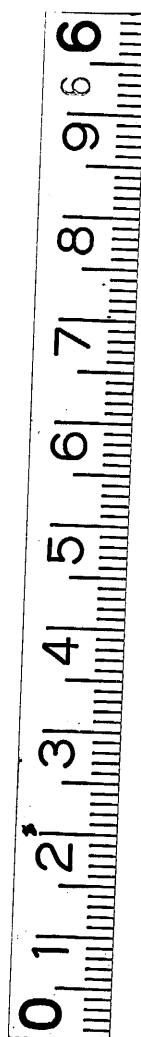


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1727
DEDUCTION
OF THE
ORIGINAL, PROGRESS,
AND
IMMENSE GREATNESS
OF THE
British Woollen Manufacture:
WITH
*An ENQUIRY whether it be not at present
in a very Declining Condition:*
The Reasons of its DECAY; and the Only
Means of its RECOVERY.

L O N D O N,

Printed; And Sold by J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane*, and
A. DODD at the *Peacock* without *Temple-Bar*. 1727.

[Price One Shilling.]

THE P R E F A C E.

A *S* all Evils are to be discovered before we can expect their Remedy, this Work proceeds in that Order.

We shall never attempt the restoring our Manufactures, if we do not first enquire into the Causes of their Decay.

The following Work does not complain of the Evil with Reproach, and to expose the Indolence of the Age, whatever Room there might have been for such a Satyr.

But seriously represents the Grievance, and earnestly moves our Superiors to apply the proper Remedies.

It is not the War, it is not the Ingratitude of This Power, or the Inveteracy of That, which can hurt the British Manufactures, at least not fatally.

Our Mischiefs are at Home, and the Remedy is at Home: We may cure the Evil with the utmost Ease.

But

P R E F A C E.

But if we will be Felo de se in Trade, if we will cut the Throat of our own Manufactures, if we will pull them down with our own Hands, we should have our Trade Buried at a Cross-way, with a Stake driven thro' it, and an Inscription, Here lies Buried the English Trade, having destroy'd it self.

This Tract regards no Faction or Parties; no Complaint against publick or private Persons or Management; but 'tis a Complaint of an unhappy Humour among us all, that we will Discourage and Destroy our own Manufactures, and ruin our selves.

May the National Wisdom restrain this Folly; may the Poor obtain such Help, and Trade such Relief, as the Distress of our Commerce and People call for, and the End of this Work, and the Author's Wish, will be fully Answered.

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ACCOUNT of the Present Condition of the MANUFACTURES of GREAT BRITAIN.

The INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I enter into the Substance of the Question now before me, and that I may make as little Preamble as possible in a Thing of such Importance, it is necessary to lay down in plain and direct Terms, so as may admit of no Cavils or Disputes, what I mean, and how I would be understood by the Words, *The Manufactures of Great Britain.*

By the Manufactures of *Great Britain* (and of which I suggest, that they are now in a declining and decaying Condition) I mean the Woollen Manufactures, such as Broad and Narrow Cloths, Serges, Kerseys, Druggets, Bays, Sayes, Perpets, Stuffs, Stockings, Hats, Flannels, and all those woollen Goods generally used for Wearing-Apparel, Furniture of Houses, and such-like necessary Purposes; and as are made by the Labour of our People, for Use or Sale at Home (that is to say, in *Great Britain*) or for Exportation Abroad, of whatever Kind, and by whatever Names; for they bear so great a Variety of Names (especially the *Norwich* and *Spittle-Fields* Goods) that it would be as endless as it is needless to enter into the Particulars.

That this Manufacture is a thing of great Importance, of a vast Magnitude, and a Value beyond all possible Calculation, I suppose I need not spend time to prove; 'tis describ'd in the best manner to be understood, by taking Notice, that it not only uses and works up all the Wool which grows in *England*, but a very great Quantity both from *Spain* and *Ireland*, *Barbary*, *Turkey*, and other Places where-ever it can be had, and of which I shall have occasion to take notice again in its Place.

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That this Manufacture was once in a flourishing Condition, vastly extended abroad, and prodigiously consum'd at home; was carried on to the Employment and Enriching of innumerable Multitudes of People, and Families of People, 'till it had made *England* (where its Center is fix'd) the most opulent, populous, wealthy, and powerful Nation in the World; all this I not acknowledge only, but if it should be disputed, am ready to make appear at large upon all Occasions.

It is likewise evident, that this flourishing Manufacture has risen from small Beginnings, and was at first rescued (as it were) out of Captivity in a strange Land, where (like *Israel* in *Egypt*) it suffer'd Bondage, and was engross'd by Foreigners who had no Title to it, having none of its Principles, no Materials for carrying it on *De Jure*, in their own Right, no, nor *De Facto*, in their Possession; but fetch'd them from us, and then arbitrarily sold back the Goods made of them to us at their own Price, enriching their People with the Profits of the Manufacture, while (*Spaniard*-like) we starv'd with the Mines of Gold in our own keeping.

From this Captive-State, this miserable abandon'd Condition, it was rescued, by the Policy and Wisdom of our Government, and the impolitick and foolish Management of the *Spaniards*, who by their Religious Tyranny, and their Civil Fury, drove their own People over to us to seek Bread and Liberty, in return for which they gave us Wealth and Trade, taught our Women to Spin, and our Men to Weave; ever since this we have made the Manufacture our own, and are now able to teach our Teachers, having infinitely improv'd the Kinds, as well as encreas'd the Quantity; have made not only innumerable new-invented Sorts, but have also made those Sorts or Kinds of Goods much better than ever the *Flemmings* were able to make them before, especially the Broad Cloths, which are improved to such a Degree, and brought to such Perfection, as they were never capable of before, or so much as to believe possible.

That by this very Article, *England*, tho' not an Inch of Land larger, either in Length or Breadth, the Soil not an Ounce richer than it was capable of being made before, the Climate not one Degree warmer, and without any one Advantage of Nature, more than it had before; yet by a moderate, and I believe a just and reasonable Calculation, between the Year 1490, in the beginning of King *Hen. VII.* when we began to manufacture our own Wool, and the Year 1726, has encreas'd her People from under two Millions, to above seven Millions,

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raised the Value of Lands so, that what was then worth 50*l. per Annum*, is now worth 1000*l. per Annum*, as may be seen by the Rate of Subsidies, and by other Rules of Calculation, and which has raised the Value of Personal Wealth to such a Degree, as admits no Comparison, no Calculation, and hardly any Imagination; insomuch that Some are of opinion, that taking the Wealth of this Nation at the Medium of Time, between the Conquest, and the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that is to say, about the Reign of *Edward II.* and excepting only the Wealth of Churches and Monasterys, which indeed was great, there is now more Silver in *England* than there was then Block Tin, more Gold than they had Copper, and more Diamonds and Pearl than they had *Bristol* Stones.

This Increase of People, and of the Real and Personal Wealth of *England*, may be said to be all owing to the Woollen Manufacture; and to bring it all to the Point, *viz.* that this Woollen Manufacture has gone on encreasing ever since, even to this Time, or (as I may more properly say) to Our time, 'till its Magnitude is such, that we may say it is too great, and that not too great for the Country only, but too great for the whole World.

It is a strange Advance made in this Argument, and at the beginning of it too, to say the Manufacture of *England* is too great for the World; but I cannot go back from it; and upon a serious Reflexion on its real Magnitude, as it now is; and yet how much greater it is possible to make it, that is to say, how many Countries, and, as I may say, Millions of People are yet unconcerned in it, and unemployed by it, I do insist, that were the Wool of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* kept entirely at home, the Quantity encreas'd as it might be, and all that Quantity manufactured at home, as it also might be, if those other Countries were set to work, the People of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* are able to make more Woollen Manufactures than all the known Inhabitants of the World would wear: To such a Perfection of Working are the People arrived; to such an immense Quantity is the Wool brought to amount, to such a prodigious Number are the People multiplied; and the last Article indeed is the most essential of all the rest, for notwithstanding the Encrease of the Wool, which is a Prodigy in it self, yet to such a Degree are the People also encreas'd, that all the Wool of *England*, however (as I say) encreas'd, and all the Wool of *Ireland*, from whence no Wool was had in those Days, and all the Wool of *Scotland*, which was not used at all in *England* in those times, is now manufactured in *England*, by less than one quarter part of our People.

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This may seem strange at first View, and especially when we see how many Thousands, nay, how many Millions of People are employ'd in this one Manufacture. But let me be allowed a short Digression, and I shall soon prove it by giving you a View of the several Countries in *England*, where the Woollen Manufactures are made, and where not.

N. B. Before I begin, I must observe, that when I say, such Counties make no Woollen Manufactures, I do not mean that many of the People might not knit their own Stockings, spin and weave Woollens for their own Use and Wearing, as in some Places they do Linnen, where yet we do not say the Linnen is carried on as a Manufacture; but it is to be understood that they make no Particular or General Manufacture for Sale, and for Trade, to be carried out of the Bounds of the Towns or Counties where they are so made.

1. The County of *Cornwall* is not known to have any Manufacture. *Devonshire* indeed, the next County immediately on this Side, is full of Manufacture; but we see nothing in *Cornwall* but Miners, and Diggers in the Earth for Lead, Copper, and Block Tin; as for the poor Women, they are employ'd in washing the Oar; and the Men who are not at work in the Mines are Refiners, Smelters, and Melters of the Oar and Mettals, or else are Husbandmen, Fishermen and Sailers; but no Woollen Manufacture.

2. The four large Counties of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surry*, and *Southampton*, have very little apparent Manufacture. In former times there were some Cloathings about *Guildford*, *Godlaming*, *Darling*, and *Farnham* in *Surrey*, and likewise at *Tenterden*, *Cranbrook*, *Goudhurst*, and in the *Wild* of *Kent*, in both which Counties they made a very good (tho' low-priz'd) Medley Cloth for the middling Peoples wear, but 'tis all gone, extinct, except a little not worth naming.

3. The great City of *London* is now eminent for the Woollen Manufacture of Stuffs, Chamlets, and several Goods, such as were formerly made at *Norwich*; but as this is in a manner confin'd to *Spittle-Fields*, and a few adjacent Streets, and to a very little in *Southwark*, it may be truly said, that not one twentieth Part of the City and County of *Middlesex* are concerned at all in it.

4. The Inland Counties of *Bucks*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Bedford*, and *Huntingdon*; these have none of them any Woollen Manufactures, except that of late Years the *Spittle-Fields* Manufacturers have employed some particular Places in those

[5]

those Counties for spinning Worsted Yarn, but 'tis sent up to *London* to be manufactured.

5. Even *Lincolnshire* it self, tho' it is the inexhaustible Fund of Wool for all the East and South-East Part of *England*, and is the chief Support of their Manufacture, yet has no Manufacture of its own, nor do we so much as see the Women and Children employ'd, or any Spinning among them; tho' it is also an exceeding large and populous County; but they are generally employ'd in Trade or Husbandry at home, or upon the Seas abroad.

6. The County of *Stafford*, and of *Chester* and *Darby*, being wholly taken up in making Cheese, breeding Horses and Cows, digging Lead, and making Crockery Ware, have very little or no Woollen Manufacture, except about *Tamworth*.

7. *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Durham*, and the East and North Riding of *Yorkshire*, are the same, and have no Woollen Manufacture, except a small Quantity of Yarn Stockings made at *Richmond* and *Barnard-Castle*, and a coarse strip'd Stuff for Hangings at *Darlington*.

8. All the Counties of *Wales* put together, produce no Manufacture for Sale, or that come out of their own Bounds, except Flannel, with a very few and very coarse Yarn Stockings.

9. Nor do the two large Counties of *Monmouth* and *Hereford*, and two Thirds of *Shropshire*, so much as pretend to any Woollen Manufacture, but are taken up with planting Orchards, making Syder, &c.

So that notwithstanding the exceeding Greatness and Extent of the Woollen Manufacture, and that (as I have said) it seems to be too great, even for the whole World, yet it employs by far the least Part of *England*, and even the least Part of the People in many of those Counties where it is made.

Nay, even in those Counties where great Branches of the Woollen Manufacture are established, yet there are other Manufactures which employ greater numbers of their People: For Example,

The four Capital Districts where the Woollen Manufacture of *England* is seated, are thus divided:

1. The West-riding of *Yorkshire*, including the East-side of *Lancashire*, the County of *Westmorland* and *Richmondshire*, and Part of *Cumberland*.

Yet in this very West-riding is the great Iron Manufacture of *Sheffield*; and the County round it, which is called *Hallamshire*, is said to employ at least an hundred thousand People.

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2. The West Side of *Wilt*s, and the whole Counties of *Gloucester*, *Warwickshire*, and *Worcester*, and part of *Shropshire*; and yet in the two Counties of *Warwick* and *Worcester* are carried on the great Hard-ware Manufacture of Iron, Brass, Steel, &c. at *Birmingham*, and the Nailors which it is known to employ are a prodigious Number of People, many more than at *Sheffield*; as also, the Manufacture of Glass at *Sturbridge*, besides several other smaller Manufactures also of different kinds; add to which, the multitude of Dairies and Cheese-makers in those particular Counties.

3. The great and populous Counties of *Devon* and *Somerset*, the most intent perhaps upon the Woollen Manufacture of any in all *Britain*, yet how is the first diverted by the fishing Trade upon both its Shores, its Cyder Trade in the *South-Hams*, and also in their Sea-affairs as well the Shipping as the Merchandize; and the other in Grazing and Digging of Lead and Coal, which employs many thousands of their People.

4. The Counties of *Essex*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk* carry on the fourth, but not the least Branch of the Woollen Manufacture, and yet they tell us there are above thirty thousand Men employed out of those three Counties always at Sea. *Suffolk* is two Thirds of it, both Land and People, employed in Dairies and feeding Cattle and Fowls for *London*; and they tell us, that the two Counties of *Essex* and *Suffolk* only, send every Year to *London* fifty thousand Head of fat black Cattle, two hundred thousand fat Sheep and Lambs, fifty thousand Firkins of Butter, and twenty thousand Barrels of Oysters, an hundred thousand fatted Calves, with two Millions of Geese and Turkeys. How many of the People all That may keep employed, let others judge for me: However it will be granted that even in these three Counties where such prodigious Manufactures are produced, as *Norwich* Stuffs, the *Sudbury* Sayes and the *Colchester* Bayes, yet not one half of the People are employed in any.

Add to this, the Multitudes of People in *Lancashire* employed in making the Cotton Manufactures, about which alone they say there are two hundred thousand People employed in the Town of *Manchester*, and within twelve Miles round it.

Add to this also, the Multitudes now employed in the same County in the Linnen Manufacture, which is so encreased of late Years there as to employ near as many as the Cotton, only that it extends over a greater compass of Land.

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Add to them all, That even in those Manufacturing Counties, where the greatest Part of the Woollen Work is carried on, and where the most People are employed by it, not the Lawyers, not the Physicians, not the Gentry, not the Clergy, not the Citizens, or Towns-people, that is to say, not the Shop-keepers, not all the Handicrafts, such as Smiths, Carpenters, Masons, Bricklayers, Shoemakers, and of the last, not their Wives or Children, so much as set a Hand, no not a Finger, to any Part of this great Manufacture, except it be to wear it out and consume it.

In a word, except the Weaving part, and the Managing part, the main Stress of the Manufacture depends upon, and is performed by the Women and Children, and that of those few Counties only.

The Conclusion from all this is directly to the Case proposed, thus:

If the Manufacture of *England* is so prodigious great, and yet employs but so small a Part of the People, what might it not be brought to, and how would it be (as I said) too great for the whole World, if all the Inhabitants, I mean all the looser Inhabitants, such as are fit to work, and who would gladly work if they could be employed, were set in upon it? What an infinite Quantity of Goods would they make, and how would they use up, not only all the Wool that *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* could produce, but even more Wool than they could produce, tho' the said Quantity was to be encreased to twice or three times as much as it is, and that none was clandestinely carried away to other Parts?

But as I said this Part should be treated as a Digression, I will not run it out too long. It comes of course next to consider the present State of this great Manufacture, how it stands, and then bring it all to these great and necessary Enquiries.

1. Whether it is under a declining and sinking Condition, or no?

2. What Effect this Decay of the Manufacture may have, and what it naturally tends to?

3. What are the Occasions of its Decay, and wherein it consists?

4. What may yet be done to revive it? With some other Observations which may fall in as we go.

And this is the Business in the following Sheets.

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C H A P. I.

Of the original State of the Woollen Manufacture of Great-Britain, with some just Deductions from what it has been in former Times to what it is Now.

AS I have observed in the Introduction that the Woollen Manufacture was (like the Children of *Israel*) rescued from a State of Captivity, and from a strange Land, we must make that out a little plainer : The Case was thus.

In the Reign of *Edward III.* of glorious Fame, tho' *England* was thought to be at that time in the most flourishing Condition that History gives us any Account of : The Glory of her Arms, the Vigour of the Monarch, and of his eldest Son, the Gaiety and Splendor of the Court were such as never were known before; the Last was the Resort of all the Nobility, Youth and Gentry of *Europe*; the second was the Admiration and Wonder of the World; the greatest Princes made their Court to them, and Kings were Captives in their Possession : *England* was the Terror of the World; The Battles of *Cressy* and *Poitiers*, and the re-instating the King of *Spain*, depos'd by his Rival, were Actions that brought all the Powers of *Europe* to stand at Gaze, and as it were to dread the turning of the Arms of *England* so much as towards their Dominions : History will confirm all the Particulars; I have no room for long Quotations :

Yet all this while Trade shared no Advantages among the Conquests of the Day; nor do we find the least Concern in any of the Councils of that Glorious Prince, or of his Ministers of State, for the Propagation of Commerce, at home or abroad.

Building publick and sumptuous Edifices, great Churches and Monasterys; making Feasts, Balls, Tournaments; adorning *Windsor-Castle*; instituting the famous Order of Knighthood; making Leagues and Alliances; expensive Interviews with Foreign Princes, such as the Emperor and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and keeping a magnificent *English* Court at *Cologne*, for almost a Year and a half at a time : These things took up the Court, and turn'd the Eyes (I had almost said turn'd the Heads) of the Nation, during that whole Reign. Things which tended to the Glory of the Kingdom, and the Honour of the Majesty of the King, as *Nebuchadnezzar* said of his great *Babel* that he had built; but, as we may add, these glo-

[9]

glorious things gutted *England* of its Wealth, made the Monarch powerful and his People poor.

In all his Parliaments we see not one Act for the Encouragement of Trade, for the enlarging Commerce, for Employment of the Poor, for setting up Manufactures; to speak the Truth, I question if the Word Manufacture or Manufacturer were known in the Country; and, for ought I see, as the Taylors were the Only Merchants, so the Shoemakers were the Greatest Manufacturers in the Kingdom.

The bountiful Hand of Heaven had then, and from the Beginning, given *England* the greatest Gift of Nature that the whole World could be said to enjoy, viz. the Wool : The diligent and sensible Nations round us understood it, and how to value it; and, which was more, understood how to improve it; and for that end, throng'd to the very outmost Bounds of the Continent of *Europe* (this way) to be near it, and that they might bring it over as cheap as possible.

By this I mean the *Netherlands*, where the industrious People, by the Help of the Wool from *England*, fell to work in such a Manner as that there they made then, as we have since done in *England*, Cloaths for all the known Parts of the World.

This brought the many Thousands and Millions of People to inhabit those drowned, overflowed Bogs and Marshes, which before that were scarce thought fit for human Creatures to dwell in, and which were dwelt in only as Retreats and Fastnesses to secure the fugitive Nations from the Incursions of the *Gauls*, and afterwards of the *Romans*.

This very Trade brought People, and built Cities and Castles, even where the Sea allowed no footing, and the Land no Foundation; from hence, I say, the numberless Throngs of People came to dwell in that Country, and by degrees, by the Encrease of their Wealth, and by their indefatigable Industry (all the Effects of Trade and Manufacture) have brought it to be the richest Soil, the fullest of People and of great Cities and Towns, of any Country in the World.

All this while *England* lay neglected to the last Degree; her Sons knocking their Heads against Stone-walls, and ranging the Field of War in foreign Countries, pursued their own Poverty, and sought Misery, for the Glory of their Monarch.

But at home it was all a Miscellany of Sorrow: Villainage and Vassalage comprised the Poor; Knighthood and Esquireship took up the middle Gentry; and Glory dwelt only among the Barons and Princes.

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All the Trade we read of, was carrying their Wool abroad, to give Employment to the Poor of foreign Countries, viz. the *Dutch* and the *Flemings*; and this Wool, we may say, was the grand Fund of the Wealth, both of King and People.

If the King made any Wars, and demanded Subsidies of his Parliament, as was too frequently the Case in the time of *Edw. III.*, the grand Article of *Ways and Means* was to grant the King ten Shillings a Pack upon Wool, or twenty Shillings a Pack upon Wool, like our two Shillings and four Shillings per Pound upon Land; and once they came to such a Height, (God forbid we should see the like of our Lands) that the Parliament gave the King one Half Part of all the Wool it self for his Wars in *France*; by the same Token that (as King *Charles II.* did too often) all the Money was spent, and no War with *France* begun neither; nor did the War break out 'till three Years after; so that when it came, they were fain to give the King new Subsidies again; that is to say, another Tax upon the Exportation of Wool, and so over and over again several times.

In this State of Indolence, or rather horrid Ignorance and Blindness, was this whole Nation, as it were, Philtred and Bewitched, notwithstanding all the Glory, the Wisdom, the Policy and good Government which King *Edward III.* was so famed for.

Like People buried alive in Sloth and Idleness they sat still, ploughed and sowed as much Corn as served just to feed them, sheer'd their Sheep every Year, and, as it may be said, threw away their Wool; went to the Wars, were knocked on the Head for the Honour of *Old England*, and the Glory of their great Kings; and this was the Round of Life, even from the Nobleman to the meanest Vassal, Peasant or Labourer in the Nation.

As to the poor Women and Children, they sat at home, fared hard, lived poor and idle: the Women drudg'd at the Husbandry, and the Children sat still, blow'd their Fingers, pick'd Straws; and both might be said not to live, but to starve out a wretched time, then Die, and go, *Where*—— who knows!

As to Manufacture or Employment, we do not see room so much as to believe that they knew any thing of it; any farther than it may be to make some very ordinary things which Nature and Necessity put them upon for their own Covering, and hardly that.

In this miserable Condition lay the Ancestry of this diligent Nation; who being but once let into the Method of working

[11]

working the Wool, and some Authority supporting as well as encouraging them by stopping the Stream of its Exportation, soon tasted the Sweets of it, soon fell heartily upon it, presently became Masters of the Performance, and in time supplanted the Encroachers; engrossed the Wool, for it was their own before; redeem'd the Captives, and at last brought not only the Manufactures, but the Manufacturers too, over to *England*; for thousands of the People followed the Manufacture for Bread, and that they might get Employment; and this began the multiplying of the People too, as well as of their Wealth; for as Trade brings Wealth, so Work brings the Workmen together.

It is just thus still in *England*: Where-ever we see the Manufactures seated, there we see Multitudes of People collected; the Labour gathers the Hands: and this was the first Occasion of making those strict exclusive Laws for Parish Settlements, that the particular Parishes where such Manufactures were set up might not be oppressed with the Numbers of Poor flocking in from other Parishes.

Where the first Manufacturers settled or set up, the unemployed People presently throng'd about them for Business and Wages; and we find it to this day, that where the Manufactures are, the Country is always exceeding populous; This 'tis evident the Manufactures did not find, but made it so; 'tis true the Manufacture in most Places pitch'd its Situation in great Towns or Cities, such as *Norwich*, *Colchester*, *Canterbury*, *Exeter*, and the like; but 'tis also certain that those Cities, and especially the adjacent Countries, are grown infinitely more populous by the settling of those Manufactures among them, than they were before.

This is farther proved by a general View of those Parts of *England* where the People are not thus employed; for where the Inhabitants of a Country consist only, or chiefly, of Landlord and Tenant, Gentry and Shopkeepers, you see the Country much less throng'd; it is true that the Multitudes which live together in those Places where the Manufactures are established as above, do influence all the rest of the Nation by causing a greater Cultivation of the Lands, and greater Improvement of Estates, for Provisions, which the other consume; the Corn and the Cattle being brought from the remotest Parts for their Subsistence, and by consequence the People are encreas'd there also:

Yet we see the Country is inhabited in a more even manner, the People live more at large and dispersed, as the Farms and

and the Lands which they cultivate call them; they are spread as it were over the whole face of the Land.

We see no such Villages there as *Leeds* or *Hallifax*, *Sheffield* or *Birmingham*, *Manchester* or *Froom*, *Taunton* or *Troubridge*, in most of which, or on very little Ground near them, twenty to forty thousand People are said severally to inhabit; and in three or four of them, as in *Hallifax*, *Manchester*, *Birmingham*, and *Froom*, many more.

But to go back to the Introduction of this Change: It was in the Reign of *K. Hen. VII.* and not before, when the *English* began the bold Adventure of Manufacturing their own Wool, (I mean began it in Quantity.) There had some Attempt been made before, and we are told of some Adventurers in Trade who having been over in *Flanders* and learned the Manner of it, but especially having seen the Advantage of it, had brought over with them so much Knowledge as to learn the People to spin, (so many of them at least as their Stocks could compass to employ) and others to Comb and Card the Wool, and so on, thro' all the other Parts of the Work; which went a little way, and was promising to go farther in time.

But it is to be observed, that from the first Part of the Reign of *Henry VI.* and thro' all that long Reign, and thro' the Reign of *Edward IV.* and *Richard III.* the whole Nation was miserably embroiled in the Civil Confusions, such as the Wars between the White Rose and the Red; the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*; and the several Insurrections and Revolutions of Affairs which naturally attended those Quarrels.

Every one knows that War is no Friend to Trade: Arts and Improvements, much less Manufacture, and the Employment of the Poor, never plant, or at least never thrive, in the Flame and Heat of War, especially too the worst of the kind, an Intestine, Civil, or to speak justly of it, an Unnatural War.

Times of Feud and Faction, Rebellion, Insurrection, killing and plundering, are no times for Improvement; and this may be a just Reason why the Beginnings of the Manufacture, which I have mentioned as above, took no considerable root during the Confusions of War, both Civil and Foreign Wars, but especially Civil Wars, which for sixty Years almost without Intermission vex'd this Nation.

Perhaps a Manufacturer did, or suppose he had seated himself at any particular Town or Place in the Country, had brought together some People, and had instructed them in the Work, viz. some Women to spin, some Men to comb, to weave,

weave, to dress the Cloth, and had built a Fulling Mill to thicken the Cloths, and the like: Then come the two Armies into the Field, and they march over the Country where the poor Manufacturer is settled: If it be a friendly Army, and they are of the same Side, then the kindest thing that could be expected was to call all the Poor Workmen away, especially the young able-bodied Fellows, with their Bows and Arrows to encrease the Army: If it were the Enemy, then they all run away for fear of being forced. As for the Women and Children, they are no body without the Men, for they cannot spin the Wool 'till the Men comb it, and when they have spun the Yarn, 'tis of no use when the Men are gone that should weave it; and perhaps the Loom which it should be wrought in, burnt by the Plunderings and Ravagings of the Soldiers.

By this means (and I cannot doubt but this was often the Case) the Beginning of the Manufacture was check'd and put back, the poor Undertaker ruin'd and undone; and so you heard no more of the Attempt for some Years.

This is as good an Account as I believe can be given why the Woollen Manufacture began among us no sooner; why it had no Encouragement in *England*, at least no considerable Encouragement, 'till the time of King *Henry VII.* and about the Year 1480, to 1490.

The Reign of King *Henry* was the first *Halcyon* Season which *England* had felt, not for some Years only, but for some Ages, as will appear at large in the Histories of those Times: Either Wars abroad, or Wars at home, had vex'd the Nation, from the unfortunate Reign of *Richard II.* to that time; all the Circumstances of those Reigns will confirm it, I need not quote the Particulars, which are too many; the Nation was always in a Hurry and a Fright; here the Oppressions of Tyrants, there the Rebellions of People; here the Kings depos'd and murther'd, there the People ravag'd and plunder'd; now one King runs away, then another. *Hen. VI.* was upon the Throne, and in Prison, alternately, five or six times; *Edward IV.* upon the Throne, and fled out of the Country, twice at least; and so among the rest.

But *Henry VII.* took new Measures, and manag'd the Publick Affairs with the utmost Dexterity. He first humbled the too powerful Nobility, so to prevent Caballing and Rebellion; brought them to be all dependent upon him, and gradually impoverish'd them, while he hoarded up immense Sums of Money himself: In a word, his Reign was a whole Scene of Intrigue and Design, among the great Ones; the King ever talking of War, and blustering at his Neighbours as if he would

[14]

would quarrel with every body; and got great Sums of Money from his Parliament to begin a War (especially against *France*) but put the Money in his Pocket, and never made any War at all, and (as some say) never intended it.

But in the mean time (as these Cabals and Politicks at Court concerned no body but themselves) his Reign, as to the People, was all pacifick and quiet, and the Consequence was visible, for now Industry began to hold up its Head, Trade began to spread, the Merchants began to set up, and Navigation to be encouraged; the People of *England* began to look abroad and about them, and Colonies and Factories began in this very Reign to be planted, foreign Countries to be discovered, and new Worlds looked into; and Some tell us that *Christopher Columbus* having now discovered *America*, came over hither, and made the first Offer for a farther Discovery to King *Henry*, and particularly to take possession of it for him, but that the King (by the meer Narrowness of his Soul) declin'd the Expence of it.

Also 'tis affirm'd, that several Voyages were made in this King's Reign to the Western Shoars of *Africk*, and to the Gold Coast, and great Advantages made by it to the Merchants, bringing pure Gold back for the most worthless Trifles: But this is not to the present Purpose, only thus far, that this being a Reign of profound Peace, Arts and Commerce began to relish with the People, and they began to turn their Hands to several kinds of Improvement.

Among the rest, this of the Woollen Manufacture came principally into play. The King, who had liv'd abroad, as well in *Flanders* as in *France* and *Brittany*, had seen with Regret, how not the *Flemings* only, but the *French* grew rich at the Expence of *England*, and how even they could not refrain mocking the Sloth and Weakness of the *English*, that should let their Wool be carried out of the Kingdom, to be work'd up into Cloths and Stuffs; and in a word, be manufactured abroad, and then buy even the Cloths they wore of their own Wool so manufactured abroad.

It must be confess'd it deserv'd Reproach, and when we come to look back upon it at this distance, we cannot help wondering at the Madness of the People; but there are so many other Examples of the unaccountable Stupidity of those Ages, especially of the common People, that if they were all to be brought upon the Stage, we should cease to wonder at any thing of this kind; as particularly, how they were blindly given up to the absolute Tyranny of the Nobility, in Civil Matters, and to the absolute Government of the ignorant Priests, on the Side of Religion.

But

[15]

But not to dwell upon the Folly of those Ages, I proceed to take a View of the Advances our Ancestors made in the recovering this glorious Trade; and even in that, I shall not enlarge upon the little Beginnings, and unsuccessful Attempts, which (as above) were made by private Purfes, and on private Experiments, before the Reign of King *Henry VII.* for if we may believe *Fame*, there were several private Essays made, for the engaging in, and carrying on a Manufacture of Woollen Cloth, before that Time, some of which began to promise Success too; and the People began to relish the Thing, and taste the Profit of it before.

Had it not been so, we can hardly think that King *Henry* could, all at once, bring the People of *England* to a general Manufacturing, so as effectually to stop the Exportation of the Wool, as he certainly did in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, or thereabout.

But several People having attempted it before, some without Success, and some with; and the Thing beginning gradually to encrease and get ground in the Reign of *Edward IV.* the King, who (as above) having seen the innumerable Numbers of People working at it abroad, and being thereby fully sensible of the Advantage it would be to his own Subjects, if they could be brought to engage in it at home, first set heartily about it among his own Subjects, encouraging those that were engag'd in it, and promising Encouragement to others to go about it; so that he brought several Men of Interest among his Nobility, and others, to espouse it, and the Manufacture was set on foot in that manner in several Parts of *England*, and that with apparent Success; as particularly, (if we may credit private Accounts) the first Appearance of the Woollen Manufacture of Cloth was at *Wakefield*, in the West Riding of *Yorkshire*, being encouraged by an ancient Knight and Favourite of King *Henry*, of the Name of *Savil*, and some other Persons of Rank, who had Estates in that Country, and who encourag'd their Tenants and Vassals to the Work. This *Savil*, I suppose to be some of the Ancestors of the late Marquis of *Hallifax*, one of whose Titles is taken from the Town of *Eland*, in the same Part of the Country, and upon the Banks of the *Calder*, not far from *Wakefield*, of whom the Posterity are Lords *Eland* to this Day.

The next Place to which the Manufacture spread, was the Town of *Okingsham* in *Berkshire*; where it did not continue long, or at least was not contain'd in the narrow Bounds of that small Place, but spread it self to the larger Towns of *Basingstoke* and *Andover* in *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire*, and to

Reading

[16]

Reading and *Newberry*, in which four last Towns it continued even 'till within these few Years, to an extraordinary Magnitude; but it is now remov'd farther West, into *Wiltshire*, *Gloucestershire*, &c. Then the Countess of *Richmond*, Mother to King *Henry VII*, encouraged some money'd Men to set it up again in the Villages about *Woking*, on the River *Wey*, where, or near which, she liv'd, with a great and noble Hospitality, doing good to all the poor People round about her, and particularly by thus settling them to work, and that from thence began the Cloathing about *Guildford*, *Godlaming*, *Darking*, &c. all Towns in *Surrey*; and in other Places thereabouts, and which continues there (tho' decay'd) to this Day.

It was some time after these private Persons undertook the manufacturing of Wool, that King *Henry*, finding his Subjects begin to improve, and that the Goods they made were able to supply the ordinary Demand, or near it; caused the Exportation of Wool to be prohibited, and foreign-made Manufactures also to be excluded, encouraging his People thereby to make larger Quantities of those Goods at home.

Nor did there need any greater Encouragement to the Manufacture, than thus shutting out the foreign Manufactures; for this encreasing the Demand at home, the Price encreas'd of course, which sufficiently rewarded the Labours of the Workmen, and encreas'd their Wages.

I need not bring any Vouchers to prove, that this Encrease of Wages improved the Manufacture, or encreas'd the Number of the Workmen; for now, not only the *English* fell into the Trade with Courage, and with Multitudes, but (as above) Multitudes follow'd the Manufacture out of *Flanders*, encouraged by the Gain, and wanting Employment at home.

Nor were these of the labouring Poor only, but abundance of the Master Manufacturers, and of those the most skilful in the Workmanship; by whom the People here were soon instructed and perfected in the Knowledge, not of the Art only in general, such as in the Sorting, Combing, Carding, and otherwise managing the Wool, in Spinning, Weaving, Knitting, &c. but also in the several kinds of Goods fitted for the Markets, and demanded as well abroad as at home.

Thus the *English* secur'd the Trade to themselves, and became first Masters of the Woollen Manufacture; and the very *Flemings* themselves, who had for so many Ages eat the Bread out of their Mouths, were now their Assistants and Instructors, in compleating them in the Knowledge of Dressing, Sheering, Perfecting, and Finishing the working Part; thousands of the said *Flemings*, and their Families, coming over
hither

[17]

hither for Work, and settling among them, and whose Posterity became *English*, immediately after them, scarcely reserving their foreign Names, or changing them, to conceal their Original.

For it is to be observ'd, that it was not so easy a Matter for Foreigners to be naturalized among the *English* in those times, as it is now, which made those that found means to settle here, and turn their Hands to the Manufacture, take what care they could to conceal themselves, and so to change their Sir-names, or at least shorten and abridge them into differing Sounds, that they might be made to speak *English* as much as possible, that is to say, to sound like *English*: for Example; *Jean de Somieres* would be called *John Sommers*; *Guillaume de Tournay*, *William Turner*; *Estienne D'Anvers*, *Stephen Danvers*; *Jaques de Franquemont*, *James Franks*; and so of the rest; by which all the *Flemish*, *Dutch*, and *Walloon* Names were presently turn'd into *English*. And thus of those who had two or three Christian Names (as is common among Foreigners) they turn'd the second Christian Name into a Sir-name, and from thence 'tis said we have so many Families of such Sir-names among us to this Day; for Example, *Jean Jaques de Buromeir*, leaving out the Sir-name, was called *John James*; *Guillaume Jacob Van Platten*, *William Jacobs*; *Guillaume Henry de Villangen*, *William Henry*; and many more of this kind, as we find the *French* Refugees of the last Age are doing at this very time; *Jean de Morlaix* is now *John Morley*; and but the other Day, *Jaques de Guilote* call'd himself *James Gill*, and the like is done every Day, so that the Families are no more known to be foreign. But this is a Digression.

We find very little upon Record, relating to the Wool being carried into *Flanders* after this; or of the *Flemings* making broad Cloth and Stuffs, nor indeed are our Laws much concerned about those Affairs, except that King *Henry VII*. towards the End of his Reign, had some Laws made to regulate the Lengths and Breadths of the Cloths made here, in order to bring the Clothiers into a Regularity of working, and that the several sorts of Goods should be all alike, equal to one another, and as near as possible of an equal Goodness and Value; so to establish the Price of every kind at Market, and prevent Frauds.

Hence came the fixing of Marks and Seals to the Cloths; at first, every Maker striving to add a Reputation to his own Manufacture, and pretending it to be superiour in its Fineness or Goodness, to his Neighbours, set his Mark at the End, wrought into the Cloth, in some different Colour, or (as after some time was practis'd) Leaden Seals, with the Maker's
D Name,

Name, and the Weight of the Cloth stamp'd upon them; and hence after some time the several Towns and Corporations, denominating the Manufacture from the Place, obtained Privileges and Immunities, Powers and Authority to regulate the Length, and Breadth, and Goodness of the several Manufactures made in those Towns respectively, stamping the Leaden Seals with the Town Marks or Arms, as at *Colchester*, at *Norwich*, at *Leeds*, and several other Places.

It is true that in this Interval between stopping the Wool from being exported, and bringing the Manufacture at home to a Perfection, two Inconveniencies happened.

1. The King's Revenue was greatly impaired, and even the Parliament were put to Difficulties for *Ways* and *Means* upon extraordinary Occasions to raise Money for the King's Business; for the usual Fund for raising Money, when the ordinary Subsidies, Tenths and Fifteenths were not sufficient, was by granting the King twenty Shillings or forty Shillings, as the Publick Occasion called for it, upon each Pack of Wool; whereas now the Wool being detained at home, the Clothiers paying no Duty upon that which they bought at home, nor any Tax upon the Cloths when made, the Revenue to the Crown was stopt at once; and this perhaps might be the reason, that notwithstanding the Prohibition in *Henry VII's* time, which perhaps was temporary and so might be expir'd, we find the Wool was exported again to *Flanders* in the Reign of King *Henry VIII*; and in the Fourth of King *Edward VI*, we find mention made of a *Wool Fleet* of sixty Sail bound to *Antwerp*, which I take to be partly also occasioned by this next Article, viz.

2. That the Clothing being yet young in *England*, tho' greatly improved (considering the time it had been set up in) the Manufacturers were not able to work up the whole Quantity of Wool which grew in *England*, and so the Government was obliged either to allow or wink at its being carried abroad, as it certainly was all the Reign of *Henry VIII*, and of *Edward VI* also, tho' in the said fourth Year of *Ed. VI* they consulted much upon erecting a Mart for the *English* Cloth and Block Tin to be establish'd at *Southampton*; so that none of those Goods should be sold at any other Place, for the South-West Parts of *England*, and at *Hull* for the North Parts; this last to accommodate the Merchants of the East-Seas called the *Hans*, and also for the Ease and Advantage of the Northern Clothiers in *England*; for that it was observed even then, that the Clothing Trade flourished in those early Times in the West-Riding of *Yorkshire*, viz. at *Wakefield*, *Halifax*, *Leeds*, &c. more than in any other Part of *England*.
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However, as I have said, that the Clothiers were not yet able to work up all the Growth of the Wool in *England*; so there seemed to be a Necessity to let some Part of it be sent abroad; yet it was resolved in King *Edward's* Council, it seems, to stop the Fleet which was just then going for *Antwerp*, and to have the Wool kept at home, to encourage the Mart intended to be erected at *Southampton*: But the Fleet was sailed out of *Dover* Harbour, and out of the River of *Thames*, before the Order of Council was passed, and could reach them; and so the Wool went away; and the King's Death following soon after, those Resolves came to Nothing for that time.

In the next Reign, *Philip II*, King of *Spain*, marrying Queen *Mary* of *England*, it was not to be expected that a Prohibition so much to the Prejudice of the Trade of the *Netherlands*, which were King *Philip's* proper Dominion, should pass in *England*; so that we have Reason to believe the Prohibition of sending Wool over the Seas, was at least suspended for that Reign; and what happen'd in the next, we shall have frequent Occasion to mention as we go on.

Thus you see the Infant State of the Woollen Manufacture; from what rational Measures it received its first Encouragement in *England*, and how gradually it came on; for we must also observe, that as it was a thing of vast Magnitude, as well as of the utmost Importance to this Nation, so it was not easily, much less suddenly, brought to Perfection; the Stream or Channel of so great a Commerce was not soon changed, tho' our People came into it with Chearfulness, and made wonderful Progress for the time; yet *This Rome* was not built in a Day, it was many Years, nay Ages, before it came to Perfection.

The first Beginnings of it I take to have been in the Reign of *Edward IV*, that is to say, of its being attempted by private Hands: The first publick Countenance it receiv'd, was at nearest about the Year 1480, in the time of *Henry VII*, and it was from thence to the Year 1560 (viz.) under Queen *Elizabeth*, before it came to its Perfection; so that it was above an hundred and twenty Years, as we may call it, in its State of *Nonage*, tho' all the while encreasing and growing, and in a promising View of a prosperous Magnitude, the same which we have since seen it arrive to.

It had indeed a most glorious Patron (or Patroness) and Protector in Queen *Elizabeth*; who not only promoted and encouraged it at home, but also extended the Trade for the Consumption of it abroad; for in her Time, the several Branches of the *English* Commerce were extended into almost all Parts of the known World; the *Turkey* Trade

[20]

Trade, and the *Muscovy* Trade established; the Colonies in *America* discovered and planted, by all which the Woollen Manufacture obtained a Vent in foreign Markets, and those great Branches of its Consumption, which have since been so large, and are still the most considerable, were first established in her time, particularly (I say) that of *Turkey* and *Muscovy*.

But nothing contributed so effectually to the Prosperity of the Woollen Manufacture in this Nation, and which may be said (under the wise Conduct of that glorious Queen) to compleat the whole Fabrick, giving the mortal Stroke to, unhinging the whole Trade in, and shutting it for ever out from, the *Low-Countries*, as the long and bloody War between the King of *Spain* and his Subjects in those Countries, on account of the Liberties and Religion of the People.

By this, the People were distracted and separated, the Nobility murdered, the Towns ruin'd, the Country plunder'd, the United Provinces (now call'd the *States-General*) entirely broken off from the King of *Spain*'s Government; thousands of the People fled over to *England*, where they were kindly received, hospitably relieved, courteously entertained, and (which was above all the rest) encouraged to set up their Manufactures in the Towns and Corporations, wherever they pleas'd; and this encreas'd and compleated the manufacturing Trade in *England*. And thus we have brought it within View (at least) of its present State.

CHAP. II.

Of the Flourishing Circumstances of the English Manufactures in the Ages past, both Abroad and at Home; with a summary Account of its Gradations.

IT was not to be reckon'd a small Part of the Encrease of the Woollen Manufacture in *England* (considering its Original was from Abroad) that it was made capable of supplying the Demands of the Home Trade, and was considerable enough to cloath its own People: Nor was it under above an hundred Years Improvement from its beginning, that this could be attained to, as is Noted above.

The Manufacturers abroad not only out-work'd us, but under-work'd us; they made their Goods both better and cheaper; the *English* had great Advantages, but no Experience, so that

[21]

that still some of the nicer and better Manufactures were made in *Flanders* and *Holland*, nor was there any avoiding it at first.

But when the *Flemings* (persecuted and terrified by the Cruelty and Persecution of the Duke *D'Alva*) fled over hither, and Queen *Elizabeth* gave them Protection and Encouragement here, the *English* then became absolute Masters of the Manufactures, and from thence we may Date the Perfection of their Skill; then all foreign Importation might be said to cease, and the carrying abroad of the Wool was made Criminal.

But let us see how its Consumption went on.

1. At Home; the whole Country was cloathed, Poor and Rich; nothing so fine, but it was to be had in *Gloucestershire* and *Wiltshire*, *Worcestershire* and *Barkshire*: *Jack of Newbury* was a Clothier superior to any that are to be found among us at this Time, by many Thousands, as Money went then; and Mr. *Kenrick's* Will, of St. *Christopher's* (who was originally a Clothier, and then a Cloth Merchant, dealing to *Dort*) testifies how considerable the Trade was by that Time, (*viz.* King *James I.*) when he left above 40000*l.* in Gifts and Charities, besides the Bulk of his Estate.

2. But let us also take a View of its Encrease Abroad, from Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, besides its being able fully to supply all the People at Home.

1. That Queen established a flourishing Company, called the *Levant* Merchants (the same we now call the *Turkey* Company) by which she extended the Trade of the *English*, for their fine Broad Cloths, into the several Courts of *Persia*, *Turkey*, and *Egypt*; for either the Queen, or the *Turkey* Company (I am not sure which) making some Presents to the Grand Seignior of fine *English* Cloth, of such exquisite Workmanship for the Fineness of the Cloth, and of such beautiful Colours, being dyed Scarlet and Crimson, the said Grand Seignior, and the Grand Vizier, caused fine Robes or Gowns to be made of the said Cloths; and also fine Vests, after their manner, which being furred with Sables and rich Furrs, presented them much about the same time from the Great Duke (so the *Russian* Emperor was then call'd) of *Muscovy*, made a most magnificent Appearance; the Grand Seignior and his Courtiers were so pleased with them, that they soon became the Mode or Wear of all the great Officers, and of the Grand Seignior himself, and so again of the Viziers or Viceroyes of their remotest Provinces, and the same at the Court of *Persia*.

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Thus in a few Years, the fine *English* Cloth became the Robes of Majesty, and (as it were) the Badge of Greatness and Glory, at *Constantinople*, and at *Ispahan*, at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and at *Aleppo* in *Asia*, and every where else among the *Mahometans*, where they had Money sufficient to purchase them; and thus it continues to this Day, which is still more strange than all the rest.

2. The same *Levant* Company included the Trade to *Alexandria* in the Mouth of the great River *Nile*, by which all the Country of *Egypt* was supplied; and not only the great Court of the Vizier of *Grand Cairo*, (who, tho' a Subject or Slave of the Grand Seignior, yet keeps a Court almost as great and as magnificent as the Emperor his Master) but also the same Cloths were convoyed to *Suez*, a Sea-Port of the *Turks* in the *Red Sea*, and thence by Water to *Judde*, or *Ieddo*, the Sea-Port to the City of *Medina*, the great Center of the *Mahometan* Superstition, where the Riches and Magnificence of their Priests is not to be describ'd; and where they are still cloath'd in the same manner, especially on their Days of Ceremony.

3. The same *Levant* Company extended the Trade for *English* Cloth to the City of *Venice*, at the bottom of the *Adriatick* Gulph, where they drove a very great and advantageous Trade; for I suppose that the Trade of *Smyrna* and *Scanderoon*, and the Caravans by *Aleppo* to *Persia*, were not at that time found out by the *English*, but were carried on (if at all) by the Merchants of *Venice*; who at that time engross'd indeed all the Commerce of the East, imported the Spices and all the rich Goods of the *Indies*, by the Gulph of *Persia*, and by the Caravans of *Bassora* and *Bagdat* to *Aleppo*, and sent back by the same Conveyance such *European* Goods as those Countries demanded; among which, the fine Broad Cloths of *England*, soon after that time, began to be the most acceptable, and were indeed of the greatest Value of any thing of that kind in the World.

4. Likewise in this Queen's Reign, the Passage to *Arch-Angel*, or the *White Sea*, being discovered, the *English* Merchants found Means to carry on a Trade from that Port, by Water-Carriage, to the great City of *Muscovy*, a little way excepted, where their Goods were carried by Land about sixty Miles only.

Here they also found a Market for their rich Cloths, in the great Duke's Court; and upon this a new Society for Commerce was erected, and were call'd the *Muscovy* Company; who brought back a very gainful Return in Sables, Ermins, and other rich Furrs, the Produce of the wild and barren Desarts of *Siberia* and the North.

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N. B. These *Muscovy* Merchants found the Way, some time after this, to pass by the great River *Volga*, to *Astracan*, and thence into the *Caspian Sea*, an Inland Navigation (reckoning from *Jerowslaw*, where they first embarked their Goods) of very near 2000 Miles on one River, viz. the *Volga*; hence (unwearied in their Search after new Worlds of Trade) they pass'd the *Caspian*, landed in *Georgia*, pass'd over the Mountains of *Armenia*, and reach'd into the Heart of the Kingdom of *Persia*, where they found an extraordinary Reception, sold their fine Cloths at an extravagant Price, such as was even surprizing to themselves; and brought back Bales of raw Silk to a very great Advantage also; so that notwithstanding the extraordinary Charges of so exceeding long a Travel, they made a very profitable Voyage.

These two new Trades gave a very great Encouragement to the *English* Merchants, and particularly to the Manufacture of *English* Cloth, which now obtain'd such a Reputation over the whole Trading World, that nothing was equally valuable in any, or perhaps in all the Courts of *Europe* and *Asia*.

5. In the latter End of this Queen's Reign, the same Manufactures were demanded in an exceeding manner in the Northern Parts of the Empire, and the Countries bordering on the *Baltick*; and this Trade naturally fell into the Hands of the *Hans*, that is to say, the Society of Merchants who call'd themselves the *Hans*, a Word signifying a *Brotherhood*, or an *United Company*; and because there were so many (for there was once no less than Seventy two Cities of them) they were called the *Hans* Towns; these carried on the Trade of the North, as the *Venetians* did that of the South and East, mentioned above.

By these Towns, the *English* Manufacture was indeed wonderfully extended, that is to say, into all the Countries in the *Baltick*, the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, the Coasts of *Mecklenberg*, both the *Pomerens*, *Prussia*, *Courland*, *Livonia*, *Easthonia*, &c. and up the great Rivers of those Countries, into the very Heart of the Empire, and of all the Northern Countries; for Example,

1. By the City of *Bremen*, one of the chief of the *Hans* Towns, the *English* Manufacture passed up the *Weser*, into all the Circle of *Westphalia*, into the Countries of *Lunenburg*, *Hessia*, and some part of the *Lower Saxony*.

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[24]

2. By the City of *Hamburg*, another of the *Hans Towns*, they had the like Passage into the Heart of the Dominions of the Empire, and even to the Hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria*; for the *Elb* carries its Navigation, by it self, and other Navigable Rivers, into and thro' the Electorates of *Saxony* and *Brandeburgh*, up to the great City of *Prague*, the Capital of *Bohemia*.

3. By the City of *Lubeck*, the Capital and first of the *Hans Towns*, to all the Kingdom of *Sweden*; that City having at that time the Possession and Government of all *Schonen*, and the whole Commerce of the Kingdom of *Sweden*; (whose Power in Shipping was at that time very low) and the *Hans* were Masters of the Sea in all that Part of the World.

4. By the City of *Stetin*, another *Hans Town*, situate on the great River *Oder*, and by which the *Stetiners* carried on the like Trade into *Silesia*, *Lusatia*, *Austria*, and into *Poland*.

5. By the City of *Danzick*, another *Hans*, and by the Trade of that City upon the great River *Vistula*, the *English* Manufactures were spread into the Heart of *Poland*, and even to the Frontiers of *Hungaria*.

6. By all the Sea-Ports of *Koningsburg*, *Riga*, *Revel*, and *Narva*, and the several Rivers call'd the *Düna*, the *Niemen*, the *Pregel* and the *Narve*; by all which, the *English* Merchants found an exceeding Vent for the Consumption of the *English* Cloths, especially the Northern Cloathing of *Leeds*, *Wakefield*, and *Halifax*, call'd in general *Yorkshire* Cloth; which being not so fine, or dyed in such costly Colours as that which was sold into *Persia*, *Muscovy* and the *Levant*, yet suiting best with those Northern Climates, the Merchants found the Quantities which sold there exceeding great, and the Price sold for very encouraging.

7. *France* and *Spain* also, tho' the last was generally embroil'd with *England* almost all that Reign, were yet (during the rising Prosperity of the *English* Manufacture) glad to come into the Trade of it, and especially the Former took off great Quantities every Year; for *France* had not yet set their Hands to work to imitate (much less to rival) the *English*, in this particular Piece of Improvement. As for the *Spaniards*, the Peace or Truce between *Spain* and the *States-General*, which was first settled for twelve Years only, by which the *Spaniards* were obliged to acknowledge the *Dutch*, or *United Provinces*, to be a Free State; as it brought on with it a Peace, or a good Correspondence (at least) between *England* and *Spain*, so it wonderfully encreas'd the *British* Commerce, and

[25]

and especially the Consumption of the *English* Manufactures in all the Provinces of *Europe*, where they had been obstructed (if not prohibited) before.

Particularly the *Dutch*, by the Navigation of the *Rhine* and the *Maes* (two great Rivers, and one of them, without Comparison, the greatest River for Trade and Inland Navigation in *Europe*) carried those Goods up into the middle of the Southern Countries of the Empire; for now the *English* Woollen Cloth was become the general Favourite of *Europe*, and the Manufactures of *England* were the chief Article at the great Fairs of *Ausburg*, *Nuremberg*, *Franckfort*, and *Leipsick*, the greatest Marts of *Europe* at that time, if not in the World; and which continue in a flourishing Condition to this Day, tho' sensibly declining in that particular Article which was their first Rise and Foundation; I mean that of the *English* Woollen Manufacture, as I shall shew in its Place.

By this means the *English* Manufacture, which the *Dutch* at that time gladly promoted, extended it self not only into the several Countries adjoining to those Rivers, but into other Countries, by the additional Help of other Navigable Rivers running into them, or running thro' other Provinces not far from them; such as

1. The *Moselle*, falling into the *Rhine* at *Coblents*, and taking into it the *Saar*, by which the Trade was supplied into *Lorraine*, the Country of *Trier*, the North-East Parts of *France*, the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and into all that rich and fruitful Country between the *Saar* and the *Rhine*.

2. The *Main*, a River Navigable almost 200 Miles, into the Circle of *Franconia*, and to the Countries of *Wurtzburgh*, *Bamberg*, *Baden*, and many other of the most populous Parts of *Germany*, passing then by *Franckfort au Main*, and falling into the *Rhine* at *Mentz*.

3. The *Neckar*, a Navigable River also, running thro' the fruitful rich Country of the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and passing by the Cities of *Heidleberg*, *Hailbron*, and the Mountains of the Black Forest, and within a few Miles of the City of *Ulm* upon the *Danube*, where that great River begins to be Navigable, and by which the said Trade had a Communication with all the great Cities and Rivers of *Suabia* and *Bavaria*, and even down to *Passau*, *Lintz* and *Vienna*.

4. The *Aar*, a large River of *Switzerland*, also Navigable, which rising out of the same Mountains of the *Grisons*, from whence the *Rhine* it self proceeded, passes thro' the City of *Bern*, near that of *Zurick*, and other considerable Parts of the

[26]

the *Swiss* Cantons, and falling into the *Rhine* a little above *Basle*, carried the *English* Woollen Manufacture into the Cantons of *Switzerland*; as it does now serve, to our great Mortification, to bring the like Manufactures now made in *Switzerland*, down into *Germany*, and to the great Fairs of *Nuremberg* and *Franckfort*, where they Underfell and Supplant us, as shall be seen in its Place.

In this flourishing Condition Queen *Elizabeth* left the Woollen Manufacture of *England*; being at that time not the greatest Manufacture in *Europe* only (for so it may be called still, tho' sinking and declining a-pace) but the most encreasing, thriving, and rising Trade (at that time) in the World.

As the Woollen Manufacture had thus been about an hundred and fifty Years in its growing and encreasing Condition, like a young Oak in the Woods; so now being grown Major, or as we say of *Age*, and out of its *Nonage*, we may allow it to have continued above another Century in its flourishing and prosperous State; that is to say, it held its own, and continued in its full Glory, extended to an infinite Length and Breadth, triumphing over the whole World of Commerce, not rival'd, not imitated, I will not say, not envied, but really not rival'd by any People or in any Country in the World; no, not so much as pretended to be rival'd any where: And this last hundred Years which I reckon to be the State of its full Glory and Perfection, I take to be from the Middle of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, to the End of the Reign of King *Charles II.* that is to say, near the End of it, viz. from the Year 1580, twenty Years before Queen *Elizabeth* died, to the Year 1680, being the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles II.*

During this time, the Manufactures were so far from receiving any Blow, any mortal Wound or sensible Disaster, either from abroad or at home, that the several Circumstances relating to the Vent and Consumption of them concurred to enlarge them and render their Condition yet more flourishing and prosperous, if that could be, than they were before. For Example,

First, During that Interval of Time, many flourishing and now famous Colonies of *English* had been settled in *America*, and in other remote Parts of the World; the Discoveries of the indefatigable Adventurers of that Age; such as Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the famous Earl of *Cumberland*, Captain *Smith*, and others, too many to name, by whom the Commerce of the *English* was extended in a prodigious manner, and their Dominions also; as in the following Countries in particular:

1. *Virginia*

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| 1. <i>Virginia</i> | 1. <i>Barbadoes</i> |
| 2. <i>New England</i> | 2. <i>Bermudas</i> |
| 3. <i>Newfoundland</i> | 3. <i>Nevis</i> |
| 4. <i>Hudson's Bay</i> | 4. <i>Antegoa</i> |
| 5. <i>New-York</i> | 5. <i>Montserrat</i> |
| 6. <i>New-Jersey</i> | 6. <i>St. Christopher's</i> |
| 7. <i>Pensylvania</i> | 7. <i>Jamaica, &c.</i> |
| 8. <i>Carolina.</i> | |

In all these, the succeeding Generations have so improved, the Plantations have been so spread, so well managed, and the Numbers of People are so surprisingly encreased, that whereas in the Beginning of King *James's* Reign it is creditably affirmed there were not Five thousand People in all of them, Negroes excepted, and not abundance of Them: 'Tis now as creditably insisted upon, that there are not less than a Million of *British* Subjects, Slaves included; which monstrous Encrease is not only an Addition to the Greatness and Glory of the *British* Dominion and to their Commerce, by the immense Return of their Product to *England*, such as from the Continent in Tobacco, Rice, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Train-Oil, Fish, Whale-fins, Furs, Drugs, &c. and to the other Colonies on the Islands in Corn, Meal, Peas, Pork, Beer, Horses, &c. and from the Islands to *England*, in Sugar, Rum, Melasses, Ginger, Cotton, Indico, Piemonto, Cocoa, and many other valuable things. I say, this Encrease of People is not only an Encrease of Commerce, in the Returns above-named, but it adds to the Consumption of the *British* Manufactures in an extraordinary manner; not only all that Million of People being to be cloathed from hence, but that they have in all Places upon the said Continent taught the Natives of the Country to go cloathed also; and who are supplied with Manufactures from *England*; all which is a meer Addition to the Trade, as well as to the Navigation of *England*, since the time above-named; nothing of those Countries being then known, much less any Trade to them.

It may be objected, and has been pretended, that the first Planters or Inhabitants of those Colonies coming from *England* is no Addition; for that the same Encrease would have been from them at home, if they had not gone abroad.

But as this requires a long and full Answer, such a full Answer may be given to it hereafter; and particularly this, that those Inhabitants generally going over thither in mean Circumstances, and growing rich there by their Industry, have quite altered the Case; and that the Encrease of the same People, if it had happened, had probably been an Encrease

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both

both of unprofitable Hands and Mouths; whereas here they have been just the contrary, and their Posterity being rich and industrious, have thereby encreased the publick Wealth as well as the Numbers of People: But this is not to the present Purpose.

It is certain, that since Queen *Elizabeth's* time, not our Colonies only, but the whole Kingdom of *England* is encreased in People in a wonderful manner; and that notwithstanding the prodigious Numbers who we can account for, as destroyed out of the ordinary course of Nature; such as by War abroad and at home, Plague, Shipwreck, peopling of *Ireland*, and other Cafes, by which some Millions may have been destroyed, and no doubt have been.

All this Encrease of People has been an Addition to the Consumption of the Manufactures, and consequently an Encrease of it; and to say, that the Manufacture was encreased by its being sufficient to clothe the Inhabitants in *Edward the Sixth's* Reign, was to say little or nothing, compared to what the Importance of the same Article would be now, seeing we cannot doubt but that there are at least Four Millions of People in the Kingdom of *England* at this time, more than there were at the End of the Year 1500.

The first Foundation of this Encrease was, without doubt, laid in the fixing the Manufactures at home, which were before settled in *Flanders*, as I have said; and the next Step was the Persecution of the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, mentioned also above.

The last of those Articles, as some are of Opinion, brought over at least one hundred thousand *Flemings* into *England*, where Queen *Elizabeth*, far from being ignorant of the Benefit that Numbers of People would be to her Dominions, where she knew well there was Business enough to employ them, gave them all imaginable Encouragement, appointed them Churches, admitted them to set up in Corporations, exempted them from Taxes, and the like; and we see their Posterity here to this Day, distinguished by Name in many of our Manufacturing Towns, as the *Rebous* at *Colchester*, the *De Vinks* at *Norwich*, the *Papilons* at *Canterbury*, and the like.

I might give Examples of the casual Encrease of the *English* Manufactures both abroad and at home; within the Compass of an hundred and twenty Years now passed, from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, as limited above, to this time; all which may serve further to prove the then flourishing Condition of that Trade; such as the several Factories of the

the *English* in other Parts of the World; and the Encrease of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Colonies in *America*, which have still added to the Encrease of the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, the Consumption being so very great among those Nations.

Hitherto then we have seen the bright Side of the Subject, and have brought the Manufacture to its Meridian Height: It is only to be observed as an Addition to what has been said, that as the Consumption of the Manufacture encreased abroad, so the Quantity made encreased at home. The Manufactures encreasing, the Manufacturers encreased also; the Trade spread at home in Proportion as it spread abroad; and that which was at first the Work of a few Counties and Cities, became now the Employment of whole Provinces or Divisions of the Country, being a kind of District consisting of several Counties or Parts of Counties together.

Thus the Manufacture, first erected at *Norwich*, spread in a little after the said time, over the whole Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*: As the Bay Trade of *Colchester*, first confined to that Town and the adjacent Country, is now extended thro' the whole County, one of the largest and most populous in *England*. The Clothing Trade erected first at the Towns of *Oakingham*, *Reading*, *Newbery*, and *Andover*, in the Counties of *Wiltshire* and *Berkshire*, is now spread farther into *Wiltshire* and *Somersetshire*, extending along a vast Tract of Ground from the Edge of *Gloucestershire* to the side of *Dorsetshire*, for near an hundred Miles, thro' the richest and most fruitful Vale in all the West Part of *England* called, *the Vale of White-Horse*, and including the populous Towns of

<i>Malmsbury</i>	<i>Devizes</i>
<i>Tedbury</i>	<i>Bradford</i>
<i>Cirencester</i>	<i>Trowbridge</i>
<i>Stroud</i>	<i>Froom</i>
<i>Marshfield</i>	<i>Warminster</i>
<i>Caln</i>	<i>Westbury</i>
<i>Chipenham</i>	

And many more, with innumerable populous Villages.

The like in the Clothing of *Worcestershire*, extended into the Counties of *Salop*, *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, and the Counties adjacent.

Thus, I say, the Manufacture flourishing abroad, spread in Proportion at home, 'till at length it arrived to the Magnitude which we see it in at this time, when its Body is said to be too big for its Legs; and the Multitudes employed in it are such,

[30]

such, that at the same time that the Markets are decayed abroad, the Extent of it not being limited at home, the Laws of Proportion have been broken; and tho' the Sale has been lessen'd, the People have still gone on making, 'till according to some, the Quantity has been superior to what the whole World could, or at least in the ordinary Course of Trade would consume. And this brings us to the present State of the Manufacture, as it stands abroad just now with respect to the Sale, and as it stands at home with respect to the Production, by which it will be easily seen, whether the Manufacture as a Trade or as a Business is in a thriving or a declining Condition.

C H A P. III.

Of the Present State of the British Manufacture, as well abroad as at home; with a just Deduction from the Prospect of it to the Question in hand (viz.) Whether it is in a Declining Condition or no.

WE have seen something of the past State of the Woollen Manufacture: Queen *Elizabeth* brought it into a flourishing Condition, in which it continued with several large Additions to its Prosperity, and a continual Encrease of its Magnitude, and of its Consumption, to the Time of the late Restoration; in which time if it sunk in one Article, it rose in another; so that we might say, it was always flourishing, and was rather greater than less at the end of the next hundred Years, than at the beginning; that is to say, at the Year 1700, than at the Year 1602, when Queen *Elizabeth* died.

Certain it is that the Consumption was infinitely encreas'd, the Trade abroad perfectly good; Experience as well as History confirms that even in the Height of the Confusions of the Civil Wars in *England*, the Trade of the Woollen Manufacture was flourishing and prodigious great. Even during the Time of the Siege of *Colchester*, when that Town was, as it was called then, in open Rebellion; the Necessity of Trade obliged the Besiegers to give the Towns-People Leave to bring out their Bays to *Lexden* Heath, and to sell them to the *London* Merchants, who came thither to buy; and the Sellers were allowed to carry back their Money unmolested by the

[31]

the Soldiers who besieged them. The Reason was plain; the Demand from abroad made it necessary the Merchants should be supplied, and the Trade ought not to be obstructed.

Nay such was the Consumption of the Woollen Manufacture abroad, that all the Encrease of it at home was not sufficient; but the *Irish*, encourag'd by the Merchants, and having Plenty of Wool, fell into the Making Part, and in a few Years Peace being restor'd in that Kingdom, and the *English* Inhabitants multiplying, the Woollen Manufacture came (by the Industry of the People) to be as great there, in Proportion, as it was here.

France about this time encreas'd in People, and flourishing in Peace under the prosperous Reign of *Lewis XIII*, and the exquisite Administration of the great *Richlieu*, began to extend their Trade; and the Demand they made of our Manufacture in that Reign, was prodigious great.

But here we must make a full Point, and look a little into the Trade as in a State of full Perfection, and standing for some time at a Stay.

That *Great Britain* grew immensely Rich in those Ages of Trade, is not to be deny'd, or indeed disputed; we might give a long Account of the Encrease of her Wealth and Riches, her Greatness and Glory, and how it was all rais'd by, and the Effect of, her encreas'd Commerce; but it is too long for a Treatise of this Nature, it will be seen in its Consequences, and in nothing more than in the prodigious Efforts made by the whole Nation, in the late double War, from the *Revolution* to the Peace of *Utrecht*; in which, let but the immense Sums of Money which were rais'd upon Trade only be taken Account of, and they will give us a fair Sketch of the Improvement it self.

Nay, let the vast Sums rais'd Annually, to this Day, by the Customs upon Trade, speak something of the Encrease of it since those Days. I need not enter into the Detail of those Productions, such as the Duties on Wines, Tobacco, Brandies; *East-India*, and *Italian*, and *Turkey* Importations; the Excises on Beer, Ale, Malt, Spirits, Coffee, Tea, &c. which at this time raise such Sums, as no Nation in the World can show the like of, and as this Nation never came up to before.

I shall close the Abstract of it with this short Return of the late King *Lewis XIV*, to the Account of the last Year's State of the War in *England*; when he saw the Establishment of the *South-Sea* Company, and the Provision made by the Parliament for the old unprovided-for Debts, and for the Service of the growing

[32]

ing Year, both which amounted to near Eleven Millions *Sterling*, a Sum so frightful, put into *French Money*, that the King upon sight of it, spread out his Hands, and said, *I see 'tis time to put an End to the War! I never believ'd that England could have made such Efforts as these; let us make Peace upon the best Terms we can.*

But I come in the next Place to the declining Part of our Trade, and to enquire where it began.

C H A P. IV.

How and when the British Manufactures began to receive some Impression from the Influence of other Nations: And how they began to suffer any Lessening or Loss from those Impressions.

THE first Impression which the *British Commerce* felt upon the Greatness of her Trade, and especially upon her Manufacture, was from *Ireland*.

It was in the latter end of the Reign of King *Charles II.*, that *England* driving such an encouraging Commerce in the Export of her Woollen Manufactures, the Gain of it animated the *Irish Merchants* not only to Export the like from *Ireland*, but to encourage the People of *Ireland*, as well the *Natives* as the *English-Irish* (so they call the Families risen up there from the *English Race*) to push into it, and to set up the Working all manner of Woollen Goods made in *England*, after the same Manner, and under the same Denominations as in *England*; with this Addition, that they soon found themselves able not only to do it as well as in *England*, the Wool and the Workmanship being (as it were) the same; but that they were able to Make, Finish, Export, and consequently Sell at Market the same Goods, as good, and much cheaper, than the *English*.

The first Discovery of this in *England* seem'd to be from *France*, and from *Spain*, where our Merchants, to their great Mortification, first found themselves under-sold in the Markets; Goods of the same Fabrick, of the like Weight, Goodness, Value and Colour, being afforded much cheaper than from *England*.

This was an Affliction in Trade, and a very great Disappointment to the Merchants; and, in its Turn, to the Factors, and

[33]

and to the Manufacturers in the Country; for *First*, Our Goods at the several Markets in *France* lay unfold; expected Orders were stop'd and interrupted; the Merchants in *France* wrote to *Ireland* for the Goods, the Markets were supplied, and our Trade in a word decay'd.

It was not long so here, but we began to find the same in *Portugal*, and at *Cadiz* in *Spain*, and at other Markets, as at *Leghorn*, *Messina*, and the principal Ports of *Italy*; and thus it was going on to be, in all other Parts of the World.

But this was not all; Misfortunes seldom come alone; one Evil generally follows in the Neck of another. About this time Monsieur *Colbert*, that great and successful Manager of the *French Commerce*, after having (with a most happy and wonderful Advantage) put all the Southern Provinces of *France* upon the planting Mulberry Trees, and raising of Silk; obliging every Town and Village in the great Provinces of *Languedock*, *Provence*, *Dauphine*, and the adjacent Countries, to plant a proportion'd Number of Mulberry Trees for the nourishing Silk-worms, and by that means to establish a Fund for the Silk; he contrived the like, as far as in him lay, for the Wool.

But finding it impossible to form a Production of Wool in *France* (tho' he got over Sheep from *England*, from *Ireland*, and from *Scotland*) and that he could not make the Wools come on or grow there, as they did at home, he then apply'd himself to the settling Methods for getting Wool from *England*, and especially from *Ireland*; by This he immediately set up large Manufactures in *France*, as at *Rouen*, at *Caen*, in *Poitou*, *Guienne*, *Nismes*, and other Places, too many to enumerate; with this, and the *Spanish Wool*, and such other Supplies as he got from remoter Places, he soon advanced in his new Attempt, and made several sorts of Woollen Manufactures, and this in such Quantities, and so well performed, that we saw *France*, in a few Years, able to supply themselves with Cloathing of their own Making, tho' not of their own Wool, and even to transport the Manufactures they wrought to other Places; where they were sold in the same Markets with the *English*, to our great Mortification as well as Loss.

Nor was this all; but so far the *French* proceeded, that in a few Years they set up for Prohibitions, excluded our Merchandizes all over *France*, and pretended to shut us out from their Markets, so that we should not be allow'd to Import our Goods any more into *France*.

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This was a terrible Blow to *England*; and had we not soon after made our selves Amends upon *France*, by Prohibiting their whole Commerce with us, particularly their Wines, Brandies, Linnen, and wrought Silks, four Articles in which it was said we took near two Millions *Sterling* from them *per Annum*, more than all the Goods that they took from us amounted to; I say, had we not done this, it must have ruin'd our whole Stock, by draining away such immense Sums in Cash as must have been call'd off for the Ballance.

Here began the Breach between *England* and *France*, in Point of Commerce; and as it came with a War, it lasted so long, that it is not yet return'd, nor is ever likely to be: The Humour of the *English* ran off from the *French* Trade, neither their Wines, or their Brandies, or their wrought Silks, have ever come into Use again here, and perhaps would never do so again, tho' the Trade were to be open'd; at least, it would not as it did before: Our Taste is chang'd as to their Wines; our Fashions and Modes are chang'd as to their Silks; and the whole Vein of their Trade is turn'd (here in *England*) so as never to return into the old Channel again, no, tho' the Trade should be laid open, which yet it is not.

But still this was a Blow to our Manufactures, and lessen'd the Consumption of them abroad, and consequently the Exportation of them at home; the Effect of which was, that unless some new Vent of the said Manufactures was found out abroad, there would of necessity be a Stop, and some Hands must be taken off at home; the Quantity must abate as the Consumption abated, or else the Markets abroad would be glutted with Goods, and the Makers at home not be able to put them off; these must leave off making, or be undone; and if they left off Making, the Poor (at least so far) would be undone: for all Abatement or Declining of the Manufacture, is a degree of Ruin to the People.

To remedy this, Prudent Heads found out one immediate Help, tho' it was (in its kind) what we may call a Desperate Cure, namely, a Cure by Amputation; it was indeed cutting off a Member, a vast and important Member of our Manufacture, *viz. Ireland*: The Case was thus:

It was found that *Ireland* began to encroach, in a very dangerous manner, on our Manufacture, by running into every Branch of it, making every sort of Goods there, which the *English* made at home, and that in so great a Quantity, that they not only supplied their own Nation, and sent over great Quantities hither, but that, *as before*, they fill'd foreign Markets with them, and even under-fold us abroad.

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Upon this, and considering the Abatement of the Consumption by Prohibitions abroad, two Acts were passed in *England*, for the Encouragement of the *English* Manufactures.

1. An Act to take off the Duty of Tonnage and Poudage, paid here upon the Exportation of the Woollen Manufacture, which being about 5 *per Cent* upon the Value, was considerable, and was done in order to bring down our Manufactures at foreign Markets, so as not to be under-fold by the *French* or *Dutch*; which Act continues in Force, and all our Manufactures are Exported free, to this Day.

2. An Act to Prohibit the *Irish* Woollen Manufactures being Exported to any Parts or Places beyond the Seas. This was indeed a terrible Blow to the *Irish* Merchants, and to the Manufacturers in that Kingdom; but there was no Remedy: it was apparent, that if the *Irish* were suffered to go on, they would reduce the Manufacture of *England* to nothing; as well by their Cheapness, as by their irregular Working, being bound to no Laws or Rules, to no Lengths or Breadths, or other such Limitations as the *English* are bound by.

It is not my Business, nor have I Room here, to enter into the Reasons or Arguments made use of on one Side or other, at that time; 'tis enough to my present Purpose, that so it was, and that *England* found her self under a Necessity of taking that Step with *Ireland*, however Hard or Severe it might seem to be.

Nor can I enter into an Account of the Linnen Trade, established on this Occasion in *Ireland*, by the *English*, with the several Encouragements given to it in the late King *William's* Reign, being as a kind of Equivalent to the *Irish* for the heavy Article above, and which is since that grown up to an unexpected Height there, and by particular Encouragements in *England*, is become much more of an Equivalent than was even at first hoped for; but that is not our present Enquiry; I return to the Case before me.

This Stop of the Exportation of the Woollen Manufacture in *Ireland*, was a sensible Relief to the *English* Trade, and for a while the Manufactures flourish'd again; and tho' the *French* encroach'd (in a surprizing manner) upon us in some foreign Markets, yet there were some particular Articles which encroach'd our Consumption too very considerably, and these ought to be mention'd, because I must do Justice as I go, and let it be fairly seen where our Manufacture found some Helps, as well as where it felt its Decay; where it was reliev'd, as well as where it was wounded and hurt.

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Besides this violent Step for the Relief of the Manufacture, it had had three Additions or Encreases in the ordinary way of Commerce, which were exceeding great, and which in their Turn greatly encouraged the People, and supported the Thing as a Manufacture or Employment.

1. The Trade to *Portugal*, the Encrease of which has been so surprizing great, and began to be so about the beginning of the first War, that it was apparent in the Second War the Export of *British* Manufactures to *Portugal*, from *England*, was greater than the whole Export to *Portugal* and *Spain* together was before.

2. The Trade to *Muscovy*, which by the Conquests of the late *Czar* in the *Baltick*, his building the Port of *Petersburgh*, his altering the Habits and Cloaths of all his People, and several other Encouragements given by him to Trade in General, and to the *English* Commerce in Particular, opened a new Door to the Consumption of the *British* Manufacture, where there was none before.

3. The extraordinary Trade to *Jamaica*. By what Ways and Means our Merchants found it practicable to establish such a Commerce, it is not my Business to describe; but this is certain, that during that War our Trade to *Jamaica* was such, that the Number of Ships using that Trade was encreased to more than four times what they were in a few Years before the War; and that this Trade has continued to this time, or 'till within a very little while (*viz.*) 'till the *Spanish Guard de Costa's*, or cruising Ships of War, took upon them to keep a better Look-out than formerly, and interrupt it. Whether this Trade was justifiable by the Terms of the Treaties subsisting between *Great-Britain* and *Spain* or not, is not to the purpose in this Place: I may perhaps grant it was not: But 'tis the Fact, not the Legality of it, that I am now Enquiring about, and in that Part I am sure of being right.

These three Articles of Commerce may be allowed to make a great Addition to the Consumption of the Woollen Manufacture of *England*, and by these Helps, the Loss of the *French* Trade was for some Years the less felt, if perhaps at all.

And that I may give a full Latitude to this Part of our Discourse, I may add, for the sake of the Argument only, that several other Branches of our Exportation seemed to have been encreased in the same Space (*viz.*) the last thirty or forty Years, and that not in a trifling manner, but very considerably; particularly to *Leghorn*, the Trade of that Port being exceedingly advanced during the various Turns among the neighbour-

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Powers, and particularly occasioned by the late Convulsions in *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and that were in *Piemont* and *Milan*, and other Parts of *Lombardy*; also by some Improvements among the *Italians*, which we are not particularly Judges of: Be it which way it will, 'tis evident the Exportations of *British* Manufactures to *Leghorn* are more than double to what they formerly were.

I might instance likewise in the Encrease of our own Colonies, which is very considerable in the last thirty or forty Years, as may be proved in many particular Circumstances in their Trade, and especially by the Export of *British* Manufactures thither, which is the Point I am upon, and which is manifestly encreased, as well to *New-England*, and to *Virginia*, as to *Carolina* in particular, and to other Places.

But I need not enlarge upon these things; for were the Encrease of these foreign Consumptions much greater than it is, and were the Places, where that Encrease has been, five times larger than they are, the declining State of the Manufacture would still be made out, from other opposite Circumstances, too evident to be denied, and too strong to be balanced by those Advances.

First, the unreasonable Encrease of the Quantity made is to be consider'd, the growing Condition of the Manufacture itself, in which we may venture to say there are some Circumstances that not only will not be equal'd by any Addition of Commerce either abroad or at home; but, to speak boldly to it, would not be equal'd, if all the Nations to whom our Manufacture is exported, were to encrease the Consumption of it in proportion to that of *Portugal* or *Leghorn*, as above.

It is evident our Manufacture is encreased to a Degree almost inexplicable, inasmuch that it is in itself too great for the Consumption of all *Europe*. Now it seems a little of a Paradox that I should bring the Encrease of the Quantity as an Argument to prove the declining of the Manufacture that is encreased: But a little Reflection will set that Part to rights in your Thoughts, and the Difficulty will immediately vanish.

In speaking of the Manufactures as Declined, we are not speaking of the Quantity made, but of the Quantity sold; or if you will, we must change the Terms, and distinguish betwixt the Woollen Manufacture as a Work or Fabricature, and as a Trade. There may be as many Goods made in *England* as ever, but if there are not as many sold as ever, the Trade will be allowed to decline; nay, the more there is made, the more the

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[38]

the Manufacture is declined if they cannot be sold, because the Quantity becomes a Grievance to it self.

If it be apparent that the Quantity made, encreases faster than the Quantity sold off, or that there is more made than can be sold, the Manufacture is under evident Discouragement. On the other hand, if there are more made and less sold, that Discouragement encreases to a Distraction; the Manufacture languishes, and is in a kind of Dropsy, where the Repletion exceeding the Evacuation, the Body swells in Bulk, but declines in Strength, and dies of the worst kind of Consumption.

There is no question but that upon the apparent Encrease of the Manufactures in *England*, during those many Years mentioned in particular as above, the great Advantage made by that Trade, and the vast Estates acquired even by the Manufacturers themselves in their ordinary Business, encouraged others to fall into it, and even encouraged those that were in it to enlarge their Business, to launch out as their Stocks encreased, farther and farther, into that Trade.

This Humour continues to this day, and is now become the great Grievance of the Manufacture in general; and will, if not timely prevented, be ruinous to the Trade in the End, as I shall make appear in its Place.

While the Manufacture was in its full Extent abroad, while it was the Mistress of the World in Trade, had no Rivals, and no Attempts were made to mimick it, or imitate it, but that it had an uninterrupted Sale abroad; the Encrease of the Quantity at home was far from being a Grievance, either to the Country or to the Trade; and during the happy Years of its thus currently going off, vast Additions to the Quantity were made at home, such, as if you will give Credit to some People, would in a few Years have glutted the whole World with our Goods, tho' there had been no Check given to the Vent of it abroad.

I could give a long History of the Encrease of the Manufacture in *England*, I mean, as a Work or Fabrick; even whole Towns, nay, Parts of Counties, have, within the Memory of some still alive, been employed in it, who were never employed before.

I could likewise enter into the Detail of the Changes and Turns which the Manufacture itself has suffered by changing the Kinds, as particularly the changing the Clothing or Cloth-making into the making narrow and lighter Kinds of Cloth, such as we call Druggets and Kerfies, instead of Broad-cloth,

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in the Western Parts of *England*, such as the Counties of *Wilts*, *Berks*, and *Devon*; and *Sagathies* and *Duroys*, a thin and light sort of Stuff, instead of thick Cloth-Serges, at *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, and other Parts adjoining; by which Exchange of Kinds, it is the Opinion of many Men of Judgment, the *English* Manufacture in general has suffered extremely, and a Door opened to the Attempts of Foreigners, who encroached upon us by those Imitations and Delusions, but were not able to come up to us in the essential Part of the Manufacture (*viz.*) the Clothing Part. The Case was thus:

The *French* were the first who, as I have said, set up to rival our Manufactures, and having gotten Workmen as well as Materials from *England*, they set up a Cloathing Manufacture as well at *Rouen* and *Caen* and other Places in *Normandy*, as at *Nismes* and the adjacent Cities in *Languedock* and *Provence*.

But the *French* (according to the known superficial Humour of that Nation) contenting themselves with keeping up to the Standard of Broad Cloth in *Languedoc* only; because they were oblig'd to follow the Pattern of the *English* there, for the *Turkey* Trade; in other Places made it light, loose, and spongy, thinner in Substance, and slighter in Workmanship; and this not being able to carry the Breadth of the Broad Cloth, they alter'd to the usual Stuff Breadth of half Ell, or half Yard, as their ordinary Stuffs were made.

These they call'd Cloths at first; but seeing they would not keep up the Credit of that Name, as the *English* Cloth did; they gave them several Names from the Towns or Counties where they were made, such as *Drap de Normandy*, *Drap de Berry*, *Drap de Lorrain*, and so of the rest.

Had we let the *French* go on their own way, and kept up at home to the old *English* Manufacture of Broad Cloth, the *French* to this Day had been distanc'd in their new Attempt; but with a Weakness, never to be defended, while they with Difficulty followed us, we faced about, and simply followed them.

They brought their Silk Stuffs, and *Spanish* Druggets, and light thin *French* Serges, into Wear, and into Fashion; and they were in the right, because they could make no better; We, to Ape them in their Mode, fall into the same sorts of Stuffs, and so made that, which was their Necessity, be our Mischief.

By this Means, not only we wore their sorry slight Manufactures, and even brought them privately from *France* it self, but (fond of our own Mischiefs) we quit the Broad Cloth,

Cloth, the ancient Glory of *England* (as to Manufacture) and fall into the making of light Stuffs for Men's Wear, to the Ruin of our own Manufactures, as much as in us lay; for these new foolish Things neither employ'd an equal Number of Hands, or consum'd an equal Quantity of the Wool, in both which they accommodated the *French*, who neither had at first a Number of skilful Workmen to make them, or a Quantity of Wool to make them with; but in both we weaken'd our own Country, for this at once caus'd the Wool to lye on hand unwrought, and thousands of Poor to go unemploy'd.

The great Promoter of this Debauchery in Trade (for such it might be call'd) was one *D'Oyly*, a Warehouse-Keeper in *London*, who, valuing himself upon that for which he ought (according to the Laws of *Persia*) to have his Name be made infamous, and his House be made a Dunghil, boasted of his Merit, and call'd his new *French* Mimickry of a Manufacture, *Doyly's Stuffs*; and such was the Vanity of the Day, that we saw the whole Town, nay, we might say the whole Nation, run into them, and the ancient Manufacture of Broad Cloth lay by the Walls; the substantial Woollen-Drapers had nothing to do, no Trade at their Shops; and the new Stuff-Merchant *D'Oyly* had his great Ware-house near *Exeter-Exchange* in the *Strand*, throng'd with Buyers from Morning to Night, and the Man got an Estate in one Summer's Trade.

It is true, God, and a hard Winter, should have the Thanks of the poor Manufacturers, while they live; the Severity of the great Frost (falling in immediately upon it) brought the good warm cloathing Trade into Mode again, and set the Poor at work in some tolerable Degree, so at least as to relieve them for that time.

But this unhappy Humour reviv'd so far, as brought our Manufacturers into the way of making a middle Kind, between Cloth and Stuff, so as on one Side to suit the Climate, and yet (as near as might be) on the other, to follow the *French* Folly also, and this introduc'd the making Druggets, Sagathies, Chamlets, Duroys, and the several kinds of Men's Stuffs, with which we have (as it were) made War with our own Manufacture, and jostled the Broad Cloth as much as we could out of the World; so that in short, if those light things which the *French* made, because they could make no better, did not become the universal Mode of our Country, and the better and more important Cloathing, on which the whole Nation depended, go quite out of use, it was none of our Fault.

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The Truth is, tho' the first Madness wore off, and the *D'Oyly* Stuffs in a little time did sicken and glut the Town, yet This is certain that the wearing of Drugget and Stuffs, Chamlets and Duroys, and such-like slight things, was a terrible Blow to the ancient Clothing Manufacture; to this Day it has not recovered it, and perhaps never will.

Thus far the Manufacture declined by our Own Folly: It is true indeed that these slight thin Stuffs, tho' they did not consume so much Wool, or employ so many Hands as the Clothing, yet, as they sent the People oftner to Market, the Quantity made seem'd to be some Amends to the Manufacture, and to the Poor; But then, they opened a Door to the *French* to sell their slight, half-made Goods at foreign Markets; for the Fashion also took Root, whereas (if the Manufacture of Broad-cloth had been kept up) the *French* would never have been able to have hurt us, at home or abroad.

But this is not all; I shall give you a farther Account of the Declining of the Manufacture in its Sale abroad, and of the Reasons of it in particular, more ruinous than this. But here I must take notice too, as I have said above, how the Making encreased, whether the Sale encreased or no; and this we shall give you some unanswerable Evidence of in a few Examples.

First, Upon this unhappy falling into the *French* Fashion of wearing Stuffs instead of Broad-cloth, I mean for the Mens Wear, a strange and sudden Metamorphosis in Trade followed here in *London*.

Spittlefields had been eminent for many Years for the Silk Manufacture, encouraged and greatly encreased by the coming over of the *French* Refugees in 1682 to 1684, and the Numbers of People encreasing there, the Buildings likewise encreased; so that what with Ribband-Weavers and Broad-Weavers, it was generally said there was an hundred thousand Weavers in *Spittlefields* and the adjacent Streets.

But the Trade was not equal to the Numbers of the People, the Streets began to be desolate, the Houses empty, and the People shifted about to other Places and to other Employments, as Occasion supply'd them; when all on a sudden, we were surpris'd to find Wool-combers and Staplers setting up in *Spittlefields*, and Shops began to open there for Worsted Yarn and for comb'd Wool, and abundance (of the *French* Women especially) went spinning about the Streets. This was employed at first among the Stocking-Weavers or Frame-work-Knitters, which Manufacture, about that time, took a new Turn all over *England*, from Knitting to Weaving or Framemaking,

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making, to the great Loss of the Poor in the Countries where those Goods were usually made, where many thousands were formerly employed in Knitting, but now were quite struck out of the Work by the Gross of the Stockings being wrought in the Frame.

This began the Woollen Trade in *Spittlefields*; but when the *D'Oyley Stuffs* had, as I have said above, spread the Town, and the Humour continued for some time, *Spittlefields* took another new Turn, and in one Year more we saw it as full of Stuff and Worsted as before of Silk, the Silk-Weavers turned their Hands to the narrow Woollen Manufactures, and the Quantity of those Manufactures now made there of almost all Kinds, especially such as were formerly made at *Norwich* and the Parts adjacent, is such, that in a word, *Spittlefields* is become the principal Seat or Center of those Manufactures in *England*; and yet the City of *Norwich*, as above, is supposed to be in as full Employ as ever, or at least as usual; so that this whole Manufacture of *Spittlefields* is an Encrease upon the Manufacture in general, and must be answered for by a proportioned Sale somewhere or other, abroad or at home, or else so far the Encrease is too great for the Consumption, and is not a Benefit but a Loss to the Manufacture, and adds in the worst manner to its declining Circumstances.

I could give you a like Account of large Manufactures of *Druggets* and other Goods erected in several Towns and Places in *England* within these few Years, where no such or other Woollen Manufactures worth naming in this case were wrought before, as particularly at the City of *Bristol* for Example. But this of *Spittlefields* is so flagrant an Instance where such a prodigious Work is now carried on, and where, within the Memory of the Writer hereof, no Woollen Manufactures were made, that I need enquire no farther into it. I shall add but one other Capital Article of Encrease, and this is that of the Bay Trade in *Essex*.

It is evident while this Trade was contained within the particular Towns of *Colchester* and *Bocking* in *Essex*, where the making of Bayes was first begun, and was at least principally established, the Trade flourished, the Goods were current abroad, commanded ready Money at home, and were seldom or never without a Market, nor was there a Manufacture in *Europe* which better maintained the Credit of its Make; Inasmuch that a Merchant at *Cadiz* or *Lisbon*, coming to an *English* Merchant's Warehouse to buy Bays, had no more to do but to open one Corner of the Bale, and look upon the Seals of

of the Town of *Colchester*, and by that they were sure to know of what Value the Goods were, and were certain to find them answer both in Lengths and Goodness.

But the Neighbouring Towns finding the *Colchester* and *Bocking* Bay-makers grow rich, thrust themselves into that Trade, and now the Bayes are made at *Coggeshal*, at *Witham*, at *Kelvedon*, at *Bräintre*, at *Halfsted*, and in a word, at almost all the most considerable Towns in *Essex* beyond *Ghelmsford*.

Nor is this all, but even the Bay-makers themselves, upon the least Start of the Trade, and upon any sudden quick Demand from abroad, push in with such Eagerness, and encrease their Quantity to such a Degree, that they bring more to the Market than all the World can take off.

This has, I may say, ruin'd the Trade; and the Consequence is, that as soon as ever that small Run is over, and the Demand from abroad ceases, the Market is immediately throng'd with Goods, they are pawned and pledged to every monied Man in the Place, 'till they can be put off; the Price sinks, the Labour of the Poor stops, and the Bay-makers are often broke and undone.

Nor is the Credit or real Value of the Goods supported, for the Bay-makers being now extended over the whole Country, and working out of the Jurisdiction of the Bay-Hall at *Colchester*, they put what Goods they please upon the Market, and what Marks or Seals they please upon the Goods; so that the Credit of the Manufacture is sunk, and no Man trusts to the Seals of the Goods any more, but takes Care to look into the Goods himself, and see with his own Eyes that he is not cheated.

I cannot but esteem this last to be one eminent Degree of the Declining of that Manufacture; for if once a Manufacture declines in its Credit, I shall always conclude it is declin'd in its Sale, or will soon be so; but that by the way. The present Article I am upon, and which I say the whole Stress of the Question now upon, is the Encrease of the Quantity beyond the Demand; that more are made than are or can be consumed, which I think is apparent in many other Particulars.

I sum the whole Observation up in this one Head (*viz.*) that this very Encrease is a Grievance, which in the end may be ruinous to the whole Woollen Manufacture of *England*, if some new Doors of Commerce are not opened abroad to raise a Consumption equal to that Encrease, or some Method

be not taken to put a Stop to the farther Encrease of the Fa-
brick at home, so as not to make the Manufacture be too
great for the Sale, whether it be at home or abroad.

CHAP. V.

*Of the real Causes of the Decay of our Manufacture;
arising partly from Prohibitions abroad, but chiefly from
our refusing the Wear of it at Home; and something
offered for the Remedy.*

BUT 'tis needful now to enquire into the State of our
Manufacture abroad, as to the Consumption of the feve-
ral Species in those Countries where our Trade used to be
settled: If we find the Sale or Demand encreasing abroad,
the encreasing of the Quantity at home would certainly be so
far from a Grievance, that it would be the Glory and Pro-
sperity of our Commerce and of our Country; and if every
County in *England* were as fully employed in manufacturing,
as *Wiltshire, Devonshire, Norfolk and Essex*, every City as *Nor-
wich and Exeter*, and every Market Town, as *Froom, Taun-
ton, Leeds, or Colchester*, it would be the Wealth of the
whole, and the greatest Felicity that this World ever pro-
duced to a Nation.

But the Case is not so, but far otherwise; instead of the
Consumption encreasing abroad, instead of a larger Demand,
we see all Parts of the World envying us, most Parts endea-
vouring to imitate us, and as many as can encouraging their
own upstart Manufactures in the room of the *British*; and too
many totally prohibiting the Sale or the wearing our Manu-
factures, that their own, however mean and ordinary, may
take Place.

And not to dwell upon some late Prohibitions of the *Eng-
lish* Woollen Goods in *Spain* and in the Island of *Sicily*, at
Linz, Passau, Vienna, and other Places in the Emperor's Do-
minions, done rather by way of Insult to our Nation at this
Crisis of their Affairs, than that they are able to carry on any E-
quivalent Manufactures of their own; I say, not to lay any
Stress upon these, yet it must be said, that other Places have of
late Years attempted our Manufacture, and some but with
too much Success, and Prohibitions rather natural and conse-
quential, than political, encrease upon us every Day.

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It is the general Opinion (and I have joyn'd with it in
Part, in the beginning of this Discourse) that there is no
Wool to be found in any Part of the World, or at least
not in *Europe*, capable of working into such Manufactures,
and of making such several Sorts of Goods, as we at pre-
sent furnish the World with; and upon this very Principle
we carry our Boasts of the *British* Manufacture so high: Now
in some particular Things we are right; I mean, right in our
Judgment, namely, that the World has not the Wool, that
is, has not any Wool capable of working into such Ma-
nufactures as we make; tho' as to Boasting, as we do, I
shall never come into that Part, because boasting of our
Superiority is but firing the rest of the World with an un-
wearyed Application to supply the Defect.

But let us distinguish here with a little more Temper than we
usually do; There is a manifest Difference between having no
Wool fit for any Manufacture at all, and not having the best
and the finest Wool, of the longest Staple, the firmest Bo-
dy, and the finest and softest Quality: There is a manifest
Difference between the Wool being good for nothing, and be-
ing not so good as the *English* or *Irish* Wool. To descend to
Particulars;

It is true, *Europe*, take it BY and LARGE (as we express
it) from End to End, does not produce a Wool capable of
making our fine Broad Cloths of *Warminster, Trowbridge,
Bradford, and Froom*; or our fine *Gloucester and Worcester*
Whites; no nor perhaps such as our *Wakefield and Leeds*
Cloth, tho' what we call coarse, yet of Substance and
Weight inimitable; nor of many several Manufactures of o-
ther Kinds, such as *Devonshire Kerfies, Exeter and Taunton*
Serges, *Devizes* and *Bristol* Druggets, *Andover* and *Newberry*
Shaloons, and the like.

But to say therefore, that there are no other of our Ma-
nufactures that can be made abroad, and that even where
they have no *English* Wool, that I cannot and must not
grant, because Experience teaches us the contrary every
Day, to our great Disadvantage in Trade.

Saxony, a large and fertile Country in *Germany*, notwith-
standing the Severity of the Winters, which are sometimes
such as gives a Check to the Production of Wool, yet not
only has a very good kind of Wool, but a very large Quan-
tity of it; and the *Saxons*, an industrious People, are alrea-
dy advanc'd so far in the Manufacturing the Wool, that
they make two particular Manufactures which are very
useful

useful in those cold Countries, and which they formerly bought from *England*, either brought thither to their Fair at *Leipsick*, by way of *Hamburg*, or bought at the great Mart at *Frankfort*, and carried over Land to the *Elb*, at *Magdeburgh*; these were *Colchester Bayes* and *Welch Flannels*.

Every one knows, that as these Goods are soft and warm, and are suited very particularly for preserving the Bodies of those who wear them in those Northern Parts of the World from the Severity of the Cold, so they are not made of the coarsest and hardest of the Wool; on the contrary, they are made thick and downy, well mill'd, and the Nap raised, which would not be, if the Wool was not fine and soft, and the Workmanship close and thick.

Yet these they now make in *Saxony*, not only in sufficient Quantities to supply themselves, and their own Markets, but we see the Flannels and Bayes of *Saxony* sold every Year at *Frankfort*, at *Nurembergh*, and most of the other Fairs of Note in the Upper *Germany*; and what is the Consequence of this? Not any Prohibition of the *English* Bays and Flannels; no; we may send ours thither also, and may sell them there too, if we can; but Nature forbids it, the Thing is a Prohibition of it self; ours are not sold there, because their own are sufficient, and we need not say, are cheaper, for it would be very hard, if they can be made at all, that they should not be made cheaper than the *English*, which pass thro' so many Hands, so many Countries, pay so many Embarkations, Assurances, Commissions, and other Charges, and are carried so far, as well by Land as Water-Carriage.

It is true, the Wool of *Saxony* is of a brown, or a kind of Russet Colour, occasion'd by the Climate, or the particular Breed of the Sheep, or from whatsoever other Incident in Nature we cannot account for; but as the Bayes are generally Dyed, and many of the Flannels also, it is not distinguish'd, for that the Wool, however Russet, or of a Greyish Colour at first, and as it grows on the Sheep's Back, yet it is not at all the worse to take any Colour, in the Dying-fat, but (as some think) is rather the better.

I need go no farther for the Proof of this, than to appeal to those Merchants, who trading to those Countries, usually had Commissions from thence to buy great Quantities of those Goods here; and let Them tell us how many Bayes

Bayes or Flannels they now have Orders for, for the Fair at *Leipsick*, or the Mart at *Frankfort*; or rather, whether any *English* Bayes and Flannels are sent thither, or no.

But this is not all: Let us look in the next Place into the King of *Prussia's* Dominions, I mean that Part of his Country which was formerly call'd the Electorate of *Brandenburg*, the Country about *Magdeburgh*, the Country upon the *Havel* and the *Sprbee*; there they have Wool, which, tho' coarse and harsh, yet the Government of *Prussia*, careful to improve the Country to the utmost, and to employ their own Poor for their own Work, causes all those coarser Manufactures which their own Wool is capable of making, to be made among themselves; and tho' these Manufactures are not equal to the *British*, yet as they are sufficient to the Demands of their own Poor, and serve to cloath the Boors and Peasants, that is to say, the Country People and Plow-men, and labouring Poor, they think it reasonable to Prohibit all foreign Manufactures, which usually were Imported for those Uses; such were our *Yorkshire* Kerseys, double and single *Dofens*, the coarse Goods made in *Lancashire*, such as *Half-Thicks*, *Pennistones*, *Duffels*, Blanketting, and other Woollen Manufactures made for the Cloathing and Covering of the Poor.

These were formerly Shipp'd off in great Quantities for *Hamburg*, and for *Stetin* and *Straelsund*, and other Ports on the South Coast of the *Baltick*; but now the General Consumption of such Goods has been stopp'd for some Years, the People making all those Things at home.

It is the like in *Sweden*, where, tho' their Wool is still coarser, and the Manufactures they make the poorest and roughest that can be imagined, yet the setting their own Poor to work to make their own Cloathing, however mean, serves to employ them, keeps their Money at home, and all still shortens us in our Exportations of those Goods to that Country.

It is true our finer Cloths gain still an Admittance into those Countries, because the Wool (even of *Saxony*) is not fine enough for such a Manufacture; and this may shew us, that we have certainly been in the Wrong of it, and have weakened the Interest of our Manufactures abroad exceedingly, by leaving our Cloathing Trade to sink upon our Hands, and turn our Workmen to the lighter Manufactures, which other Countries with their coarse Wool are so much easier able to supply. But to go on;

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So many of our Woollen Manufactures being thus excluded from *Sweden*, from *Brandenburgh*, from *Saxony*, and from so many Parts of *Germany*, let us look next towards the South; and here we find the *Swiss* of *Zurick* making Chamlets, Shalloons, and several other Sorts of Manufactures, as well for Mens Wearing as Womens, the same as are made in *Spittlefields*, *Norwich*, *Andover*, and several other Places in *England*; the *Swiss* perform these Works now with much Accuracy, and it is hard to know them from the like sorts of Goods made in *England*; the Workmen also who set them up being fetch'd from *Spittlefields*, where they learned the Art, and how to manage both the Wool, the Yarn, the Loom, the Dressing, and in a word, the whole Finishing after the *English* manner, and (without flattering our selves) as well perform'd.

Did the *Zurickers* only supply their own City, or their own Canton with these Goods, the Loss to our Manufacture would be no more than the meer Negative upon their Consumption; but I should not be just to the matter in hand, if I did not tell you, that, to the irreparable Loss of the *English* Manufactures, these Goods are brought from *Zurick* by the River *Rhine* to the City of *Basle*, and from thence down the *Rhine* to *Mentz*, and then still by Water up the *Main* to the Mart at *Frankfort an Main*, where they go too far in Supplanting the *English* Goods of the same Denomination; and to such a Degree are they arriv'd, that I am told there are very few *English* Goods of these Sorts now sold there; the *Zurickers* supplying the Fair with them, as good as the *English*, and considerably cheaper.

Thus we see our Manufacture cut short on every Side, by the Envy or Industry of the several Nations of *Germany* and *Sweden*, totally Prohibited in *France*, and very much supplanted in several other Places.

The Emperor has for some time encouraged Manufactures in *Bohemia*, in *Austria*, and in all the Hereditary Countries; and the Consequence of this, 'tis expected, will be a General Prohibition of all the *English* Woollen Manufactures. It has been attempted lately by way of Pique and Resentment between the Imperial Court and *Great Britain*. But that Part may be esteem'd a Jest, compar'd with other Countries.

However it may be well worth considering, whether if this general Humour of manufacturing should spread far in *Europe*, as we are just now told it begins to do in *Poland*, and in *Muscovy*, and is threatned in *Spain*, what the Impression it may

may make upon our Manufactures in *England*, may be in a few Years.

As these Invasions are Increasing, so our Manufacture must be Declining in proportion, unless it could be said that some yet farther Branch of Foreign Commerce can be found out for the Consumption of our Manufacture, which it is time enough to speak of when we see it in Prospect, and which I should be glad to say was probable.

I must acknowledge if the present War should proceed to Extremities, so as to lay open the Trade from *England* to the *Spanish West-Indies* directly, I should venture to say it would give our Manufactures a new Turn, and they would feel a Spring of Prosperity for some time, and that considerably too; especially if some Bounds were set to the Manufacturers at home, else (if they launch'd out in Quantity, according to Custom, as is mentioned above) they would glut the Market, tho' they were to have a new *America* opened to them for the Trade once in every five Years.

However, I see no room to argue upon this remote Prospect; they that are Sanguine enough upon the War to run on making, and lay up a Stock of Goods in expectation of a Market the next Fair at *Porto-Belo*, or when *La Vera Cruz* shall be turn'd *English*, may go on their own way, I am for sharing no *Bear Skins*.

But I must come nearer home still, and must take the Freedom to insist, that our Manufacture is in a State of Decay too from our Conduct at home, much more than from all Prohibitions and Interruptions abroad. I am not dispos'd to make this Work a Satyr upon my own Country, but certainly we are the first, if not the only Nation in the World, who having the best and most profitable Product, and the best and most agreeable Manufacture of our own, of any Nation in *Europe*, if not in the World, are the most backward to our own Improvement.

A Manufacture valuable in it Self, infinitely profitable to the Poor, unexceptionably pleasant to the Rich; not too hot for the Summer, not too cold for the Winter; light enough for *July*; warm enough for *December*; beautiful as the finest Silks, suiting with Laces, Embroidery, and all manner of Ornaments, better than even Silk it self, and yet Ornamental and Rich in its own Lustre.

A Manufacture receptive of the brightest and deepest Colours; Gay enough for the Bridegroom, Solemn enough for the Widow; Rich enough for a Coronation, Grave enough for the deepest Mourning.

[50]

A Manufacture that has not one Exception to be made against it, or one Reason to be given for disliking it; except the weakest of all Reasons, the Love of Change and Variety, or that wicked Reason which a Man gave why he did not love his beautiful and agreeable Wife, viz. only because she was his own.

A Manufacture that all the World covets, envies us for, strives to imitate, nay, are vain of but thinking they can imitate it.

A Manufacture which those other Nations (when they have faintly imitated it) are obliged to Prohibit by the severest Laws, or else all their People would run into them, and which they do strive to come at and purchase, notwithstanding the strictest Prohibitions.

A Manufacture which is apparently declining for want of a Consumption equal to its Bulk, and because of the too successful Attempts of other People to set it up among themselves; and because of the Improvements that the Industry of Strangers, and the Indolence of the *British* Manufacturers assists them in.

And yet with such a Manufacture as this, we cannot persuade our selves to wear our own Produce, to propagate our own Industry, or employ our own People; but we are no sooner Prohibited the Use of one foreign Bauble, but we fly to another; first we turn'd our Backs upon our own wrought Silks, and run to *India* and *China* for all the slightest and foolishlest Trash in the World, such as their Chints, flight Silks, painted Cottons, *Herba*, Silk and no Silks as if any thing but our own was to be thought beautiful, and any thing but what was best for us, was to be encouraged by us.

When this Extravagance was also check'd by a Law, we run then into another Extream, and still turning our Fancy against our own Manufactures, on a sudden we saw all our Women, Rich and Poor, cloath'd in Callico, printed and painted; the Gayer and the more Tawdry, the better; and though ordinary, mean, low-priz'd, and soon in Rags, the gayest Ladies appeared in them on the greatest Occasions.

Thus the Ancient Manufactures of *Great Britain* were despis'd by our own People, and the Bread taken out of the Mouths of the Poor; the Hands that would have labour'd could get no Work; the Trade sunk; the Manufacturers starved, and the Wool lay by in heaps unwrought, and unfold,

[51]

fold, to the general impoverishing of the People, and the Ruin of the Manufacture it self.

We are now by another Law of Prohibition restrained from the wearing of painted Callicoes; and what follows? the Temper is not at all reclaim'd, nor do they so much as incline to return to the Use of their own Manufactures, which is the main and best End of the Prohibition: But, as if we were resolv'd to run down our whole Country, and ruin our Poor with our own Hands, we run to the remotest Corners for some Shift or other to cheat our selves; and now we see the general Cloathing (of the meaner Peoplespecially) runs into the meanest, tawdriest Colours, stamp'd upon the most ordinary Linnen, fetch'd from *Scotland*, *Ireland*, or indeed any where; as if any thing but our own was to be our Choice, and as if we had forsworn our own Manufactures, and were ashamed to be dress'd in our own Cloths.

How shall we expect our own Manufactures should grow and encrease, while this is the Case? and if we will not encourage our own Growth, and the Labour of our own People, how should we expect Foreigners should do it?

In short, as I said of the Woollen Manufactures of *Saxony*, that they are an effectual Prohibition of the *English*, so I may say of our People's running into the Wear of printed Linnens, Callicoes, &c. they are a tacit Prohibition of the Manufactures; for what is a Rejecting the Manufacture by a kind of general Consent, but a Prohibition in effect? and how should the Manufacture be supported, when our own People turn their Backs upon it, and when even the People that make it will hardly be perswaded to wear it?

I believe no Man will ask me, after this, how I will prove the Manufacture to be in a declining State, or what is the Reason of it; no more can they ask what Remedy is proper to apply to this Evil: 'Tis an unaccountable Thing in a Manufacturing Nation like this, that Men should ask what will restore the Trade, when they see so evidently what has been the Ruin of it.

The Answer is short, and (according to my Title) the Only Way to restore our Manufactures, is to WEAR THEM. The Consumption at home is infinitely great: If our whole populous Nation were obliged to cloath only in their own Manufacture, we should neither complain of our selves, or value the Prohibition of others.

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[52]

If you will not do this (and the next Direction is as short as that) you must abate the Quantity; and, as you Consume less, Make less; what will Encreasing the Work do for us, while we Decrease the Consumption? It will in the End not only ruin the trading People, but ruin the Trade it Self: But I have not room to enlarge upon that Part here.

It is not necessary to say more of this, because it is so manifestly true, that I need not say more of it. I have said enough to show, that if we do not do this, we shall ruin the Trade it Self, and ruin the trading People. I have said enough to show, that if we do not do this, we shall ruin the Trade it Self, and ruin the trading People. I have said enough to show, that if we do not do this, we shall ruin the Trade it Self, and ruin the trading People.

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