreased and multiplied; to the Spanish profit, as 'tis said; but true it is (continues he) that long ere this were sheep in Spain, as may be seen by the patent of 31 H 2, granting to the weavers of London, that if any cloth were found to be made of Spanish wool mixed with English wool, the Mayor of London should see it burnt."

See his black letter edition of 1592, and other editions.

As many writers have affected to treat the story with contempt, I shall make a few remarks thereon, and for the honour of my country, and as an encouragement to the scheme of improving our wool, urge, that if the best breed of fine wool of Europe can be proved to have come originally from England, there is the greatest reason to hope we shall succeed in recovering our fine-woolled sheep again. Stow lived within 80 years of the fact, and therefore not easily mistaken, although he did not, when he wrote, comprehend the use and design of this exportation, because, as he justly observes, they had wool of their own before.—It is objected that in Rymer no mention is made of such a clause in the treaty

* Baker's Chronicle is more particular than Stow, and states the number then exported to Spain to be 5 rams and 20 ewes.—Sir John Sinclair has lately (*vice versa*) imported from Spain, 10 rams and 5 ewes; and I question, whether this circumstance may not be remarked, as important, in the future history of British wool.

treaty (though, by the bye, Rymer is not always accurate, being twice corrected by Madox).—Stow does not affirm it; he says, "At the conclusion of the treaty," i. e. after the treaty was settled, this licence was obtained. A matter of this consequence, if known publicly, might have raised an alarm, and the people, proud of the unrivalled excellence of their own breed, would never have suffered it to have been transported out of this country.

When Edw. 3 heard of some rams being exported from Boston, he sent orders to the bailiffs and collectors of that port, *for the future, on no pretence whatever, to permit live rams to be transported beyond sea.*—*Fædera, v. v. 36.*

Baron Dillon, in his History of Peter the Cruel, gives an instance (from the Archives of Barcelona) that the fine wool of England was sent from hence by the merchants, to be manufactured in Spain, and brought back, made into fine cloth, to the same persons* who had sent the wool. I think it likely that the manufacturers in Spain, finding, upon this trial, or some such experi-

* Dillon's Peter the Cruel (Richardson), vol. 2, p. 209. At Barcelona a record is still extant, of the year 1446, wherein the magistrates of that city sent instructions to their agent in London, to purchase 400 quintals of the finest wool (of a particular quality and price there described), with directions that he must get it 10 per cent. cheaper than he did the former year. To confirm this, the municipal Archives of Barcelona are possessed of a record relating to the return of a galleas from London to Barcelona, laden with 250 sacks of wool, which were distributed to different manufacturers, to be made up into cloth, and sent back to England for sale.—*Quantum mutatis ab illo!*—I would refer my reader to this intelligent author, who in his Supplement has collected much important information respecting Spanish and English wool.

experiment, the great advantage attending the manufacturing of our fine wool, would very naturally wish to possess themselves of the breed itself, which they took the best opportunity in the world of obtaining, from an English King, given up to pleasure and lasciviousness, and who was desirous at any rate to make friends on the Continent against the Lancaſter party, who began now again to be formidable, being joined by the great, the diſaffected Earl of Warwick. This article of the treaty, ſo important to Spain and ſuch a ſacrifice to England, was probably carried on in the moſt covert manner, and carefully omitted in the public enrolment of the treaty, and only diſcovered when it was too late to prevent it*. And thus did the Spaniſh Monarchs bear off in triumph from the weak, the un-diſcerning Edward, that golden fleece for which England and France have ſince bartered ſo many millions of their gold and other valuable commodities.

All that D'Aſſo ſays relative to this ſubject, is the account taken at different times by order of the Government, of the number and encrease of the (fine-woolled) ſheep. P. 60.

Anno 1699. Senatus *In the year 1699, the Parliament of Sarragoſſa required ſupplici arietes et verveces an account to be laid before in exteris regiones impor- them of the number of rams tari ſibi permitti poſtu- and wether ſheep in all the lavit. country round.*

Ex From

* In contradiction however to this, we ſee in Rymer, vol. 12, p. 137, in the year 1480, a covenant to grant his ſiſter Margaret Dutchels of Burgundy liberty to export annually 1000 oxen and 2000 rams to Flanders, Holland, and Zealand. It is probable this treaty was never put into execution, as no ſuch export appears ever to have taken place, and was ſtated with a view to forward ſome other negotiations.

Ex hoc monumento ultra 150 mille arobas, ut vocant, lanæ in Aragonia ca æſtate tonſas fuiſſe docemur: quare velleribus 8 in 36 libras computatis, 1,500,000 lanigeri pecoris capita circiter efficiuntur.

From this document we are taught, that there were above 150,000 arobas, as they are called, of wool ſhorn in that ſummer in the kingdom of Aragon; therefore computing 8 fleeces to weigh 36 lbs. they amount to about 1,500,000 ſheep.

Noſtris vero temporibus rem pecuariam in Aragonia non mediocrem incrementum cepiſſe ex lanicii rationibus nobiſcum communicates compertum eſt. Subductis enim calculis velle- rum pondus LXV millia centum pondia adæquat.

But at this time it is found, by the wool accounts publiſhed with us, that the ſheep trade is encreaſed not a little, for by theſe it appears, that we now grow wool to the amount of 65,000 quintals; (i.e. 260,000 arobas, or about 30,000 bags.)

N. B. Here appears a miſtake in the calculation of D'Aſſo (or it is falſe printed), for 150,000 arobas, of 25 pounds each, make 3,750,000 pounds, which divided by 4 ½, to bring it to what he ſays is the weight of each fleece, makes the number of ſheep 833,000, which is only about half as many as he ſtates them.

He ſays 8 fleeces weighed 36lb. Mr. Townſend ſays (vol. 2, p. 63) in 1787, the fleece of an ewe weighed 5lb. and of a wether 8lb. and worth 12d. per lb. when firſt ſheared, and that there are five millions of ſheep in Spain. A friend of mine who is frequently in Spain, and a manufacturer of wool, ſays he judges them to be about 3lb. when waſhed, fit for exportation.—“ Who ſhall

shall decide when Doctors disagree?" It should be however remembered, that when the wool is first sheared, it is so very greasy as to require cleansing before it is fit for foreign sale, and in this cleansing it wastes at least one-third part. However, we learn by the Doctor's account, that the Government of Aragon took account from time to time of the encrease of their fine wool, and that in course of the last century, they have encreased their sheep almost double.

It is a question with me, whether, in order to raise the best fine clothing wool, we must not, like Spain, have two separate breeds of sheep, treated very different; the one for wool, the other for mutton. For the former sort, I much doubt whether the feed of the fine tender grafs of the downs, can be successfully changed, for any roots or foreign grasses whatever; although we should adopt their perambulations. I have heard that the ancient English sheep were never fed with any hay in winter, only what grafs and other things they could pick up themselves; and that this method continued in Suffex till within the last 50 years.

Of the Importation of fine Spanish Wool into England, and Exportation of our own.

A fleece of Spanish wool is not all fine, as some persons have imagined. Out of 15 bags they will sort about 9 refinos, 4 finos, and 2 tertios. The latter sort seldom comes to England, and is sold to the Dutch at about 10d. per lb. Segovia produced (some years since)

since) the best and most kindly wool, but now the Leonessa has the preference, and will yield 4s. per lb.

I have before observed that this fine Spanish wool began to be imported into England about the year 1660, and at that time sold here at nearly double the price of fine English; for then the latter sold for 16d. and 18d. per lb. when the former yielded currently 2s. 6d. per lb. At present, the fine Spanish generally yields from 3s. 10d. to 4s. per lb. and our own best Hereford and Shropshire from 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.

To demonstrate the advantage of working our wool at home in preference to exporting it in the raw state, I shall just mention the following facts. A pack of English combing wool is worth about 12d. per lb. but when made into sagathies, or fine camblets, will employ 202 persons for a week, who will earn upon that pack of wool 43l. 10s.—as follows—7 combers and a dyer, 150 spinners, 20 twisters, 25 weavers, and attendants. If into stockings, 184 persons will receive wages thereon to the amount of 56l.—viz.

	£.	s.	d.
10 combers and a dyer - -	6	6	0
102 spinners and twisters -	15	12	0
12 throwsters and attendants	4	10	0
60 stocking weavers - -	30	0	0

(Mr. Waring, a manufacturer of Alton, reduces the calculation to 500 people for one day.)

If, instead of being manufactured, this pack of wool is exported, it will employ one cart and one horse for one or

F two

two days, part of a ship's crew for three days, and produce when at Lisle about 16l.; but if first manufactured, and then exported, would produce 68l.; balance of loss to this country on one single pack of combing wool 52l.

A pack of short clothing wool employs for one week 63 persons to manufacture it into cloth, viz. 3 to sort, scour, and pick it—5 to scribble it—35 to card and spin it—4 to spool, twist, and warp it into chains—8 to weave it—8 to scour, burl, and mill it.

These last calculations are taken from Chambers's Dictionary, but the following is the result of my own observation: A pack of lamb's wool is worth about 10l. after a delivery by carriage of 50 or 60 miles: if fold abroad, might yield 12l.; but if manufactured into flannels, will yield 32l. by making 11 pieces, and finding a livelihood for 106 persons for a week, who will earn 20l. 15s. as follows, besides those employed in making the worsted chains, which are full half as many more.

	£.	s.	d.
2 woolforters - - -	0	4	0
60 spinners - - -	7	10	0
26 weavers - - -	7	16	0
12 quilwinders - -	0	15	0
2 scriblers - - -	1	0	0
2 book-keepers - -	2	4	0
1 tucker and millman -	0	8	0
Warper and burler -	0	2	0
Horse, cart, and man -	0	16	0

20 15 0

besides this national advantage * of employing the poor, when

* Hume very justly observes that husbandry is never more effectually encouraged, than by the encrease of manufactures.

when they are not wanted by the farmer in the fields. Every extent of manufacture gives a new spring to commerce, by inducing the merchant to import more oil, Castile soap, and cane, as well as dye stuffs; it also encreases the business of carpenters for looms, spinning turns, &c.; wheelrights for carts, waggons, &c.; millwrights for mill work; rope-makers and hemp-dressers, wire-drawers, ironmongers, and curriers, as well as enable the poor to bring more money to the shop-keepers, linen-drapers, grocers, shoe-makers, &c. &c. (who on this account encrease their orders likewise to their merchants.) These get at least as much profit by them as by the dealings of their richer neighbours, for many country shopkeepers make fortunes by only selling to the manufacturing people.

I shall conclude with a few observations on the introduction of machines for shortening labour.

Many persons have condemned it as the means of depriving the poor of bread. The first inference will naturally lead to such a conclusion; because if there was only a certain limited quantity of work to do, and that being done, a stop was to be made, the sooner that work was done, the worse for the labourers; but the principle of manufacture operates differently; the more you do well, the more you may. The state of the cotton trade is a proof of this, for though by the introduction of spinning machines (to go by water 20 years ago), and the ability to spin was encreased an hundred fold, yet even now cotton yarn is so scarce, as hardly to be purchased by us in the West, who have always hitherto bought our cotton yarn ready made.

F 2

There

There is no manufacturer of any consequence but who I believe has continual and repeated orders which he cannot execute, and is obliged to return, either for want of ability or profit to induce him to engage. Now by machinery, he not only encreases his ability, but comes to an exact estimate of that ability; can come to a tolerable certainty whether the orders offered him will yield him any sure profit, in which case he will engage, though a small one; this he could not do in the old way, where, from the irregularity and disappointments of spinners, &c. he is obliged to calculate for a larger profit; for instance, (this 6th of August) I have an offer of an order of 100 pieces of goods, amounting to 750l. which I am obliged to decline for want of ability, and I have reason to think the greater part will never be executed, and therefore lost to the country. If I could have undertaken it, I should have additionally laid out with the community as follows, and have thereby benefited some hundreds of my fellow subjects.

<i>I should have bought of the wool-grower 3200lb. of wool, and have paid him</i>	} £. 220
<i>I should have additionaly paid to the workmen</i>	- 455
<i>Reserving the manufacturer's profit of 10 per cent.</i>	75
	750

If I had established the new-invented machinery to perfection I should have accepted this order, in which case the public would have benefited nearly as follows:

<i>The wool-grower as before</i>	£. 220
<i>The public for labour, about</i>	- 380
<i>The expences of machinery, about</i>	- 30
<i>The profit as before</i>	- 75
	705
<i>And I should have encreased my profit</i>	- 45

This

This advantage would also enable me to extend my trade: and I should, in order to induce the merchant to encrease his commissions, offer him the goods in future at a lower price, my interest leading me so to do; and which advantage the merchant no doubt would embrace.

The only objection that can be urged to this, is the consequence of an overstock of the market, and thereby a damp to trade. To this I answer, It will be bad for England when she has lost her trade, which is the only thing, now, that enables her to pay the interest of her enormous national debt; and when that is the case, we well know great changes of all kinds, must take place. There is a point *somewhere* beyond which things cannot go; but it is not for this kingdom, under the apprehension of such an event one day or other taking place, to neglect the present means of encreasing its ability and strength; besides new countries are opening continually to the trade of Britain. The last observation I shall make is, that if the experience of twenty years already in the use of spinning by water, at Manchester, has produced such general employment and activity there, as that hardly any single person can be found in want of employ; and that as Yorkshire, by dint of such machines and engines, not only use all their wool, but send down into the West Country and buy it up out of the very mouths of the wool-dealers and clothiers, and thereby take our trade with it; then it must necessarily follow that the general introduction and use of them in the Western Counties, and every other part of the kingdom also, must be highly advantageous.

[70]

tageous to the poor, and likewise eventually to the community at large.

And if Manchester, by the introduction of machines for shortening labour, has induced an increased importation of cotton wool *ten fold*, the adopting of these machines to the woollen manufacture will occasion an increasing demand of wool, and thereby greatly encourage the wool-grower, and enable the manufacturer to give a better price. And if the present patriotic scheme of the Highland Society succeeds, they need not doubt a market for their wool, although it should not be suffered to go abroad; and though it may not be worth a farmer's while to ship it for England, yet wool-collectors may ship it for the Humber or Thames, on the Eastern coasts; or the Severn, Liverpool, &c. on the Western; and if publicly known by advertisement in the London papers, they need not fear its finding its value and meeting every encouragement. As to the time of the year when most marketable, I conceive it to be at the end of the Summer, though indeed at all times, whenever they can find a freight homeward.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

THE Committee recommend in their Appendix N^o IV. "before a sheep is brought from its native country, a lock of wool be cut off from one certain part of the fleece, and laid by, in order to compare with its future growth." On this I would remark, that wool continues to grow after it is sheared, as long as the yolk moisture remains in it, and therefore it becomes coarser by being kept. This would deceive the observer into an opinion that it was finer, when in fact, the first lock had only grown coarser. I would therefore recommend, that such a lock of wool be scoured in urine, or soap and water, and dried; this would prevent it.

J. Palmærus, a disciple of *Linnaeus*, writing on the rot in sheep, and of the worms found in the liver of such sheep (which he attributes to their feeding on marshy grounds), recommends salt to be given them. I should think it might be of great service to the sheep of the counties of Caithness and Sutherland in Scotland, which Mr. Andrew Ker, in his late Tour (undertaken for the Society), observes are very subject to the rot, the pasture there being naturally very wet. This author does not mention the quantity of salt, but any person might follow the Spanish rule (see page 55), and increase it as he sees it necessary.

Respecting pitchmarks, the damage to fine wool from the use of them is very considerable, as well as occasioning great loss and depreciation. In 1752 a petition was presented to the House of Commons, stating the loss to this kingdom from this practice to amount annually to 425,000*l.* the pitchmarks generally being made

[72]

made on the finest part of the fleece. Their petition was, that a law might be enacted against the use of any pitchmark, except on the forehead of the sheep; but the bill was thrown out.—It is a question with me, whether it would not be better for some Society to offer a premium for the discovery of such a composition, as would answer all the purposes of pitch, and yet dissolve, and detach itself, from the wool in lukewarm water; for those who buy wool, abate considerably in their price on account of excess of pitchmark.

It would be desirable to the public, if the Society would collect and publish a table of the weight of the fleece and carcass of the sheep of the different counties and districts throughout the kingdom, in its original as well as its improving state, as nearly as possible; that in case any improvements take place, we may ascertain the increase or decrease of the fleeces.

The mere driving of sheep, if done regularly and stately, would tend much to improve some lands. I have often observed on the Wiltshire downs, tracts of land a mile long and about 40 feet wide, called droves, where sheep are regularly driven along, which make a most conspicuous appearance from the superior fineness of the vegetation, like as if it had been regularly mowed and rolled. This observation has been made by others, and I think a further improvement might follow, if a shepherd, in addition to the natural grasses, were to strew sometimes, at proper seasons, in the same tract, seeds of the burnet, sweet broom, yarrow, narrow-leaved plantain, the *festuca ovina*, or of some other grasses, which the Edinburgh Society would no doubt supply such with, as apply to them having “the character of being “active and intelligent improvers.”

F I N I S.

I N D E X.

- ABRAHAM and Lot considerable wool-growers, 21.*
Advantages to the community from the introduction of machines for shortening labour, 68—of working upon wool at home, 65.
Alphonso King of Naples and Aragon, his sheep, 59.
Anderson Dr. his false quotations examined, 1, 3, 15.
 ———— *false assertions, 5, 10, 11, 13, 22, 24, 25.*
Annual growth of wool in Edw. 3's time, 40.
Anstie Mr. his observations on 2 Anglo Spanish sheep from Sir J. Banks, 56.
Antient trade and manufactures of Brabant, 12.
Antiquity of woollen cloth, 21.
Arkwright Sir Richard, 50.
Aragon registers the encreasing growth of its fine wool, 64.
Bevian Thomas of Melksham weaves for the King of Spain, 30, note.
Brabant, 8; see Louvain.
Brabanters supplied England with cloth 11 E. 3, 23.
Calculation of the number of weavers in England, temp. H. 2, 18.
Cat-hair in wool, 54—none in Spanish wool, and why, 53.
Climate on hills nearly the same in all latitudes, 52.
Cloth imported anciently into England, 17, 23—when first wove in England, 36—
 ———— *Sketch of its progress, 37—exported undressed, 44.*
Cloth trade to E. Indies, great, under Q. Eliz. 44—deprived of it by the
 ———— *Dutch, 49—Cloth of Ypres, woollen as well as linen, 24.*
Columella's rams from Barbary into Spain noticed, 59.
Colchis wool of, why called the golden fleece, 51.
Combing wool, 24—why coveted by the French, 32, 54.
Coraxi ram, 57.
Cotswould sheep, 24, 29, 53, 60.
Cotton trade, how encreased by introducing machines for shortening labour, 69.
Dalilah's ingenuity, 19—D'Assis quoted, 56, 62—miscalculation, 63.
Debate on Wool non-exportation bill, 18 Jac. 1. 46.
Dillon Mr. quoted, 40, 41, 61.
Domesday Book, 9, 36.
Duarte Don, King of Portugal, 10.
Duties anciently paid in kind, not in money, 2—on wools exported, 38, 39.
Duty, the first on English cloth exported, anno 1452, 23.
Dying woollens, art known 600 years after the Deluge, 21.
Effects bad, of discouraging manufacturers, 28—case anciently, 31.

G

I N D E X.

- Elizabeth Queen, a great encourager of trade and manufacture, 43.
 Enclosures complained of as early as 1487, 56.
 English but poor manufacturers anciently, 18—why, 31, 43.
 Exportation of wool, 37—first laws to prevent, as early as 1260, 7, 38.
 Florence, 11, 41.
 French cloth compared with English, 25.
 Fullers earth essential to foreign cloth, 47.
 Grasses and plants, names of, the Spanish sheep feed on, 56.
 Guiccardini, 12—explained, 20.
 Hale Sir Matthew, quoted, 37.
 Hanse merchants, 23—their injurious conduct, 24—their decline in England, 43.
 Heath sheep, fineness of their wool, 53.
 Higgins Dr. his calcareous cements, 35.
 Hume quoted, 2, 66.
 Import and export of cloth, 27 E. 3. 23 note.
 Improvements of wool, hints respecting, 52, 53.
 Inclosures prejudicial to fine clothing wool, 31—complained of as a growing evil at early as 4 H. 7, 56.
 Introduction of carding and spinning machines advantageous to the wool-grower, 49, 66.
 Journals of the House of Commons referred to, 47.
 Law in Spain for improving their fine wool, 52—their origin, 59.
 Law of Moses about cloth weaving, 20.
 Linnæus quoted, 57.
 Lombardy, its 11 cities, how much cloth made there in the 15th century, 41.
 Louvain, its great manufactures in the 14th century, 12.
 Macedon woollen cloth in time of Alexander, 19.
 Machines for shortening labour, their invention, 50—their usefulness, 68.
 Madox quoted, 15, 16, 17, 36, 39.
 Manufacturers condemned by Dr. A. 25—their prosperity advantageous to the landholder, 27.—they emigrate when discouraged, 46.
 Merchant Adventurers Company established, by Henry 7, 42—grew hurtful under James 1, 45.
 Misenden Mr. a merchant, his statement of the bal. of trade, temp. Jac. 48.
 Moors expelled from Spain, 30—impolicy thereof, 29.
 Murrain sheep, their wool finer than the rest of the flock, 54.
 Oxford weavers, 36, 39.
 Paston Sir John, 40.
 Persia, its contempt for woollen cloth, 19.
 Perspiration insensible, of sheep, essential to fine wool, 55.

I N D E X.

- Figs, more bred than sheep before the Conquest, and why, 14.
 Pliny, of French cloth in his days, 21.
 Prices of wool in ancient times, 38.
 Purple not the invention of ancient Tyre, 51—its price, 51.
 Qualities in wool most valued by manufacturers, 54.
 Rams to be exported from England forbid by Ed. 3, 61.
 Rymer, 39—not always correct, 61.
 Salt given to sheep, how much and why, 55.
 Sands Sir Edwin, 44, 47.
 Serge de San Alphonso, 32—rivalled by our Exeter serges, 30, note.
 Sheep, how numerous their uses, 33—two kinds in Spain, 25, 31—their number in Aragon, 63—increased doubly since 1699, 62—their number in all Spain, 63—register of their number, 64.
 Sinclair Sir John, 55—his import of 15 sheep from Spain, 60.
 Simon of Douay encouraged by H. 3 to bring cloth into England, 17, 22.
 Spain, improvement in its agriculture will destroy its fine wool, 52.
 Spanish fine wool imported to England as early as 1 C. 2, 1665, 6 note, and 65.
 Spinning an honourable employ in ancient times, 19.—commended by Solomon, 19.
 Spinning machines, invention of, 50—known long before in China, 50.
 Stow quoted, 2, 7, 60.
 Subsidy bill granted to James, on wool exported, 45—its ill consequences, 46.
 Swinburne's Travels in Italy quoted, 59.
 Tenacity essential to combing wool for warps, 54—hurt by turnip feed, 54.
 Townsend's Travels through Spain quoted, 30, 52, 59.
 Tyre not the inventor of the famous purple dye, 51.
 Venetians, 41.
 War matts of the Sandwich Isles, 22.
 Weavers, how many in England, temp. H. 2, 18—in Louvain, 12—in Seville formerly 16,000, 30.
 Why manufacturers cannot be monopolizers of wool, 26.
 William of Wickham's statute book for Winton College quoted, 3.
 Winchester cloth manufacture in time of the Romans examined, 3.
 Wool, fine English, sent to Spain to be manufactured, 61—fine wool of Spain, its origin, 59, 60—of 3 degrees of fineness, 64—wools of Asia finer than those of Europe, 51—how they might be obtained, 58.
 Wool-growers not benefited by the exportation of wool, 40.
 Variety of workmen through whose hands every lock of wool passes, 33.



ERRATA.

P. 16, l. 5, for burgage read messuage.

56, l. 12, for translator read transcriber.

54, l. 27, after pitchmarks, add spily wool, or wool full of broken straws, thorns, cockles, &c. is always highly prejudicial to the manufacturer.

61, note, 3d.l. from bottom, for *mutates* read *mutatus*.

62, 4 last lines, wrong translated.

0422

