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AN  
ESSAY  
On the IMPROVEMENT of the  
WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE,  
AND OF  
Some other BRANCHES of TRADE  
depending thereon.

Together with some OBSERVATIONS on  
the Danger of increasing M———l Power,  
by plausible Pretences to improve the  
WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE.

*In eo neque Auctoritate neque Gratia pugnat, sed  
quibus Philippus omnia Castellæ expugnari posse  
dicebat, in quæ modo Asellus onustus Auro posset  
ascendere.* CICERO.

By a MERCHANT.

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## ERRATA.

Page 2, Line 23, for *who*, read *how*. Page  
11, Line 35, dele *to*, read *must diminish in  
proportion the quantity of Pasturage*. Page 23,  
Line 29, for *Faithfulness* read *Fruitfulness*. Ibid.  
Line 30, dele *the*, read *of European Growth*.

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# ESSAY

On the IMPROVEMENT of the

## WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE

O F

## GREAT BRITAIN.

Together with some REMARKS ON TRADE  
in general, and on the late Increase of  
M— Influence.

**T**R A D E is a Subject of such Extent and Delicacy, that few have attempted to touch, and none ever pretended to treat it, in the way of a compleat System. The Reason I presume is, because the Fluctuations of Commerce, arising from Neglect, Accident, Force, or unavoidable Change of Circumstances, cannot be reduced to certain general Rules: But, on the contrary, what is a proper Encouragement at one time, may be very inadequate at another.

In a Nation depending upon Trade, it should therefore be the principal Care of those in Power

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to watch all its Fluctuations; to observe narrowly the Rivalship of Neighbours; to obviate their Purposes, by all justifiable Means; to guard the Possession, with a rigorous Jealousy; to seize every Opportunity given, by the Neglect of Foreigners; and to improve our natural Advantages, by all possible Encouragements.

By these wise Arts our greatest Rivals have extended their Trade, under all the Disadvantages of Arbitrary Power, beyond the Bounds of Credibility. Councils of Commerce were prudently instituted; and composed of Men of Figure, Genius, and Experience, whose Ears are open to all Informations; whose Employment depends not upon other Services, but upon the sole Merit of Capacity to conceive, and Ability to judge of every Scheme offered for the Advancement of Trade, with Power to reward amply and impartially every Man that contributes to that great publick Good.

how If then a wise Policy can thus turn the Tide of Commerce into the Channels of a Country where Arbitrary Power prevails, contrary to its natural Course; ~~can~~ much easier may it be preserved free and uninterrupted in these Kingdoms, where, beside the constitutional Establishment of Liberty, and our happy Situation for Trade, we enjoy a Variety of other Advantages; from the Home Production of raw Materials for Manufactures; which our Neighbours either have not at all, or have not in such Plenty and Perfection? From hence, it is very evident, that we have it in our power; in spite of all Rivalship, to secure to our own profit, every Branch of Trade, depending upon those raw Materials; because where the Sources are, the Streams may certainly be led through what Channels the Possessors please.

But not to mention the Production of Tin, Lead, and Corn; let us consider only the Wool of Great Britain,

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*Britain, and Ireland,* as superior to that of other Countries, by being better fitted for Manufactures suitable to the general Use of Mankind; and of this Production, Providence has poured upon us an Abundance, with an unsparing Hand; as if this best Gift of Heaven was conferred on a free People, as the Reward of their Virtue, in preserving their Liberty by various mighty Struggles, and transmitting it so far to Posterity.

The Wool of *Spain* is indeed of a more *silky Nature*, better fitted by its Fineness for Cloathing the Great and Luxurious; but not suitable to the general Use of Mankind.

The Wool of *France*, on the contrary, is coarse, base, and of a short Staple, though abundant in Quantity; but utterly unfit of itself, to make Cloths for Exportation to hotter Climates; and therefore by no means capable of rivalling *British* Manufactures, at the most profitable Markets in *Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.*

But, since the last Peace, she hath by the refined Policy of her wise Minister, and by (what shall I call it?) *the Connivance of others*, found means to transport clandestinely, vast Quantities of our Golden Fleeces, to her immense Profit, and our unspeakable Disadvantage. For, by having our Wool of long and fine Staple, to mix with that of her own Production, she is enabled not only to supply her Home Consumption, but to rival us at Foreign Markets; where she can supplant us by the Cheapness of her Labour: And thus she employs Multitudes of her Subjects in the most profitable manner, who must otherwise lie a dead weight on Society; while our industrious Poor, for want of Work, are become a Burthen to the *Landed Interest.*

But this is not all; for, instead of purchasing these rich Materials with Coin, or Bullion, she

exchanges her superfluous Commodities, that otherwise must be absolutely lost; because no other Nation in *Europe* can take them off her hands. This is evident in *Ireland*, from the plain Fact of having no *French Money* current in that Kingdom for many Years; tho' it was the principal Species, before the vast Consumption of *French Wine* and *Brandy* took place in that Kingdom. So that *Ireland* is doubly duped; first, by the Exportation of Provisions and Wool, the Necessaries of Life, and the most valuable of her Productions; and secondly, by receiving in Exchange for them what cannot possibly turn to any *National Advantage*; but on the contrary, to the Debauchery of Morals, and the Injury of the People's Health.

*Great-Britain* is also a Sharer in the Misfortune, both by the clandestine Exportation of Wool, and taking in Exchange *French Wine*, *Brandy*, *Silks*, *Lace*, *Cambricks*, &c. to such an immense Value, as annually draws, from thence to *France*, above a Million and a half, if Mr. *Josua Gee's* Calculations taken from the Custom-house Books are genuine; to which therefore, I beg leave to refer the inquisitive Reader. But if the Balance was only one Million yearly, it is enough to exalt the Nation which gains it upon the Ruin of that which loseth it; unless her Soil is enrich'd with Gold, like the *Peruvian Mountains*.—That Consequence is already too apparent, by the present Grandeur of *France*, risen from a poor, depopulated, wretched Kingdom, to such Riches and Power, as render her the *Terror*, if not the *Arbiter of Europe*; and all this effected by the Wisdom and good Policy of her Ministers, in turning the Tide of our Commerce into her own Channels; while neglected *Britain* droops her Head, her Treasures almost exhausted, loaded with Debt; her best Manufacture faded, her industrious Poor unemployed; distressed

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distressed and starving. Unhappy *Britain*, how art thou fallen! by what Means is not hard to judge, since, by the natural Possession of the best Wool in *Europe* for general Use, it is evident, beyond all contradiction, that she has it in her power to turn the Streams of that inexhaustible Fountain of Wealth which way she pleases, and therefore, solely to her own Advantage.

But besides the peculiar Excellence of our Wool for general Use, it is superior to that of all other Nations for employing a Multitude, and variety of Hands: since, not only the robust and vigorous find in it full Employment, but the *Infirmities* of Old Age, and the Weakness of Children, otherwise of no Advantage to themselves or the Public. What then! shall we sit down tamely, and see our grand Enemy, after having, by wicked Policy, made a Breach between *Spain* and *Great-Britain*, to the mutual Disadvantage of both, (for their Interests are by Nature united;) shall we, I say, permit this Enemy to monopolize the Trade of the World by the clandestine Exportation of our Wool, while the natural Proprietors of it are depressed and miserable? the industrious Poor pining for Want, and becoming a Burthen to the Publick, already groaning under a Load of National Debt and Taxes? Shall we not rather immediately join as one Man, in all the proper and just Means of sending up a Representative of the People, firmly resolv'd to put in execution the most effectual Methods for preventing the clandestine Exportation of Wool, and thereby preserve the glorious Realms of Liberty, and the once happiest People of the World, from falling a Sacrifice to universal Monarchy and arbitrary Power.

For the prevention of these fatal Consequences, various Means have been long, and often proposed, but the least effectual put in execution; as is too evident from the Continuance of the clandestine Exportation

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portation of Wool. For, what avail penal *Laws* against the Force of *Necessity*? Such *Laws* serve only to put needy People upon more cunning Devices to evade their Force. To what purpose were Ships of War stationed on the Coast of *Ireland*, at a great Expence, but to enrich their venal Commanders, by a treacherous Connivance at the illicit Exportation of Wool, contrary to the very Intent of their Station.

The Method proposed by Mr. *Webber*, for an universal Registry of Wool, has in it the Appearance of much Probability; and notwithstanding his Calculation may be stretch'd too far, deserves a careful Perusal, and the mature Consideration of Parliament: but whether it will be effectual or not, must be submitted to better Judgment and future Experience. One Objection to it, with regard to *Ireland*, seems insuperable; and that is, the Difficulty of influencing Tything-men and Church-Wardens in that Kingdom to concur in a fair and honest Registry of Wool: For where a Jury cannot be found to give a Verdict against the clandestine Exporters of Wool upon the plainest Evidence, it seems hardly probable that parochial Officers will be more faithful in the Execution of *Laws* for Registry; especially considering that the great Landed Men are the People, who, for their own Profit encourage the clandestine Exportation of Wool at present; and will under the Act for the Registry of Wool have the like influence in the Appointment of parochial Officers, and consequently of defeating the Force of that Law also.

But if that Scheme is found ineffectual, there is also another that has the appearance of some weight, and that is, to make it *every Man's private Interest* to prevent the Exportation of our Wool. Thus the Willdom of Providence operates on the Affairs of Mankind: For every private Virtue contributes as well to the general Good, as to the Possessors!



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cessors! Even private Vices, tho' far from being the necessary Means of public Benefit, (as a witty wicked Author has attempted to prove) yet are by the Wisdom of Providence converted, in a Variety of Instances, to that excellent purpose. Thus Avarice doubles the Diligence of some, and Luxury whets the Invention of others, to explore new Arts, and refine Manufactures, either ornamental, or convenient to Life.

As therefore the private Interest of Individuals generally terminates by the Scheme of Providence in public Good, so it is the Perfection of the human to imitate the divine Wisdom, in making the private Advantage of every Man subservient as much as possible to the general Good of Society. And this, I conceive, may be effected, with respect to *Ireland*; since it would be her Interest not to export unwrought Wool, if she had a Share of the Profit arising from the Exportation of it manufactured.

The Jealousy of *England* is just, in preventing her Dependencies from supplanting the Mother-Country in Trade; but that Jealousy may, as in other cases, be carried to Self-destruction; and it seems evidently so, with respect to the Woollen Trade. For, however advantageous the Laws of *Ireland*, laying on high Duties to prevent the Exportation of Woollen Manufactures from that Kingdom, at the time of enacting them, were to *England*, then in full Possession of that Trade; yet since the clandestine Exportation of Wool has quite changed the Circumstances of *Great Britain*, and turned her Woollen Trade into the Channels of *France*, it seems necessary to alter those Laws, so as to prevent the Exportation of Wool, and thereby retrieve that Manufacture. As the Laws of *Ireland* now stand, the Subjects of that Kingdom cannot export Woollen Goods; and therefore they  
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make no more than what are sufficient for their own Consumption; whence it follows, that a great Surplus of Wool must lie on their hands. What then must be done with that Surplus? Must it be thrown away, or perish in the hands of the Possessors? That cannot be expected; for who will starve with the Means of Subsistence in their power? The Possessors therefore will sell their Wool to the clandestine Exporter, for the small Price he will please to give; and he cannot venture to give much for a Commodity attended with so great hazard in the Exportation. And thus those very penal Laws, prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, serve no other purpose than to render it cheaper to the French.

Suppose then, Ireland admitted to share with us the Exportation of Woollen Manufactures; and thereby, according to the Proportion of her Wool, reap one third Part of the whole Foreign Woollen Trade: Is it not a less Evil to Great Britain, than to permit France, by the clandestine Exportation of our Wool, to engross two Thirds of that Trade to herself, as she is thought to do at present? For, let it be remarked here, (what I think nobody disputes) that France, by having one Pack of our Wool, is enabled to work up two of her own Produce, into such Manufactures as rival us in all the Markets of the World. If then we could by any means prevent her from having our Wool, that of her own Growth could not be manufactured so as to answer the Purposes of Exportation; hardly of her own Consumption; perhaps oblige her to take from us her best Cloathing; and so turn the Balance of Trade, now so greatly in our Disfavour, as much to our Advantage. +

Jealous Eyes may look with Envy, on the Irish, possessing one third of the Woollen Trade; but surely it is better so, than to suffer France to enjoy

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two Thirds of it: since the *Irish* are our Fellow-Subjects, and *Great Britain* is the Seat of Government, the Nursery of Arts, the Fountain of Honour and Preferments, and consequently the Centre of *Irish* Riches. But if this Loan of a Share in the Profit of the Woollen Trade was made to *Ireland* at present, in order to stop the clandestine Exportation of Wool, it might in due time, and by easy degrees, be taken back to the Mother-Country; not by *Dist of Power*, or *oppressive Laws*, but by a wise Policy, and *proper Encouragement* given to the Linnen-Manufactures: For, if these Kingdoms and her *American* Colonies, were supplied wholly with coarse and fine Linnens of *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish* Manufacture, to the entire Exclusion of foreign Linnen, those of *Ireland* might imploy all her Labours. If then the *Irish* were turned so much to Manufactures, there must be great Quantities of Corn wanted for their Food, and of course much more Labour applied to arable, and less to the Growth and Manufacture of Wool.

To turn the Labours of *Ireland* therefore from that Growth and Manufacture, by all possible Encouragement to the Production of Hemp, and Flax, and the Manufacture of both, seems the most rational and effectual way to prevent the clandestine Exportation of Wool: But, whether this Encouragement shall be given, by taking off the Drawback of all foreign Linnens, or by what other Methods, must be submitted to the Wisdom of Parliament.

To the former Method, there have been Objections of no small Force, as injurious to our *American* Colonies; for to oblige them to pay an higher Price for all coarse Linnens, than at present (which must be the Case at first) is to lay upon them a burthensome Tax: but I presume a Compensation of that Tax would soon be made by a

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greater Consumption and Demand for the Produce of *North and South America*, both being the natural Effect of an Increase of Riches, and Populoufness in *Great Britain and Ireland*.

As therefore to give *Ireland* a Share of the woollen Trade at foreign Markets at present, is the only way to make it her *Interest not to export unwrought Wool*; so, to bring back her Portion of the woollen Trade in due Time, to the Mother-Country, by all possible Encouragement of the Growth of Hemp and Flax, and of her Linnen Manufactures, seems the most wise and effectual Policy.

Next to making it the Interest of *Ireland* not to export unwrought Wool, another proper Means of preventing it, is an *absolute Prohibition of all Trade with France*. *Ireland*, instead of losing any Advantage from such a Prohibition, must be greatly benefited, by stopping the vast Consumption of *French Wine, Brandy, &c.* from whence it is morally impossible for any People to derive a National Profit.

To this Prohibition it may be objected, that *Ireland* having not a sufficient Vend for Beef, Butter, and other Provisions, must be impoverished: But it already sufficiently appears, that taking *French Wines, Brandy, &c.* in return for Wool, and Provisions, is so far from enriching a Nation, that, on the contrary, it tends directly to impoverish it. Besides, if the Scheme above-mentioned of encouraging the Linnen Manufactures of *Ireland* be vigorously executed, the great Number of Manufacturers then employed, must require abundantly more Corn for their Subsistence; and necessarily encourage more Tillage in that Kingdom; and of course both lessen the Production, and increase their own Consumption of Cattle, &c. and then, there will remain *much less Provisions for Exportation*. For, the great Plenty, and Cheapness of Provisions in *Ireland* at present, are owing to the Poverty of the  
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common People; the Fruits of whose Labour is not sufficient to feed them with Flesh, and wheaten Bread; and therefore they subsist chiefly upon Potatoes and Milk; well content with that cheap and homely Food, if enjoyed with Laziness.

But by encreasing the Value of Labour by Manufactures, they will be enabled to live well on good Flesh and Bread; and having once tasted the *Sweets of Industry*, must naturally pursue it as the only means to enjoy all the Conveniences and Comforts of Life.

That Trade and Manufactures purchase all these Blessings to the common People, is manifest in those Parts of this Kingdom where they flourish most. The same is evident even in the North of *Ireland*, where the Linnen Manufacture is principally established: For there also the common People live on Flesh, and a more generous Food and Drink, than in the other Counties unemployed by Manufactures; and therefore, if by proper Encouragement the Linnen Manufactures were established all over *Ireland*, their own Consumption of Flesh, &c. must cut off her present Stores for Exportation.

And our own Sugar Colonies, under a wise Direction, and proper Encouragements, must extend their Demands for all kinds of Provisions much further, than the Superfluities of *Ireland* could possibly supply.

Another Advantage to *Ireland* from the Prohibition of all *French* Trade, and thereby cutting off the Importation of Wine and Brandy, must necessarily be this; that to supply Drink, more Orchards will be planted, and much more Barley propagated, which therefore must diminish in proportion the quantity of Pasturage, and consequently the Production of Cattle, Butter, &c. &c.

Was there no other Reason for the Prohibition of all Trade with *France*, besides the Prevention of

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the clandestine Exportation of Wool from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; that alone one would imagine sufficient to induce the Execution of it: But when it is considered what other mighty Benefits must accrue to *Great Britain*, as well as *Ireland*, the Delay of it is matter of Astonishment to all the trading World: For *Great Britain* by that Prohibition will save the great Balance before-mentioned annually paid to *France*, will cut off in a great measure her Commerce with the *Spanish West-Indies* and *Guinea*, by disabling her, for want of our Wool to furnish Manufactures suitable to those Markets; will render almost useless her Vintages, which no other Countries can consume; will lessen her Manufacture of Cambric and Lace, to the Value of six hundred thousand Pounds yearly; which applied to the Encouragement of the Cambric-Manufacture in *Ireland*, and of Lace-making in the West of *England*, must raise both to Perfection, and convey Plenty to Thousands of our Poor now in want. Thus by enriching our selves, and diminishing the Trade and Manufactures of *France*, we are put in a State of more Security from her ambitious Enterprizes, and all *Europe* freed from the just Fear of Universal Monarchy. For to turn the Tide of Commerce from *France*, (as is evidently in our power to do, both with respect to the Woollen and Sugar Trade\*, the chief Points she aims at) is to dry up the two great Sources of her Wealth, and consequently to distress her more than by the most vigorous War †.

It may be objected, that whatever other Advantages may attend a Prohibition of all Trade with *France*, the clandestine Exportation of Wool, will

\* See a Pamphlet, intitled, A Comparison between the Northern and British Sugar Colonies.

† See a Pamphlet, intitled, An Essay on the present Con-  
juncture.

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in that Case be carried on, as effectually, as under the Prohibition of Penal Laws now existing; because no general Prohibition can be more severe than them. But let, it be considered, that the present penal Laws have already proved instrumental to render Wool cheaper to the *French*, who, by paying for that Wool in Wine, Brandy, and such other Superfluities, have the Purchase of Wool still on easier Terms; whereas, if all the Productions of *France* were absolutely prohibited, under severe Penalties, not only on the Importers, but on whomsoever those Commodities are found; and the whole Profit of such Discoveries go to the Informer; it would be impossible for *France* to purchase *Irish* Wool at the present cheap Rate, and therefore she must encourage the clandestine Exportation at a very high Price, to be paid in Bullion or Coin: The Country from whence it goes would then reap the Advantage of the most profitable Returns, and *France* become thereby so much the poorer: At the same time the high Price given in that Case for raw Wool, must so enhance the prime Cost of *French* Cloth, as to take away all Possibility of supplanting us at foreign Markets. But, after all, if our Woollen Trade was extended to *Ireland*, the Price of Wool must rise too high for foreign Purchasers; and the People hardly tempted to part with the rich Materials of a Manufacture, which compensates Labour with such high Rewards: For, I believe, there is not a Commodity in Nature of such general Use, whose Value is so much enhanced by manufacturing: Nor is there a Manufacture of so great Extent, because Cloathing is the Want of all Mankind, and must be the Demand of the whole World. To make it therefore the Interest of *Ireland*, (from whence most of the Wool is exported) to keep it for manufacturing, and to cut off all Returns for it in *French* Productions, by an absolute Pro-

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Prohibition, seem the only effectual Methods of preventing that National Evil.

For, as has been hinted, it is the Perfection of Human Laws to be well suited, not only to the general Good, but as much as possible to the particular Interest of every Member of Society: And where they are not so framed; but, on the contrary, to the general *Disadvantage* of a whole Kingdom (as is the Case of *Ireland*) they become absolutely impracticable.

The first Step necessary therefore to prevent the clandestine Exportation of Wool, is to alter those Laws, so as to make it *the Interest of the Irish* to manufacture their own Wool; or to send it to *Great Britain* only. Such Laws will execute themselves; or rather, every Man will, for his own Sake, assist in the Execution.

The third and last Project for preventing the clandestine Exportation of Wool is mentioned here, more out of Deference to other People's Opinion than my own; but chiefly to obviate the Reception of a Scheme full of Difficulties, and liable to Objections in my Apprehension insuperable. The Project is, that *Great Britain* shall raise a large Sum of Money, (suppose two or three hundred thousand Pounds) applicable to the Purchase of all the surplus Wool of *Ireland*, which being deposited in proper Store-houses throughout that Kingdom, may be sold again to *British* Manufacturers at prime Cost as demanded, upon proper Security given, that each Parcel of Wool, so distributed, shall not be exported, but *manufactured*. How is the Nation already immersed in Debt, and loaded with every Kind of Tax in the power of Prodigality to invent, able to furnish such a present Supply? How much of this Money must necessarily be sunk in the Expence of proper Store-houses, and in paying another standing Army of Wool-Collectors? What Trouble and Difficulty



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ficulty is laid on the Manufacturer, to find and give acceptable Security for the Wool so distributed? What room is there for *Cavil, Insolence of Office,* and *M-----l Partiality?* and what further Difficulty to the Manufacturer in proving that those very Parcels of Wool, for which Security was given, are wrought into Manufactures? But above all, what an Extension must this be of *M-----l Power,* which would then become more truly formidable, than Prerogative was, about an hundred Years since. For at that time, Prerogative was open in its Attacks; in Levies of Ship-Money, forced Loans, &c. &c. and the People roused by open Wrongs, and the Violations of Law, soon reduced the Exorbitancies: But whether it is more absurd, or ridiculous, that the very sort of People, who could not bear the Stretch of Royal Power, should not only stoop with Tameness, but be the chief Abettors of a Power more despicable and dangerous; more despicable, because vastly subordinate, without the Dazzle of Royalty, or any Pretence to divine Unction! more dangerous, because more *secret* in its Operations! For *M-----l Power,* under the *fair Guise of Law,* and by the sly Arts of *Corruption,* winning a legislative Sanction, may sap the *very Foundations* of Liberty. What is the greatest Bulwark of Liberty against the open Violence of Prerogative, or the secret Machinations of Ministers? Is it not *the Freedom and Independency* of the House of Commons, the representative Body of the People, without whose Concurrence no Institution can become lawful? If then a Minister, by the Influence of Places, and by all the other secret Arts of Bribery and Corruption, shall be able hereafter either to procure the Election of a Majority at his devotion, or to purchase it after a Return, there is an end of the People's Liberty. But that is not all; for the Crown itself must be then at *the Disposal*

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of a rapacious Minister; because when all Power is taken from the People, is it probable that he who took it, will transfer it to the Hand of his Prince, thereby enabling him to punish the Crime? Is it not rather certain, that he must keep it for Self-preservation? Thus *Cromwell* did, after having gained the Army, first deprived the Nation of its Liberty, and then of its Royalty: So close a Connexion is there in the *British* Constitution between the *Safety of the Crown*, and the *Preservation of the Publick Liberty*, that it is next to impossible the former can flourish, while the latter decays. How very dangerous then is it for a Prince to delegate his Power, Riches, and Influences, to the Hand of any *one* Subject in his Dominions! not only because a Subject is more liable to the Temptations of Ambition, Avarice, and the Aggrandisement of his Family, than a Prince can be; but also because the Exercise of such extended Power is above the Capacity, and beyond the Ability of any one Man living.

For this very reason (and it is one of the greatest Excellencies of our Constitution) the executive Power is lodged in the hands of a Monarch, surrounded with Grandeur, Affluence and Dignity; and therefore, above all Temptations to abuse it; that he may delegate it in *due Measure*, and *just Proportions*, suitable to the Capacity and Ability of each Minister, in whose hands he puts the sacred Deposite.

The executive Power of the Crown thus divided into proper Branches, *independent of each other*, is administered with *Safety* to the Sovereign, and with *Ease* to his Ministers, who are a *constant Check*, by being *independent* of each other; insomuch that it is almost impossible the Sovereign can be deceived, or his Power abused.

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This was the chief Instrument of Glory to Queen *Elizabeth*, and will be for the Glory and Happiness of every *British* Monarch in future Ages; for Power thus distributed, naturally administers Health and Felicity to the Body Politick, as our Passions do to the human Body, when not one of them is suffered to predominate over the other, but all are directed properly to their several right Uses, by the supreme Guidance, and under the Sovereignty of Reason.

What then can be said for those Politicians, who pretend Zeal for the King, and Love for Liberty, and yet manifestly hazard the Well-being of both, by endeavouring to establish delegated Power in the hand of one Man? Can such Men be sincere in their Professions? Still further, what shall be thought of those, who, to secure the Possession of delegated Power to that one Man, shall aid and assist him in all the wicked Arts of Bribery and Corruption? Can such Men be really honest? Is there any Vice more abominable in its own Nature; more subversive of Justice in the common Course of Law; and consequently more injurious to Society, than Bribery and Corruption? With what Face then can any Man practice, or justify the Practice of it, to the Insult of Common Sense, and the Reproach of Human Nature.

That Placemen at Will, without Capacity for their Employments; that Pensioners, and the innumerable Swarms of Excisemen, and other Drones, who live in Luxury without Care or Labour, upon the Honey of Industry, should be the Tools of Corruption, and the Reproach of a People, is no great wonder; but that any Man of *Independency*, or *moral Character*, should herd with such Cattle, is an astonishing Infatuation, not less fatal to social Happiness, than the rankest Enthusiasm is to real Religion.

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Religion. It is as unnatural, as for Merchants to love the great Enemy of Commerce; and the chief Reviler of their Profession: or for Manufacturers to support a Person at the Expence of their political Salvation, for a present Morsel of Bread, who cares not if they starve when the Job is done: In short, it is such a flat Absurdity, as that the loudest Pretenders to the Principles of Liberty should support in Power, their Oppressor, trampling upon their Necks, while they in return lick his Feet like fawning Spaniels.

If the Majority of a Nation were composed of such Heroes for the Cause of Liberty, any one may read its Fate without the Spirit of Prophecy. It is a wonderful Stupidity, that any People can be so manifestly accessary to their own Perdition: that the old, stale Craft of wicked Men, should still be able to divide them into Parties, in order to compass their private self-interested Purposes; and rule them with a Rod of Iron, forged by their own Hands! Let such Men remember, that it is the first Maxim of Tyranny, to *divide, and then to rule the People absolutely*; let them recollect, that Union is the only means of defeating M——l, as well as any other Tyranny; and that there is at hand an Opportunity, when Union may exert all its Vigour, as well to retrieve the Decay of Trade, as to restore the Nation's Power; as well to vindicate its Glory, avenge, and redress its Wrongs, as to procure an honourable Peace and durable Prosperity.

It is in vain to boast the Excellence of any Civil Constitution, while the Administration of it deviates from the first essential Principles. If the Knowledge and Wisdom of Men and Angels were combined to form the most excellent Model of Government, it will for ever remain a *dead Form*, incapable of com-

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communicating or securing social Felicity, while the Execution of it is either weak or wicked. All Disputes therefore, and political Harangues upon that Subject, are either splendid Amusements, or delusive Arts, to turn the Thoughts of Mankind from the Spring of social Happiness, the wise and just Exercise of the executive Power.

*For Forms of Government let Fools contest ;  
What-e'er is best administer'd, is best. POPE,*

Political Bodies are like some human Bodies, originally more strong, vigorous, and better fitted for Longevity than others ; but yet if the most robust Constitution is corrupted by Vice, or enervated by Luxury, it will crumble into Atoms, much sooner than weak Bodies under a wise Direction and just Oeconomy. Thus a celebrated Writer says, a *Venice-Glass* may be preserved much longer by great care, than a Crystal without it. It is therefore the Glory of good Princes, and the indispensable Duty of every good Subject, to guard against the evil Administration of delegated Power ; by not admitting polluted Hands to touch the sacred Deposit ; and by putting it under the Direction of the Wise, Just and Brave : for Honesty is certainly the best Policy in public, as well as private Life. As the grand Enemy of Mankind, after having seduced his Votaries from Virtue, is the first to reproach them with Vice ; so the great Corrupters of the present Age, after having debauched the Morals of an honest, brave People, argue as if they were past all Redemption ; and therefore, not to be influenced by any other Motives than those of Bribery : But 'tis hoped, the most profligate will look with horror upon all the Traitors of their social Virtue, and convince them by a future conscientious Discharge

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of the Duties due to their Country, that Corruption hath lost all Influences, by attempting to sap the Foundations of public Liberty.

It is now the Jest of *Europe*, to see the highest Pretenders to public Liberty, acting an under Part to the Advancement of M—l Tyranny; that very Species of Men who help'd to shackle the Giant Prerogative, resigning themselves tamely to the Dwarf of delegated Power, with golden Hands and Iron Feet. Can such People ever complain again with a good Grace, of the Oppressions of Party-Zeal, when instead of conciliating all Parties, and uniting in the glorious natural Principle they profess, they take part with its deadly Foe Corruption? Is this the proper way to extinguish Bigotry, and Party-Zeal; or rather to sharpen it with the keenest Edge of Virulence?

This seeming Digression from the Subject in hand, may be easily pardoned, when it is considered how naturally M—l Power springs from the Project last mentioned of buying up the Surplus-Wool in *Ireland* by a new Swarm of Collectors; and as an overgrown M—l Power is the only means now left, to sap the Foundations of Liberty, it is presumed no Project tending to the Encrease of that Power, will ever be admitted by a People that set the least value on the greatest Privilege and Happiness of Society. But after all, we shall be told again, perhaps, that the Declension of Trade in general, and of the Woollen Manufacture in particular, is mere Clamour; and that *Trade never flourished more, nor had the Nation ever such Numbers of Merchant-Ships, or so much Riches.*

If all this be true, what is the reason why the Encrease of Poor in almost every Parish in *England*, before the present Scarcity, and Dearness of Provision, was so great? That this Encrease is a  
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real Fact, every Land-Owner feels to his cost; and of which every one else may be easily convinced by a Search of the Poor-Books. If it be true that our Woollen Manufacture is not declined, what mean the general Cries of the labouring People for several Years past, that they are starving for want of Employment? It is very easy to assert boldly in general, that the Nation flourishes, and is richer than ever, if the Rule of judging be taken from the Pomp and Luxury of Placemen and Pensioners; and it is very hard to prove the contrary, by an Induction of Particulars drawn from the Custom-House Books, which are at no Man's Command, who is willing to sift the Declensions of Trade. But if Causes are to be judged of by Effects (which is the chief Rule of human Judgement) the general Cries, and Calamities of the People, are the certain Consequence of a general Declension of Trade.

Another Proof of that Declension is the Rise of Stocks in such precarious Times as the present; and indeed their Continuance so high for many Years past, at so low an Interest: For if Trade could afford 2 or 3 *per Cent.* more than the Funds, can any Man in his Senses believe such vast Sums would lie dormant there?

Beside the Unprofitableness of Trade in its Declension, the other Discouragement of great hazard, to which Navigation has been exposed, for want of due Protection, is of it self sufficient to extinguish the Life and Spirit of Commerce. For, great Hazards advance Insuranc to such an immoderate *Premium*, as the most profitable Trade cannot afford to pay; and therefore the greatest Enemy or Rival of a Trading Nation could not devise a more effectual way to pluck up Commerce by the Roots, than by exposing Navigation first to Search and Depredation, and

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and then to Capture by a weak and contemptible Foe.

To the first of those Causes were owing the Decline of Trade in general, and to them in conjunction with Complaisance to *France* must be imputed the clandestine Exportation of Wool from *Ireland*, and the great Decay of the Woollen Manufacture in particular.

But besides these Reasons proving the Declension of Trade in these Kingdoms, the great Mr. *Locke* hath left us one *certain Criterion*, by which an infallible Judgment may be made of the Increase, or Decrease of Trade, in any Kingdom, where there are not Gold or Silver Mines; and that is, *by the Quantity of Bullion minted into current Coin*. For, all Balances of Trade between Nation and Nation must be paid in something of *intrinsick Value*, in the Esteem of all Nations, which is Bullion only; therefore that Nation which receives a Balance from others upon *the whole* of her Trade, will have that Balance in Bullion added to her Wealth. What then must be done with this Bullion? If there be no foreign Demands to pay (as there cannot be where a Nation receives a Balance on the whole of her Trade) the Bullion acquired by that Balance must either lie dead in the Proprietors Chests, or it must be minted to give it *Currency in Loans*, and so to produce an *Interest*: But every Proprietor of Bullion will rather mint it for his Profit, than keep it in Chests; and therefore all national Balances of Bullion must appear evidently, by the annual Accounts of the Mint.

Let a comparison then be made between the Times of the great Queen *Elizabeth*, and even the weak and wicked Reign of *James* the First, (who could not turn the golden Streams of Commerce out of the Channels made by his glorious

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Predecessor, by all the Craft of *Gondemar*, added to the Folly and Wickedness of *Carr* and *Buckingham*) I say, let a comparison be made between those and the succeeding Times, by the annual Accounts of the Mint, and it will appear to a Demonstration how much the national Trade has declined; and that chiefly, as appears in the foregoing Pages, by the clandestine Exportation of Wool to *France*, and other wrong Measures of weak Administrations. Upon such a comparison, if it be found, as I dare say it will, that there was more Bullion coined in any two Years of those Times, than during the whole twenty Years of the present Administration; then it follows from that Proof, as well as from the foregoing Arguments, that Trade is miserably fallen to Decay: and therefore the Cries of the Poor are not the Murmurs of Faction, but the genuine Effects of real national Distress; which calls aloud for present Relief, or the Evil must grow universal and irretrievable.

In addition to the Proposals already offered for the Recovery and Improvement of the *British* Trade in general, and of the Woollen Manufacture in particular, I beg leave to subjoin the Expediency of all proper Encouragements to be given to our Northern Colonies of *America*. Colonies of inestimable Value to *Britain*, not only on account of their great Demand and Consumption of her Woollen Manufactures, but for their ~~rich~~fulness, and Ability to produce all other Commodities of ~~the~~ *European* Growth wanted for Home Manufactures, and now purchased from foreign Countries with *Bullion*, to the great Diminution of our national Wealth. Colonies, I say, of inestimable Value, if their Labours are thus turn'd by a wise Direction to Productions *not interfering* with those of the Mother-Country; but most *dangerous Rivals*, if forced by their *Wants* into

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into the same Kind of Manufactures; and in consequence thereof, into a State of absolute Independence.

The Question then is, what shall be done to secure so great Advantages to this Nation, and to avert so dangerous a *Rivalship*? The Answer is obvious. Let our Northern Colonies have all possible Encouragement to turn their whole Labours, to the Production of Corn, Hemp, Flax, Pot-Ash, Silk and Iron. If the Bounties already given by Law are insufficient, let them be encreased; where not given, let them be added; particularly with respect to Pig-Iron, let the Duty of 5 per Cent. be taken off, and a Bounty of 5 per Cent. added; since by this single Article only, the Northern Colonies may be enabled to purchase a greater Quantity of our Woollen Manufactures; and the Woods of these Kingdoms saved from Destruction, by smelting Iron, to the Encrease of our Navigation and Support of the Royal Navy, which is the Nation's Bulwark and the only Safeguard of Commerce.

A Proposition for the Encrease of old, and the Establishment of new Bounties, may startle those who have little regard for Trade, and other Uses for the public Revenues; but Bounties properly applied are not such Clogs upon the People, as the Creation of new Places in the Army, and Navy; nor need the Revenue be at all diminished, since an Addition to the Duties on foreign Commodities of the same kind, will raise enough to discharge all that is required. Bounties given to Foreigners (in whose favour the Balance of Trade is) must be paid in *Bullion*; and in that case become pernicious Drains of the National Wealth. But Bounties given to our own distant Subjects, *wanting* Home Manufactures, are *virtually paid* in those very Manufactures: and the raw Materials upon which those

Bounties

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Bounties are given to *Subjects*, not only *save* our Bullion paid for such to *Foreigners*, but *multiply* the Profit upon *the Labour* of Home Manufactures; and consequently encrease so far, the National Wealth. If, notwithstanding these evident Reasons, *Bounties* should be refused in general, and on *Pig-Iron* in particular, our *American Subjects* must proceed as they have began, to erect *Forges* for manufacturing their own Iron, to the entire Loss of that Branch of our Trade.

But this is not all; for if our Northern Colonies are not enabled by Bounties, on other Productions above-mentioned, as well as *Pig-Iron*, to pay for our Woollen Manufactures, *Necessity will enforce a Rivalship of them also*, to the great damage of the Mother-Country. For then, we must lose the Exportation of our *coarse Woolliens*, for which the *American Colonies* are the best Markets, wherein *Foreigners* cannot supplant us, while our Acts of Navigation continue in force. But, as these Bounties are proposed to be paid by *Great-Britain only*, so it is highly reasonable, that *she alone should continue to enjoy that Branch of Trade, exclusive of Ireland*: especially since that Kingdom will reap sufficient Advantages by a *Share* of the *Foreign Woollen Trade*, and the proposed *Encouragement* of her Linnen Manufactures, both to encrease her Wealth and prevent the clandestine Exportation of Wool.

But since the Schemes for that purpose above-mentioned (and now submitted with all Deference to publick Consideration) require Time for Deliberation and Execution; and since *France* may take alarm at the first Motions of the Legislature to prevent the Exportation of Wool, and double her Diligence to fill all her Magazines before an effectual Prevention takes place, it seems more necessary than

than ever to guard strictly the Coasts of *Ireland*, particularly of *Galloway*, by a sufficient Number of small Ships of War, under Commanders of the most approved Characters, as well to prevent the clandestine Exportation of Wool, as to defend in a better manner our Navigation.

F I N I S

