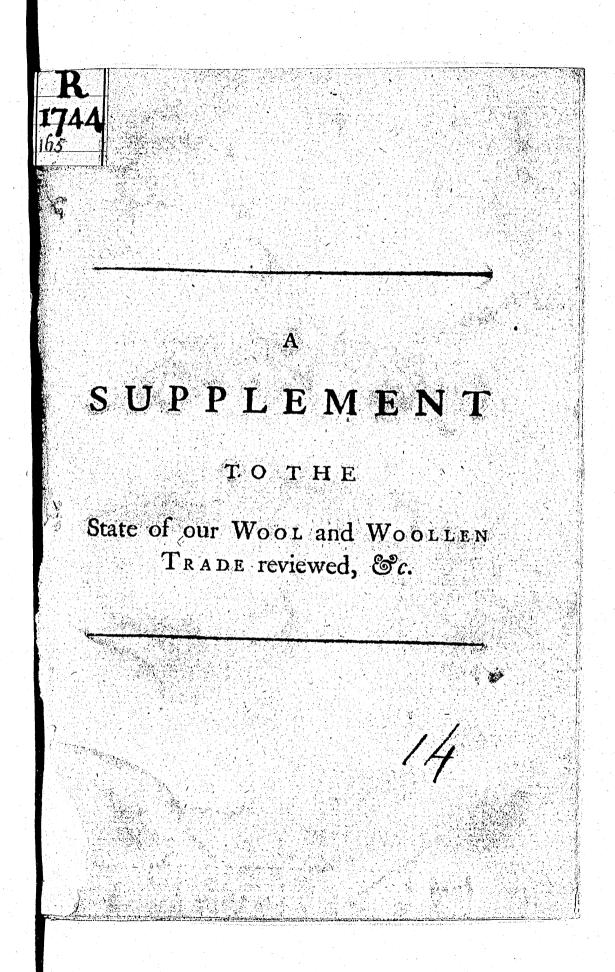
136-20



A

SUPPLEMENT

TOTHE

State of our Wool and Woollen Trade reviewed, &c.

BEING

A further Defence (chiefly historical) of a SCHEME (which has been humbly prefented to Parliament) for preventing the clandestine Exportation of Wool from Great Britain and Ireland both.

Wherein are exhibited,

A Number of material FACT'S, relating to the Woollen Manufacture and Trade; most of which, though contradicting certain current Accounts, and commonly received Opinions, concerning the same, are vouched by the authentick Testimony of the STATUTE BOOKS.

Magna est Veritas.

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THE

PREFACE.

TO be a successful Advocate for any Measure of a publick Nature (which, however salutary, clashes with established Rules and received Opinions) requires, I am sensible, either very great Authority, or a singular good Address, or the incontestable Evidence of such Facts, as are in the Nature of strong Reasons. As I make no Pretension to the two former; so I must hope, if at all, to supply their Defect by the latter. And therefore the I shall add something to what has been already offer'd * in the way of Argument, yet to Facts chiefly I will trust the Defence I am about to make of A Scheme, for restoring to the Grower and the Manufacturer of Wool, those Advantages they have plainly lost; as I think I am able to prove by a Chain of Circumstances, which pretty well fill up the vast Space of above 400 Years.

A 2

'Tis

^{*} The State of our Wool and Woollen Trade reviewed,

The PREFACE.

Tis not more than three Years, at the most, since Complaints, in Relation to Wool, and the Woollen Trade, were general; the Practice of exporting Wool was then thought too glaring to be denied; and some Redress, in that Case, universally allowed to be necessary. A Consultation was thereupon had, and, in the Conclusion, nothing done, no new Law enacted; and yet there is, lately, a sensible Advance in the Price of Wool, owing (it is said) to a considerable Advance, some time ago, in our Woollen Trade;

which, I think, is true in a Degree.

There are but four assignable Causes for the Price of Wool advancing with us at any time, viz. either, 1st, A Stock-jobbing Humour; or, 2dly, A Defect of Quantity; or, 3dly, An Excess of Exportation; or, 4thly, A real Amendment of Trade. But as none of these singly can well be thought to have produced the present Event; so I am verily persuaded, from various Circumstances, that it is owing to a Concurrence of some two at least, perhaps of all those several Causes. If a clandestine Exportation of raw Wool has contributed nothing to it, 'tis the first time, since the Revolution, that this Effect has appeared without the Appearance of that Cause. If running Goods, inwards, in uncommon Quantities, is any Sign of extraordinary illicit Exportation of Wool, we may pronounce the Pra-Etice and Success of Owlers to have been, latterly, more than usual. If in 1717, when the Advance was much like that of this last Year, military

The PREFACE.

military Officers, on the Coasts, were required to assist those of the Customs in preventing the Exportation of Wool; Advices from Sitting-bourn and Tenterden in Kent tell us they have been equally wanting, of late, for the same

Purpose.

As therefore this is but the first in twenty-four, and the fourth Year only in thirty-seven last past, wherein we have known any thing like the present Price of Wool: As this advanced Price cannot be said to be the Result of any fixed Measure for preventing the Runnage of Wool particularly, the Thing most complained of: As we have no good Grounds of Assurance, on which to expect the Continuance of these Advantages; so there seems to be no good Reason for stopping short our Enquiries after some proper lasting Expedient.

If our trading Politicks are adapted always to the Appearances of the Year; these are, for various Reasons, so fluctuating, that we must either be always changing, or, by reason of their Changeableness, never six; because while a Law is under Meditation, in one View, before a mature Resolution can be formed, it is great Odds

but the Scene is altered.

This has proved to be the Case exactly, in respect of Wool; and yet every body must be sensible, that, for Time, a Regulation is no less desirable now, than it was three Years ago. This
Regulation, I apprehend, will be best formed
from a retrospective View of the Subject; and
because

The PREFACE.

because sudden short Ebbs and Flows in the Price of Wool, or even in our Woollen Trade, may arise from Causes not readily to be accounted for with any Certainty, or however which cannot be occasioned or prevented by any human Forefight or Contrivance of Law; I think the best Way of judging our present, and designing our future Condition, in the Case of Wool, for Continuance of Time, is to compare it in more extensive Periods than those of a Year or two. The Use of which may be, in this Particular, what, in short, is the great Use of all History in general; not merely to know what has been, but from thence to learn what may, and what, in certain Cases, probably will be, in order to take Measures accordingly. Such is the Purport and Intention of the following Tract; wherein, if it shall be shewn, that the principal Article * of the Scheme, under Consideration, is so far from being a new Project, that it is an old, and a fuccessful Practice; the Disuse whereof has been attended with no good Effects, but the contrary; I presume it will be allowed to be a strong Circumstance in favour of its being revived. And further, if the whole Scheme shall appear to be (as I think it is) so contrived, as, by a very safe and easy Method of Registry, to prove itself, by shewing evidently, from Time to Time, its real Effects, I humbly hope, it is making as near an Approach to Demonstration and Perfection, as the Thing, in its Nature, will admit of. A SUP-

Art. 5. The State of our Wool, &c.

(I)

SUPPLEMENT

TOTHE

State of our Wool, and Woollen-TRADE, review'd, &c.

NE Part of the Scheme which has been humbly offered to Parliament, and which I am here about to defend, is a Form or Method of Registry, so plain as not to be misunderstood, so easy as that it is thought there can be no Difficulty on any hand made of complying with it; at the same time that it is calculated, among other good Purposes, to exhibit to publick View, the State of our Wool and Woollen-Trade, viz. our Produce, Exports and Stock of Wool in hand periodically; which it is conceived, might be of great Benefit to the Wool-Growers particularly, and to all Underlings in the Manufacture. For these, though they are sure to feel immediately the

Effects

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Effects of any the least Stop in Trade, or of any Redundancy of Quantity of Wool or Goods, (no Person being interested to conceal it from them) are the last that receive Intelligence of old Stocks being carried off, and of particular Demands more than ordinary; nor are they let into the Secret till the great Merchant or Jobber has made his Market and it can keep no longer.

This feems to have been so far the Case, this last Year, that the greatest Part of our Wool-Growers, for Want of a little proper Intelligence (such as this Scheme proposes to surnish) appear to have sold their Wool 15 or 20 per Cent. under Value, as * perhaps have all of them at an Undervalue, for some Years before. But this being not a Matter of Indisserence to the Gentlemen of England, nor to, by much the major Part of the whole Number of the People, I should hope that they have Interest sufficient in the Legislature to serve themselves, against the Combinations of, comparatively, a few crafty Dealers.

But besides and beyond all this, the Scheme referred to, contains, in Effect, a Doctrine or Policy essential, I conceive, to the whole trading and landed Interest of Great Britain and Ireland, as comprehended in two Articles, which

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which are, (to prevent the most effectually that may be, the Runnage of Wool and the Mischies arising from thence)

2dly, The Importation of Irish Cattle.
2dly, The legal Exportation of some convenient Quantity of Wool upon proper Terms.

In Favour of which two Articles, I defire (all Prejudices and Prepossessions laid aside) the following Positions may be considered.

1. That much Wool is exported clandeflinely from Great Britain and Ireland.

2. That all Schemes to prevent that Practice, not comprehending *Ireland* as well as *Great Britain*, are to little or no Effect.

3. That in contriving a Law for the Purpose, human Nature is to be consulted, viz. what the Generality of a People (for whom such Law is intended) will submit to, as well as what they ought to do.

4. That the English Manufacturer and fair Trader cannot suffer more, at the worst, from a legal Exportation, at a proper Duty, than from the clandestine Conveyance of an equal Quantity of raw Wool beyond Sea.

5. That the honest Part of English Growers may receive, at least, equal Benefit from the former, as from the latter.

6. That the Community in general will profit much more, fundry Ways (as well as by

^{*} I might have said certainly, considering the large Exportation of Woollen Goods to the West-Indies, upon the Commencement of the War with Spain; which tho' at that Time not sufficiently known, is now no longer a Secret.

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by a Revenue so arising) than at present they do or can from any possible Gains to particular Persons concerned in the present illicit Pra-

ctice of exporting Wool.

Now with regard to Ireland, and in Behalf of the proposed Importation of Cattle from thence, it is to be considered, that the People of that Kingdom, besides lying under a Temptation in common with some Parts of Great Britain, (from their Situation and Produce) to the Practice of exporting Wool, plead a particular Provocation to it, by Restraints laid on them in respect of the woollen Trade; at the same time that being inhibited from transporting their Cattle, as formerly, to England, they are under a Necessity of going more than usual, and than otherwise they would or even could do, into the breeding and keeping of Sheep.

Besides the Increase of their Number of Sheep, and consequently of the whole Quantity of Wool hereby occasioned, this causes (it is said) a general Disgust, and that, a general Guilt of Wool-running there. And every body must be sensible that a general Guilt, in any one Case (as Sir William Temple has well observed) will make Penalties (in that parti-

cular Case) impracticable.

This general Guilt then of the People of Ireland, thus founded, is immoveable by any other Means than that of permitting their Cattle

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Cattle here*, or by indulging them in the full Liberty of a free foreign Trade for the Woollen Goods of their own Manufacture; which (as Sir William Temple again has observed) must greatly affect, if not totally ruin, that

Branch of the English Trade.

But take off the Prohibition from transporting their Cattle to England, and, besides removing that particular Ground of Disgust, their Number of Sheep, and consequently their Temptation to, and Means of sending Wool abroad will abate something. They will then be upon a Foot of Equality with Great Britain, and consequently, as a People, equally disposed to receive Law in this Case.

But then, as a Means to make a Law effectual for preventing the illicit Exportation of Wool from Great Britain and Ireland both, it is thought necessary to admit of a legal one, upon certain Terms, under proper Restrictions. And this Thought (besides what † may be urged from the Probability of our not being able, for some Time at least, to work, use, and vend our whole Quantity)

B 2 stands

† See Enquiry concerning Irish Cattle, &c. p. 27, 28, 29. The State of our Wool and Woollen Trade reviewed,

Notes, p. 8, &c.

^{*} A Measure (See The State of our Wool, &c. review'd &c.) which has been shewn to be not only harmless in all other Respects, but in the main, beneficial, i. e. favourable to the whole System of our English Manusactures and Trade in general.

stands upon the Consideration, not of a natural, but a moral Impossibility to prevent totally the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured; of which it is some Proof, that the Thing has been attempted for many Years, without any good Effect at all: on the contrary, the illicit Practice has been known to have been constantly gaining Ground upon us. Nor is it difficult to shew, by certain uniform Tokens, from the Revolution especially, that whenever Wool has bore a better Price in England than common, one Cause thereof has been either a Defect + in the whole Quantity, or an Excess of clandestine Exportation from Great Britain, or Ireland, or from both.

 ${f T}$ his

+ To instance in the Reign of King William, that most remarkable Æra of the high Price of Wool in England. It was three Years before Ireland was subdued; during which Space, France was supplied, in a particular Manner, from thence with Wool. Not only so, but the great Havock made there by two Armies, during those three Years of its being the Seat of War, had so wasted the Stock and discouraged the Breed of Ireland, that, far from being in a Condition to rival us, as in the two preceding Reigns, with the natural Plenty of their Country, the Irish wanted Stores to repair their Breed, and replenish their Pastures. Add to this, which is a natural good Account of that Matter, the several Acts made in the latter Part of King William's Reign, to prevent the Exportation of Wool, notwithstanding the very strict Laws, on that Head, already in Being, one of which made it no less than Felony, sufficiently imply the Notoriety of the Practice of running Wool about that Time; and indeed the Acts. . themselves express as much.

.. See particularly, 7 W. 3. c. 28. and 9 W. 3. c. 40.

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This being the Case, and the Motive to that irregular Practice, undoubtedly, Gain, i.e. extraordinary Profit from Wool fo vended; suppose, for a Moment, all defired Success from Means used for stopping totally our Wool, which is what, I will venture to fay, has never yet happen'd; and the Price thereof will fall at home, and rife as much abroad immediately; consequently the Temptation to export it again will be raifed proportionably, and (provided it be not render'd an actual Impossibility) will as certainly, in some little Time, prevail again accordingly. Confequently, the Issue can be no other than a temporary Hardship upon the Grower, by the reduced Price of his Wool, without any real Advantage to our Woollen Trade.

Nor does it, in Contradiction to this, a-mend the Matter to say, what, tho' often afferted, I am told, has never yet been proved, and therefore, I conclude, cannot, viz. That France particularly cannot manufacture her own Wool without a Mixture of ours; that therefore depriving them of ours will || effectually

To support this Assertion, viz. That the natural Consequence of depriving France of our Wool, in raising its Price at home, Mr. Webber and others have ventured (as a decisive Proof) to instance in the Time when the Plague was last in France. But Fasts and Dates will demonstrate the Reverse of what that Circumstance is brought to prove. The Advance of Wool commenced in 1717. In which Year, Aug. 22. an Order of Council issued, directing the military Officers on the Coasts, to assist those of the Customs in preventing the Expor-

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fectually advance its Value and Price at home. Because proving that to be the Case, is, upon the Principles I have already laid down, and which are but according to human Nature, only proving that they will have Wool from hence, at some Price*, unless that shall, as before observed, be render'd by Law astually

impossible.

But how to effect this is the Difficulty, i.e. how to bring Ireland, not to mention some Parts of Great Britain also, to submit to the due Execution of such a Law upon THEM-SELVES, and by so doing, to forego an Advantage, which they would otherwise look upon as a Perquifite to their respective Situations, viz. favourable to the Business of exporting Wool clandestinely. This is a Point that, in my humble Opinion, deferves Attention; and which duly consider'd, will, I am persuaded, terminate in Favour of a legal Exportation of some convenient Quantity of Wool from certain English Ports, at a competent bigh Duty, with other necessary Restrictions. This, perhaps it will be faid, is a novel and a dangerous Expedient. But I answer (which is a Point I mean to prove) It is an ancient

tation of Wool. The Plague in France broke out in 1720; in which Year the Price of Wool fell, near as much as it had advanced three Years before; and in three Years more, was fallen 9 or 10s. per Todd from the Price of 1717.

Inclusam Danaen, &c.

Savos illa queant Duces. Hor. Lib. 3. Ode 16.

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Usage, practised for many Ages, and in the very best Times, confessedly, of our Woollen Trade.

In the Year 1331, (it is faid *) " the Art of " weaving Woollen Cloth was first brought " from Flanders into England;" altho' I should think, from Circumstances, that Manufacture to have been of a more early Date here. However that be, fix Years after this. viz. in the 11th of Edward III. a Parliament was called, in which "the + principal Bufi-" ness was to settle the Woollen Trade." In order to this, it was in the first ‡ place made Felony to transport Wool, till it should be otherwise ordained. 2dly, It was enacted, That none but the King and his Children should wear any Cloth, but of the English Manufacture. 3dly, That none should import any foreign made Cloths to England, Ireland, Wales or Scotland. 4thly, That none under a certain Degree of Rank and Fortune should wear any Furrs or Silks. 5thly, That all foreign Cloth-Workers should have Encouragement to fettle in England.

These were wise Institutions for the Occafion. Inhibiting the Transportation of Wool was, in that Case, prudent for a Time, altho' it was, no doubt, offering Violence to the Inclinations of, and putting a real present Hardship

1 11 Edw. 3. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

^{*} Rapin, Vol. I. p. 414. Note 1. † Ibid. Vol. I. p. 417.

Hardship upon the Growers. And therefore becoming too inconvenient to be endured any longer; and having, the perhaps not strictly complied with, answered the End proposed, by bringing over a competent Flight of Cloth-Workers: In the third Year from the first Inhibition, viz. in the * 14th of Edward the Third, a DUTY was laid upon Wool, and fo it was permitted to pass again beyond Sea. This Liberty, I presume, was judged necesfary for the LANDED INTEREST, the DUTY on Exportation, a sufficient Balance against any Advantages the Manufacturers abroad might have over those at home; and if the Goodness of the Policy is to be measured by the Duration of it, and the Progress of our Woollen Trade, during its Continuance, we may venture to fay it was extremely well judged; for it lasted above 300 Years, and all the while, till hurt, towards the latter End, by other Means, our Woollen Trade was improving. The golden Reign of Queen Elizabeth was not the last, under which the Exportation of Wool was tolerated, paying the appointed Duty.

In the 29th of Edward the Third, there was given the King by Parliament 50s. for

The King's License, as may be collected from several Statutes in those Days, was often a Dispensation to particular Persons, in Cases of this Nature, against the general Words of an Act of Parliament.

* 14 Edw. 3. c. 21. † Rapin, Vol. I. p. 429. See Note 2, 3. (II)

every Sack of Wool transported, for fix Years. By which Sir Walter Raleigh fays * the King received 365,000 Marks a Year. From the Expiration of which Term to Edward the Fourth, besides paying one fixed certain Duty (according to the Laws + of the Staple) it was occasionally taxed, as the Exigences of the State required. But from ‡ Edward the Fourth to James the First inclusive, it became a standing Branch of the Crown Revenue, included, (for the Life of the Sovereign) in that antient memorable Bill of Tonnage and Poundage; and through many of those latter Reigns, at the fixed Rate of || 33s. 4d. per Sack for Denizens, who § were not allowed to transport Wool, and of double that Sum from Merchant Strangers, who under certain Re-Arictions might transport it.

The usual Grant of Tonnage and Poundage, through unhappy Differences betwixt Charles the First and his Parliaments, not being granted to him, as to his Predecessors, he took it nevertheless (as he termed it) de bene esse. What the Consequence of that was, I need not say, nor is it any thing to my present Purpose, surther than to observe, that as the Duty mentioned, on Wool, from Merchant Strangers, was expressly granted to King James, his Fa-

Note 3, p. 54. Note 2. § They did it nevertheless, by Letters Patents from the Crown, (as see 20 Hen. 6. c. 4.)

^{*} Remains, Lond. 1702. † 27 Edw. 3. c. 1. † Edw. 4. not printed, See 12 Edw. 4. c. 3. | 1 Jac. c. 33. 2. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 10. Note 6. p.

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ther; so he, the Son, no doubt, received it where he could; as certainly did, after him, the Parliament in the Year * 1642, by an Ordinance of their own; and afterwards by subfiguent Ordinances, till the Year 1647.

Some, I know, have given so very different an Account of these Matters, and which the Generality of People have so far given into, that I might justly fear mine would not be credited, but that the Statute Book (to

which I appeal) is my Authority.

The Statute 8 H. VI. c. 23. against exporting Thrums and Woollen Yarn, has been quoted + as an Instance of the ancient Prudence of the Nation, for preventing the Exportation of its valuable Produce Wool, till compleatly manufactured; altho' this ‡ Act, and some others of the same Kind, were plainly made in respect to the publick Revenue, to prevent the King being cheated in his Customs, by the Exportation of Yarn (a valuable Commodity, which was charged with a Duty) under the Colour of Thrums, which were little worth, and therefore paid no Duty. Which Fraud seems to have brought on a Prohibition in the Reign of Henry VIII. against exporting Yarn at all, while Wool was permitted to go abroad; not but some other Reasons may

1 See the Act itself.

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be affigned for stopping Yarn, which extend

not equally to the Case of Wool.

* Rapin indeed fays, that in the Year 1515, viz. 6 Hen. VIII. it was provided, that unwrought Wool should not be exported out of the Kingdom, for the Encouragement of the Woollen Manufacture. But the + Words of the Statute tell us, that this Prohibition extended only to the "Wools of Norfolk, meet " for the making Worsteds and Stammins;" and that (without any the least Intention of depriving Foreigners totally of our Wool, at a Price) it was made merely in Partiality to the City of Norwich, and was quite of a Piece with the first Section of another ‡ subsequent Act, by which Yarn of Norfolk might not be bought by other than Norwich or Norfolk Weavers. Which was no less than giving the Master Dealers an unreasonable Advantage against the Growers and Spinners of Wool in that particular County. The fecond Section of the Act last mentioned inhibits totally the Exportation of Yarn. And I find it faid ||, that under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Exportation of any Wool at all was absolutely prohibited, upon Pain of having the right Hand struck off. But the only Law that could be here meant, (8 Eliz. c. 3.) was but to prevent Sheep, Lambs, or Rams alive, from being

† 6 Hen. 8. c. 12.
Chambers's Dictionary.

^{*} Abridgment of Ordinances of Parliament from 1640 to 1656. Lond. printed 1657. No. 11.

† Gee's impartial Enquiry, &c.

^{*} Vol. I. p. 730. 1 33 Hen. 8. c. 16.

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being exported; and if we look back, we shall find another (3 Hen. VI. c. 2.) of the same Kind, with the Reasons thereof expresfed more at large, and which were not for preventing the Exportation of Wool, but directly the contrary. The Design of the Act was, to prevent the stealing of the Duty on Wool, under the Colour of exporting Sheep alive, and (in Consequence of an Increase from Sheep so exported) our being so far deprived of a foreign Vent for Wool, our native Commodity. The Statute (8 Eliz. c. 3.) proceeded plainly upon the same Policy, only under more severe Penalties; the first Offence was punished with the Loss of the right Hand, the fecond was made Felony. But not a Word is there in that Statute, or any other, during her Reign, or that of her immediate Successor, against the legal Exportation of Wool.

It is faid * further, that the Woollen Manufacture, in England, had its Rife, properly, in the fifteenth Century. But the Statutes † tell us, that it was with great Solemnity set on Foot Anno Dom. 1337; within less than 40 Years after which, it seems ‡ that we had made such Progress in it, to be in a Condition of exporting Cloths of our own Manusacture. As this Subject, beyond most others, has had

* Chambers's Dictionary.

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had the ill Fate to have been treated with very little Accuracy, or Truth; fo from our Statute Books (as I take it) are to be collected the best ancient Accounts of our Wool and Woollen Trade; which if we observe critically, from 11 Edw. III. we may discern plainly a gradual Increase of Sheep and Wool and Woollen Manufacture in the Kingdom. We may perceive our Natives crouding into the Woollen Trade more and more, and Strangers coming and settling with us, for the sake of following that Business in England, notwith-standing the allowed Exportation of Wool, all the while.

From the Time of the Staple being fixed in the several different Quarters of this Kingdom, (which was in 27 Edw. III.) we find the Mystery of Cloth-working spreading itself in many Parts of it; and from Hen. VI. through the several succeeding Reigns of Edw. IV. Edw. V. Rich. III. Hen. VII. Hen. VIII. Edw. VI. and Queen Mary. The Laws * themselves give evident Tokens of its being strongly fixed in almost every Place, where it prevails, at this Day; and in some Places, where it has long since ceased, or is, at present, in but a languid Condition, according to modern Accounts.

So early, as in the fixth of Queen Elizabeth, viz. in the Year 1564, Rapin tells us +,

^{† 11} Edw. 3. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. \$\dagger\$ 50 Edw. 3. c. 7.

^{*} See the Heads of them in the Table of the Statutes, under the feveral Titles of *Drapery*, *Merchants*, *Taxes*, &cc. † Vol. II. p. 68.

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from Camden, that the Commerce between England and the Netherlands rose yearly to above 12 Millions, and that the Woollen Trade alone amounted to above five Millions. Camden's * Words are, "Certe hoc nostro" Tempore (ex Rationum Tabulis loquor) "Commercium inter Anglos & Belgas duo-"decim Milliones Aureorum superavit; & "Panni Anglici (ut Plumbum, Stannum & cætera taceam) Antwerpiam quotannis "exportati, 5 Millionibus Aureorum sunt" estimati."

Whether the particular Coin here specified by Camden was equal to 16 s. 8 d. (as some render it) or only a Noble, or even but a Crown, the Sum was immense, for those Times. And as our foreign Trade, for Cloth, appears to have been so very considerable, thus early, and during the allowed Exportation of Wool unmanufactured, I lay it down as a Rule, That the Prosperity of our Woollen Manufacture and Trade depends not upon Laws for keeping ALL our Wool at home, but upon other Circumstances too various to be easily defined.

Incidents improved are productive of great Events, this way. It was a Difgust +, conceived at the Flemings, which first inspired Edward the Third with the Resolution of removing the Staple into England; whence this Kingdom received great Advantage, Riches having

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having been always observed to follow the Staple. In the Woollen Trade, particularly, the Difference, to Denizens, betwixt having, by Law*, the first Choice, in a great meafure, of the Material; working it, and selling a Share thereof, on the Spot; carrying the rest out in Cloth; and, to Strangers, of having but a Kind of secondary Choice of, then paying double Duty for it, with all the surther Expense and Hazard of Carriage beyond Sea, to be manufactured, gave the English an easy Superiority.

In Queen Elizabeth's Reign, (besides the whole Oeconomy of her Administration, her particular Attention to Trade, &c.) the Persecutions, on the Score of Religion, which were set on Foot in France and the Low-Countries, brought several Foreigners into England, who being received and encouraged. fettled + at Colchester, Norwich, and other Places; and bringing their particular Arts in Cloth-working, brought alfo a Share of Woollen-Trade along with them, to the great Increase of the Wealth and Power of this Kingdom. But this Advantage was, in Part, lost again by Charles I. about the Year 1635, | when too much Rigor, exercised here, in the Article of Conformity, drove feveral of the Posterity of those very People into

Holland.

^{*} Camden's Eliz. Lond. 1615. p. 90. + Rapin, Vol. I. p. 428.

^{* 4} Edw. 4. c. 4. 4 Hen. 7. c. 11. 22 Hen. 8. c. 1. 37 Hen. 8. c. 15. † Rapin, Vol. II. p. 87. Note 10. | Ibid. Vol. II. p. 293.

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Holland, where they were received with open Arms, and by whom the Dutch were instructed in the Management of the Woolen Manufacture; which has fince been of very bad Consequence to England. This being soon after followed by that dreadful Calamity, a Civil War; 'tis no wonder, that while we were employed in sheathing our Swords in one another's Bowels, neighbouring Nations should take the Advantage to profit by our Misfortunes. Accordingly, Foreigners did improve this Opportunity, to the wresting from us a larger Share, than before they had, of the Woollen Manufacture. And this seems to have brought on an Ordinance of Parliament*, Jan. 19. 1647. to prohibit the Exportation of Wool and Fullers Earth, &c. Thus had this particular Policy a most inauspicious Beginning; and the Consequence of it has been suitable; altho' the same Measure (fuch oftentimes is the Force of bad Precedents) has fince received the Sanction of better Times.

The Substance of the last mentioned Ordinance, flattering the Necessities and the Inclinations of the People, was enacted into a regular Law in the † 12th of Charles II. the Year of the Restoration. But as the first Decay of the Woolen Trade, in England, had not proceeded from the allowed Exportation of

† 12 Car. 2. c. 32.

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Wool; to neither was it restored, by this Act, that was intended to prevent the Exportation of it, nor by a subsequent one *, for the same Purpose, two Years after, the Breach of which was made Felony. To fay the best of both of them, they did not answer that first Part of their Intention. And these were soon followed by + another, and another, which, next to a Law that should have made it penal in England to export Cloth, have contributed most to the Extension of foreign Woollen Manufacture, and to bring down, and keep low the Price of Wool in England, of any thing, that easily could have been devised; I mean the Acts, for prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle.

An Essay, for restoring Trade, published and addressed, in 1677, to the then Speaker of the House of Commons, gives a piteous Relation of the Decay of the Woollen Trade; particularly from the Time of the Restoration; altho' he dates the Beginning of its Decay so high as the Rebellion. He indeed accounts for it chiefly, from the illicit Exportation of Wool from England and Ireland; shewing by what Means that Practice prevailed; namely, through the Corruption of Officers, and the general Propensity of the People, in those

^{*} Abridgment of Ordinances, No. 370.

^{* 14} Car. 2. c. 16.

^{† 15} Car. 2. c. 7. 18 Car. 2. c. 2.

By one Joseph Trevers.

Parts, which afforded the best Opportunity for it; by which it came to pass, that the Laws, against exporting Wool, had little or no Effect: which was only shewing, that, in this Case, as the Temptation is, so will be the Transgression of any Law that can be made about it; which Propensity to Transgression can only be counteracted, by lowering the Temptation, and heightening the Reward of Information, Seizure, Apprehension, &c.

Another Writer *, in the same Year 1677, gives much the same Account of the Woollen Trade; only he appears to fee further into the Cause of its Declension and Decay; which he attributes, in a great measure, to the Probibition of Irish Cattle in England; and says, that so long as the same Policy is pursued, it must grow worse and worse. These are his Words: "Irish Wool carried away, with their " Beef, to Holland, France, and Germany; " their making cheap Cloth, of cheap Wool, " with cheap Victuals, will outdo us, and " undo us too, if not timely prevented." Eight Years ago (says he) I discover'd to Mr. R. Coke the Departure of our Woollen Manufacture, and the Reasons.

It appears farther from this same Writer, that a Set of Persons, in and about London, some little Time before this, (perceiving

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how, by means of cheaper Provisions, Wool. &c. in Ireland, than in England, the English Trade might be circumvented and undermined, with great Emolument to the Undertakers) had raifed a Fund, for erecting a Woollen Manufacture near Conmel in that Kingdom, and carried Hands out of the West of England to work and manage it. This fucceeded for some time. But that justly alarming the People of England, it was thought fit to be suppressed. But this was done by fuch a Law, as only removed the Complaint, did not take away the Cause; the Law being only calculated to discourage the Woollen Manufacture in Ireland. So then the Irish being inhibited from transporting Cattle to England, and Cloth to any other Parts, THEY had Plenty of Flesh and Wool. But how were they to dispose of both? One of these Commodities we might not take, the other we did not want *. Naturally therefore they would, as almost necessarily they must. trade publickly with Foreigners for their Flesh, and privately for as much Wool as posfibly they could. Accordingly, these two Articles, Irish Flesh and Wool have been a Benefit-Ticket to Foreigners, our Rivals ever fince; and in Proportion + as that Bene-D 2

* Having enough and more than enough of our own.

† The Oxford Parliament first made the Act against the Importation of Irish Cattle, whereby they disjoined the Interest and Dependency of Ireland upon England, and fixed it

^{*} The Author of a Piece entitled, England's Improvement, &c. By Andrew Yarranton, Gent.

fit has been to THEM, so has been the Injury to us, i. e. not only to the Woollen, but to the whole English Manufactures and Trade.

Sir William Temple, a little before this, and Mr. R. Coke, something later, as Writers of the best Note *, confirming these Accounts by

upon France, and other Countries which traded with them; and enabled the Dutch and French to victual Ships cheaper in their Fisheries, and other Trades, than the English could; as much to their Benefit, as to the Prejudice of the English.

Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 479.

Sir William Temple speaks of a considerable foreign Trade for Barrel-Beef, as, before this, almost peculiar to England; in which the Irish had, in a manner, no Part; and thought it a sufficient Detriment to England, that by means of this Prohibition, they would share with Us the Beef Trade abroad. But the Event has so far exceeded the Fears of that great Man, that the Irish have got it ALL, and England has not, at present, nor, for many Years past, the least Share in it.

Eminence for close Reasoning and just Computations, (see an Account of him by Mr. Bayle) published a Plea for the Importation of Irish Cattle, which I have not been able to meet with: But doubt not, from his Character, his having supported that Plea with great Sufficiency.

N. B. This was a Period of Time, in which, were Persons living, who remembring the State of England, before the Act of Prohibition, and seeing the ill Consequences, that had begun to attend, and were likely to follow upon that Measure, did therefore remonstrate against it. That they did it without Success, will seem less a Wonder, when we consider that the Interest of the People was the least ruling Consideration of that whole Reign of Charles II. Towards the latter End thereof particularly, Plots and Counter-Plots engrossed the whole Attention of Court and Country. The Reign of King James gave the People a Diversion of a more interesting Nature. The Revolution and the War in Ireland following, the Price of Flesh and Wool in England, for Reasons | beforementioned, advanced considerably; which not only satisfied the People, at that Time, but that Advance, through Mistake

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by their Testimony and Judgment, I thence infer, that this Kingdom is demonstrably, and most extremely hurt by the Policy of forbidding *Irish* Cattle, and that the longer that Law stands unrepealed, the worse it must still

be for England.

Further, it is observable from what has gone before, that from Edward III. to the Restoration, tho' no Law (unless the Ordinance of 1647 may be called one) had passed, to forbid totally the Exportation of Wool; nevertheless, abating for the Time of the Civil War and the Usurpation, the Woollen Trade of England appears to have been, for the most Part, in a very prosperous Condition. But from the Restoration to this Day, the Decay thereof making almost one continued Complaint, 'tis a presumptive Argument, that, in the former Period, we pursued a right Policy, in suffering the Exportation of some Part of our Wool, at a competent high Duty; that, in quitting this Policy, we departed from our true Interest, and which is not otherwise to be retrieved, than by betaking ourselves to the same again. I confess it weighs not a little with me, (nor can it, methinks, be thought a bad Argument by any one) That what, upon a View of all Circumstances,

or Policy, being then and fince ascribed to a wrong Cause, it helped to missead our Judgments in this Point, and to carry the Affair of Irish Cattle into Oblivion.

stances, was * judged most agreeable to Reafon, should, upon Enquiry, be found to tally so exactly with the Wisdom of our Ancestors, for the Space of above 300 Years, the two renowned Reigns of Edward III. and Queen Elizabeth, within that Period included.

It may here possibly be objected, That it is difficult to conceive, how a legal Exportation of Wool should be less favourable to foreign Mannfactures than a clandestine one. But befides that I think it one good Reason for letting our Wool go at a proper Duty, viz. Because we have not been able to keep it; this Measure is less favourable to Foreigners, for being more beneficial to us by all that Duty. And in regard Wool-running is a Counter-Part to much other Smuggling, it would be favourable to the Revenue in other Respects, favourable to the fair Trader, and to the Balance of Trade. All which Articles, put together, would be very confiderable in any one Year, and, in a Course of Years, might greatly advance our National Wealth. For Nations are capable of being richer or poorer, like fingle Persons, by good or bad Occonomy.

It may perhaps be further objected, That altho', latterly, till this last Year, we have had, for above twenty Years, particular Complaints of the Decay of our Woollen Trade, and which the GROWERS of Wool especially

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have Reason to believe was too well founded; from their own woful Experience of the extreme low Price of Wool; yet the general Trade of England has been in a very good Condition fince the Revolution, as may be evinced, particularly by the Increase of our Wealth and Shipping; which two Circumstances are undoubtedly true; such has been the Improvement of some old, the Invention, Erection and Success of many new Arts, Manufactures, and Trades. Nevertheless, this I may affirm, which is material to my Purpose, because it is universally acknowledged, viz. That the Stock of Sheep usually kept, and the Quantity of Wool, ordinarily grown in Great Britain and Ireland, is vastly increased, and yet increasing, and likely so to be, by means of Improvements, several Ways; while (whatever our whole Quantity of Woollen Trade is at present, or has been, at any Time, fince the Beginning of King William's Reign, compared with what it was before the Exportation of Wool was prohibited) it is equally certain, that both in Holland, France, and Germany, Woollen Manufactures have been fet up, are carried on, and a confiderable Trade driven to many Parts of the World, for Woollen Cloths; tho' not folely, yet by means of large Quantities of BRITISH and IRISH Wool, which our Law supposes not to be carried out of these Kingdoms, on any Terms, or upon any Pretence whatfoever. And this

^{*} The State of our Wool, &c. reviewed, &c. p. 9.

| Upon the Face of the Statutes, there is not a stronger Indication of any one thing, than of the Increase of Pasturage, and particularly of Sheep in the Reigns of Hen. VII. Hen. VIII. and about that Time. There are also Statutes then about \$\frac{1}{2}\$, which expressly mention

Pernicious Practices discovered of selling our Wool to Foreigners by a combined and current Trade. Birmingham, printed 1743.

† N. B. They are not selected to serve an Argument, but are, in truth, all I have been able to meet with, prior to King William's Reign.

| 7 Hen. 8. c. 1, &c.

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mention an Advance in the Price of Wool, and of the same Kind of Cloths, from Time to Time, answerable (it is conceived) to the Difference of the Value of Money, occasioned by the Increase or greater Plenty of it. This Advance of Wool particularly, as there was good Reason why it should, so there is no Doubt but it did keep Pace with the Alteration of the Value of Money, so long as the LANDED INTEREST continued to be upon an equal Foot, and while that valuable Part of our Produce was not subjected to base Practices, and forced to be squeezed through the Hands of Smugglers, in order to come at a Market.

In the Reign of Henry VIII. viz. 1535. it appears * that the better Sort of Wool had then lately risen from 2 s. 8 d. and 3 s. to 4 s. 8 d. or 5 s. per Stone.

In the Reign of Charles I. viz. from 1630 to 1641, a Medium Price was 12s. per Stone, or † 24s. per Todd. This, it is to be noted, was during the allowed Exportation of Wool; at which Time (notwithstanding such Allowance) we possessed the Woollen Trade in its E supposed

^{1 5} Hen. 8. c. 3. 25 Hen. 8. c. 13. 27 Hen. 8. c. 13.

^{* 25} Hen. 8. c. 13. N. B. This Act fets forth, at the fame time, the Increase of Sheep, and the advanced Price both of Wool and Flesh; which plainly shews such Advance to have been the Effect of the Increase of Money by Trade, althor through Ignorance, or Artistice, that Circumstance stands mixed with and treated as a Grievance.

⁺ State of our Wool, &c. Roberts, 1743. p. 3.

supposed largest Extent, however compara-

tively.

In the Reign of Charles II. after the Restoration, when it was no longer allowable to export Wool unmanufactured; when under this Prohibition, in order, as was conceived, to retrieve our Woollen Trade; through the unhappy Choice of that and other Expedients, it still went back more and more; by a *Vote in Parliament it was resolved, that 8s. 6d. per Stone, or 17s. per Todd (the Price of that Time) was sufficient for the better Sort of Wool.

Hence it is plain, that the LANDED INTE-REST had lost considerably in the Article of Wool, within less than half a Century. For the duantity of it, by means of Improvements, Inclosures, &c. had been, within that Time, increased; yet the People and Trade of the World, as well as Silver, had been also increasing, and the Value of Money altering accordingly. And therefore if our Woollen Trade had either continued to be improving with all other Trade in general; or if it had not fallen, it must have been as much above 24s. per Todd, as it was found below it.

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In the Reign of King of William, Wool was fold at a very different Price, (+ some at 40 s. and some so high as 42 s. per Todd. if my Information is true;) but that has been accounted for, || by itself. But taking it from the Year 1720 to 1742 inclusive, and comparing the Medium Price with the Vote of the Commons, in Car. II. and we shall find that Wool was fallen pretty nearly, in the same Proportion, from 17 s. the Price in Car. II. as that 17s. was from the 24s. in Car. I.; notwithstanding that, all the while, Money has been growing still cheaper. And thus comparing the present Value of Money with the Price of Wool, for twenty Years backwards, (from 1742) with the *Value of Money,

† At this Time (Ireland not being in a Condition to rival us much with their Wool; nor (as we have seen) the Laws against Exportation much observed) the Wool of England took more nearly its natural Price, compared with the Price of Wool, and the different Value of Money, in the Reign of Hen, 8.

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* In the Time of Hen. 8. (see 25 Hen. 8. c. 13.) when Wool was (at the highest) 55. per Stone, a fat Weather 65. and that reckon'd a most enormous Price; Wheat was not allowed to be transported when exceeding 65. 8d. per Quarter. Whence it seems, as if a Stone of the better Wool, one of the highest priced sat Sheep, out of its Wool, and a Quarter of Wheat, were pretty near equivalent, upon a Medium, at that Time; and so the two latter hold to this Day, take it for seven or ten Years together. But behold the Difference of late Years between a Stone of the better Wool, and the Medium Price of either! This is a Point not well to be accounted for: It shews, in my Opinion, that Wool is not in its natural State. And yet so far as it is in the Power of Laws to influence in this Case, the Difference ought rather to sie the other

^{*} Having not seen this Vote myself, I am not able to fix the Date of it. But I had the Information from a Person of Honour, who told me, he himself had seen it, and therefore I cannot doubt the Truth thereof.

Money, and the Price of Wool, about 100 Years before, it appears to have been fold, latterly, for TWO THIRDS less (to speak within Compass) than might have been expected. And without the Regulation proposed, of importing Irish * black Cattle alive, and exporting Wool legally, at a proper Duty, it is not improbable that (notwithstanding present Appearances) it may, in a Course of Years, sink yet lower, at some Times, the Value of Money considered.

I know that the Policy, I am inculcating, of importing Irish Cattle, and exporting Wool, is not quite popular. But I am persuaded, that both those Measures would be for the Good of both Kingdoms. They who take a contrary Opinion, as touching the Exportation of Wool, (for on the other Head I purpose to add little more) (besides overlooking the Dissipation of the English Grower, for some Years, at least, under such a Plenty of Wool, as an actual Revulsion might occasion, of what, at present, goes abroad from Ireland and

way. For Corn and Flesh to be comparatively cheap, rather than Wool, is the readiest Way to make all our Exports at the lowest Rate, comparatively; and, as such, most for the Benesit of our Manusactures and Trade in general.

* Not Sheep or Lambs, or Hogs, or Pork, Beef, &c. there not being the same Use in, nor the same Reason for, their being imported.

| See Grasiers Adv. and Supp. Roberts, 1742.

Enquiry concerning Irish Cattle, &c. Roberts, 1743.

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and Great Britain; -besides imagining, that may be compassed, which the Experience, of near 100 Years, tells us is not practicable) are. I apprehend, under a further Error, in supposing that Foreigners cannot do without our Wool; that therefore, by keeping it, we might have the Woollen Trade of the * whole World to ourselves. Thus the People have been taught to expect; nor is there any other Doctrine, upon which the Policy of confining absolutely our Wool at home, (were we able to do that) could well be supported; much less could the Practice obtain, so apparently. against the LANDED INTEREST of England, which has undoubtedly the Ascendency in P—t, whenever it shall think proper to exert itself in its own Defence.

But in examining how far our Wool is effential to foreign Manufactures, it is to be confidered, that what at present is, and what possibly might be done, upon Necessity, are two very different Things. Great Britain and Ireland are not only very much addicted to Sheep and good Wool, but they are very conveniently situated for wasting it over to Holland, Germany, and France; which Countries are disposed to the Woollen Manusacture, as much as we are. And so long as

^{*} At the most, I take it, there is something equivocal in the Expressions used, on this Occasion; by which much more is signified, than can be understood, for Truth.

they can be accommodated with any tolerable Share of Wool from hence, upon Terms more convenient; that suiting their Advantage best, they will not feek to obtain an Equivalent elsewhere, upon Terms less advantageous, Thus when * M. Colbert, in order to render France wholly independant on us for Wool, had entertained Thoughts of growing it there from Sheep of English Extract; Count Cominges the French Ambassador in England, is faid to have diffuaded him from the Project, as impracticable. Now it is not said that being tried, it was found to be impracticable; and therefore I am rather inclined to think M. Colbert was diverted from it as impolitick; for that it would be time enough to have Recourse to that Method, if the other from England and Ireland should be likely to fail; which, from the Genius of the People and the Situation of our Country, he the Ambassador had Sense enough to perceive would not eafily happen, nor long continue; that therefore it was the Interest of France to adhere to their old Methed of a contraband Trade; by which they were pretty sure of obtaining our Wool, as well in War as in Peace, and of reaping the Advantage of Commerce for French Goods into the Bargain.

In short, Foreigners either can do without our Wool, or they cannot. If they can, they will have no violent Desire for it, nor

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we any Benefit, but the contrary, by depriving them of it. But if they cannot do without it, they will not only desire but obtain it. This may be depended upon, at least it may without our entering into fuch Measures, as we feem by no means inclinable to submit to. And therefore what can we do wifer, than to part with it upon the best Terms for the Nation? and what Terms can be so good in the general, as a high Duty on Exportation, to enable the English Manufacturer to bear up against the foreign one?

But admit, for Argument sake, that we were resolved, ALL as one Man, to confine our Wool within the three Kingdoms. The Question is, how far and how long, France, for Example, would be disabled from upholding its Woollen Manufactures and foreign Trade for Woollen Goods. Having once established them, and tasted the Sweets thereof, THEY' will strive hard, rather than part with them It has been said, that one Pack of our Wool produces, by mixing, the Cloth of 3 if not 4. Packs in France, equal to so many Packs of English Cloth; and that without such Mixture of ours, theirs is worth nothing. This

^{*} Chambers's Dictionary.

This cannot be true, in one Sense, altho' it should be so in another. It cannot, for Instance, be true, that one Pack of fine English or Irish Wool, mixed with three Packs of coarse French Wool, will make Cloth equal to that which is compofed entirely of so many Packs of the same sine English or Irish Wool. And therefore common Sense will tell us, that the

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has been affirmed with great Assurance, and submitted to with equal Credulity; but I have been told, that whenever that particular Point has been enquired into judicially, they who had been very forward to maintain, were not able to prove it. I don't know indeed that it would be of any Service to these Kingdoms, to be assured that is is so, if it be; altho' to be undeceived in that Particular, in case it really is not true, might be of some Use; and methinks its not having been proved to be true, altho' often afferted, and, at times, examined into, by both Houses, (if I am rightly informed) is an Argument of its being false. But whether it be true, or false, the Point in Question is, how the French and other Foreigners might be supposed to do hereafter, in the Case of their being deprived totally of our Wool.

First, France is said to be politick enough to have always a Stock of our Wool beforehand; which is laying up against a Storm. The Wools of Asia are * allowed to be preferable to all others; and I find it said †, that "there

advantageous Mixture, here spoke of, is equally practicable in Great Britain too; which affords no small Quantity of coarse, as well as sine Wool; tho, I suppose, not so much of the former, in Proportion, as of the latter.

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there are other ‡ Wools, besides ours, in " Europe and Africa, that will answer the "Purposes of France, as well, or better than "ours." But to this it is replied; "There " are but few Parts of Spain, or other Parts " of Europe, or Africa, that produce great "Quantities of fine or good Wool; not suffi-" cient to spare, to supply the French Trade, " or but a small Part of it; and the greatest " Part must be brought, too dear, by Land " Carriage to make it practicable, and with " more Hazard and Danger than from Great " Britain and Ireland; and the Wool of " France (except a little of it) will not make "Cloth much better than Hair-Cloth." This, tho' intended for a flat Denial, amounts, if not to a Confession, yet to a pretty strong Presumption, that France, if drove to Extremities, would make a tolerable Shift without our Wool. Here is, confessedly, a Part of Spain, a Part of France, with some other Parts of Europe and Africa, affording Wool for their Purpose. But it is either too distant to serve, or too little to satisfy their Wants. They certainly can't be supplied with that Commodity so easily, nor perhaps quite so well, as from Great Britain and Ireland. But

^{*} Chambers's Dictionary.

⁺ Pernicious Practices discovered of selling our Wool to Foreigners, &c. 1743. p. 21, 22.

It Is it necessary to observe here, that the more polite and civilized Parts of the World were well cloathed, before the Inhabitants of this Island knew what Cloaths were, but went maked, with their Bodies only painted, and had no Commerce with Strangers for any Commodity, except Tin? See Rapin, Sc.

stop (if you can) the Avenues, by which our Wool passes to them, and which indeed is very near, and very convenient; and then, in Course, they betake themselves to that which is more remote, and more difficult to be conveyed. Land Carriage is one Objection. Now a good deal of Wool wrought in England is carried 100 Miles or more, entirely, by Land; which perhaps is near as far, if not farther, than some Places in Europe and Africa affording some Wool, are from some Navigation or another. And when once it arrives at Navigation, Distance, we know, makes no great Difference. If the present Quantity, in some of those Places, is small comparatively, it may nevertheless be greater than imagined; and a constant good Demand for it may, not improbably, foon increase that Quantity. Spain is a large Kingdom, and what the Writer quoted calls a few Parts of it, may perhaps be equal to several of our largest Counties in England. The Wool of France (he fays) except a little, will not make, &c. But may not that little (all better Means failing) possibly be soon made more? And will any Care and Pains be wanting (if need be) to effect it? Suppose but a Province or two in France to afford them such Wool as they would chuse, (which is * said of the Parts about Berry) only not in a sufficient Quantity.

* Chambers's Dictionary.

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We may eafily conceive that Quantity, under the Direction of an absolute Government especially, to be vastly enlarged, in a very little time. Sheep are of a very quick Increase. Those Provinces may be set apart, in a manner, for Sheep. There may be both Compulsion and Encouragement made use of for that End. ALL Lands (except the richest, naturally, and the craggy Mountains) are capable of being improved, fo as to support many more Cattle, in an artificial, than in a natural Way. Such Art, practifed, in one Instance, by one Person, gives the Hint to another, under similar Circumstances. Not only the same Sorts of Land, by proper Culture, may receive the same Improvements, but the same Kind of Wool, in a good meafure, by skilful Management, in breeding Sheep, may be propagated in different Provinces, even in Lands and Climates fomewhat different. For tho' all Lands have their peculiar Tendency to produce one certain Kind of Wool rather than another; yet 'tis a Matter well known among the Breeders of Sheep, that the Staple of Wool, in every Place, (like Flowers and Fruit-Trees) by Neglect and Ignorance, will degenerate and grow worse, in fome respect or another; by Care and Skill, may be corrected and improved to a very great Degree. What might be done, of this Sort, in France, where neither Genius nor Application is wanting, might also, and undoubtedIy would, upon extreme Necessity, be practised in many other Places. Necessity is the Mother of Invention; and a Prospect of Advantage is a strong Motive to Action. Here then it is worth considering, what might be the Condition of the English Wool Grower, if having one lost all foreign Vent for English Wool unmanufactured, (a Vent we have had, directly or indirectly, ever since we had Sheep in England, except, at the most, for about two Years in Edw. III.) we are to receive a great Share of the Irish Wool, without being able to sell one Yard of Cloth more, however; but little more, comparatively.

Notwithstanding a vast Variety of Opinions to be met with, concerning Wool, this is a Point, wherein all seem agreed, viz. that our whole Woollen Trade is not equal to what it was, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James; while the Growth of Wool, in these Kingdoms, is, undoubtedly, much greater now than it was then; which, if true, plainly evinces a very large Exportation of raw Wool. At least, it being certain, that the Woolen Manufactures of Holland, Denmark, France, and Germany, have been greatly extended, fince those Reigns; thence it undeniably follows, that the French, Dutch, Danes, and Germans, have found Means to procure more Wool, (since, than before the Exportation thereof from hence was prohibited) either from these Kingdoms, or by some

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other Means of GROWTH OF IMPORTATION. Now which soever of these is truly the Case, I apprehend it is a Reason for repermitting the Exportation of our Wool, at a proper Duty. Upon the first Supposition, it is reasonable, for the fake of a Revenue to the Publick, and for the Benefit of our own Manufacture. Upon the fecond Supposition, (that of Foreigners, our Rivals in the Wollen Trade, growing (because they can't have it hence) more Wool themselves, or being supplied from other Parts) it is reasonable to repermit the Exportation of our Wool, at a proper Duty, for the Sake of the LANDED INTEREST; left, in Time, these very Foreigners, our Rivals, should find Means to grow so much Wool themselves, or to get so much elsewhere, as that WE may want a Market, not only for our CLOTH, but even for our Wool.

This (if we can suppose the Stoppage of our Wool totally) is not altogether a chimerical Apprehension. It is said * "That it is allow-" ed, that the Goodness of the Spanish Wool " is owing to a few English Sheep sent over " into Spain, as a Present, by Hen. the II. of "England, or, according to others, by Edw. "IV. in 1465." And the † Statute of Elizabeth, forbidding, under so severe Penalties, the Exportation of Sheep, Lambs or Rams alive, says, it was for divers good Causes and Consider.

* Chambers's Dictionary.

+ 8 Eliz. c. 3.

The English Land-owners particularly, however a very great Share of them are TAX-ED; for the most part, from TEN to TWENTY per Cent. in their annual Profits, for the Support of Government, and for the Protection of TRADE, &c. beyond the rest of the People

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who are equally Subjects and equally protected; and therefore, at least, equal Regard is due to the LANDED, as to any other Interest in the

Kingdom. THIS LANDED INTEREST, thus taxed, depends, as much, or more, than ever upon the Profits from Sheep, and must so depend, under all Events; which is a strong Reason why, having suffered so much already in the Article of Woor, it should not lightly be exposed to further Loss, in that Respect; and also a very good one why fome Thought should be taken for putting it upon a better Foot, holdingly, if possible, for the future. I know what may be urged from the Topic of Trade and Manufacture, in respect of Land, and that Benefits derived from the two former do naturally extend to the latter also; whence arises one mutual Interest. But (besides that Benefits to Land have also a kindly Effect on Trade,) to make Interests truly mutual, Obligations must be so too. But, in the Case of Wood particularly, LAND is not upon a Foot of Equality with the moneyed and trading Interests of the Kingdom; the Obligation is not (as it should be) reciprocal.

By the Laws of our Country, Wool may not be exported unmanufactured,—but (excepting the Acts for burying in Woollen) few, comparatively, are obliged to use Wool. Nor are any Persons in the Kingdom forced, by Law, to follow the Woollen, preserably to any

other

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other Manufacture or Trade whatsoever *, This is not after the Example of Edw. III. when the Exportation of Wool was, but for a Season, inhibited. If British Wool is, on no Terms, to be exported, that is in regard merely to the Manufacturer. But Silk, Cotton, Spanish and Irish Wool are imported for their Benefit also merely, and to the Injury of the British Wool-Grower. Where is the Equity of this? I don't fay that the Introduction of other Manufactures besides the Woollen, (as we are a trading Nation, and especially, as as we must needs give so almost universally into Apparel and Furniture, composed, either wholly, or in Part, of foreign Materials) is not greatly advantageous to the Kingdom; undoubtedly it is; altho' I think it as certain, that our Woollen Trade is comparatively impaired by it. - But, I do think, upon those Terms, to confine actually ALL our Wool at home, (if we could do it) would be hazardous; as to perfift in a Refolution of so doing, Age after Age, when we find we can't, is but persevering in an Attempt to hedge in the Cuckow; it is hurting the Grower, without any the least Benefit to the fair Trader, but on the contrary much to his Prejudice, in many Respects.

* The People, whose Condition and Circumstances dispose them to manual Arts and Employments, have the Choice of turning their Hands several Ways, for a Maintenance; while the Owner and Occupier of Sheep-Lands must depend upon Wool alone for a chief Part of their Subsistence. (43)

Was there, in this Case, a real Competition of Interests between the Land-Owner and the Manufacturer, much might be faid why the former should give in to the latter. But the Manufacturers have some Amends made them for the Diminution of our Woollen Trade, in the Articles of Silk, Linnen, and many others; while the honest Woo L-GROWER makes a Sacrifice of his Interest to a false Generosity of his own, and an avaritious Error of the Woollen Manufacturer; which, in its Consequences, affects also, for the worse, all our fair Trade, and all our other Manufactures. For here it is worth Obfervation, that the true State of the Question is not, whether we should keep ALL our Wool, for the Benefit of the Manufacturer, or part with some of it, for the fake of the Grower.—But whether we should attempt to regulate an Exportation of Wool, which, for the Space of near 100 Years, we have tried, in vain, to prevent; and whether, by fo doing, we should divert the Emolument thereof to the Use of the Publick, which has hitherto been made the Property of, comparatively, a Few particular Illicit Dealers.

If there is Reason and Truth in what I have here said, it can be no Objection to the proposed Regulations, That the People have been, for some time, of a different Persuasion; That the Laws, to be altered, were made chiefly at their Instance, and in Expectation

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of Advantage from them. Mistakes of this Kind, in the People, are not uncommon. The Legislature has often been induced to pass Laws, upon those Mistakes, and often, upon better Advice, to repeal them; nay, sometimes at the Instance of the same Persons confessing themselves to have been mistaken. A remarkable Case of this Kind we meet with in the Reign of Oueen Elizabeth.

in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the Statute of 8 Eliz. c. 7. it is fet forth, to this Effect: "That in the Town of Shrewf-" bury was an ancient Company of Drapers "incorporated, who, among other things, " had been used to buy and sell a certain Spe-"cies of Goods called Welsh Linings; [in which Branch of Trade other Persons in " the fame Town, not free of this Company, " had intermeddled, to the Injury sas was al-"ledged of the Trade, and particularly of " the Poor." Upon their Petition therefore it was enacted, "That no Person inhabiting the "Town of Shrewsbury, not being free of the "Corporation, should buy to fell again," the particular Goods before specified. But fee the Effect, within the small Space of fix Years! The Statute (14 Eliz. c. 12.) fays, that "fince the making of the faid Act, [viz. 8 Eliz. 7.] " Experience hath plainly taught, " in the said Town, that the said Act hath "not only not brought that good Effect that "then was hoped and surmised; but also hath "been, and now is likely to be the very greatest

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"greatest Cause of the impoverishing and undoing the poor Artificers, and others, at "whose Suit the said Act was procured. And "therefore, at the humble Suit of the Inha-"bitants of the said Town, and also of the "said Artificers, for whose Benefit, the said "Act was supposed to be provided," it was repealed.

Indeed, an Itch after Monopoly, (tho' the Bane of all Trade in a national Sense) has constantly infected the whole Mercantile and Mechanick Genius of this Kingdom, cleaving to it like a Leprofy; as is visible from a Number of Laws; all, under specious Pretences, at one Time or other obtained, and again found necessary to be repealed. The Acts forbidding the Exportation of Wool, and the Importation of Irish Cattle, stand upon no better a Foundation, and the Superstructure has been accordingly. As the English Trade, in Muscovy, was * once in Danger of being quite lost by the Avarice of the English Merchants; so in these two Cases of Wool and Cattle, (by grasping at more than we could hold) we have lost some Part of what we had before, and might have retained. Sir William Temple, and many others, faw the Prohibition of Irish Cattle to be quite a partial Affair, calculated for some few Counties; which Counties (if I mistake not) G 2 have

* Rapin, Vol. II. p. 88.

have been the † greatest Sufferers by it. And with regard to the Wool, that of the Town of Shrewsbury just mentioned, is a Case in Point. If then, as a whole People, we have erred, like them; why-should not we become wise, as they did, in acknowledging the Mistake, and taking the proper Redress?

These, I have mentioned, are not the only Instances given of the like Effect, from the fame Cause. It is faid t, "The noble Per-" fon, who procured the Prohibition of East-" India Goods, lived to see his own Mistake, " and to repent of it; and that the Act for " prohibiting the wearing of Calicoes has "done a world of Harm to some of the Ma-" nufactures of England, and particularly to " the City of Norwich, for whose Benefit it " was chiefly intended.—Nay, it is faid "that even the very People of that City are " now fenfible of it themselves." This is a Point I pretend not to know; but if the Facts * alledged are true (and there is nothing improbable in them) they have, beyond all Dispute, Reason to be sensible of, and sorry for it too.

+ State of our Wool and Woollen Trade reviewed, &c.

† Serious Considerations concerning the several high Duties,

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In further Confirmation of what I have, in the Course of this Tract, advanced, in Defence particularly of the * fifth Article of my Scheme, I desire to observe two Things here, (before I conclude) upon the several Ordinances and Laws, which have been made to confine our Wool at Home, till completely manufatured.

1st, The + Ordinance of 1647 (from which ‡ ALL the Acts of Parliament (on that Head) copy, down to the Union,) provides as much against Wool being carried into Scotland, as into any foreign Realm what soever. The first || of these Acts particularly seems to lay more Stress, if possible, upon that Point than upon any other. But this Clause, by the Act of Union, is entirely superseded; and yet I don't find that any Share of the Loss of our Woollen Trade is imputed, or even imputable to any considerable Growth of that Manufacture, in that Part of Great Britain, fince the Union. Which feems to confirm what I had before laid down for a Rule, viz. That the Prosperity of our Woollen Manufacture depends NOT upon Laws for keeping our own Wool to our selves, BUT upon other Circumstances, which are not easy to be defined.

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^{*} The Fact alledged is, That prohibiting them here, made them so very plentiful in soreign Markets, where there used to be a Demand for Norwich Stuffs, that when the People abroad sound they could purchase Callicoes for a small matter more than Norwich Stuffs, they preferred the former, as the neater Apparel, and upon the whole cheapest. See Serious Considerations, &c.

^{*} State of our Wool, &c. p. 12. † Abridgment of Ordinances, No. 370. † See 12 Car. 2. c. 32. 14 Car. 2. c. 18. 1 Will. & M. c. 32. 7 Will. 3. c. 28. §. 3, 8. 9 Will. 3. c. 40.

I believe it has been generally thought, that the allowed Exportation of Wool, and a good Woollen Trade from England, were incompatible. But this appearing to be a * Mistake,

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and a very great one, we should not be ashamed to correct it. The Time has been I, when we were fuch Conjurers in TRADE, to forbid the Exportation of Boots and Shoes. We were once as furiously and as blindly zealous against the Exportation of Leather, as we have fince been in the two Articles under Confideration. Was it Felony by the 14 Car. II. c. 18. to export Wool? by the 1 Eliz. c. 10% it was equally penal to export LEATHER. That Act failing of its End, Leather was * charged with an excessive high Duty on Exportation, by way of Subfidy. Again +, it was totally forbid to be exported, and, (the Exportation thereof, just as in the Cases of Wool; and Irish Cattle) declared to be a common Nusance: Bu T, within || fix Years after, found necessary, to the LANDED INTEREST, to be permitted to go, paying a very moderate Duty; which Permission has not only since been continued, by several Laws, from Time to Time. but the Exportation of Leather has been thought proper to be : encouraged by a Drawback of two THIRDS of the feveral high Inland Duties, laid on that Commodity, by fe-

fully permitted, on the Terms of a Duty. And now, this Article, once held in Abhorrence, is found to be most valuable, and so far esteemed, as to be one Cause of the present War with Spain.

^{*} By the 23d Eliz. c. 9. §. 2. 39 Eliz. c. 11. the Importation and Use of Logwood was absolutely forbid, through Prejudice or Error. — But the Nation coming to a better Understanding in that Case, (13, 14 Car. 2. c. 11. §. 26.) it was fully

^{† 6} Edw. 6. c. 15. §. 5. * 18 Eliz. c. 9. † 13, 14 Car. 2. c. 7. || 20 Car. 2. c. 5. ... 9 Ann. c. 11. §, 40. 10 Ann. c. 26. §. 5. 12 Ann. Seff. 2. c. 9. §. 6. 3 Geo. c. 4. §. 5.

veral Acts of Queen Anne and King George I. Hence I infer, that, however we have come to fancy it fince; the probibiting the Exportation of Wool, probably, did not arise, so much, at first, from an imagined Peculiarity in the Nature of that particular Produce, beyond some other native ones, As from the wrong BIAs of our TRADING POLITICKS, which have AL-WAYS lain MUCH towards Probibitions, Exclusions, &c. and which have very frequently and greatly hurt us, as a TRADING PEOPLE. And I take it, that the Story of France particularly not being able to work up THEIR Wool without the Help of ours, and of the Possibility of our Engrossing the whole Cloth-Trade, by ENGROSSING our own Wool, have been since invented, to support a Measure, which, otherwise, in this more enlighten'd Age, would not have stood the Test of REASON; and which the LANDED INTEREST of England particularly would not have acquiesced in, so long, and so much, to its own Pre-JUDICE.

Lastly, Whereas I have some Reason to apprehend, it will be objected to mine, and indeed to all other Schemes (on this Head) that our late Acquisitions of Trade for Woollen Goods, (chiefly by means of the Wars existing in several Parts of the World, and particularly through our Intercourse with the Subjects of the Queen of Hungary, and their present Prohibition of Commerce with France)

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fet us above the Necessity of looking out for any additional Benefits in that way. To this Objection I beg Leave to make the following Reply: Who will, who can fay that this Flow of Trade, which has rose naturally out of the War, will not as naturally fall again (unless some proper Care be taken to prevent it) with a Peace, altho' a good one; and which, nevertheless, we have Reason to wish for. My Endeavours, it may be confidered, are levelled entirely at the pernicious Practice of clandestinely exporting Wool from Great Britain and Ireland both; and can it be denied that France particularly has been, for feveral Months past, as notoriously industrious to procure Wool from both Kingdoms, as at any Time heretofore? And who can fay They have not been equally successful? There is Reason to think they have. And is not the Prevention of such illicit Exportation of Wool, and its Consequences, the very Thing, that has, for Years, nay Ages, exercised the Care of the Government, the Contrivance of the Legislature, and the Invention of many private Persons? Was not this particularly demanded by the People three Years ago? And should a small Respite comparatively, a short imperfect Fit of Ease, induce us to neglect the Cure, if possible; however, as far as it is possible, of a sharp chronical Distemper, under which the Publick has now laboured, for near 100 Years? The Scheme, I have hum-

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Time, upon the Anvil, (ever fince the first Session of this Parliament, when it was generally understood, that some Regulation concerning Wool, &c. was really intended) and trusting, I have now wrought it up to a very desensible Pitch, I hope, this is so far from being an improper Time for examining and considering of it, that it is a favourable Juncture for it, and, of all Times, most proper; as it is calculated, in my Opinion, for enabling us to bold those Advantages, (in respect of the Woollen Trade) which we have (in Consequence of the War) taken, as also to recover what more we have, long since, lost.

Here then I beg Leave to repeat what has been before * observed upon it in general, viz. That considered (as every other Scheme, of any Kind, ought to be) but as a Probationer; altho' it should not be found, upon Trial, to answer every End that could be wished; yet is it so contrived, as to point out both the Defect (whatever it may be) and the Remedy.

Further, It is not offered, in Derogation to any others that have already been proposed; but as an Alternative; and, in that View confidered, I humbly conceive, it cannot be rejected as bad and wrong, without affirming some one of those already offered, and not accepted, to have been good and right.

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For if I don't quite mistake this Affair; it was the Sentiments of the last Session of the last Parliament, That so many strict Laws had been made, to so very little Purpose, for preventing the clandestine Exportation of Wool. that nothing more (it was conceived) could be done, without such a REGISTRY as should take the whole Produce, Wool, to a strict Account, from the Time of its being first severed, to the Time of its being completely manufactured. And what have been the chief Objections to the several Schemes of Registry, for that End. produced? what has been common to them all; and which, in the Nature of the Thing, is unavoidable. Such a REGISTRY necessarily required a Trust to be reposed with Powers conferred, TROUBLE given, and EXPENCE created. Now if (for these Reasons) OTHER Schemes have been thought dangerous, vexatious, oppressive, and of uncertain Effect; this of mine is safe, easy, and without Expence. Next to THOSE * at least, it bids fairest for preventing all clandestine illegal Practices. Moreover, as a Method of Registry +, it is fure to perform As Much as it promifes; it will shew demonstrably, from Time to Time, the true State of our Woollen Trade; prevent the Nation from being abused and deceived by false Reports or artful Clamours. And even as to that Part 1 of it, which is too generally

* See The State of our Wool, &c. review'd, &c. p. 12.
Article 2. 3. † See Article 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. ‡ Art. 5.

The State of our Wool, &c. p. 13, &c.

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nerally held to be most exceptionable, it is so far alternative, in its Nature, as that it may be fuited to whatever shall appear to be the predominant Opinion. Have we really any Fears for the Grower, in Regard to the whole Quantity of our Wool? this takes due Care of him, by allowing an Exportation of Wool, at a competent high Duty. OR, are we to be governed by a more general Way of Thinking, viz. That (being able to do, what we never yet have done, i. e. to work up and vend it ALL OUR-SELVES) the LESS of our Wool is exported, the better; in that Case, it is but raising the Duty to an higher Pitch, and the best Provision possible is made (next to a Registry, and strict Account, such as has been mentioned) against an excessive Exportation thereof, and all its bad Consequences to the Woollen Trade of England.

It cannot be denied, but that a Duty might be set so high, as that it would be equal to a total Probibition; but long Experience has sufficiently taught us, that (without the Registry, I have described, and which we seem to dread more than any thing) such a Duty would not shut the Door, but leave it wide open for the illicit Exportation of Wool. And therefore, for the very same End, with those who profess to dislike most the Means I have proposed (namely to lessen as much as may be the Exportation of our Wool unmanufactured) I should prefer, in my Opinion, a Duty so adjusted,

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justed, as, that it might at once, excite the Care of the Government, the Guardians and Stewards of the publick Revenue, to watch it narrowly; increase the Terrors and lessen the Temptation to Smugglers, as also the Advantage to Foreigners, from our Wool so obtained, and consequently be a Means of winding up gradually our ancient Woollen Trade (as we enjoyed it in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. and in the former Part of King Charles I.) which, by all Accounts, has been running down for near a Century; chiefly, according to my way of Thinking, from this easy Mistake, of endeavouring to prevent totally the Exportation of Wool unmanufactured, instead of raising the OLD accustomed DUTY upon the Exportation of it, as the Passion of Foreigners, was found to increase for that Commodity, and as the VALUE of MONEY altered.

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