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R E V I E W ' D .

Wherein some Objections to the GRASIERS
ADVOCATE, &c. are consider'd; and the
Heads of a new Scheme of Universal Registry
offer'd to publick Examination.

The Care of WOOL in particular, as well as of
TRADE in general (tho' incumbent on ALL)
yet shewn to belong more peculiarly to the
LAND-OWNER, than even to the MANU-
FACTURER or MERCHANT.

W I T H

The REASONS alledged for Importing *Irish*
Cattle, and the Consequences of a Law for that
Purpose, fairly examin'd.

*In contending for the Benefit and Security of the Nation, every
body's Business is no body's Business; and not one in Ten
Thousand will concern themselves in it.*

COKE'S Detection, Vol. II. p. 483.

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THE
P R E F A C E.

I Flatter myself that all Apologies, for thus troubling the Publick with my Sentiments, are needless; because should they prove erroneous, some other Person may be induced hereby to set the Nation right, in a Case that so much concerns the common Good, and in which some useful Intelligence is thought to be wanting. And therefore I rather wish I could say something to excite my Countrymen to the Perusal and Consideration of what I here offer them, for their own sakes; as, on many Accounts, it is too likely to be overlooked by the Bulk of Readers.

1st, It is no Party Affair; nor would I wish to have it consider'd in that View, altho' it were to engage Numbers.

2dly, It is not upon a Subject of Erudition, so is not for the two Universities, &c. It is not calculated to instruct or please, with Mr. Pope; nor yet, like Colley Cibber, to raise a Laugh; has nothing in it of the Novel or Romance Kind, a prevailing Taste of late; is not meant for Entertainment, but (not unseasonably in the present Time of military Expence) for secular Use and

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Advantage; yet without asserting, or even attacking any select Interest (that of Smugglers excepted.) It relates to the Subjects of Great Britain and Ireland in general, as comprehended under the fair Trader, Land-Owner, &c. respecting the Care and Disposal, to the best Advantage, of that valuable Part of our Produce, Wool; concerning which, that Matters are capable of being so manag'd, as for the Nation at large to receive thence considerably more Benefit than at present, is, to me, beyond all Question. For surely it is for no small Gains, and to answer no little End, that the illicit Trader therein is encouraged to risque his Liberty and Fortune on Land, and for which, when that is done, the Ship-Master runs equal Hazards. These male Practices therefore being once effectually prevented, those Gains, at least, must fall between the Grower, the Manufacturer, and the rest of the People.

Thus far all seem agreed; but in concerting the proper Means, such Diversity and interfering of Wills and Opinions has appeared, that some from thence have despaired of any useful Regulation, as judging it impracticable; whereas I am tempted to think our want of Unanimity and Resolution owing only to the Pursuit of a wrong Scent.

For as a Traveller once out of his Road, on a large Plain, in a dark Night, is but the more bewilder'd, every Step he takes, till a Return of Light, or the happy Accident of a Guide comes in to his Direction; so, in Problems of any kind,
without

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without a proper Medium, the Solution is impossible, and every fresh Attempt will but raise new Difficulties; whereas, let a right Measure be applied, the Case fairly stated, the Argument put upon its proper Basis, and those Difficulties will vanish like Clouds from before the Sun, and all Cavilling die for want of mistaken Ideas to feed upon. I give, for Example, the learned Author of The Alliance between Church and State; believing that it will never more be openly doubted, whether an established Religion, with a Toleration for Dissenters, and consequently some Test Law, is not absolutely necessary to every State, upon the Principles of good Government, on the score of Utility; while, upon another foot, that Question long had been, and ever must have remained, with us, the Subject of Debate. This indeed is a rare Instance of just Decision in a Case attended, as it was, with a Collision of Sentiments and Interests both; but being such, I mention it, altho' foreign to my Subject, to shew how Things, most liable to be disputed, have, by right Treatment, ceased to be in the List of Controversy.

And should a Theory equally just, concerning this embarrass'd Affair of Wool, struck out, be reduced to Practice, it would, in like manner, carry its own Evidence along with it; when also it would become matter of wonder, that the salutary Course was not sooner thought of, or more readily admitted; to both which, the main Obstacle, I am persuaded, is, that we look for
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something more perfect than the Nature of the Thing will bear, (which is aiming at Impossibilities); and act herein, as if, because we can't compass all our Hearts could wish, we should therefore resolve to attempt Nothing, tho' evidently within our Power. But as, in most Cases, it is impossible to effect so much as might be desir'd; so, in all, there is something best to be done; and having found out that, 'tis great Wisdom to take up with it; and next, or in order to what is best, it would be certainly right to be doing with something better, in this Affair we are upon, than what prevails at present; especially, as that is confessedly far from good; in truth, hardly tolerable.

The great Point sought for, is, all possible Extension of, and Benefit from the Woollen Trade; to compass which (as that has been thought conducive) so it has long been under Consideration, how to prevent totally the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured. But if the Inconveniencies attending the Accomplishment of such a Design are not unlikely (as is thought by some) to preponderate; or if (according to the Opinion of others) it is impossible to be executed; or however not possible, but by Means judged either absolutely intolerable, or which, because the People are supposed averse to endure, the Legislature therefore is disinclined to impose. Provided, with more Ease to the Government, and less Vexation to the honest Trader, the Runnage of Wool could be stopped to any considerable Degree, and the Ex-
portation

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portation thereof, in every Shape, not only less'n'd, but made less beneficial to Foreigners, and more lucrative to ourselves; that would not be merely a Distinction, but a substantial Difference. And this is an Expedient in the main, but according to my Sentiments elsewhere*, as well as here deliver'd; how consistently with Probability, Truth and Reason, is submitted to the intelligent, impartial Reader. I shall only add here, that the Notions which I now review, and, with some little Variation, endeavour to enforce, having for some time lain open to publick Refutation; as no Animadversions hitherto have been made to their Disadvantage, but rather the contrary; so I hope it will not be accounted any Breach of Modesty in me, that I persist in them, altho' they should be thought, in some respects, new and singular. As I pretend to no Discoveries upon the Subject, but which, by the same Attention to it, any other Person might have made; little Slips and Inaccuracies, I hope, will be candidly overlook'd. But if, in the Opinion of any one, I am guilty of a fundamental Mistake, I shall be oblig'd to any Hand that will set me right, and assist the Publick by a thorough Examination of such important Points. The true Interest of these Kingdoms being undoubtedly, in this, as in all other Instances, a Matter of Science; and, like all other Sciences, where Practice is requir'd, reducible to some Rules and
Method

* Grasers Adv. Supp. Enquiry concerning Irish Cattle, &c.

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Method of Practice. If the Outlines of a System, for that purpose, here laid down, shall be disapproved, 'tis not unfair, nor unreasonable to desire to have, not only the Exceptions made publick, (for the best that can be offer'd will be liable to some) but to see another less exceptionable substituted in its place, and avowed by Reason and Argument in the same manner as this is.

The

(1)

THE State of our WOOL, &c.

THIS now three Years, at least, since a general Alarm was given to this Kingdom, about the State of our Woollen Trade; concerning which, 'tis enough to observe, that the true Ground of Complaint was on no Side denied; and that tho' the Clamour has ceased in a Degree, the Evil* is still subsisting; namely, the illicit Ex-
B portation

* True it is, that the Price of Wool has, within these two last Years, advanced a little; and this, I find, has been thought, with some, sufficient to rebate the Ardour of Land-Owners particularly, for a Regulation, as if it was therefore no longer necessary. But before they grow quite cool in the Case, they would do well to consider, that this Advance is but a small matter, from the very lowest Price it had bore, at any Time, for more than 100 Years before; that it is not easy to be accounted for; and tho' it may not possibly be owing, in part, to an Excess of clandestine Exportation, (under the Apprehensions of its being but a short-liv'd Practice, and drawing very near to a Period) yet cannot it, with any probability, be imputed to any uncommon Defect that way; consequently, whatever Reasoning on this Head would have been thought good, and whatever Measures in relation thereto right, three Years ago, the same would be so now. And if it be to our Trade through Russia that we are indebted for the present Advantage; as France and other Foreigners can't be said to get one Lock of our Wool less on that score; this only shews, that under a proper Direction it is capable of being advanced much higher.

(2)

portation of *Wool* to foreign Parts; particularly to *France*, notwithstanding strong and repeated Laws to the contrary.

* " 'Tis Death in *Spain* to export Money; " and yet their Want of foreign Commodities " makes it openly be carried out at Noon-day;" which shews, not the Folly of so doing, (for to what other Purposes can Money serve, than to furnish what is wanting?) but the Nonsense of their Laws that forbid it. What some foreign Commodities are to *Spain*, in respect of Money; that (as we have no Mines to produce any) Money is to us, in respect of some Part of our native Commodities, *Wool* raw or manufactured among the rest. And it is highly criminal to export *Wool* unmanufactured from these Kingdoms, as Money from *Spain*; and yet the former is as certainly practised as the latter. And tho' a Comparison between the two Cases will not perhaps hold exactly, yet I cannot help thinking there is some Analogy between the Reason of the Transgression in both. For surely it is an Argument of some Flaw in the Statutes referred to; that they are either impracticable, or unfit to be put in Execution. If the first, it may be said, Why are they not amended? If the latter, Why not repealed?

But at the same time that I am no Advocate for repealing those Laws, the Infringement thereof, I am free to own, hath, in my Opinion, some Foundation in Necessity on our Side, as well as Conveniency on the Part of those

* Locke.

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who receive it from us; for why else has not this Breach been stopped by the only Means which, in every one's Opinion, would do it effectually, a Registry, and Account? Whether that this was not done, is owing to an imagin'd over Quantity of *Wool* in the three Kingdoms, for the Hands (therein) proper for that Manufacture, or to the supposed Impossibility of such a Registry in its full and due Extent, 'tis equally a good Reason. For to what Purpose should *Great Britain* be incumber'd, only to give *Ireland* the Opportunity of making larger Advantages, by exporting their Part to *France*, &c.? Or if *Ireland* could be brought under the same Regulation, in regard to *Wool*, with *Great Britain*; yet if, in that Case, either we could not vend our Goods, or work up the whole Material; the Remedy, it is easy to foresee, would be worse than the present Disease, which is bad enough. For, by authentic Accounts which I have seen under the proper Hand-writing of one of the greatest Land-Owners of his Time, Sir *J. Brownloe* of *Belton* in *Lincolnshire*, it appears that *Wool* has, latterly, been sold for little more than Half the Money it gave 100 Years ago. It was, and is yet, of less than Half the Value; for the Price of *Wool*, in Parts I could name, which, upon a Medium, for near 20 Years last past, has been under 14s. per Todd, was, from the Year 1630 to 1641, 24s. which was, at that Time, a higher Rate than 40s. would be now. But this being perhaps the only Commodity of the Kingdom,

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which,

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which, so far from falling, has not advanced somewhat in its nominal Price, in proportion as the Value of Money has alter'd, 'tis to me a strong Proof of some Mismanagement of that Part of the Trade of *England*.

Yet low as this Commodity is at present, or however was, till very lately, fallen, 'tis not impossible but that it might sink much lower, *viz.* If, by taking upon ourselves the Manufacture of the *whole Wool of the Three Kingdoms*, we should be found to want either proper Hands for the Work, or Vent for the Goods when manufactured. Now tho' these are Reasons for using some Caution in the Affair; yet does it not follow, that we should despair of an Expedient preferable to that of *suffering our Laws, on this Head, to be eluded*, in the manner they are commonly understood to be. And if all that is desirable, in this Case, cannot be effected, 'tis nevertheless fitting we should do what lies in our Power about it; nor do I scruple to affirm, that it is not impossible but the present Practice of *smuggling Wool* may, by some Alteration of Measures, be turned into a Course of *fair Trade* at least; to the Benefit of the Subject in general, and particularly of the *Wool-Grower* and his Dependants.

Some Writers on this Subject have set out with a Notion, that our Wool, *British* and *Irish*, is such a Specifick, as to its Qualities in Manufacture, that if we are wise enough to keep it at home, we may not only have the foreign Markets to *ourselves*, but fix OUR OWN

PRICES

(5)

PRICES upon the Goods we carry to them: Which, if it was infallibly the Case, it would be easy to establish a Bank for any present Redundancy; and if, in the End, it proved a real Surplusage (as is done by the *Dutch* in the Spice Trade) to destroy it, reimbursing ourselves, for what was so destroyed, by the Benefits of such Monopoly. But then we ought to be well assured of the Premises, before we give into the Conclusion. And I am afraid that is not the Sense of the more intelligent Part of the Nation. If it is, a Registry with the strictest Account could not easily be thought too much, in order to make quite sure of it. And it must be allowed, that an Account of all Wool from the Grower and Feltmonger is not very difficult to be taken; neither, I think, when that is done, (although attended with a good deal of Trouble) impossible to be kept with some, tho' not the utmost Degree of Exactness.*

Others,

* Provided *Ireland* can be brought to the same Temper of submitting to it with *Great Britain*; which is not a little questionable, especially so long as they lie under (as is † said) the *general Guilt*; of selling Wool abroad, upon a Principle of *general Disgust*, conceived from an Opinion of their being put under undue Restraints in that Article; concerning which, thus much is true, *viz.* We first laid them under a Necessity of breeding Sheep more than usual, by *prohibiting their Cattle here*; then subjected them to the further Inhibitions in respect to the Woollen Trade, of which they now complain; which Complaints, altho' they are not altogether just, yet ought we to restore them to their former Privilege of *importing Cattle*, before it can be said they are quite groundless; and perhaps before we can either with *Justice* or *Policy*, or even with *Effect* enforce, to the utmost, the present, or make farther Laws to prevent the Exportation of Wool from thence to foreign Parts.

† Groans of *Ireland*.

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Others, who do not come quite into the same Opinions about the specifick Excellencies of our Wool; or however, who do not reason in the same manner from those Opinions; *i. e.* do not think we can *engross* the foreign Markets, much less sell our Goods there at our OWN PRICES; yet think a Surplusage of it, beyond what we are able to manufacture, to be a Matter of Uncertainty at least; tho', at the same time, they cannot but allow, that upon the Foot of probable Computations, the Presumption is strong enough for such a Surplusage. But, say they, "Our present Manufacturers of Wool, if we may judge from Complaints, are not fully employed; besides, it is observable, that in several Places there is room to introduce that Manufacture where it is not at present; in other Parts where it is already, it may be extended." To all which I answer: 1st, That the present Share of our Wool, *British* and *Irish*, said to be exported clandestinely, is not less than one Half of it at least; which Reports the large Magazines thereof to be seen, as I am credibly informed, at *Abbeville* in *France* particularly, do in some measure confirm. 2dly, Besides that there is reason to doubt a Vent of our *Woollen Goods* proportionable to the *possible* Increase of that Manufacture, since we ourselves have fallen into the making of so many *other Goods*, for which we formerly used to exchange *them*; as also into the wearing almost generally such home-made Silks, Linen and Cottons, and especially

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especially instead of the home-spun and ordinary Stuffs, which heretofore clothed all the lower Class of one Sex among us, to the no small Consumption of our own Produce; — besides all this, the Calculations, on which the Notion of a Surplusage of Wool is founded, proceeded upon the *whole Quantity* thereof supposed to grow yearly in the Three Kingdoms, the Hands it would employ, with the whole supposed Number of People, and the Number of them which could probably be spared to that Work; and which, at the utmost reckoning*, were found extremely short. But tho' that were not altogether so; admitting the Quantity of Wool ordinarily smuggled, at present, to be any thing near so great as has been represented, consequently Work for so many *more* Hands than at present we have employed, or even skilled in the Manufacture, the Kingdom, the Grower particularly, without some temporary Provision, would be no less distressed than has been supposed. † For albeit there is room to extend the Manufacture where it is already, it is to be consider'd, *that* is a Work of some Time; and that to introduce || it where it is not,

* Enquiry concerning *Irish* Cattle, &c. p. 29.

† *Graiers* Advocate, &c.

|| This Argument of the Possibility of introducing the *Woollen* Manufacture where already it is not, I take to be somewhat fallacious, as that from the whole supposed Quantity of Wool, Number of People, &c. is uncertain; for that, upon a nicer View, it would be found that the People unoccupied at present (and disposed to work) in the *Woollen* or any other Manufacture, as a professed Trade or Business, are not very many of them quite idle, but busied in some necessary Work or another; from

not, to any Perfection, would require yet more Time, while the Crop of Wool would come quick about *, to the keeping up, and to the increasing,

from which, if they were detached, there would be wanting several, tho' not exactly the same Number of Hands to perform it.

* If as a Consequence only of a growing Trade for Woollen Goods, we were to expect but such an Increase of the Growth of Wool in the Kingdom as that would naturally occasion, we might rationally expect a proportionable Increase in the Number of our Manufacturers; and which Number might in time, under such Encouragement, be extended to a very great Pitch. But, as the Case at present is, having first prevented totally the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured, we are then to look for a sudden and very great Increase of Wool for our own Use; according to some †, at least a DOUBLE QUANTITY; and that of a Produce which returns upon us annually; a Circumstance surely of some Weight in the Consideration of this Affair.

Let such therefore, as most deride the Notion of a Surplusage; consider, that amidst all the uncertain, as well as different Computations, which have been given, either touching the whole Quantity of Wool grown, or the Share of it ordinarily smuggled, or the Number of Hands requisite, and that we could spare, to the Manufacture thereof, and concerning our probable Vent for the same: This is undeniable, viz. That the Exportation of unmanufactured Wool from Great Britain and Ireland being so totally stopped, (which I may venture to say it never was, since the Runnage of it first being practised) we must have, not only a Torrent of Irish Wool poured in upon us, but much English kept back (to fill our Markets yet more) which now goes abroad by Stealth; and that the Quantity then to be wrought up and vended by us (whether it should be more or less than is now imagin'd) would however be considerably greater yearly, than was ever manufactured or vended by us in the same Space of Time. Consequently we should have Occasion for a larger Number of Hands than were ever yet employed or instructed that Way; and also a larger Vent for Woollen Goods than England has ever yet experienced. And as the Sale of our Wool from the Grower would be but in Proportion to the Manufacture, and the Manufacture but in Proportion to the Vent: As the Quantity of our Wool grown is generally thought to have been increasing of late Years, at the same time that our

† Draper, Gee, &c.

increasing, in that Case, to such a degree the Stock before-hand, as would depress the Grower especially, already depressed, for Years to come.

And therefore it has been conceived *, that however useful a Registry might be, for preventing the illicit Exportation of an unknown Quantity of Wool; yet such a Registry can only be made tolerable by a License for exporting (from certain Ports) some convenient Part thereof. Which Part supposing it to be, v. g. Half of what was usually smuggled, not only Half our lost Trade, by that means, might be reclaimed; but, by a proper high Duty upon the Wool so exported, the Revenue increased; consequently, the Subject eased in the LAND-TAX, or some other Taxes. Thus the English Woollen Trade might not only be enlarged, but render'd more profitable to the Grower, the Manufacturer, and the Merchant; much other Smuggling would also in Consequence hereof be prevented, to the yet greater Increase

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Manufacture of, and Demand for Woollen Goods, has been said to be upon the Decline, and in course therefore our Number of Hands trained to that Work declining also; who can say what the Consequence might be to the Grower, of waiting for a Market for some Part of his Wool, till by degrees a sufficient Vent was found for the increased Quantity of Woollen Goods, and till the requisite Number of additional Manufacturers had learned to spin, weave, &c. especially if there is any Truth in what some affirm, that Foreigners, our Rivals, have already laid up a Stock of our Wool before-hand. And yet is this no Reason why we should continue to suffer ourselves, in this Case, to be the Property of Smugglers and Foreigners, so far as that can be prevented.

* Enquiry, &c.

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of the publick Revenue, towards a *further Abatement of Taxes*, as well as to the Benefit of the fair Trader, and our still farther Advantage, by a yet greater Consumption of our native, instead of prohibited and other Run-Goods.

But, because it might be said that there is no arguing minutely, about Things which are out of the reach of Certainty; and as all Reasoning about the Quantity of Wool grown in these Kingdoms, without some Authority, might be thought too precarious a Foundation to build upon; it was *therefore* * mentioned as a fit Method; and Application has since † been made to Parliament, accordingly, for a Bill, merely for *taking an Account of one Year's Growth of Wool in Great Britain, or in England and Wales only*; in order to be able to form some more certain Judgment upon the Case; and to the End that Measures might be taken accordingly. And it were to be wished, this had been done sooner, and with more Effect; because what Mr. *Locke* said in another Case, is, in some measure, true of this, and the irregular Trade, in all its Parts, carried on with *France from Ireland* particularly, as occasion'd by our prohibiting the Importation of their Cattle hither: " 'Tis like a Breach in the Sea-Bank, which widens every Moment, till it be stopped." However, as this Method of a previous Account of one Year's Growth of Wool has not

* Suppl. to Graf. Adv.

† By Petitions from *Grantbam* and other Parts of *Lincolnshire*, 1743.

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not yet been taken, it may be consider'd, that the Difference between that and going immediately into a Registry, with a License for exporting a Part, is but the delaying, for some Time, a proper Remedy, and in the meanwhile enduring the whole present Inconvenience from clandestine Exportations of Wool. For the Scheme of a Registry, with a License, &c. suppos'd the Exportation of a less and known, instead of a greater unknown Quantity of raw Wool; and tho' the former, by Mistake, should have proved equal to the latter, yet, besides obtaining thereby the Information wanted, as touching our whole Quantity, there would have been a Gain of *so much intermediate Duty in Favour of the Nation*; and which the State of our Finances could very well have dispensed with.

But with some, whose Opinions are very much to be respected; altho' they neither deny, nor dispute what is alledged in behalf, both of a Registry to prevent Smuggling, and of a License for exporting Part of our Wool, upon proper Terms, as a right Medium for helping the Grower and the Manufacturer both, a greater Objection is still behind; namely, that a Registry so strict, as it is generally understood that must necessarily be, is too grievous to be endured by a free People, upon any Considerations of Advantage whatsoever. I own, I think the Grievance, which it is intended to redress, to be, of the two, far the greater. Nevertheless, because all Measures, in the least oppres-

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five, should, if possible, be avoided; to the Consideration of those, who are in that Way of thinking, I humbly offer the following Heads of a Scheme, as an Alternative, which I think cannot be accounted any thing of a Grievance; and which, tho' it would not do it so certainly, yet, in my Opinion, would go a great way towards answering all the Purposes of a Registry conducted in the strictest manner.

1. Let the present Laws, against the illicit Exportation of Wool, be and remain in their full Force.

2. Let no Wool be allowed to be carried Coastwise, or upon any River, more than over a Ferry, in the common Ferry-Boats.

3. Let a Reward equal to 500 *per cent.* over and above all other Rewards, in that Case, be paid out of the publick Revenue, for all Wool, Yarn, and Wollen Goods in a contraband Trade, seized at Sea, or unlawfully put on Board any navigable Vessel.

4. Let *Irish* Wool, and Yarn, and Woollen Goods and *Cattle*, be duly * imported to *Great Britain*.

5. Let Wool, either in a limited, or an unlimited Quantity (as shall seem best) be exported from certain *English* Ports only, at a certain high Duty, with other necessary Restrictions.

6. Let a Register of the Stock of Wool in Hand, both in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, be taken,

* In such manner as is or shall be directed by Law.

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taken, suppose, in the Month of *April*, and in the same Month of every succeeding Year, for 3, 5 or 7 Years.

7. And of all the Sheep shorn, and Lambs bred yearly within the same, by every Stockmaster, at the proper Season, for the same Term.

8. And of the Quantity of Wool renewed yearly from the Grower and the Feltmonger, both in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*.

9. And of all Woollen Goods exported yearly from *Great Britain*,

10. And of raw Wool exported to foreign Parts.

11. And of Wool, and Yarn, and Woollen Goods imported from *Ireland* to *Great Britain*.

12. These Accounts to be laid annually before the Parliament of *Great Britain*; and the Totals of each Account, in the first Year, printed in the *Gazette*; and so on successively for 3, 5, or 7 Years; with the Totals of all the preceding Years, and their Increase and Decrease, from Time to Time, noted respectively.

Upon which Scheme of Registry I reason thus:

1st, It is undoubtedly, not only *practicable*, but, in a manner, *easy*. None, not even the *Irish* could make a Difficulty of it (as thinking it a Hardship) to exhibit a fair Account of their Sheep and Lambs, and yearly Crop of Wool, and remaining Stock in Hand yearly, when it would subject them to no other Trouble, no After-
reckon-

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reckoning; and by which they would not be liable to any Penalty, except for Perverseness and Contempt of Government, *for no End.*

2dly, Considered as an *Alternative*, it would be less onerous, both in Point of Trouble and Expence, than a Registry and a Survey of the strictest Kind, attended with a *License for exporting a limited Quantity*; less hazardous to the Grower, &c. than such a Registry, without such License; and manifestly * preferable

to

* If by way of Objection it is suggested, that the Quantities of Wool at present exported are not sufficient to justify this Scheme. Besides what has been said touching the Magazines thereof in *France*, we have, from *Ireland*, the Testimony of a Writer † of that Kingdom; "That *France* has got the entire Possession of their Wool; That it is Matter of avowed Patriotism with them; — That, as a whole People, they pique themselves upon it." And what less can be inferred than the Truth of this Testimony, from such other Accounts from thence as do come to our Knowledge for a Certainty? From a late Instance particularly of a Vessel taken at Sea, and brought into *Plimouth*, (if I remember right) with 136 Packs of Wool; besides Yarn and Woollen Goods. Is not this Demonstration of almost, if not altogether, an open Defiance of the Law, in that Particular, on the Part of the People there, and of a total Neglect (from some Motive or other) of Duty in the Officers, whose Business it is to watch and prevent it? The most flagrant Transgressors that way, in this Kingdom, must act covertly, consequently by less Quantities at a time. But from *Ireland* it is sent by *whole Ship-Loads* in common Packs; and being so little careful (as we find they are) of Appearances, as to the *Manner*, we may easily conclude from thence, that as to the *Measure*, they observe no particular Bounds; the Consequence whereof, we may rationally conclude, is such a Quantity exported even from thence, that greater Inconvenience, at the worst, to the *English* Manufacture, could not easily ensue, from a licensed Exportation, under a competent Duty.

For, consider; Foreigners or others would make use of such License, or they would not; if the latter, it would however

† Groans of *Ireland*.

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to our suffering things to go on as they are at present; and between this or something like it, and the one or the other of *those three*, I see no Medium.

3dly, Considered with regard to its Efficacy; If the present Penalties, in the Case of raw Wool, &c. seized on Board any Vessel, are not already, I think they may be made sufficient to prevent Collusion in the Ship-Masters, and Mariners, and other Persons, for the sake of the Reward, though it be a high one.

This Reward I suppose farther to be high enough, not only to excite a due Vigilance in the proper Officers, but to enable them to give such Rewards for private Information, as would sow such Distrust among, and consequently so disconcert the Wool-Smugglers (who cannot act

be quite harmless; if the former, they would certainly be proportionably less industrious to procure it in the contraband Way. And surely it could be no Injury to us, to receive a Duty for Wool exported, rather than that *Smugglers* should have a Profit from accommodating our Rivals with the *same thing* in the *same Quantity*.

Again, That we suffer such large Quantities of Wool, as is commonly believed, to be clandestinely exported, is, it will perhaps be said, because *it can't be prevented*. But how comes it to pass then that it can't? It must be for one or the other of these following Reasons, *viz.* Because, if it is prevented, we think we should be overstocked with Wool; Or because the Convenience of it to Foreigners is such, as that we think they will tempt the Natives out of a Share of it upon some Terms, in spite of all Endeavours to the contrary: Or because the Means, commonly thought necessary to restrain the *Runnage* thereof, are not suited to the Genius of our Country, our Laws and Constitution. But, which soever of these is the Case, a License for Exportation, at a proper high Duty, is not only an Alternative, but of the two by far most eligible.

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act but in Confederacy, more or less) as, alone, would very much discourage the Practice.

By comparing but the Totals of these several Accounts, one Year with another, it might be judged, how far the Practice actually was discouraged and defeated; hence the State of our Woollen Trade and Manufacture might be seen at one View, *viz.* Whether, upon the whole, *England* gained or lost Ground therein. It might be seen, for Instance, what Proportion Wool and Yarn, and Woollen Goods imported from *Ireland*, bore to the whole Quantity of Wool grown yearly in *that Kingdom*. What Proportion the Wool and Woollen Goods exported from *Great Britain*, with the remaining Stock of Wool in Hand, bore, each Year, to the *whole annual Quantity of both Kingdoms*. Whence, by comparing one Year with another, might be seen, how far the illicit Exportation of it prevailed or declined upon the whole, and in which Kingdom most.

And tho' there would be some Nicety in adjusting the Duty on Wool to be exported; as it would be necessary to make that Duty less, than if the Registry was of the strictest Kind; and yet desirable to have it large enough to serve for a natural Gage upon the Quantity; yet to that End it might be put higher or lower, according as the Legislature, from Time to Time, should see Cause, by observing how the Totals varied of the annual Accounts.

Under this Scheme, which may be esteemed but as a Probationer, if any considerable Quantity

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tity of Wool shall appear to be exported annually, the Nation will not only reap the Benefit of a large annual Revenue for publick Use, wholly new * and disincumbered, even so much as with Officers; but they will have the farther Satisfaction of knowing, for a Certainty, that a Stop is thereby put, in a great measure, to the *clandestine Conveyance thereof beyond Sea*. For this may be depended upon; that much Smuggling of Wool, and large Exports thereof, at a high Duty, will not prevail, at one and the same Time. If, on the other hand, little should be found to be exported legally, it will be a Sign, that either the Scheme is not effectual for preventing illicit Practices; or that the Duty imposed is higher than can be afforded by Foreigners. And which ever may happen to be the Case, the Totals compared will shew the Defect, if there is any, and, at the same time, point out the Remedy, *viz.* according as Things shall be, a Registry of a stricter Kind, or a lower Duty.

In short, as the present Inducement to the *smuggling of Wool* is the Gain by that unlawful Practice; and as that Practice would receive a

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* Not new, consider'd as a Revenue from *Wool transported*, (that being an ancient Way of raising Money for the Service of the Government; and which, in the 29th of *Edward III.* amounted to 365,000 Marks a Year, at the Rate of 50s. per Sack, (which Sack was 26 Stone, and the Sum an immense one for those Times;) but *entirely new*, as it would be a Tax upon Foreigners only, and that (accompanied with this Benefit to the Subject) *intendedly* for a LESS QUANTITY of our Wool, than they are at present said to obtain by the Hands of Smugglers.

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double Check by this Scheme; 1st, Inasmuch as Foreigners would be furnished with other Means of obtaining some Share of that useful Commodity. 2dly, As the *Runnage* of it would be render'd thereby exceedingly more hazardous; consequently *smuggled Wool*, in Proportion, so much dearer to the last Purchaser in order to manufacture; thence I think it not improbable, that the fair Dealer, notwithstanding a considerable high Duty on Wool, might be able to undersell the Smuggler himself; which would be a most effectual, I may venture to say, without a Registry of the strictest and most troublesome Kind, the ONLY possible Way of suppressing him. For some will run any Hazards, where they can increase their Capital accordingly. What the Prince of *Orange* said * occasionally of the *Amsterdam* Merchants, so far as they have any possible Means and Opportunity, is true of some Gentlemen, under that Denomination, of this and all Nations. And this, by the way, among many others, is one Reason, why, in the Affair of Wool † particularly, and indeed in the whole

* The *French* Ambassador complained to the Prince of *Orange*, that the Merchants of *Amsterdam*, contrary to Law, had shipped off some Arms to *Spain*. He, as Stadtholder, enquir'd into it; and then told the Ambassador, That where the Profit was so great, the Merchants would fetch Arms out of Hell, and even venture to burn their Cloaths; and that with all his Power he could not prevent it.

Serious Considerations, &c. 1743.

† In regard to Smuggling, in this Article, (so far as that does prevail in *England*) any one may be convinced, that the Grower, ordinarily, is not the Delinquent; it is generally well known,

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whole Business of Commerce, the Land-Owner, or Country Gentleman, to speak more fully, the NOBILITY, GENTRY and CLERGY should take *some Thought* to themselves, and not trust it entirely between the *Merchants* and *Manufacturers*.

For the Land-Owner can have no Interest separate from that of the Manufacturer and Merchant. But "the * Merchant may get by a Trade that makes the Kingdom poor." They, *of them*, who furnish the improvident Land-holder, will not fail to have Money for their Wares with Gain, whether the Kingdom get by their Trade, or not. Accordingly, says Mr *Locke*, "Observe it where you will, the Decays that come upon and bring Ruin to any Country, do constantly first fall upon Land; and though the *Country Gentleman* be not very forward to think so; yet this nevertheless is an undoubted Truth, that HE is more concerned in Trade, and ought to take greater Care that it be well managed and preserved, than even the Merchant himself."

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Because,

known, in almost every Neighbourhood, how he disposes of his Produce. And should any Person appear to be a considerable Purchaser of Wool, without some visible Way of vending it honestly, he would soon detect himself of clandestine and illegal Practices. Hence it follows, that the iniquitous Fraud must not only lie among such as pass themselves commonly upon the World for fair Traders, but that too many, both professed *Manufacturers*, and *Merchants* or *Jobbers* of Wool, are involved in the Guilt, for any of them to demand implicit Credit, in Consultations had to prevent it.

* *Locke.*

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Because, In all *Declensions of Trade* "the Merchant feels it last; for tho' he will sell less, at a lower Rate, he buys also our native Commodities which he exports at a lower Rate too; and will be sure to leave them unbought, upon the Hands of the Farmer and Manufacturer, rather than export them to a Market, which will not afford him Returns with Profit."

But "where-ever the Consumption or Vent of any Commodity is stopt, there the Stop continues on, till it comes to the Land-holder. And where-ever the Price of any native Commodity begins to fall, how many Hands soever there be between that and the Land-holder, they all take Reprisals upon one another, till at last it comes to *him*; and there the Abatement of Price lessens his Income, and is a clear Loss."

For the Owner of Land, which produces the Commodity, and the last Buyer, who consumes it, are the two Extremes in Commerce. And tho' the falling of any sort of Commodity, in the Land-holders Hands, does not necessarily prove so to the last Consumer; it being possible, sometimes, for the Arts of intervening Brokers and Ingrossers to keep up the Price, to their own Advantage; yet whenever Want of Money, or Want of Desire in the Consumer, make the Price low, that immediately reaches the first Producer; no Body between having any Interest to keep it up: While to the *Merchant importing Commodities*, tis the same thing, whether Necessity or *fashionable Wantonness* gives him Vent for them. What he considers, is,
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how to proportion his Gain to the Cost he has been at, and the Risk he has run. He is not tied to deal in particular Articles, (like the Farmer with his Product,) and if it does not answer his Expectation to export native Commodities (by which chiefly the Nation receives Benefit) in Exchange for those he imports; he will nevertheless furnish his Country with what *Vanity*, not *Use*, has brought into Request; tho' it be to the beggaring of the Kingdom, by draining it of the greatest Part of its Money and Treasure.

For "if our foreign Trade imports (*to stay with us*) more than our native Commodities exported will pay for, 'tis certain we must contract Debts beyond Sea; and those must be paid with Money, when either we cannot furnish, or they will not take our Goods to discharge them. But to have Money beyond Sea to pay our Debts, when our Commodities do not raise it, there is no other way, but to send it thither." *By this Means* "the current Money of the Country must needs be lessened; and as ever that is the Case, the Land-holders Rent must fall in course. For the Exigences and Uses of Money not lessening with its Quantity; and it being in the same Proportion, to be employed and distributed, in all the Parts of the Circulation; so much as its Quantity is lessened, so much must the Share of every one that has a Right to this Money be less, whether he be Land-holder for his Goods, or Labourer for his Hire, or Merchant for his Brokage. Tho' the Land-holder usually finds it first; because Mo-
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ney failing and falling short, People have not so much of it as formerly, to lay out, and so less Money is brought to Market, by which the Price of Things must necessarily fall. If one Third of the Money, usually employed in Trade, were locked up, or gone out of the Kingdom, the Land-holders must necessarily receive one Third less for their Goods, and consequently Land be one Third less worth; a less Quantity of Money by one Third, being to be distributed among an equal Number of Receivers."

" If three Millions were necessary for carrying on the Trade of *England*; whereof one were for the Land-holder, to maintain him; another were for the Payment of the Labourer and Handicraftsman; and the third were the Share of the Brokers coming to them, for their Care and Pains in distributing; if one Million of this were gone out of the Kingdom, there must be one Third less to be shared among them, for the Product of their Land, their Labour, and their Distribution. I do not say, they would all feel it at the same time. But the Land-holder having nothing but what the Product of his Land will yield; and the Buyer, according to the Plenty or Scarcity of Money that he has, always setting the Price of what is offered to Sale; the Land-holder *must* be content to take the Market Rate for what he brings thither; which *always* following the Plenty or Scarcity of Money; if any Part of our Money

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is gone, *he* is sure *first* to find it in the Price of his Commodities."

For Instance: " Supposing that, of our Wool-
len Manufacture, foreign Markets took off one Half, and the other Half were consumed among our selves. If a sensible Part, as one Third, of our Coin were gone; and so Men had equally, one Third, less Money (for it is certain it must be tantamount, and what one 'scapes of one third less, another must make up) it would follow, that they would have less to lay out in Cloaths, as well as other Things; and so would wear them longer, or pay less for them. If a *Clothier* finds a Want of Vent, he must sell them cheaper or not at all; if he sells cheaper, he must also pay less both for Wool and *Labour*; and if the *Labourer* hath less Wages, he must also pay less for *Corn, Butter, Cheese, Flesh, &c.* or else forbear some of them quite. In all which Cases the Prices of WOOL, CORN, FLESH, and the other Products of Land, are brought down, and the LAND bears the *greatest Part of the Loss*."

Thus we see how the *Land-Owner* is, above all others, interested in Trade; and yet, I believe, it may be said, that *He*, of all others, least concerns himself about it. And therefore it is not so much to be wonder'd at, if there should be some Truth in what we have heard so often said, " That the Power, Trade and
" Wealth of *Great Britain* are manifestly up-
" on the Wane; while, on the contrary, *France*
" hath been able to improve her Manufactures,

" to

“ to enlarge her Commerce, and extend her
“ Dominions.”

The Reason of this too general Neglect of their own Interest, on the Part of the Land-Owners, contrary to the Practice of all other Bodies of Men in the Kingdom, is, as I take it, besides their being the largest Body, and, as such, most hard to be moved; besides a natural Indolence in some, a Diffidence in others, or Love of Pleasure, the Effects of replete Fortunes, &c. a Prejudice they have taken up, about the Business of Trade, as a Matter, in some respects, above their Comprehension; in others, beneath their Notice; or, however, what they may securely trust with *such* as are bred to, and follow it. Accordingly, there have not been wanting, among *those*, Men who for *private Ends*, by wrong Suggestions, and false Reasonings, have occasionally led Gentlemen into Mistakes, who, not having the *Will*, would not give themselves *Time* nicely to examine Things. While the Subject of Trade itself, either in general, or particular, when not artfully perplexed, I take to be very far from mysterious.

The End of Trade is Riches; the true Secret of obtaining which to the Nation, is by the free Use and Exportation of our native Commodities; a sparing Consumption of foreign ones; particularly, by taking care that our Exports exceed our Imports; a whole Kingdom thriving, just like a single Person, by receiving more than they pay; getting more than they spend. So that

that all Disquisitions concerning this or that Branch of Trade center properly in this: *How far does it conduce to the bringing Money into, or to prevent its being carry'd out of the Kingdom?* The Meaning of which Question, as it is easy to be understood; so the Tendency of most commercial Measures, in that View, is not difficult to be explained.

There was never any thing which more embarrassed the Government, and brought greater Loss to the Trade of this Kingdom, than (in King *William's* Reign) the bad Condition of our Coin; which, for several Years (like this in relation to Wool) was consider'd as a desperate Evil, the Cure of which the State Doctors of that Time were afraid to attempt, lest the Patient should fall into Convulsions, and expire in the Operation; when, at last, a plain, easy Expedient of Mr. *Locke's* did the Business most effectually. Yet obvious and easy as this was (and perhaps because it was so) rational as it appears now at first Sight, the Affair of *Money* had been so clouded with false Conceptions about it, and that of *Coinage* with an Affectation of Art and Mystery, that Mr. *Locke* was forc'd to write an elaborate Treatise, to prove that all other Measures propos'd were wrong, his only right. Not that his was so far right, to be wholly unexceptionable; he knew the contrary; and that it would be attended with so much Loss to particular Persons, as the light clipped Money wanted of its due Weight. But this he shew'd was unavoidable in any Shape; and that

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it was not only necessary to fix upon some Expedient; and the sooner, the better; but that his, of all others, was most practicable, and least grievous.

In like manner with regard to our Wool and Woollen Trade; considering that something is confessedly wanting to be done, to redress an Evil, which is but growing worse by Time; considering it is but barely possible wholly to debar Foreigners from having some Share in that Part of our most valuable Produce; and that if we could, it is hardly probable that we should be able either to work it up, or, if we could, to vend it *all* ourselves; the best and most natural Remedy, all Circumstances taken into Consideration, seems to be the letting it go *, at a reasonable high Duty, in some proper

* Undoubtedly we should either resolve to keep *all our Wool at Home*, or to *let some Part of it go*. As the Case is at present, we only put the Cheat and the Loss both upon ourselves. In Reply to which, if it be said, We *cannot* keep all our Wool, and yet *ought not* to permit any Part of it to go: To this I answer, (by repeating in some measure what has been already said) That whether a total Restraint, in this Case, be really impossible, from the Want and Desire thereof by Foreigners; or only *inexpedient*, on Account of its Quantity, compared with the Number of our Hands proper for the Manufacture, or our probable Vent for the Goods when manufactured, or for *any other Reasons of State*; the Smuggler nevertheless, by all means, if possibly it can be done, should be defeated; and which, I venture to think, may be done. 1st, (Besides the Penalties in that Case) by making the Premium of Information attended either with Seizure of the Wool, &c. or Apprehension and Conviction of the Offender sufficiently large. 2dly, By *suffering* it to be exported at a *high Duty*, proportioned in such manner, as that Smugglers, a sort of Gamesters, who know very well how to compute Chances, would not run the risk of the Penalties, for the sake of evading it. But so long as the Exportation

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per Quantity; permitting, at the same time, from *Ireland* (as a Means to facilitate the Prevention of illicit Practices about Wool *there*, by removing, as far as may be, all colourable Pretences of Provocation from hard Usage) *the Importation of their Cattle to England*; which (without pretending to any thing of Mr. *Locke's* superior Genius and particular happy Way of reasoning; only by adopting some of his Rules and Observations concerning TRADE in general, and whereof I have already made considerable Use) I hope to prove, to the Satisfaction of the ENGLISH LAND-OWNER, will be conducive to *his*, as well as the *common Interest*; and this, I trust, will be thought less a Paradox, as the prohibiting that Branch of Commerce between the two Kingdoms, is universally acknowledged to have brought upon us that Mischief, in respect of WOOL particularly, which is now so much the Subject of just Complaint; for which a Remedy is so much wanting, and has been so loudly called for. Here then I shall set down,

1st, *The Reasons alledged for repermitting the Importation of Irish Cattle.*

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2dly,

of raw Wool is *totally* prohibited, (without taking it to all Intents and Purposes into strict Custody from the Grower and Feltmonger, and watching it through all its Movements, till compleatly manufactured, and even then fixing upon it some indelible Mark for the Prevention of Frauds; a Work of some Trouble and Difficulty at least) *France* especially will not only think it worth while, but find Means, by higher Bribes than can be afforded in Trade, to decoy it over; as well knowing, that a Breach being once made, the Passage in time will grow easier.

2dly, *Examine the Consequences of a Law for that Purpose.*

The Reasons alledged are :

1. Because the Law that forbids it is dangerous in its Nature, as tending to raise and uphold the Power of *France, at Sea*; which to do, must be looked upon as a Fundamental Error in *English Politicks*.

2. It is unnatural in itself, and the only Law of the Kind which has been made by any *Prince or State* since the CREATION, viz. merely to make Things necessary for *Preservation* and *human Subsistence* scarce and dear.

3. Moreover the Reason given for making this Law, viz. the *Decay of Rents*, (tho' true in itself, namely, that Rents had fallen) was no way imputable to the Cause assigned, the *Importation of Irish Cattle*,—but to a Series of false Politicks in many Instances respecting Trade; and to the Under-balance thereof with *France*, to the Amount of a MILLION yearly; by which our Stock of Money was greatly exhausted, (which, as we have seen, * must issue in a *Decay of Rents*;) and to an illicit Trade carried on in the *West-Indies*, (by which altho' some particular Persons had been enriched) our FAIR TRADE to *Spain*, and consequently the Nation at large, had been much damnified.

4. By this Law the *English* lost the Manufacture of the Hides, Tallow and Horns of the *Irish Cattle* heretofore wrought in *England*; and, in Time of War, by how much cheaper foreign

foreign Nations can victual Ships from *Ireland* than we can from *England*, so much cheaper they may manage War, and continue it longer.

5. By means of this Law, it is occasioned that we have not only *more Wool* than we can work,—but the *Irish* are forced to breed *Sheep* on the Grounds where before they bred their Cattle.

6. *Ireland* is a Kingdom depending upon *England*; and Trade and Commerce create a mutual Correspondence and Interest between Countries; and *this Law* makes the Correspondency and Interest of *Ireland* to depend upon other † Countries; whereas *England* should have been the Mart or Store-House of all the *Wool, Hides, Tallow, &c.* renewed in *Ireland*, as it is of the Product of the Plantations, or as *Holland* is of the Spice Trade.

7. Be-

† We may form some Judgment of the Correspondence *Ireland* has with *France*, and of the beneficial Trade the latter carries on there, from the plentiful Use of *French Claret* in that Kingdom; insomuch that I have been well assured, that the *Irish* Dealers in Linen, who attend the Sale of their Goods at *Chester Fair*, do commonly carry that Liquor along with them, for their own drinking there.

Further, Mr. Coke, speaking of the Revolution, says, “ Tho' *England* embraced their Deliverance by the King, *Ireland* did not; nor was it their Interest. For why should the *Irish* join with the *English*, who would have no Trade with them, against the *French*, upon whom they depended by their Trade and Commerce? And it's observable, that tho' the *French* assisted the *Irish* above three Years in their Wars against the *English*; yet it may be a Question, whether the *French* did not gain more by their Trade with *Ireland*, for *Wool, Tallow, raw Hides*, and PROVISIONS for their Fleet, than their Expence for carrying on the War against the *English* did amount to.” COKE'S *Detection*, Vol. II p. 159.

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7. Because this Law had its Rise and Foundation, not only in Partiality, but a mistaken one, to the lessening considerably, (as was conceived some Years ago) the Value of Lands in the Eastern and Southern Counties, without affording the expected Advantage to those of the North and West, for whose Sake, and at whose Instance (*some of them*) it was said to be made; on the contrary having affected them, if I mistake not, remarkably for the worse; forasmuch as the chief Seat of the Woollen Manufacture (which has suffered so grievously by this Law) is in *those Parts*.

These Reasons are but the Substance of Remarks on the Law *prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle*, made by a very sensible Historian (Mr. Coke, a Kinsman of the eminent Lord Chief Justice) in the Year 1694; and which fully justify the Sentiments of Sir *William Temple*, who wrote between twenty and thirty Years before him. I shall not here repeat, from that illustrious Person, what has been inserted in a former † Treatise on this same Subject. I have met with no Objections to *his* Reasoning, or to the Truth of Mr. *Coke's* Remarks; on the contrary, they are allowed to have been just and right at that Time; consequently, *the Law prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle* was productive of all the bad Consequences, which the *One* had foretold, and which the *Other* had observed to have come to pass, so soon, as within less than

† Enquiry concerning *Irish Cattle*, &c. p. 16—18.

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than thirty Years from the Commencement of it. But yet say some, in regard so long a Time, full fifty Years, have since elapsed, is not the Affair past all Remedy? Will it be safe to attempt the Reform of such an inveterate Error? To venture to recover any Part of the Beef Trade abroad, which we have not only lost to *Ireland*, but in a manner forgot as much as if we had never had it? And to retrieve, in any Degree, that Part of the Woollen Trade, which we forfeited by means of this Law, and which *Ireland* has not gained? To turn back the Current of *Irish* Commerce into its antient proper Channel, *viz.* to *Chester, Bristol and London*, instead of *Holland, France, Portugal, Spain, and the Mediterranean*, so far as, by this Prohibition, it has been diverted thither?

Surely, by the same Way that Mischief and Ruin has come upon a Kingdom, in any Degree, by the same must they return. And tho' the Reverse of Wrong is not always Right; it cannot but be right always to redress what is so. If instead of pursuing the right Path, a quite contrary Course is taken; the longer 'tis persisted in, the farther will the Wayfaring Person be out of his Road; and tho' it would be an equal Mistake to go into another Extreme, by treading backward twice as many Paces as he had advanced; yet should he by all means, return to the Point from which he first erred. If War, and its Consequences, Obstruction of Trade, create Taxes and Poverty; it is Peace and a Flow of Commerce that must restore

store a People from the one, and procure to them a Remission of the other. And if the Clue of our Trade is wound off upon a false Bottom, the only Remedy is to invert the Motion. This is but true and fair reasoning; and it will hold in all the Consequences deducible from a Repeal of the Act prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle.

But what can be the Consequences apprehended from such Repeal, beyond what was assigned (*erroneously*) for the passing it? The Decay of Rents; of which, to shew *Irish* Cattle was not the Cause, I undertake to prove that cannot be the Effect of *repermitting them to be imported*. And if it is not attended with that bad Consequence, I presume no Body will say that our Trade and Manufacture can otherwise receive the least Injury from it.

It has long been a Complaint, I believe, a very just one (and I appeal to all the Graziers for the Truth of it) that, for many Years last past, they have, upon the whole, carried on a *losing Trade*; buying, for the most Part, their lean Stock, Beasts and Sheep both, but particularly the former, at too high Prices, compar'd with their Markets for them when fat, and the *low Price* of *Wool*, and their standing Rents; which Rents, in many Places, are old ones; in none, advanced in Proportion to the altered Value of Money.

To account for this, it may be consider'd, that the Case of the Grazer is somewhat peculiar.

1st, Their

1st, Their Land is, in the Main, proper for one Use only.

2dly, This Land must necessarily be stocked with Cattle and Sheep, at such Time and in such Numbers, as the Season requires, whatever be the Market Price of them. Again, at the proper Season, those Cattle and Sheep are to be sold off fat, according to the Markets, happen how they will. Now the Graziers, for a Course of Years, having, for the most Part, sold their fat Stock cheaper, in Proportion, than they bought them; at the very same time that Provisions have been thought dear enough to the Consumer, (his Purse especially considered :) How can this be accounted for, but from a double Disproportion; 1st, Between the breeding and feeding Lands of *Great Britain*? 2dly, Between the Flesh, Wool, &c. and the Money of the Kingdom to be expended thereon? For ("the * Price of any Commodity depending

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* Locke.

Is it necessary to illustrate this Rule of Mr. Locke's by a familiar Example? If for every 30 Eggs carried to any one particular Market, there goes 10d. to the same Market, to be laid out in Eggs, they will be sold 3 for a Penny. But if those 30 Eggs are carried to a second Market, where there shall happen to be but *Six-Pence* for every such Number, so to be laid out, they must, if at all, be sold after the Rate of 5 for a Penny; and the Huckster will lose 4d. Applying this to the Case of the Grazer; in buying his lean Stock, he is governed, as to the Price, not by his future Markets for fat Cattle, of which he is wholly uncertain, but by the Numbers of lean ones brought to Market, compar'd with the Numbers wanted by himself, and others. Consequently, according as the former are many or few in Proportion, he may buy cheap, or must pay dear for them. But in selling those out again; his Market will depend upon another Rule, *viz.* the Quantity wanted to be consumed, and the Money which the Con-

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“ pending upon the Quantity of trading Money in the Kingdom, designed for that Commodity, in Proportion to that single Commodity and its Vent;” (it is impossible, upon any other Supposition, the Graſier buying *(with common Skill)* and ſelling *(in due time)* ſhould not upon the whole, have been upon an equal Foot of reaſonable Gain with other Dealers; the contrary whereof, in Fact, is very notorious, as they themſelves will atteſt. And that it is ſo, I reſolve it into the double Diſproportion I have mentioned; one whereof is not difficult to be accounted for, from the ſeveral great Improvements (from a State almoſt of Barrenneſs, to a capacity of feeding) in the Southern and Eaſtern, and moſt other Counties in *England*, ſince the Time of our excluding *Iriſh* Cattle from hence; which ill-judged Measure, in its natural Conſequence, the Decay of our Woollen, and the total Loſs of our foreign Beef-Trade, as alſo (in a degree) of the Benefit of Victualling our own Ships, fully accounts for the other Diſproportion likewiſe.

The Graſiers Remedy then, we ſee is, ſome Expedient to furniſh a larger Proportion of lean Cattle; ſome other, to promote the Conſumption of fat ones. The Importation of lean *Iriſh* Cattle will, without Diſpute, effect the one; and *(by contributing to the Promotion of Trade, in its proper Channel, and, thereby, to the increaſing of the Stock of current Money, in*

the Conſumers have, to expend that way; which if it prove, as it often does, little in Proportion, the Graſier muſt unavoidably ſell his fat Stock to Loſs.

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the very beſt Hands for conſuming Fleſh, &c. by regaining entirely the Victualling of our own Ships, which is now loſt in ſome Degree, and by recovering a competent Share of the foreign Beef-Trade, which we once had almoſt entire, but have for the preſent, entirely loſt) will as certainly, and, I think, as evidently, when duly reflected on, compaſs the other alſo.

But *will not the free Liberty of importing Cattle from Ireland go near to overcharge the English Markets with lean Stock?* I think not; the Stock of Beaſts (through a ſucceſſion of dry Summers, and other Incidents) is, at preſent, very low in *England*; beſides, many Perſons, at this Time, are Breeders thereof, as well as Growers of Corn (to the Prejudice of the profeſſed Huſbandman) not ſo much from the Nature of their Land, but (through the NECESSITY of the TIMES) in ſeveral Places to my own Knowledge, almoſt *contrary* to it: So that as the Importation of Cattle ſhall prevail, there will naturally be a Decrease of that Breed in *England*; and thus the Stock will be no more than equal to the Land. Both Alterations, in the Nature of Things, will be gradual, not inſtantaneous; ſo that the one may keep pace with the other. And ſuppoſing the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle ſo far to grow upon us (and the more it ſhall, the better) as to make the breeding of Cattle in *England* leſs and leſs neceſſary; the Occupiers of ſuch Lands, as are underſtood to be chiefly proper for breeding Beaſts, *i. e.* for depaſturing young and lean Cattle, till they

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they are fit for the Grasier, need only make themselves (so far) Dealers in young *Irish* Cattle, to have all the Benefit from their Lands, which they receive at present by breeding; and for this, the Northern and Western Counties (which are most addicted to breeding) are most commodiously situated.

But if fewer Beasts are bred in England, and consequently more fed, will not fat Cattle, in Course, as being more plentiful, be cheaper; consequently FLESH cheaper, and will not that be so much worse for the GRASIER and BUTCHER? Admitting Flesh should be cheaper, I think it would not be worse for them. The Grasier's Advantage consists in a due Proportion between the Price of lean and fat Cattle. The Butcher's Profit depends upon the Quantity he sells, rather than the Price; provided his Market for Flesh is, as it always will be, in Proportion to the Market for fat Cattle alive. And as for the Consumers, who are the whole People, of all Denominations, they cannot possibly be hurt or dissatisfied with the Cheapness of Flesh, considered only in the View of Cheapness, if it have no other bad Effects. But that is the Point to be considered.

The Grasier, we have seen, lies under a peculiar Disadvantage at present, plainly, from an Over-proportion of feeding to breeding Lands; according to which, the Rents of the feeding Pastures are no inconsiderable Part of the whole Rents of England. If therefore the

Result

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Result of this Expedient would be only (what some apprehend) taking somewhat from the breeding Estates, and giving it to such as are feeding; that would not be lowering the Rents of England, but levelling the Advantages between one and another; and there being few Gentlemen in England, who are any thing considerable Owners, who have not a Share of one and the other, it would plainly, in that respect, be little or nothing to them.

But, however, the Odds, according to this Way of estimating, seeming to lie against the Occupier of breeding Lands in this one respect, viz. so far as lean Cattle would, by this means, probably be render'd cheaper; let us see how it might fare with him under that Supposition.

We have already admitted Flesh to be cheaper, without Injury to the Grasier, upon the Consideration of his paying less for lean Cattle. Now every Breeder is, more or less, a Consumer; and the greatest Breeders are generally very greatly so. They are, for the most part, Husbandmen, who grow much Corn, depasturing their young Cattle upon large Wastes and Commons in Summer, supporting them with Straw in Winter. As such, they employ many Hands, feeding or paying for the Food of many Mouths. If then the Breeder shall receive less for his lean Cattle, because Flesh is become cheaper, he will also pay less for what he consumes. Nor is it here to be forgot, that this Change is from an Alteration supposed to be

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made in Favour of our Trade and Manufactures; * particularly in regard to Wool, which is either a principal Part of the *Produce*, or the *chief Manufacture* of almost every County. So far as it is not, the excepted Cases are too few to fall under publick Consideration. By examining this Matter in a less Instance, we may judge throughout to the greatest.

Let us then try it in the Case of a single Cottager with his two Cows. He sells his two Calves, suppose, for three Shillings a Head less, because Cattle lean and fat are cheaper. But six Shillings a Year is no more than three Halfpence a Week; which he may easily expend more or less in Provisions, according as they shall be dearer or cheaper. He has also a few Sheep; their Wool and Lambs admit of some Difference in Price and Profit. If he is to set out in the World with the Purchase of his two Cows, that will require more or less Money; and

* I may add also that it would be consequentially in Favour of the professed HUSBANDMAN (the greatest Breeder also of Cattle, generally speaking) in regard to the PRICE of HIS CORN; inasmuch as, through the low Price of Wool, and the bad State of Grazing, much inclosed and even RICH LAND has frequently been of late Years, and at present particularly, is ploughed up; which, upon a better Prospect for the Grazer, would immediately be converted again to Pasturage. And tho', in general, a reasonable Cheapness of Bread, as the Effect of plentiful Years and good Harvests, is a great publick Blessing; yet extraordinary occasional Ploughings, which sometimes happen on Pasture Lands, are apt to create an Abundance for a while; that does no real Good to any one, but a particular Injury to the *common painful Ploughman*, who being NECESSARILY *such*, at all Times, by reason of his great Usefulness, is always the Object of the Care of the Legislature, and of the good Wishes of the People.

and if one is lost by a Casualty, it may take more or less to repair that Loss. These, and many other Considerations, are to be thrown into the Scale against the single Circumstance (supposing it to prove so) of the Price of lean Stock being lower'd by the Importation of *Irish Cattle*. And if, after all this, the Breeder is any thing a Loser, that Loss, in course, falling upon the *Land-Owner*; he has, to compensate himself, the Benefit (from that Alteration) of his feeding Lands, with the Savings of what he himself consumes, and pays for the Consumption of.

But allowing the free Importation of Irish Cattle *, indiscriminately; and the FAT ONES, it is said, will probably be brought over, as well as the LEAN, to the clogging of the English Markets, and hurting the English Land-holder, even the Feeder that way. So far from apprehending Danger from thence, I think the more even of their fat Cattle which shall be brought over, it will be so much the better for *England* in general, and no worse for the Grazer in particular. For it may be consider'd, that there are other Occasions for Beef, besides the Home
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* It has been thought that this might be prevented, by confining those to be transported, to the Age of three Years. — But I am afraid, if such a Restriction was necessary, it would prove but a feeble Bar to the fraudulent Disposition of common Dealers, should the Temptation to infringe it be strong. Not that I think many fat Cattle would be transported, for two Reasons; 1st, On Account of the Hazard, which I take to be greater than in the Case of lean ones: 2dly, Because the Time of Transportation is some of the Summer Months, before fat Cattle are over and above plentiful in *Ireland*.

Consumption of *England* and *Ireland*; there is the Victualling of our own Ships; and a Trade to foreign Parts for it; and excluding *Irish* Beef from *English* Markets, is no more excluding it from the Mart of *Europe*, (consequently from rivalling us in some Shape or another) than we find the *Wool*, and *Yarn*, and *Woollen Goods* of that Kingdom *are* or *will* be, by any partial Laws we can shape out. The Consequence therefore of importing even *Irish* fat Cattle would only be this: 1st, That we should sooner begin with the Victualling such of our own Ships, as now take in their Stores at *Irish* Ports; which would be making some Business for Butchers, &c. here, which at present they have not; keeping some Money at home, which now goes out of the Kingdom. In the next place, as Beef should become more plentiful with us, and less so in *Ireland*, we should recover a Beef-Trade abroad, which would be bringing some Money into the Nation; contributing something to the Balance of Trade in our Favour; a Circumstance by which alone we are to judge of *all* Measures in relation to Trade.

What lessens the Quantity of current Coin in the Kingdom, (and what is not current, *i. e.* let loose into Trade, is all one, while hoarded up, as if it were not in Being) enhances the Value thereof in Exchange for other Commodities; making *them*, what we call cheaper*, though, in truth, they are not so; and, by the Rule of

Contraries,

* Page 20—231

Contraries, what increases the same, raises the Value, *i. e.* the Price of other Commodities in Exchange for it, Beef, &c. as well as other Things; whence it may be justly argued, that a foreign Beef-Trade tending to increase our Stock of current Money in the Kingdom, will also have a Tendency to raise, or at least to keep up the Price of Beef for Home-Use, altho' the Quantity of it is, by the Measure which may give us that Trade, more than proportionably increased; and if so, the Rents of *England* cannot possibly be impaired by such Measure.

Indeed, as Nothing can truly raise the Value of Land; *i. e.* the *Rent*, but the Increase of Money by Trade, or the Increase of the Fruits of the Land by good Husbandry; so Nothing but the Decrease of Money by a Decay of Trade, or a Decrease of the Fruits of Land by bad Husbandry, can sink the Rent thereof. But the Introduction of *Irish* Cattle tending, as we have seen, to the Increase of Money by Trade, and at the same time having no ill Influence to abate the Fruits, it cannot decay the Rents of Land; the annual Value of which consists in the Value of saleable Commodities which it produces; which Value depends upon their *Use* and *Consumption*. Now the Produce of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, as consisting chiefly of *Corn*, *Flesh*, and *Wool*, and the Use and Consumption of those Commodities, which are and must be partly domestick, partly foreign, will be, in a

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good measure, the same, whether the two Kingdoms have any Intercourse for either or not. For both having enough of each, generally speaking, to supply their own Wants; and always something, of one or the other, to spare into foreign Trade, in Exchange for Money, or what otherwise Money would go in Exchange for; and it being pretty near as easy for Foreigners to have recourse to one Island, as to the other, for what of these Commodities they want, and can have; it follows, that under any Alteration of Measures between the two Kingdoms, there will be the same Consumption at home, and the same Demands abroad, for the same common Produce. And there being also the same Quantity of Produce, there will be the same Vent, and at least the same Money to be had for it; and as "all * things that are bought and sold, raise and fall their Price, only in Proportion as there are more Buyers and Sellers;" hence it follows, that the worst Consequence to be expected from importing *Irish* Cattle, is, that Flesh in both Islands (allowing for the intrinsic Difference) would bear the same Price for Exportation; and by that means vibrate likewise into some Sort of Equality, for Home-Use, throughout both Kingdoms. So I think it would be; and the Difference would be only this; the *French* and *Irish* would be under a Necessity of buying their Provisions dearer; and as the *Irish* would be enabled to do this by a greater Plenty of Money

* Locke.

* Money than at present they are acquainted with, the *French* only could be Losers by the Bargain, as THEY, in that Case, *must* necessarily bring more Money for the same Quantity of Provisions, (which they now purchase in *Ireland* only) or the same Money for a less Quantity thereof, which they would buy, as they could, in *England* or *Ireland*, indifferently; either way, *France* must lose, and *England* and *Ireland* both be Gainers on that Head.

While, at present, by prohibiting *Irish Cattle here*, the Flesh of *England*, and that of *Ireland* have two very different Prices, other than what arises from the different intrinsic Worth. That of *England*, which is *dearer*, is consumed entirely among OURSELVES, who are distinguishable into *Land-owners* or *Labourers*, which includes *Tenants, Manufacturers, Mechanicks, &c.*; or *Brokers, i. e. Merchants, Shopkeepers, &c.* And can this, in any Sense, be called good Policy; to sell our *cheaper Pennyworths* of Provisions to Foreigners, our Rivals in *Fishing, Navigation, Trade, and Manufacture*, and take the *dearer Part* to ourselves? Hence, in some measure, may we account for being underwrought, according to modern Complaints, by Foreigners, and undersold in foreign Markets. Thus it has come to pass, that we have totally lost our BEEF TRADE abroad; and that *Ireland*

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* Which they would receive from *England* for *Wool*, instead of the Wine, Brandy, and other Trifles, in which *France*, at † present pays them, in a great measure, for that Commodity.

† See *Groans of Ireland*.

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land has got the Benefit of selling their *fat Cattle* for about as much as we could have afforded for them *lean*. This is just as if two only Dealers in the same Commodity (for I don't know that we and *Ireland* have any Rivals for Beef) should be *obliged* to sell; one *20 per Cent.* above the Mark; the other, *20 per Cent.* below it; the Consequence whereof, it is easily seen, would be this, *viz.* that one would have *Goods without Trade*; the other, *Trade without Profit*.

But *some of our English Ships victual at Ireland for CHEAPNESS; is not that Oeconomy?* Just as if a Draper's Journeyman should go to the next Shop to save *20s.* in a Suit of Cloaths; it would be provident in the Servant, but a bad Sign of the Master's thriving. "If * the whole suffers, it must go ill with Particulars; but "if the Whole gains, Particulars can have no "Loss." Now it is certain, that the Whole cannot gain, but by an Overbalance of Trade; which is keeping up and increasing our Stock of current Money; on which, as we have seen, † depends the *Price* of our native Commodities, and consequently the *annual Value* of Lands.

And tho' nothing is more evident, than that it would contribute to the Overbalance of Trade, and in particular be propitious to our *Woollen Trade* and *Manufacture*; yet fearing lest the *Importation of Irish Cattle* should lower the Price both

* Locke.

† Page 20—23.

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both of *Flesh* and *lean Cattle*, as if that must necessarily occasion a Fall of Rents, the Project is but ill relished by *some*. "Ireland, it is said, will reap Benefit by it!" So much the better, provided *England* is not hurt. "Ireland "will have a double Market for their lean Cattle; at home, and in *England*; for their fat "ones, a Market at home, in *England*, and "elsewhere abroad!" We also shall have a treble Market for our *Flesh*, Home-Use, Shipping, Foreign Trade. And what can this end in, but an Equality of Price (all other Circumstances being equal) between *English* and *Irish* Beef? *And would not that be bad for England, that Flesh in general should be as dear in Ireland as here?* I think not. *Would not the Landowner suffer by it?* Nor his Tenant neither.

For there are but two assignable Causes of the Dearness of Provisions; one is a real Scarcity of them, which helps none, hurts most Persons; the other is, a general Plenty of Money, which cheers every Heart. Dearness, on the first Account, is a *Degree of Famine*; which we deprecate as constantly as we do *Plague, Pestilence, Battle, Murder, &c.* That other Dearness, which alone we may rejoice in, is one natural Consequence of importing *Irish* Cattle; it being only attainable by a well-ordered Trade, to which *that* is highly conducive.

Without such a Trade, if *Flesh* is habitually dear (and provided we export none) it may be justly asked, Who gets by it? Or, who pays for it?

it? The *Grasier* does not get by it! He either buys his lean Cattle *dearer*, or feeds *fewer*. The *Butcher* does not! He pays *dearer* for fat Cattle alive, and sells *less Meat*; and in all Trades, it is the Return which makes the Profit. The trading Person, whether Shopkeeper or Merchant, neither *can* nor *will* pay for it! He will take the advanced Price from the Profit of his Dealings. The Labourer and Handicraftsman cannot possibly! He lives from Hand to Mouth; and either his Wages must rise with the Price of Things (that are raised for a Constancy) to make him live; or else, not being able to maintain himself and his Family by his Labour, he comes to the Parish; and then Land bears the Burden, a heavier way. If his Wages are advanced, that necessarily falls between the Tenant and the Landlord, as the principal Users and Consumers, at their own Expencc; in course, to speak more properly, upon the Land-owner only, who, in that Case, does no more than pay with one Hand, for the Advanced Price of his Neccessaries, by *himself, Tradesmen, Labourers, Tenants, and their Tradesmen, Poor Rates, &c.* what he receives with the other; even upon the Supposition, that the annual Value of Land is, as I think it is not, kept up or advanced, by Means of any such advanced Price of Flesh, as has no Foundation in a foreign Trade, or in the good Condition of our Manufactures, that of Wool particularly.

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For (*without this*) raise the Price of Beef among yourselves, (*viz.* for Continuance) the Merchant, do what you can, *will not* bear it; the Labourer *cannot*; and therefore the Land-Owner *must*. So far as what Mr. *Locke* says is true of Taxes laid upon our Home Consumption, that *they* center chiefly in the *Land-Owner*; so far the same must be true of the, any other way, advanced Price of the *Neccessaries of Life*, especially (as the Case now is with us) of *Flesh*, whereof we don't export a single Pennyworth.

To instance in the working Part of the Kingdom, (who not only many of them consume their Share, according to their Numbers, but are, by much, the Majority;) What can it avail to raise the Price of Provisions upon them, otherwise than as Plenty of Money, the Consequence of Trade, will do it? One may as rationally hope to lengthen a *Foot Measure*, by dividing it into 15 equal Parts, and calling those Parts Inches. To be convinced of this, a Person need only consider what the Case would be, if there was no such thing as Money; People then must barter one Commodity for another; and working Persons, their Labour for what either they had need of, or which would exchange for such; the poorer Part, consequently, for Food chiefly; and a certain Quantity of Food, for Sustenance, must ordinarily go for a certain Quantity of Labour. And as Persons cannot be supposed willing to work and starve at the same time; tho' the Price of Provi-

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Provisions should advance in Comparison of some other Commodities, yet in respect to *Labour* (for a Constancy) they would retain still the *same Value*.

As dividing a Shilling into 18 equal Parts instead of 12, and calling those Pence, makes but a nominal, not any real Difference in the Value of a Shilling; and therefore a Labourer, who had been used to receive a Shilling for his Day's Work, would not be fobbed off with 12 of those *new Pence*, or with two Thirds of the Quantity of Silver contained in the *old Shilling*, under any Denomination whatsoever; and for this plain Reason, *viz.* because it would not purchase so much of the Necessaries of Life, as would the old Shilling, by *one Third*: So the raising the Price of Wheat (for a Continuance) and other Provisions, from 6 *s.* to 9 *s.* is raising a Portion of Labour, which was before equal to 6, to the Value of 9 *s.* In consequence whereof, (without an Increase of Money proportionably in the Kingdom, to which this would contribute nothing; but, on the contrary, be a great Hindrance thereto) no Man would have or gain an Ounce of Silver more, than when the same Quantity of Wheat, &c. as well as Labour, were worth but *six* Shillings instead of *nine*. This shews, that to aim at raising the Price of common Necessaries by any other Means than that of a free, flowing Trade, is, to all beneficial Purposes, aiming at an Impossibility.

Silver,

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Silver, it's true, is the Instrument of Commerce by its Value, and the Measure of it by its Quantity. But tho' Money is the best Measure of the alter'd Value of Things in a few Years; yet *Wheat*, in this Part of the World, is the fittest Measure to judge of the alter'd Value of Things, even Money, in a long Tract of Time. For tho' the Price of Corn is more defultory than of any other Thing, from the very different Plenty and Scarcity that God gives; * Yet that *Wheat* in *England* does come nearest to a standing Measure of all other things (Labour among the rest) is evident, by comparing *Wheat* with other Commodities, Money, and the yearly Income of Land in *Henry* the VIIth's Time, (when Silver was little comparatively) and now, that the Discovery of the *West-Indies* has made ten times the Plenty of it which there was then; and the Reason of which is, because it nearly, at all Times, bears the same Proportion to its Vent; for being, in this Part of the World, the constant and most general Food; not altering with the Fashion, nor growing by Chance, but as the Farmers sow more or less of it; which they endeavour to proportion, as near as can be guessed, to the Consumption; abstracting the Overplus of the precedent Year in their Provision for the next, and *vice versa*; it must needs fall out, that it keeps the nearest Proportion to its Consumption (which is more designed in this, than other

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* Locke.

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Commodities) of any other Thing, if you take it for seven or twenty Years."

If then a Quarter, or any particular Measure of Wheat was, at one Period, upon a Medium, for seven or twenty Years, equal to an Ounce of Silver; and in some succeeding Period, upon the same Medium, equal to two Ounces; it is not only to be concluded from thence, that Silver was become twice as plentiful in that second Period, as it was in the first; but it will be found a Consequence equally certain, that the same Labour, which, in the former Period, cost an Ounce of Silver, was, in the second, advanced to the Price of two Ounces. For the Medium Prices of Provision and Labour, in every Age, we shall find to have been, as the opposite Scales in a Balance; by adding to the former, the latter has rose in course. And this shews abundantly the false Policy of that particular Measure of *prohibiting Irish Cattle*, with a View merely of making Things necessary in *England*, for Preservation and human Subsistence, *scarce and dear*; as that is only *raising the Price of Labour* at Home, (and for which, as we can have no Consideration in foreign Markets, where we must always expect to be rivalled) *TAXING* the Materials, our *own Produce*, *Wool* principally, in the first Instance, *viz.* to the *GROWER*, consequently to the *LAND-OWNER*, for the Payment.

AND THEREFORE, to shew farther that *the Importation of Irish Cattle could not hurt the Land-*

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Land-Owner, altho' Flesh, upon the whole, shou'd be render'd cheaper by it: It may be consider'd, that what raises the Rent of Land, or keeps it from falling, is its Aptness to bring in yearly, to him that manages it, a greater or an equal Overplus of *neat Income* above his *Rent*; and what causes this, is a greater, or the same Quantity of its Product, in proportion to the same Vent; as, suppose, the *same or more Quarters of Wheat at 30 s. per Quarter*: Or the same, or a greater Quantity of Product, in proportion to a greater Vent of that single Commodity; as, suppose, the *same or more Quarters of Wheat at 40 s. instead of 30*. That is, supposing the Product to be but a single Commodity. But that of most Farms, however of most Gentlemens Estates, being not a single Commodity, but *CORN, FLESH, and WOOL*; the true Advantage of the *Land-Owner* is, that his *WHOLE* Product, computed together, yield him *most Money*. And the *most Money* for it; we have seen *, can only be obtained by increasing our National Wealth; which can be effected no other way, than by exporting our Fruits, *viz.* Corn, Flesh, and other Produce of our Lands *occasionally*, and, *as much as may be*, our Manufactures, as the *further* Fruits of our Labour. But this by the way; to return.

Now, *viewing Things in this Light* of a Farm; whether *Irish Cattle* are imported or not, the Fruits of *Great Britain and Ireland*,

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under

* Page 20 — 23.

under the same Culture, according to Seasons, will always be the same. And as in a single Farm, the more you have of *Corn* and *Cattle*, the fewer Sheep you can depasture; and again, the more Cattle you breed, the fewer you must necessarily feed; so it is with respect to either, or both Kingdoms. Admitting *Ireland* then to import to *Great Britain* any Number of lean Cattle whatsoever, they will instantly have so many fewer to feed; consequently lose instantly so much of their foreign Beef-Trade; which *Loss of theirs* (there being the same Want in the World at large, and we only having the Means of supplying that Want) must in course be OUR GAIN, and so MUCH lost to *France* and *other Foreigners*, as the Market shall be raised upon them by it. If besides their fat and lean Cattle imported to *Great Britain*, *Ireland* shall think to uphold their Number (and they will naturally make some Efforts that way) in hopes of retaining their Beef-Trade, (of which they are now in the sole Possession) they must, in course, keep FEWER SHEEP, and grow LESS WOOL; by their Increase of which (*since the Prohibition of their Cattle*) as we have suffer'd extremely, so should we regain proportionably in *that Article*: And as the Profit of our Land in general arises chiefly from *Corn*, *Flesh*, and *Wool*; though by the Introduction of *Irish* Cattle we should happen to lose something by the second, we might repay ourselves something by the first *, and

* See what has been said already in relation to the Husbandman's Share of Benefit, as a Grower of Corn.

and do MUCH MORE in the *third*. But I add further, that the more thriving Condition of our WOOL and *Woollen Trade* (hereby intended) would so increase our Stock of Money in the very best Hands for Circulation, and for promoting the Consumption of our native Provisions, that of *Flesh* particularly, as that altho' considerably increased in its Quantity in *England*, it would go near to maintain its Price, if not to advance upon us. For it must be consider'd, in their present State, how many of our poor labouring Manufacturers, as well as many others, are forced to take up with just so MUCH of it as they can purchase; and which is a Quantity very short of what they could dispense with, had they *Money to pay for it*.

But tho' the Encouragement to *Ireland* for breeding Cattle by a *double Market*, would lay a strong Bias on them that way; as probably they would not wholly retain their *Beef-Trade*, nor altogether decline their *Breed of Sheep*; as they must necessarily forego, either the one almost entirely, or part from a great Share of both, so we should infallibly have that Share they did forego; and so far we should retrieve OUR TRADE for *Beef* and *Wool*; and so far the Traffick of *Ireland* would in a good Measure, revert into its antient and its proper Channel, to the mutual Advantage of the two Kingdoms. For tho' in Consequence of prohibiting * the *Irish*

* In consequence of that Restraint, *Ireland* giving, as it was natural, into the Breed of Sheep; they, for some time, sold their

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Irish Cattle, a principal Part of the Trade of that Kingdom has been diverted to other Parts instead of *England*; this Hurt to us has not, upon the whole, been any Benefit to the *Irish*, any more than the Benefit *Ireland* would receive from our *repermitting the Importation of their Cattle* would be any Injury to us. The Prohibition thereof, in short, being but an unnatural Bandage, tending to cramp and starve all Parts; the taking it off would consequently restore some Degree of Life and Vigour to both Kingdoms, without subjecting *England* to any real Inconvenience of any Kind. For as it is the *Nature* and the *End* of Commerce to supply the Wants of one Part of the World with the Redundancies of the other; and as in the present improved State of Trade and Navigation, Things of the same Use, from different and the most distant Parts of the Globe, will make their way to the same Places of Sale and Consumption; so the *Hides, Tallow, Flesh, Wool, &c.* of *Ireland*, with every Species of

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their Wool into *England*, (and even thus we had no Advantage, but the contrary, by the Exchange:) But afterwards falling into a clandestine Trade for it with *France* and *Holland* (to our yet greater Prejudice) the Price thereof, from that Time, sunk gradually there, as well as with us; and not only so, but the *French* have found Means, by this Intercourse, to furnish Farmers in *Ireland* with such good Pennyworths of Wines, Spirits, *India* Goods, and other Trifles, instead of Money formerly paid for it, (to the introducing a new and unnatural Luxury among the middle industrious Part of the People *there*) as threatens that Kingdom with universal Poverty and Distress.

See *Groans of Ireland*.

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Manufacture from thence (notwithstanding any possible Lines of Separation between *them* and *us*) will, to all the Intents and Purposes of *beneficial Trade*, rival the same Product and Manufacture of *Great Britain*, as effectually, at least, as if the fat Cattle, they have to spare, were all sold on *Smithfield* Stones; and as if their lean ones, with their other Commodities, were brought to the same common Markets of this Kingdom with our own.

To sum up all, on this Head, in few words; As, under the same Culture, the Fruits of both Kingdoms (*according to Seasons*) will be the same; and as there is, and always will be, a Redundancy thereof (in the three great Articles of *Corn, Flesh, and Wool*) to be spared into foreign Trade, and which Foreigners will receive indifferently from one or the other; and as the more either of these Kingdoms abounds in one, the less there must necessarily be of the other *within the same*; and as *Ireland* will unavoidably rival us, to a Degree, in *Cattle* and *Wool* both; 'tis worth our Consideration, *which* of the *two* we should chuse for *them* most to abound in. And here, I make no difficulty of pronouncing on the Side of *Cattle*, for Reasons sufficiently obvious, from the Propensity *Ireland* has to send *their Wool* abroad, &c.; and that their abounding more in *Cattle* than *Sheep* will follow from the free Importation of the former to *England*, is evident from the Nature of Things: (according to Sir *William Temple*) when

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“ when the Passage is open, Land (*in Ireland*)
 “ will be turned most to great Cattle; when
 “ shut, to Sheep (as it is at present”) [1673.]
 And what if upon the whole, both Kingdoms
 should in Consequence thereof abound more
 with Cattle than at present? The Number of
 Sheep must be so much fewer, the Quantity
 of *Wool* so much less. From Hides and Tallow
 come *Leather, Soap, and Candles*; the Dear-
 ness of which, as well as of Provisions, have
 long been the Subject of Complaint, in Regard
 to our *Manufacturers*, those in the *Woollen*
Trade particularly. Moreover, the Flesh of Cat-
 tle will keep salted, for the Use of the poor and
 labouring Part of the Kingdom, will bear car-
 rying to Sea, will sell abroad to Foreigners, will
 bring, by that Means, *Money* into the King-
 dom. All *these* are Circumstances in our Fa-
 vour, and, in particular, of our *Woollen Manu-
 facture and Trade*.

As therefore we would check an illegal and
 pernicious Traffick in *Wool, &c.* to foreign
 Parts, and not only retain that particular Branch
 the fair *Woollen Trade*, in any tolerable Degree,
 to *England*, but reduce the general Commerce
 of *Ireland* (so far as it has been diverted) to its
 antient proper Channel; it is not only necessa-
 ry, but *just* to restore them to their wonted
 Privilege of *importing Cattle* hither; which, at
 the same Time that it would prove beneficial
 to our Trade and Manufactures in general, I
 hope I have shewn, does not necessarily infer
 Loss

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Loss to the *English* Land-Owner, either in his
 breeding or feeding Capacity (all Circumstances
 considered) altho both fat and lean Cattle should,
 by Means thereof, be render'd cheaper. Not
 only so, but the Presumption I have shewn is
 strong, that *Flesh*, and consequently *lean Cattle*,
 (by reason of a more brisk and plentiful Cur-
 rency of Money) would in that case, main-
 tain their Price, if not advance, notwithstand-
 ing the Increase thereby, in the Quantity
 thereof.

But now, after all, in regard, the Price of
Wool was not only actually advanced, when
 the first of these Sheets was sent to the Press,
 but is, * at the Time of my finishing this last
 thought to be still advancing; methinks I hear
 it said, To what Purpose is this, when the
 main Business seems already done to our
 Hands? To which much might be given in
 Answer, more than what I have before hinted:
 But I shall only add, That tho' I am sensible it
 will pass for an *Argument*, especially with Per-
 sons of an indolent Disposition; yet I humbly
 apprehend it is no REASON why that should not
 be thought a good Measure *now*, which would
 have been esteemed such, *two Years ago*; and
 may, for any thing can be proved to the con-
 trary, be as much wanted two Years hence, as
 it was *then*. For as this Advance is by most
 People held to be unaccountable, so the Con-
 tinuance of it must be thought precarious; and
 particularly as it cannot be said to be the Result
 of

* June 30. 1743.

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of *any one Measure* taken to remove that grand Cause of Complaint the RUNNAGE of WOOL, to which this Treatise chiefly has an Eye; so there is nothing in the present Juncture of Circumstances, as touching the Woollen Trade, to *prevent, interfere with, or be equivalent* to this SCHEME of Regulation here suggested. At least, I may be excused in thinking so; and (as I write under all that Persuasion of Mind which is common to Authors) in wishing to see what I have here offered in *Theory*, carried into *Practice*; next to which (if that is not done) I wish my COUNTRY may not suffer by the Neglect of it.

F I N I S.

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